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SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1932

Rev. Allen A. Stockdale, D. D., pastor of the First Congregational Church of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Father of all Humanity, we are deeply grateful for the heritages and privileges of our Nation. May the love of righteousness and religion prevail among our people. May we understand the position of leadership which gives us opportunity to serve the world. Give all servants of government that spirit of trust and noble perseverance that brings to earth its richest blessings. Guide us in the deliberations of this day. Give us faith and hope to go honestly and courageously through the paths of life. May we find peace and prosperity in serving Thee. We ask it in the name of the Father who loves all His children. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Monday last, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Austin	Dale	Kean	Schall
Bailey	Dickinson	Kendrick	Sheppard
Bankhead	Dill	Keyes	Shipstead
Barbour	Fess	King	Smith
Bingham	Fletcher	La Follette	Smoot
Black	Frazier	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	George	Logan	Thomas, Idaho
Borah	Glass	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Bratton	Glenn	McKellar	Townsend
Brookhart	Goldsborough	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Bulow	Hale	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harris	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harrison	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Hastings	Norris	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Hatfield	Nye	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	Waterman
Coolidge	Hebert	Patterson	Watson
Copeland	Howell	Pittman	Wheeler
Costigan	Hull	Reed	White
Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.	

Mr. LOGAN. I desire to announce the necessary absence of my colleague the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] on official business. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (S. J. Res. 79) to provide an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in a general disarmament conference to be held in Geneva in 1932, and it was signed by the Vice President.

EFFECT OF DEPRECIATION OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, yesterday afternoon I was not in the Chamber at the time of the passage of the resolution (S. Res. 143) which was offered by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] calling on the Tariff Commission to make an investigation into the effect of the depreciated exchanges and trend of international trade. I desire to move to reconsider the vote by which that resolution was passed; and if the resolution has already gone to the Tariff Commission, I ask to have it recalled.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is advised that the resolution has been transmitted to the Tariff Commission.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I do not think the Senator from Mississippi has standing to move a reconsideration of the resolution, when he himself states in his motion that he was out of the Chamber.

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; the Senator from Mississippi said he was out of the Chamber at the time, but, of course, there are other Senators here who were in the Chamber and who could make the motion.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Mississippi if there was a record vote?

Mr. HARRISON. No; there was no record vote.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Then any Senator, under the well-established rule of the Senate, may move a reconsideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is a correct statement of the rule.

Mr. HARRISON. The Rules Committee, of which the Senator from Pennsylvania is a member, as I am, too, reported out a resolution providing for a change of the rule so that all resolutions providing for investigations should be referred first to the regular committee for preliminary investigation. If my motion prevails, I desire to have the resolution referred to the Finance Committee, because in my opinion it ought to be amended in certain respects. It is a matter of some importance, and I hope the Senator will not insist upon a technicality.

Mr. REED. It is merely a resolution asking for information.

Mr. HARRISON. I understand.

Mr. REED. For years it has been our custom to pass such resolutions almost as a matter of course.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. HARRISON. Certainly.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator from Mississippi referred to the Senator from Pennsylvania having raised a technical objection, namely, that he, the Senator from Mississippi, did not vote for the resolution. It has already been pointed out that where no record vote is taken any Senator may move a reconsideration.

Mr. REED. That is true.

Mr. HARRISON. I will submit the motion, and I hope the Senator from Pennsylvania will not resist it.

Mr. REED. I shall not make any point of order.

Mr. HARRISON. I renew my motion that the vote by which the resolution was passed be reconsidered and that the papers be recalled from the Tariff Commission.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, is that motion debatable?

The VICE PRESIDENT. A motion to reconsider is debatable.

Mr. REED. In that event I would like to have the Senator from Mississippi tell me what is his objection to getting the information.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator in his resolution calls on the Tariff Commission to render an opinion as to the effect of the depreciation in currencies of various countries on international trade and on our own importations. He confines it to the year 1930. It is, as the Senator appreciates, a matter of a great deal of importance. The Senator certainly had some object in asking for the passage of the resolution. I think it ought to go to the Committee on Finance so we can study it and determine whether we want to call on the Tariff Commission for this particular information alone, whether we want to confine it to the year 1930 or have it cover a series of years.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I can not imagine why the Senator should object to the Senate having the information. Ten years ago the Senate passed a similar resolution at the time exchanges were demoralized, and received very valuable information in reply to it. Only a month ago we passed a similar resolution with regard to the effect on importations of lumber. Everybody knows that the depreciation of the currencies in foreign lands affects their ability to produce cheaply. It enables them to produce more cheaply than before their currency was depreciated. Everyone knows that a tariff established in the days when the currencies were at par is not adequate to meet such a situation as that which obtains to-day. Why should we not have the information?

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator knows very well that the depreciation in currencies has vacillated from one month to another month, and that information we might get next week with reference to it might not be of much value three months from now. The Senator appreciates that fact.

Mr. REED. No; I do not appreciate that. I appreciate very well that if the Tariff Commission should find that with the British pound at $3.45, as it is at this minute, Great Britain has gained an advantage over us of some 25 per cent in production costs, the sooner the Congress knows it the better.

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Mr. REED. And the Senator from Mississippi himself this morning in the Finance Committee urged prompt action and early consideration of the tariff bill which the Democrats have sent from the House of Representatives. How can we act on it wisely or intelligently without knowing what is the effect of these recent disturbances in production costs abroad?

Mr. HARRISON. Then it is my understanding that the Senator desires the Finance Committee not to take any action upon the House tariff bill until we can secure all this information from the Tariff Commission?

Mr. REED. We ought to have the information just as quickly as they can give it to us. My objection to a reconsideration is that it will postpone for two or three days anyway the preparations of the Tariff Commission in its effort to secure and furnish us that information. If we are going to act on the tariff, let us, for Heaven's sake, get a little information, and act on information and not on guesses.

Mr. HARRISON. We have plenty of information, but, of course, the Senator will not accept the information at hand with reference to the tariff.

Mr. REED. I am not trying to suppress any information, as the Senator from Mississippi appears to be doing.

Mr. HARRISON. Does the Senator think that the Tariff Commission could get all this information in two or three days and give us the value of their opinion as to the effect of the depreciation of foreign currencies on international trade and on importations into this country?

Mr. REED. Does the Senator mean to imply by that question that it is proposed to pass the Democratic tariff bill from the House in two or three days?

Mr. HARRISON. We propose to pass it, yes, but not by the aid of the Senator, of course.

Mr. REED. In two or three days?

Mr. HARRISON. I do not know. It is hoped that we can pass it as soon as possible. I hope that we can get it reported out of the committee at a very early date. That is why I made a motion this morning to take it up on Friday.

Mr. REED. It is going to be very interesting news to the business interests of the country that the Senator proposes to change our tariff system on two or three days' consideration.

Mr. HARRISON. I do not propose to precipitate the Senate into a discussion of the tariff at this time. We talked on that subject here for about 18 months, as I recall.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi permit me to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question?

Mr. HARRISON. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator from Pennsylvania has repeatedly assumed in his questions to the Senator from Mississippi that the latter Senator objects to the consideration of the resolution by the Senate. The Senator from Mississippi has stated that he desires to have amendments considered. What is the objection of the Senator from Pennsylvania to giving the committee, of which he himself is a member, the Finance Committee, which would have jurisdiction of the matter if the motion of the Senator from Mississippi to reconsider and to refer should prevail, the opportunity to amend the resolution and to make it conform to the view the Finance Committee entertains regarding the subject?

Mr. REED. My only objection is the loss of time that would be involved, since we are notified by the Senator from Mississippi that we are not to lose any time in considering the new tariff bill. If the Senator from Mississippi wants additional information, I should be delighted to support any resolution that might be offered to that effect; but if he wants to suppress information for which I am asking, then, of course, I shall have to resist such action.

Mr. HARRISON. Why does the Senator think I am trying to suppress information when I am asking for reference to the committee of which he is a very influential member?

Mr. REED. But the only purpose in referring the resolution to the committee would be to amend it or kill it. If the Senator wants to amend it by asking for more information, all he need do is to offer now a resolution asking for that additional information.

Mr. HARRISON. I move that the vote by which the resolution was adopted be reconsidered and that the papers sent to the Tariff Commission be recalled. I will follow that up by a motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. HARRISON. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, let me remind the Senator from Mississippi that a resolution parallel in character to the one now under discussion was offered and adopted without opposition by the Senate a week ago, restricted, however, to pulpwood, pulp, and newsprint. I offered that resolution. The Senator from Pennsylvania wanted to expand it, but, at my request, he did not do so at that time. The information he desires is, of course, just as important as the information called for by the resolution to which I have referred. The particular point I want to urge is——

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President——

Mr. McNARY. If the Senator will yield to me just a moment further, let me say that the particular point I want to urge is that the resolution that I offered was presented largely at the instance of newsprint and pulp manufacturers of the South and West. I saw the perilous condition in which they were because of the so-called debased money of Canada, a competitive country, and in Norwegian countries. If desirable to obtain information as to the industries mentioned, which are important to the South, how can there be objection when a similar, and, in fact, almost identical prop-

osition is offered here, though general in nature and not restricted in scope?

Mr. HARRISON. There are several differences. As I understood, the resolution of the Senator asked for information as to the difference in the cost of production here and abroad.

Mr. McNARY. Due to the debasement of the money, which does affect the cost of production in this country, of course.

Mr. HARRISON. The resolution of the Senator from Pennsylvania seeks the opinion of the Tariff Commission as to the effect of the depreciation of currencies and variation in exchanges on commodities, not only on importations into this country but on international trade generally.

Mr. McNARY. Exactly so. My resolution affected one of the great industries of the South, and it is just as essential to other industries throughout the country, as well as those in the South and West, that the Tariff Commission should make a study of the effect of present conditions on them. In all fairness, I appeal to the Senator to permit action at this time upon the resolution.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator must see that this resolution is far more important than the resolution he submitted pertaining to wood pulp.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. HARRISON. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, if the proposed investigation by the Tariff Commission should disclose that by reason of Great Britain going off the gold standard she has secured a very great advantage in the matter of trade and commerce, is it intended upon the part of anyone to raise the tariff rates to protect that situation?

Mr. HARRISON. That may be the object of the Senator from Pennsylvania, I may say to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. Unless it is proposed to do that, what would the information be worth to us?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if whoever has the floor will yield to me for a moment——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Mississippi has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. HARRISON. I yield.

Mr. REED. I certainly would advocate such action. If I found that by debasing its currency any country had captured the American market from American workmen and had put its workmen to work supplying American needs while American workmen walked the streets; indeed, I would. France has done it. France has a provision in her tariff law, apparently, which allows her to put on an emergency tariff to last only during the period of the emergency; and when she found that her cotton mills in northern France, in Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Lille were all idle and that the Lancashire mills because of their depreciated wages were able to capture all that French market, she clapped on an emergency tariff, and she has put her people back to work. We can not do it under the terms of our present tariff; but if we find that depreciated currencies have had the effect suggested, I should be in favor of doing it here.

Mr. HARRISON. France clapped on her tariff law after the Senator's party passed the 1930 tariff act.

Mr. REED. French action had nothing whatever to do with the 1930 tariff act. It is perfectly obvious that it had not.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

Mr. HARRISON. I yield to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. I do not desire to debate the matter and delay consideration of the motion of the Senator from Mississippi. I only wondered if it is true that we are going to undertake to meet this situation by increasing tariff rates in this country? I think if we undertake to meet the situation which has developed in England in that way and in no other way, we are only riding to certain disaster.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I ask for a reconsideration of the vote whereby the resolution was adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ordinarily the first motion, where papers have gone out of the possession of the Senate, is to recall the papers, which is not debatable. The question to reconsider, however, is debatable.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I think there is involved here a question of importance relating to our procedure, and that in ruling upon the issue as to whether a motion to recall is required, consideration should be given to the express language of the rule. It is found in Rule XIII, the second subdivision, which reads as follows:

2. When a bill, resolution, report, amendment, order, or message, upon which a vote has been taken, shall have gone out of the possession of the Senate and been communicated to the House of Representatives, the motion to reconsider shall be accompanied by a motion to request the House to return the same; which last motion shall be acted upon immediately, and without debate, and if determined in the negative shall be a final disposition of the motion to reconsider.

I raise the parliamentary issue whether, under the language of the rule, a motion to recall the resolution from the Tariff Commission is essential. The language of the rule is limited expressly to resolutions and other measures passed by the Senate and transmitted to the House of Representatives; the method of recall is limited to measures that have gone to the House. It involves, therefore, a construction of the rule and an extension of its principles by implication to hold that before the Senate can reconsider the vote by which the resolution was passed it must recall the resolution from the Tariff Commission. I invite the attention of the Chair to the language of the rule.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has read the rule. The Chair was going to state that there was no rule with reference to resolutions directed to a department. Of course, it is for the Senate to determine whether or not it will proceed to recall the papers or whether it will first vote on the motion to reconsider.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. If I understand the Chair, I think the effect of his ruling is that a motion to recall in this instance is not prerequisite to a motion to reconsider.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair had not finished his statement. He was going on to state——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I beg the Chair's pardon. I thought he had concluded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The rule in regard to the matter has specific reference only to measures which have gone to the House. There is no rule of the Senate in reference to Senate resolutions calling for information and papers from the different departments or from any commission. It is for the Senate to say whether or not it will consider the two questions together. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. REED. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is the demand for the yeas and nays seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, may the question be stated at length?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi to reconsider the vote whereby Senate Resolution 143 was adopted and that the papers be recalled from the Tariff Commission.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That does not give us any information unless we know to what the resolution relates.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair begs the Senator's pardon. The Secretary will read the resolution.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if the Senate will permit me——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the resolution be read.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 143) submitted by Mr. REED January 19 (calendar day January 18), as follows:

Resolved, That the United States Tariff Commission is directed to make a thorough investigation of the effect of the depreciation in value of foreign currencies since the enactment of the tariff act of 1930 upon the importation into the United States of all of the more important commodities, and the effect of such depreciа-

tion on the general trend of international trade in the same period, and to report to the Senate as soon as practicable the results of such investigation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, just a word, in view of what the Senator from Montana has said. Yesterday when I came into the Chamber the Senator from Pennsylvania had offered his resolution. I was not familiar with it and did not have any chance to read it, but as I caught a few sentences it seemed to me that the resolution was highly improper in the form in which it was couched. I suggested then:

> I have no objection at all to the commission inquiring into the fact that imports are being diminished and exports are being diminished, and I have no objection to their inquiring as to the difference in cost of production abroad and at home; but to commit to this commission the consideration of the effect of exchanges upon production, imports, or exports, it seems to me, is giving to them jurisdiction over a matter with which they are not familiar.

I was unwilling to have them give their opinion upon the whole question of exchanges, and I said:

> I would rather have the opinion—and I would not care much for it, I will say very frankly—of the experts in the Commerce Department or in the Treasury Department or the banking department of the Government, the Comptroller of the Currency, upon the effect of exchanges upon our relations, than the opinion of the Tariff Commission.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I think there might be a serious question as to whether we ought to call upon the Tariff Commission to give its opinion on this important subject. I would not have said anything if it were not for that very fact; so that hereafter, if the question should arise and assume important proportions, I do not want to be bound by any opinion that the Tariff Commission gives on this subject. It may be that they are better qualified than anybody else to render an opinion; but it seems to me, as I think of it now, that there are others in the service of the Government who could give an opinion that probably would be more valuable than the opinion the Tariff Commission is prepared or can be expected to be prepared to give.

I only wanted to make that observation so that if the matter should come up in the future, and we wanted to get information on the same subject from somebody else, we would not be confronted with the fact that we had voted to have the Tariff Commission give the information in this instance.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if Senators will look at page 2229 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—The RECORD of yesterday's proceedings—they will see the language of the resolution which was passed. They will see that it does not call for opinions. They will see, by reference to the debate on it, that a similar resolution dealing with wood products was passed a month ago. They will see that a similar resolution was passed by the Senate after the depreciation of currencies that occurred in such quantity back in 1920 and 1921. They will see that the resolution merely calls for information on the effect on our trade of the depreciation in currencies within the last couple of years.

We have heard a great deal of talk about the necessity of publicity for this or that, the necessity of keeping the public informed about what is going on. Here is something that applies to the daily bread and the welfare of every American, and yet the Senate hesitates to ask for that information. Why? Are we afraid to let America know what is being done to its business by these events abroad? Are we afraid to let the American workman know why the plant at which he works has no orders? Are we afraid to have the fact come out that the tariff on some commodity or other is inadequate? Are we afraid of the publicity—we who have been clamoring for publicity of this and that and the next thing all these years?

I say, Mr. President, that if the Tariff Commission can answer that inquiry—and they seem to be able to, because they have answered prior inquiries of the same sort—then the American people have a right to know that answer, and not have this resolution smothered in some Senate committee.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. If the remarks the Senator has just made have been brought forth by my suggestions, I should like to say to him that I have no objection to anybody writing an opinion or furnishing information on this subject. I simply wanted to put myself and probably others in the Senate in an attitude where no one could say to us, if we voted for additional information from some other quarter on the same subject, that we had foreclosed ourselves. As a matter of fact, I am going to vote against the motion of the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. REED. I knew the Senator would when he realized what the question was.

Mr. NORRIS. I intended to do that all the time, just because I agree with the Senator that we ought not to suppress information, no matter where it comes from. I do not want to cast any reflection upon the ability of any member of the Tariff Commission, but it seemed to me they were not so well equipped to give a judgment on this subject as perhaps other commissions or other officials of our Government.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if the Senator can find anybody else with an equal opportunity to express a valuable opinion, or a better opportunity or better capacity to give us information, I will join with him enthusiastically in asking for that information.

Mr. NORRIS. That is the only purpose of my remarks—to pave the way if any such suggestion is ever offered by anybody.

Mr. REED. I thank the Senator.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the Tariff Commission has experts in every country in the world. They know this subject thoroughly. It is their business to find out the difference in the cost of producing goods in a foreign country and in America. There is no other agency of the Government that is so well fitted or has the information so well in hand as the Tariff Commission, as provided for in the resolution. It seems to me that if this resolution were referred to any other agency of the Government, they would have immediately to call upon the Tariff Commission to give the greater part of the information they would submit to the Senate in answer to the resolution.

I am going to take just a moment to call the attention of Senators to the daily statement of the United States Treasury of January 16, which is on their desks. Look on the second page. What do we find as to the receipts of the fiscal year 1932 as compared with the corresponding period of the fiscal year 1931? Remember, I am speaking now of the fiscal year.

In 1931 there were collected from customs $215,636,995.74 up to January 16 of that fiscal year. In this fiscal year, up to the same date, there have been collected from customs $213,512,999.21—a difference of only $2,000,000. In other words, the goods that have come into the United States up to this date pay within $2,000,000 of the same amount of duty as was paid in the same period in the previous fiscal year, notwithstanding the conditions of trade in all the world, in foreign countries and in America as well.

The fact that Great Britain has depreciated her pound sterling nearly 30 per cent gives her manufacturers that much advantage over the American manufacturer, who still has to pay his employees a dollar that is worth 100 cents. Not only has England that advantage, but all her colonies that have their money on the same basis, and other countries with depreciated currencies have that advantage against the United States, whose dollar now is just exactly the same as it was when the tariff act was passed.

I hope the resolution will be sent to the agency of our Government that is absolutely prepared to answer it very quickly indeed. Suppose the resolution went to the Treasury Department, or suppose it went to the Department of Commerce. They would immediately have to call upon the Tariff Commission for the information. They have not it; and if we want the information, and want it within a

reasonable time, the resolution ought to go just where it has gone, to the Tariff Commission.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, it is perfectly apparent that the issue involved in the motion of the Senator from Mississippi has been involved in confusion; and it is also perfectly apparent that the object underlying the resolution is to initiate a movement for such increases in existing tariff rates as may be found desirable on the part of those who favor high tariff protection to overcome any real or imaginary changes in alleged benefits arising under the existing tariff law due to foreign exchange. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] was entirely correct in the implied assumption in the question he asked the author of the resolution, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

Mr. President, this resolution, at the time it was called before the Senate, could not have been considered except by unanimous consent. A single objection would have carried it over, or would have compelled its author to invoke the judgment of a majority of the Senators as to whether the Senate should proceed to its consideration.

During many years' experience in this body there have been only one or two instances in which a Senator has secured the passage of a resolution at a time when many Senators were absent, at a time when the Senate was proceeding by a unanimous-consent arrangement to deal with unobjected bills on the calendar. The purpose of the motion, as stated by the Senator from Mississippi, is to afford the Finance Committee an opportunity to consider the resolution. The majority in this Chamber have recently introduced and reported from the Committee on Rules an amendment which, if the Senate had acted upon it, would have made impossible the procedure taken by the Senator from Pennsylvania in the passage of this resolution.

Realizing that under the custom that has prevailed here numerous measures of investigation and others have been referred to the Committee on Audit and Control of the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, which committee never considers the merits of a resolution, and passed without the advice of the standing committee to which such resolutions should properly be referred, the Committee on Rules unanimously reported a resolution providing that hereafter measures of the character of this resolution must first be referred to the standing committee of the Senate having jurisdiction of the subject.

In spite of the custom of the Senate giving Senators who may be absent when the body is proceeding as it was yesterday, just before the resolution was taken up, the opportunity to register their views on such resolutions, and in spite of the fact that the majority have initiated a rule which would make impossible the passage of a resolution of this nature without first referring it to a standing committee, the Senator from Pennsylvania has implied that the motion of the Senator from Mississippi is an effort to suppress information, to prevent the Senate from being duly advised touching the subject matter of the resolution. The object of the motion is to take the judgment of a standing committee of the Senate and to afford the privilege of amendment.

In the next place, I challenge with all the power and language at my command the accuracy of the declaration made by the Senator from Pennsylvania that any person with ordinary intelligence reading the resolution will realize that it is a simple resolution calling for information and does not call for an opinion. I invite his attention to his own resolution and express amazement that one so learned in the English language and so skilled in legal interpretation should make such a declaration on this floor. It may be true that his object was to obtain information, but when analyzed it is seen that the language calls for an investigation of facts and the expression of an opinion as to the effect of existing facts on the trade of the United States.

The Tariff Commission is directed to make a thorough investigation of the effect * * * and to report.

If the Tariff Commission were directed to make an investigation of the effect of high tariffs on trade, such direction would involve a conclusion and the expression of an opinion of the commission. When the Senator asks the commission to report "the effect," his request necessarily implies that the commission shall express its conclusion and opinion after making an investigation of facts. The Senator does not call for a report of the facts found by the commission, but it is to report the effect of those facts, which is a conclusion.

In view of the motive underlying the resolution, which I assert is clearly to justify the initiation of higher tariff rates than those now in force, this becomes an important issue. The Senate ought to have the privilege of considering this resolution, and the Senator from Pennsylvania, considering the method by which the resolution was passed, and the circumstances which surrounded its adoption, should not object to the Senate having that opportunity. He ought to say, "Very well; I called this up at a time when few Senators were in the Chamber. I ask unanimous consent for its reconsideration. Any Senator could have objected to its consideration, and now, having obtained the advantage of that procedure, I am willing to give my colleagues an opportunity to express themselves touching this resolution."

This is not a procedure which fortifies the position of the Senator from Pennsylvania. It is not a position which strengthens him in an attitude of justice and fair legislation.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, perhaps we could simplify this. I would be perfectly willing to agree that the matter be reconsidered and reported to the Finance Committee if, coupled with that, were instructions from the Senate to that committee to report the resolution back within a week with such amendments, if any, as the committee saw fit to add.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, if the motion to reconsider shall prevail, the Senator can take his proposition for instructions to his own committee. The Senator and his party colleagues control the Finance Committee. They are in the majority. They perhaps can do what they want to. If the Senator's proposition ought to be reported favorably without any amendment, he and his colleagues can do that. If they want to accept some amendment, they can do it. So the Senator ought not to feel frightened about his own committee's action upon his own resolution.

Mr. REED. I have discovered by past experience that the Senator from Mississippi is so persuasive that he can sometimes, and rather frequently, command the votes of members on our side of the committee. I am just a little bit afraid that if he is not willing to agree that after the valuable amendments he has in mind have been added to my poor resolution, then the resolution may be reported out; it will never again see the light of day.

Mr. HARRISON. Is that the reason why the Senator yesterday took advantage of the situation and passed his resolution without a reference to the committee; that he was afraid of the action of the committee with reference to the resolution?

Mr. REED. Took advantage of the situation? Just before I called the resolution up there had been a quorum call, at which 86 Members of the Senate answered to their names, including the Senator from Mississippi. Just after the resolution was passed some one again asked for a call for a quorum, and 87 Senators answered to their names, including the Senator from Mississippi. Was that taking advantage of a meager attendance in the Senate, when, with all but eight Members of this body, not including one who has not even been sworn in, sitting here in the Senate, it was called up, discussed with various Senators on the Democratic side, and then passed by unanimous consent?

If the Senator is afraid to have this information made public——

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator is not afraid to have the information made public.

Mr. REED. Then will not the Senator agree that the resolution may be reported back in a week?

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator from Mississippi knows pretty well the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Utah. I have not the slightest doubt of this very nice

little political scheme in order to evade some of the abuses they have heaped upon the people through the enactment of the 1930 tariff act. The Senator wants to divert public attention from that situation. But I had expected, in the consideration of the House tariff bill, that you would at least call some people in on the depreciated currencies of various countries to show the depreciated exchanges, and so on. I had suspected that the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Utah would then try to tell the American people that the present depressed condition was due to depreciated currencies in foreign countries. But I did not think the Senator would take this tack.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the Senator from Mississippi has been so fair and candid telling us these secret suspicions he has entertained——

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; and the whole country has them now.

Mr. REED. I would like to reciprocate and tell him of some secret suspicions I have been entertaining. I shall do it only to be equally fair to him as he has been to me.

I suspect that the Senator from Mississippi intends to go on the stump this year and tell the American voter that all of this depression and unemployment is due to President Hoover and the Republicans in Congress.

Mr. HARRISON. No; I will not tell them all of it is, but I will say about 99 per cent of it is. [Laughter.]

Mr. REED. I have no doubt of it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A Senator must not interrupt without asking permission.

Mr. REED. I have the floor, Mr. President. I suspect—and I say it very seriously—that that is the Senator's intention, that the Senator does not want the American people to know that this is a world-wide depression, that there is many a factory standing idle in America to-day because the collapse of the currency in foreign lands has enabled them to produce very cheaply and to capture the American market.

If the American people did know that, it would interfere so dreadfully with these intended speeches which smolder in the brain of the Senator from Mississippi that it would spoil those speeches. The American people should know the hard facts. I do not wonder that the Senator wants to pickle this resolution. I do not wonder that he wants to get it into some committee and kill it.

Mr. HARRISON. It is the Senator's committee.

Mr. REED. It is not my committee.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Utah control the committee.

Mr. REED. Past experience has shown very plainly that the Senator from Mississippi can generally muster a majority for anything he proposes in the committee.

Mr. HARRISON. I hope we can.

Mr. REED. He knows he expects he is going to have a majority for any method of assassination he may decide on to kill this resolution. He does not want the facts to become public.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, on yesterday, upon the passage of the deficiency appropriation bill, there was an understanding between myself and Senators on the other side of the Chamber that the Senate should proceed to the consideration of unobjected bills on the calendar. I was called from the Chamber for a few minutes. Had I been advised that the resolution of the Senator from Pennsylvania was to be brought forward after that understanding was reached, I should, of course, have remained in the Chamber, and by two words could have secured a vote on the motion to refer the resolution to a committee. I should have objected to its immediate consideration.

The Senator from Pennsylvania attempts to justify the hasty passage of the resolution, as I have already said, on the ground that it merely calls for information. I have already pointed out the fact that it calls for a conclusion or an opinion on the part of the Tariff Commission, and I have cited the language in the resolution to establish my assertion.

Now let me point out to the learned Senator from Pennsylvania and to other Senators that the interpretation of the language used in the resolution can justify no other interpretation than that the commission is to look into the facts and then express its opinion from the facts as to their effect upon the trade of the United States. The language is that the Tariff Commission shall inquire into "the effect of the depreciation in value of foreign currencies since the enactment of the tariff act of 1930 upon the importation into the United States of all of the more important commodities and the effect of such depreciation"—listen to this—"on the general trend of international trade in the same period, and to report to the Senate as soon as practicable the results of such investigation."

How can the general trend of international trade be determined except by a conclusion reached from facts investigated? How can it be other than the expression of an opinion when the Tariff Commission makes its report? So that the Senator from Pennsylvania, instead of having vindicated his high standing as an interpreter of the English language, and particularly as an interpreter of language in connection with law, has demonstrated the fact that he has wholly and certainly placed an erroneous construction on his own language, whether through lack of the astuteness he generally displays or through indifference and lack of appreciation of the intelligence of those who hear him.

The fact is that he wishes to bolster up a movement for a higher tariff—and that is the object of the Senator from Utah—by getting the opinion of the Tariff Commission that there is a necessity and a justification growing out of changes in currency in foreign countries for such high tariff legislation.

Mr. President, the question is not what the Senator from Mississippi or the Senator from Pennsylvania shall say during the approaching campaign. Those are questions which those eminent gentlemen must determine for themselves, though God knows what the Senator from Pennsylvania can say when the subject is to be discussed. [Laughter.]

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BINGHAM. I merely want to ask the Senator if he would be willing to have the Tariff Commission directed to study the effect of the depreciation of currencies to determine whether in the manufacture of any article it were necessary to raise or lower the tariff because of the change in the cost of production?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. No; I would have the Tariff Commission investigate whether there has been a change in the cost of production and report to the Congress the extent of that change, and then I would reach my own conclusions. That is the whole theory of the Tariff Commission law.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. GLASS. Of what value would a report of the Tariff Commission be with respect to this matter anyhow? The exchange status at the time of the investigation might be entirely different from the condition at the time of its report or a few days after its report. Exchanges are not standard.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That has been pointed out by the Senator from Mississippi in his original discussion of the subject. The standard or value of exchange is constantly changing. There is in the resolution no fixed standard to enable the Tariff Commission to determine how it shall proceed to a conclusion and to the opinion which the resolution calls upon it to express.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, may I say to the Senator from Pennsylvania that so far as I am concerned, if the motion prevails to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to and if my motion for reference of the resolution to the Committee on Finance is agreed to, I shall not interpose any objection to the committee reporting back to the Senate within a week its findings upon the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. HARRISON. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania still ask for the yeas and nays? Will he not permit reconsideration of the motion?

Mr. REED. In view of the Senator's statement that he would help me have the resolution reported out within a week by the Finance Committee——

Mr. HARRISON. No; I do not commit myself to the Senator's resolution. I say I am perfectly willing for the Finance Committee to take action within a week on the Senator's resolution. Whether it be favorable or unfavorable action is for the committee to determine. Whether there should be any action is for the committee to determine.

Mr. REED. Of course, amendments to the resolution would be subject to the committee's discretion. If the Senator will agree with me that final action shall be taken by the Finance Committee within a week, I am satisfied.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, just a moment. I have no objection to any agreement the amiable Senators from Pennsylvania and Mississippi enter into, but I shall certainly not look with approval upon an arrangement of this character when I think as a matter of right, fairness, and justice the Senate ought to have the opportunity to refer the resolution to one of its standing committees.

For my part, while I would not like to object, I shall very reluctantly consent to the proposed arrangement if the Senator from Mississippi enters into it. I would rather have an expression by the Senate as to whether, under the circumstances by which the passage of the resolution was secured, the position of a majority of the Senate is that we shall have no opportunity to reconsider it. If the Senate takes that attitude, I shall change my practice of absenting myself under special arrangements and agreements and shall remain here constantly to watch proceedings in order that I may see that no advantage is taken of my absence.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I thoroughly agree with the Senator from Arkansas in all that he has said. The Senator from Pennsylvania said I was trying to suppress the matter, and that was the reason for my suggestion that so far as I am concerned I am willing for the committee to take its action, whether favorable or unfavorable, within a week.

Mr. REED. That is all I ask.

Mr. HARRISON. I think we have a perfect right to send the resolution to the committee, and ought to send it to the committee for investigation and consideration.

Mr. REED. I shall interpose no objection to the adoption of the motion of the Senator from Mississippi, with the understanding that he individually will collaborate with me in endeavoring to secure final action by the Finance Committee of one sort or another on the resolution within a week.

Mr. HARRISON. I do not care to bind myself to getting action on the resolution. I say I shall not interpose any objection to action being taken by the Finance Committee within a week. We can take it very soon. Friday morning we will have the tariff bill up for consideration. I think we ought to get it out of the way before we take up this matter, and it ought not to take very long to dispose of the tariff bill.

Mr. REED. Does the Senator really mean that we ought to act on the tariff bill before we get this information—before we even act on the request for it?

Mr. HARRISON. Is it the Senator's object to have us wait until the Tariff Commission makes this investigation into the trend of international business and the effect of all these questions upon our own importations, and hold up consideration of the tariff bill until we get that information?

Mr. REED. Just this moment I have received information that the Tariff Commission is at work on the matter already.

Mr. HARRISON. Then why pass the resolution?

Mr. REED. If we recall the resolution we stop that work, and that is why I would like to have it acted upon promptly. I am surprised that the Senator should expect to act on the tariff bill Friday morning without any information whatever.

Mr. HARRISON. I do not say that. I want quick action on the tariff bill. I thought probably the Senator might favor that particular piece of legislation.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, the resolution provides:

> That the United States Tariff Commission is directed to make a thorough investigation of the effect of the depreciation in value of foreign currencies since the enactment of the tariff act of 1930 upon the importation into the United States of all of the more important commodities and the effect of such depreciation on the general trend of international trade in the same period, and to report to the Senate as soon as practicable the results of such investigation.

If this goes to the committee, as I think it should, I desire to call the attention of the committee to the fact that the resolution as it is now worded would be one-sided, in my opinion, ex parte, worthless, and meaningless unless it also takes into consideration the effect of the deflation of the credit system as operated by the banks in the last three years in the United States resulting in the appreciation of the value of the dollar. The resolution should provide for certain information as to the effect of that appreciation upon increase in the cost of production in the United States. It will not be of much value unless we investigate and get the facts not only concerning the depreciation of foreign currency but also the appreciation of American currency having the opposite effect upon production in the United States. I respectfully call that to the attention of the Finance Committee in order that we may have both sides of the question determined and brought to the attention of Congress.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I merely wish to observe that in view of the present depressed condition of our international trade it seems to me that any discussion or investigation of the subject is very largely academic.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays having been ordered, the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HEBERT (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES]. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

Mr. MOSES (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD]. In his absence I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS]. In his absence I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

Mr. VANDENBERG (when his name was called). On this vote I have a temporary pair with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH]. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LOGAN (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS]. I understand he is absent. Therefore I withdraw my vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TYDINGS (after having voted in the affirmative). Has the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. METCALF] voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That Senator has not voted.

Mr. TYDINGS. Then I am compelled to withdraw my vote. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. METCALF]. If he were present, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea."

Mr. JONES. The senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] is necessarily absent. I am paired with him for the day. Therefore I am compelled to withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

Mr. HATFIELD (after having voted in the negative). Has the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. MORRISON] voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That Senator has not voted.

Mr. HATFIELD. I have a general pair with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. JONES. I understand that I can transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] to the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], which I do, and vote "nay."

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the following general pairs:

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]; and

The Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY].

The result was announced—yeas 43, nays 32, as follows:

YEAS—43

Ashurst	Connally	Harris	Pittman
Bankhead	Coolidge	Harrison	Robinson, Ark.
Black	Copeland	Hayden	Sheppard
Blaine	Costigan	Hull	Shipstead
Borah	Couzens	Kendrick	Smith
Bratton	Dill	King	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Fletcher	La Follette	Trammell
Bulkley	Frazier	Lewis	Wagner
Bulow	George	McGill	Walsh, Mont.
Byrnes	Glass	McKellar	Wheeler
Caraway	Gore	Neely	

NAYS—32

Austin	Fess	Keyes	Schall
Barbour	Glenn	McNary	Smoot
Bingham	Goldsborough	Norbeck	Steiwer
Capper	Hale	Norris	Thomas, Idaho
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Townsend
Cutting	Howell	Oddie	Walcott
Dale	Jones	Patterson	Watson
Dickinson	Kean	Reed	White

NOT VOTING—20

Bailey	Hawes	Morrison	Swanson
Barkley	Hebert	Moses	Tydings
Broussard	Johnson	Robinson, Ind.	Vandenberg
Davis	Logan	Shortridge	Walsh, Mass.
Hatfield	Metcalf	Stephens	Waterman

So Mr. HARRISON's motion to reconsider was agreed to.

Mr. HARRISON. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, on yesterday a Representative, on page 2274 of the RECORD, repeated a false statement that had been made in the newspapers about me. As a matter of fact, I had, on the 15th of January, 1932, as shown on pages 2014 to 2220 of the RECORD, demonstrated the falsity of this newspaper statement. Notwithstanding the facts as set out on pages 2014 to 2220, inclusive, of the RECORD, this Representative chose to repeat the newspaper falsehood. If this Representative is a gentleman, he will apologize. If he is not a gentleman, he will not apologize, but will probably try to repeat the falsehood.

CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS UNDER EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Postmaster General, in response to Senate Resolution 128 (agreed to January 7, 1932), stating "That under the provisions of existing law, construction projects authorized to meet the needs of the Postal Service are estimated for and supervised by the Treasury Department," which was ordered to lie on the table.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate House Joint Memorial No. 4 of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, requesting that a public hearing be granted by the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on House bills numbered 317 and 366, upon the subject of copper, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

(See joint memorial printed in full when presented on the 18th instant by Mr. ASHURST, pp. 2126–2127, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a memorial signed by E. B. Danielson, manager of the Main Street Theater, Russell, Kans., remonstrating against the placing of an admission tax on theater tickets sold at less than 60 cents, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram signed by Ben V. Lamborn, president of the Hutchinson (Kans.) Real Estate Board, indorsing in principle House bill 5090, relative to a home loan discount bank act, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Indiana George Washington Bicentenary Commission, requesting the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission to concentrate all its efforts on the distribution of the literature publicly promised, even if other features of its plans must be abandoned, which were referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also laid before the Senate a letter embodying a petition from R. D. Foster, of Aurora, Mo., praying for the issuance of Government bonds in small denominations, like currency, without interest, in connection with financing public works, making such bonds receivable for all debts, public and private, and to be retired from circulation at the will of Congress, except that 5 per cent of such bonds shall be retired each year until the issue has been withdrawn, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Englewood First Methodist Episcopal Church, of Chicago, Ill., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, to be ratified by State conventions, etc., and favoring the making of adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education and law observance, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana presented the petition of Rev. Albert Holcomb, pastor of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and sundry other citizens of Leisure, Ind., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. HALE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Jonesport, Farmington, Phillips, Livermore Falls, South Portland, Bangor, Rangeley, Garland, East Corinth, Temple, and Mars Hill, all in the State of Maine, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BARBOUR presented resolutions adopted by the Long Beach Real Estate Board, of Beach Haven, N. J., opposing the imposition of additional taxes on real estate and favoring the legalization of light wines and beer and the immediate repeal of the Volstead Act, etc., which were referred to the Committee on Manufactures.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts presented a letter in the nature of a petition from Local Union No. 186, Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, of Worcester, Mass., praying for the passage of legislation for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of South Lancaster, Mass., remonstrating against the passage of legislation for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other compulsory Sunday-observance legislation, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. COPELAND presented petitions numerously signed by sundry citizens of Arkport and Circleville, N. Y., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TARIFF ON SHINGLES

Mr. JONES. I send to the clerk's desk a telegram and ask unanimous consent that it may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

KELSO, WASH., *January 19, 1932.*

Senator WESLEY L. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

The last shingle-mill pay roll in Kelso has closed down and is on the verge of moving to British Columbia on account of no tariff on Canadian shingles; and as a committee representing

Kelso Chamber of Commerce, we demand that some action be taken at once to protect this very important industry of the Northwest. We appreciate friendly letters and realize the opposition by nonproducing lumber sections, however small. Industries in the East receive the protection of the whole United States while the shingle industry of the Northwest gets nothing; and as voters of your constituency we demand definite and immediate legislation which is absolutely necessary to save this industry for the Northwest.

COMMITTEE KELSO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I ask that the telegram be referred to the Committee on Finance, but let me, in connection with it, for the RECORD, remind the chamber of commerce at Kelso that tariff legislation must originate in the House of Representatives, and unless some bill changing the tariff rates comes over to the Senate no action can be taken.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the telegram will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

LOANS TO CITIES UNDER RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION BILL

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I beg to tender a telegram from the mayor of Chicago, quoting a message received by him from the mayor of Boston, and ask that it go through the regular course and be printed in the RECORD. It deals with the important matter of providing aid for cities under the Finance Corporation bill.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *January 18, 1932.*

Hon. JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

I am in receipt of the following telegram from Mayor Curley, of Boston:

"Passage of the reconstruction bill without the inclusion of provision for loans to municipalities of the United States or the rediscountability of the same by the Federal reserve will result in greater hardship to the people of America than that which took place as a consequence of the closing of banks. Indications are, in New England at least, that banking institutions will refuse in many cases to make loans to municipalities in anticipation of taxes. The investment agencies that have purchased these short-time loans in anticipation of taxes in the past are not in a position to do so at the present time, and the banks are the only possible source for securing this money, which is necessary for the conduct of the activities of every American municipality. Relief for the municipalities is possible provided there is a provision in the reconstruction loan which will permit of the corporation making loans to municipalities in anticipation of taxes. The injurious effects resulting from the closing of financial institutions in America can in no wise be compared with the tremendous injury that will result in the event that provision is not made for the safeguarding of the municipalities of America. As a rule taxes are levied for collection in the fall of the year, generally about October 1, and short-time loans are necessary between January 1 and October 1 to conduct municipal departments until taxes are paid in the fall of the year. The security pledged against these loans represents the entire assets of each municipality and is the highest type of security possible. Failure to provide the measure of protection necessary means added hardship in every section of America and a prolongation of the depression. The adoption of the amendment as here presented is vital, since a suspension of health, police, and fire protection and abandonment of welfare work and educational activities would be disastrous. I have memorialized the United States Senate and leaders in Congress, including the House Committee on Appropriations and Speaker GARNER, in behalf of the municipalities of America. If in your judgment the facts as set forth in the telegram which I have sent appeal to you, I trust you will do likewise."

A. J. CERMAK, *Mayor.*

AID TO CITIES UNDER THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION BILL

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. I have received several telegrams and a letter from mayors of cities in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts requesting that the borrowing privilege be extended to municipalities through the corporation about to be set up under the reconstruction finance corporation measure. I ask that the telegrams and letter may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WESTFIELD, MASS., *January 18, 1932.*

DAVID I. WALSH,
Washington, D. C.:

Include in reconstruction bill, if possible, a provision for loans to municipalities.

RAYMOND H. COWING,
Mayor of Westfield.

WALTHAM, MASS., *January 18, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Kindly give special scrutiny to reconstruction bill. Should it not include provision for loans to municipality.

PATRICK J. DUANE,
Mayor of Waltham.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS., *January 18, 1932.*

Senator DAVID I. WALSH,
Washington, D. C.:

Strongly indorse Mayor Curley's recommendations regarding reconstruction bill for cities.

CHARLES S. ASHLEY, *Mayor.*

EVERETT, MASS., *January 18, 1932.*

DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Mounting expenses for assisting the unemployed throughout the country make it imperative that municipalities obtain relief. Reconstruction bill should include extension of credit to municipalities; otherwise dire consequences may result. Banks refuse to make customary loan in anticipation of taxes because of their own situation, resulting virtually in bankruptcy for many, many Massachusetts cities and towns. Heartily commend your stand in the Senate Monday morning in furtherance of such legislation.

MICHAEL C. O'NEIL,
Mayor of Everett.

GARDNER, MASS., *January 19, 1932.*

DAVID I. WALSH,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Passage of reconstruction bill without provision for loans to municipalities is but a futile gesture. Most cities of this State have excellent credit, but can not borrow cash in anticipation of tax receipts to pay workingmen. Banks have plenty of cash but no courage. Reconstruction bill should advance courage to banks and cash to municipalities.

GEORGE E. SWEENEY,
Mayor of Gardner.

SALEM, MASS., *January 19, 1932.*

Senator DAVID I. WALSH,
Washington, D. C.:

Situation facing Massachusetts cities and towns very critical. Unable to borrow money in anticipation of taxes, no matter how good financial condition they are in. Some relief must be devised, otherwise public employees will be unable to secure their wages for possibly months if condition continues. It has been suggested by leading bankers here that provisions should be inserted in reconstruction bill permitting cities to borrow money in anticipation of taxes. I am sure you must realize how far-reaching this thing will be if employees are unable to meet their obligations if pay roll for them is not available. Please give this your most serious attention.

GEORGE J. BATES,
Mayor of Salem,
President of Mayors Club of Massachusetts.

NORTH ADAMS, MASS., *January 19, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
Senator:

I believe the reconstruction bill should carry a clause authorizing municipalities to make loans. Trust you will do all possible to protect our interests.

WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Mayor.*

GLOUCESTER, MASS., *January 19, 1932.*

Senator DAVID I. WALSH:

Believe that it is of paramount importance to our cities and our people that Mayor Curley's proposal of aiding them through an added provision to the Federal reconstruction bill be adopted.

JOHN E. PARKER, *Mayor.*

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
City of Quincy, Mass., January 18, 1932.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In the pending reconstruction bill no provision is made for financial aid to cities. At present we are all finding it difficult to finance our tax anticipation notes, and if congressional aid is not given many cities will be entirely destitute of funds to carry on until taxes are due.

Under present conditions the few cities which have negotiated these loans have been compelled to pay an excessive rate of interest.

If Congress will include municipalities within its provisions we will be allowed to float these loans at a fair interest rate, more particularly so if tax liens are treated as negotiable issues.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. MCGRATH.

CONDITIONS IN HAWAII

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I have a letter in the nature of a petition from a veterans' organization in my

State. It relates to a matter of great moment at the present time. I ask that it may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

NORTH CASTLE VETERANS' CLUB,
TOWNSHIP OF NORTH CASTLE,
Westchester County, N. Y., January 14, 1932.

HON. ROYAL S. COPELAND,
United States Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It was unanimously resolved, and so voted, by the North Castle Veterans' Club, at a regular meeting held last evening, that you, in the capacity of this district's United States Senator, be informed of the club's attitude, namely: That conditions in Hawaii such as countenance and allow affairs similar to the present Massie case are deplorable and disgraceful, and that you be asked to exert all possible influence in correcting them, and also to do all in your power toward securing fair and honest treatment of the principals in the said Massie case.

For the North Castle Veterans' Club:

ARTHUR E. HENDRY, *Adjutant.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The communication presented by the Senator from New York will be referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President——

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me to present something further in connection with the Hawaiian case?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. BINGHAM. I merely wish to say to the Senator that I am about to introduce a joint resolution which would give the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii the power to appoint prosecuting officers and dismiss them if they did not properly perform their duties. I think it may be necessary to pass such a measure in order to correct the situation growing out of prosecuting officers being elected by the people. I shall introduce the joint resolution when that order is reached.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, I am in favor of any measure which will afford some hope of clearing up conditions in Hawaii. The people of my State are agitated over the situation there, and are anxious that it should be remedied.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, before we leave this particular matter, will the Senator from New York yield to me just to make a very short statement?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield for that purpose?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, the newspapers stated a few days ago that the Republican administration, through four members of the Cabinet and through the majority of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, have shelved or squelched—"squashed," some people might say—my resolution to investigate the conditions of law enforcement in Honolulu and have themselves taken over exclusively the job of settling that burning question. For the present I will say to the Senator from New York and to the Senate that I am content to leave it in their hands. Frankly, contented or not, I do not think I could now take it out of their hands, as there seems to be a desire upon their part to squelch my resolution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield to me before we leave this subject?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the statement just made by the Senator from Tennessee is wholly without justification in any manner or form. The majority of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs is just as keenly and uncompromisingly concerned as is the Senator from Tennessee in getting all the facts and evidence that can possibly bear upon an adequate correction of the tragic situation that has been disclosed. I would not yield to him a single inch in my sharing of his desire to clean up the lamentable conditions in Honolulu. The job must be thorough, sweeping, fearless, and effectual. But, Mr. President, it is represented to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs that the Department of Justice, acting under prior order of the Senate, is proceeding with all the great forces of the Federal Government to Hawaii for the purpose of doing the precise thing the Senator from Tennessee and I both want done, and which this pending resolution would simply duplicate.

The Senate on yesterday promptly adopted an amendment to the deficiency bill appropriating $15,000 to finance that particular inquiry. I voted for it. So did every other Senator. We were advised in our committee meeting that this inquiry will be pressed not only by a prominent and dependable and highly efficient Assistant Attorney General of the United States, who already is on his way to Honolulu, but also by investigators from the Bureau of Investigation and by other capable, competent, earnest, and dependable men, who, like the Senator from Tennessee and myself, are eager to get at the realities and who likewise are on their way to Hawaii. I can assure him that if he has the remotest idea that those of us who are temporarily awaiting the first report from these experienced investigators before launching a duplicating Senate investigation have any thought in our minds of squelching or squashing or whatever the rest of the verbs were that the Senator reiterated here——

Mr. McKELLAR. "Shelving."

Mr. VANDENBERG. "Shelving" the investigation, he is wholly mistaken. We would shelve nothing. We would facilitate the speediest possible results by concentrating the probe in competent hands and avoiding the confusion of rival investigations.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, if the Senator from New York will yield to me——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to know the Senator from Michigan takes that position. I hope he will persist in it, but the Senator knows that four members of the President's Cabinet were called before his committee. The Senator is a member of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, is he not?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Michigan is a member of that committee.

Mr. McKELLAR. And that it was stated by the newspapers—and I am merely quoting their statements; I can not vouch for them, although I suppose they are accurate—that the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs had concluded to let one of the members of the Cabinet make the investigation and that further proceedings on behalf of the Senate investigation had been postponed. I am glad to hear the Senator say that the resolution has not been postponed indefinitely. I do not know what kind of a report we are going to get from the investigation now proceeding; I hope that it will not be a whitewashing report; but if it shall be, I am quite sure the Senator from Michigan, with the vim and energy and ability of a Young Turk, will certainly bring out something, so that these very trying conditions, these very shameful conditions in the Hawaiian Islands, may be developed and means may be taken to correct them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator from New York will permit a further word——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Lest the latest observations of the Senator from Tennessee might be construed as a criticism of the attitude of the four Cabinet members to whom he referred, I say to him in final comment that they have fully demonstrated that they share with him all possible zeal and anxiety to get at the same facts that he wants disclosed and to make the same reforms for which he prays.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I again say, with the permission of the Senator from New York——

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to hear the Senator say so. Even though the zeal is somewhat belated, I am glad to hear that it exists.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I had not expected that there would be such a display of fireworks following the

petition which I presented, but I am glad of the discussion. I feel that we should go forward as rapidly as we can in this matter.

I am glad to be told, as we have been this morning, that the matter is in competent hands; but certainly so far as the people of the Nation are concerned I am confident that they are looking to Congress to take some effective action in connection with this outrageous state of affairs in Hawaii.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes.

Mr. HARRIS. What I did not like about Governor Judd was the fact—which I developed in the hearing before the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, of which I am a member—that he did not mention to them or any members of the Senate committee any apprehension as to conditions existing in Hawaii. I asked the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Postmaster General, who appeared before our committee last Monday, if Governor Judd on his recent visit here had expressed to them any alarm as to the deplorable conditions there, and they replied that Governor Judd did not mention to any of the members of the committee with whom he conferred anything about the alarming conditions existing there. On the other hand, Admiral Pratt said that he was there with his fleet a year before and knowing conditions that existed then that he would not have been surprised at any time of serious trouble taking place. It developed that Governor Judd, while here recently, urged the Navy Department to send a fleet there so the people of Honolulu would benefit by the money the sailors spent, but he made no mention of any likelihood of trouble. In this connection let me say that those people are helpless in selecting governors, and it is all the more important that we select our best men to fill that position.

In the case of the Governor of Porto Rico who preceded Col. Theodore Roosevelt, members of the committee failed in their duty when we did not bring to the attention of the Senate conditions existing in Porto Rico under the predecessor of Colonel Roosevelt. His predecessor was a splendid man who had served well and faithfully in Congress and other positions of trust but was too old and infirm to hold down a position of such responsibility.

I was glad to see Colonel Roosevelt appointed Governor of the Philippine Islands. He made a splendid record as Governor of Porto Rico. The people of my State are proud of all the Roosevelts. We are proud of the former President. His mother was born in our State, a member of the distinguished Bulloch family. We are proud of the Governor of New York, the other Roosevelt. I think the people of this country ought and will elect him President. I think he would make just as good a one as his cousin.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me merely to observe that the Governor of Hawaii was aware of the situation, as is shown by the fact that two years ago he appointed a crime commission to study the situation in Honolulu? This crime commission made recommendations for changing the laws, which were submitted to the last session of the legislature, and the governor was unable to secure the passage of the necessary legislation.

The legislature to-day is in session; and I hope very much that the governor's views will prevail, and that the requisite legislation will be passed. If it is not, I am sure the Congress will see to it that the organic act is changed accordingly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I merely wish to make a brief statement concerning the joint resolution which the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM] is about to introduce. It provides for disfranchising the people of Hawaii so far as the election of their prosecuting officers is concerned. I personally would resist any such change in the organic law. I would not, however, resist incorporation in the organic law a provision which is contained in most of the State statutes providing that the governor may remove prosecuting or other law-enforcing officers upon showing cause for such action.

CONVICT-MADE GOODS

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, there has been a good deal of discussion lately about goods being admitted into this country in violation of the convict labor law. I have had occasion to take the matter up with the Commissioner of Customs and inquire from him whether or not existing laws were sufficient to remove from importation this particular class of goods. He replies as follows:

It is considered appropriate to state that so far as convict-made goods are concerned, section 307 of the tariff act could hardly be made more stringent, because it absolutely prohibits the importation of merchandise affected by this class of labor. Any difficulties in the way of promptly and strictly enforcing the prohibition against the importation of convict-made goods is due solely to the difficulty in some cases of ascertaining the facts.

I ask that this letter, which is explanatory of the department's attitude, be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF CUSTOMS,
Washington, January 9, 1932.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated December 8, 1931, inclosing a letter from the Cundy-Bettoney Co. dated December 4, 1931, regarding the use of convict labor in connection with the manufacture of clarinets and other musical instruments in France.

An investigation of the complaint of the Cundy-Bettoney Co. has disclosed that convict labor is used in connection with the manufacture of clarinet parts at Poissy, France, and that some of these parts are used in connection with the manufacture of clarinets at La Couture-Boussey, France.

In view of the above, the department has issued a finding in accordance with the facts developed, and in the future clarinets originating in La Couture-Boussey and clarinet parts originating in Poissy will be subject to the regulations contained in Treasury Decision No. 45357.

Copies of Treasury Decision No. 45357 and the finding above mentioned are inclosed for your information.

In reply to your invitation to furnish suggestions as to the advisability of changing the present law in order to further restrict importations of convict-made goods, you are informed that inasmuch as it is believed that this matter is one solely for the consideration of Congress, it has been the policy of the bureau to refrain from stating any views on this subject. In this particular instance, however, it is considered appropriate to state that so far as convict-made goods are concerned, section 307 of the tariff act could hardly be made more stringent, because it absolutely prohibits the importation of merchandise affected by this class of labor. Any difficulties in the way of promptly and strictly enforcing the prohibition against the importation of convict-made goods is due solely to the difficulty in some cases of ascertaining the facts.

The inclosure of your letter is returned.

Very truly yours,

F. X. A. EBLE,
Commissioner of Customs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. HASTINGS, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 2199) exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 120) thereon.

Mr. McNARY, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to which was referred the bill (S. 1234) to authorize an emergency appropriation for special study of and demonstration work in rural sanitation, reported it with amendments.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana, from the Committee on Pensions, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6596) granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 121) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with an amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 209. An act granting an increase of pension to Mary Willoughby Osterhaus (Rept. No. 122); and

S. 1207. An act granting an increase of pension to Helen K. Snowden (Rept. No. 123).

Mr. KING, from the Committee on Immigration, to which was referred the bill (S. 2656) to exempt from the quota husbands of American citizens, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 124) thereon.

REPORT ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury inclosing certain papers useless in character. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] and I were appointed a committee on the disposition of such papers. They are of no further use, and I ask that the Senate authorize their destruction.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

Mr. WATERMAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that to-day, January 20, 1932, that committee presented to the President of the United States the enrolled joint resolution (S. J. Res. 79) to provide an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in a general disarmament conference to be held in Geneva in 1932.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

Mr. BORAH, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably the following convention and treaty, which were placed on the Executive Calendar:

Executive GG, Seventieth Congress, second session, a convention regarding consular agents of American States, adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States which assembled at Habana, Cuba, January 16 to February 20, 1928; and

Executive KK, Seventieth Congress, second session, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights with Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington February 25, 1929.

BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. STEIWER:

A bill (S. 3150) relating to the rate of interest on loans to veterans under the World War adjusted compensation act, as amended; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. FESS:

A bill (S. 3151) to authorize reinstatement of war-risk insurance of John D. Deardourff, deceased; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

A bill (S. 3152) for the relief of John B. McGovern; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WATERMAN:

A bill (S. 3153) for the relief of the International Trust Co., of Denver, Colo.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ODDIE:

A bill (S. 3154) authorizing the conveyance of certain lands to the city of Fallon, Nev.; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

A bill (S. 3155) to amend paragraph (4) of section 15 of the interstate commerce act, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 3156) for the relief of Emory Leonard Downey; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 3157) granting a pension to Mary Schlining (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 3158) granting an increase of pension to Joanna A. Small (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KEAN:

A bill (S. 3159) granting a pension to Florence L. Bright;

A bill (S. 3160) granting a pension to Joanna Douglass; and

A bill (S. 3161) granting a pension to Amanda Loper; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALCOTT:

A bill (S. 3162) granting a pension to Elmira D. Briggs (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 3163) granting a pension to Cora L. H. Duntz (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 3164) granting a pension to Ida D. Fletcher (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3165) granting a pension to Emma J. Hayward (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3166) for the relief of Hugh Flaherty; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

A bill (S. 3167) for the relief of M. M. Twichel; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana:

A bill (S. 3168) to correct the military record of George F. Freeman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GLENN:

A bill (S. 3169) granting an increase of pension to George Bauman (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HATFIELD:

A bill (S. 3170) for the relief of George E. Kirk, alias George R. Keener; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3171) to authorize the disposition of the naval ordnance plant, South Charleston, W. Va., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 3172) for the relief of Dr. Thomas J. W. Brown (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 3173) authorizing the President to class as secret or confidential certain material, apparatus, or equipment for military or naval use; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 85) authorizing the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii to appoint prosecuting officers in said Territory, except United States attorney, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Mr. JONES. On January 5 I introduced, by request, the bill (S. 2657) to secure to unemployed American citizens the right to work advantageously for themselves in the production and mutual exchange of food, shelter, clothing, and commodities. The bill was referred to the Committee on Finance. The author of the bill would like to have it referred to the Committee on Manufactures, so I ask that the Committee on Finance may be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it may be referred to the Committee on Manufactures.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The change of reference will be made.

PROPOSED REFERENDUM ON THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I submit a resolution and ask that it may go over, under the rule, in the regular order.

The resolution (S. Res. 144) was ordered to lie over under the rule, as follows:

Whereas several States have already taken appropriate action for the purpose of obtaining a referendum of their people upon the prohibition question; and

Whereas several periodicals and newspapers in the United States have conducted so-called "polls" on the prohibition question, the importance of which polls it is difficult to estimate: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate would welcome any action that the governors of the several States might take in recommending to their respective legislatures that such action be taken by the State as may be necessary to obtain the opinion of the people of the State with respect to (1) the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment, and (2) the repeal or modification of the national prohibition act (commonly known as the Volstead Act).

Resolved further, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the governor and to the legislature of each of the several States.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

ADDRESS BY FORMER SENATOR REED

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, in regular RECORD type, a speech delivered by a former distinguished Member of this body, Hon. James A. Reed, of Missouri, at the Jackson Day banquet, Springfield, Mo., January 8, 1932.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I understand the Senator to ask that the address be printed in regular RECORD type.

Mr. GORE. Yes.

Mr. SMOOT. That is against the rules.

Mr. GORE. Then I modify the request and ask that the address may be printed in the usual manner.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the address will be printed in the RECORD.

The address is as follows:

I come here to-night to appeal for a return to sanity in government.

For years, with ever-increasing speed, we have traveled the road of experimentation. There is scarcely a political nostrum ever conceived in the befuddled brain of man which has not been by some legislative assembly forced down the throat of the American people.

So far have we traveled along this crooked and uncertain path that we are lost in the fogs of speculation and the nebulæ of dangerous theories. The original objects of our Government have been forgotten and the landmarks of history lost to sight.

I am asking you to consider old fundamentals. And I am soliciting a return to those sound and sane precepts upon which the Republic was founded.

THE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT

The sole purpose of free government is to insure the liberty of the citizen. To that end it is necessary that he shall be guaranteed in his right to live, to enjoy the fruit of his labor, to pass freely along the highways of commerce—in a word, to be secure in his property, person, and effects.

Not in derogation but in support of these objects, government may legitimately establish regulations and set up machinery to improve highways, promote education, and to provide for the common defense.

Going beyond these boundaries, government of a republic invariably begins to impinge upon natural rights, and thereby undermines the very purposes for which it was established.

It must be manifest that such a government as I have defined must be expressive of the practically uniform desire of its citizenry.

Our Government was founded upon a civilization which antedated it and was intended to preserve that civilization.

In substance and effect, it is the agreement of a whole people upon the rules under which they shall live. Such rules, to be effective, must reflect more than the opinion of a majority.

They must embody the expressions of all people who sincerely desire to promote the general good. It must be universally recognized that its laws are founded on justice and wisdom. In a broad sense, government in a republic is universal public desire crystallized into law.

GOOD LAWS ARE SELF-ENFORCING

Such laws are almost self-enforcing. They are readily observed because the overwhelming mass desire to observe them. Their occasional violation insures almost universal resentment against the offender, and an equally universal demand for his restraint or punishment.

This is true because such an offender against the laws is in fact a violator of some right which the universal citizen regards as sacred to himself.

If murder is committed, all men recognize that their right to live is menaced; if theft, that the right to hold property is imperiled; if robbery, that safety to person and property is endangered.

Thus we may proceed through all the graver crimes which, for want of a better term, are described as malum in se (wrong in themselves).

But when government abandons that field and embarks upon the ocean of regulation, it substitutes for the right of the citizen to control his own life and guide his own conduct the ipse dixit of some legislative body, which seeks to put the public in leading strings, and control its thoughts, its acts, and its destiny.

For many years we adhered to the former of these doctrines. Our laws were simple and direct. Their prohibitions were aimed against acts universally abhorred. Their enforcement was easy because supported by the universal conscience of all decent people. We have departed from that path, and government is to-day sailing the uncharted seas of regulation and experimentation.

We have set up the theory that if by hook or crook, by fairness or by fraud, a law can be once placed upon the statute books that thereby a public benefit has been conferred and that the law will be obeyed.

GOVERNMENT GOES FAR AFIELD

Government has embarked in business; has sought to regulate and control markets; has abandoned the office of protector of rights, and has assumed the prerogative of director general of the energies and lives of millions of people.

We speak of these acts as the acts of the Government. We fail to recognize that these laws are enacted by a very minute majority of the people who happen to temporarily hold public office, and that it often happens that they are passed by such a body by a majority of one or two votes.

Accordingly, we have drifted from a Government engaged in protecting the rights of the people into a Government based upon the fallacy of ancient despots that governments should be paternalistic—a fallacy which in turn is based upon the idea that the masses are incapable of governing their own lives and conduct, which, in turn, is a denial of every principle of the Declaration of Independence and every doctrine upon which our Government was founded.

A RECORD OF FAILURES

Without exception, these departures have been the forerunner of disaster.

We have set up boards and bureaus, interfered in every line of human endeavor. Their story is one of failure and of industrial carnage.

I can not pause to do more than illustrate my theme. Let me give a few glaring examples. Although this Government was established merely for the purpose of protecting the citizen in his natural right to property, and his corresponding right to buy and sell wheresoever he saw fit, the theory was advanced that manufacturing could be promoted by denying to the citizen the right to purchase in the open markets of the world, thus compelling him to purchase from the favored class engaged in running factories.

It was declared that in a short time the infant manufacturer of America would become so prosperous that he would give lower prices to the American citizen than he had theretofore obtained, and that he would become a competitor in the markets of the world and thus furnish labor to an army of American citizens.

From this law two results followed. The manufacturers not only raised their prices to all American consumers, but they combined amongst themselves so as to extort the last possible dollar from a helpless population. At the same time, all of the people not engaged in the favored industry found themselves the helpless victims of this law. It has remained upon the statute books for almost three-quarters of a century.

BANKRUPTING THE FARMER

During that long period of time the farmers of the United States were compelled, as they are still compelled, to sell their surplus products upon the open market of the world.

The law, therefore, compelled them to buy that which they needed in a market artificially raised by law and combination and to sell in a low market regulated by competition.

The gap between these two levels of prices was the gap of bankruptcy through which the American farmer has been driven for three-quarters of a century; and is, in fact, the great basic reason for the present agricultural distress.

From time to time the greed of the manufacturing class has insisted upon increasing the tolls levied upon our people. Each succeeding tariff law has been buttressed by the same false arguments and the same alluring promises, but in each case the high level in which the American farmer and the American citizen generally must purchase has been preserved or elevated, while all producers shipping abroad have correspondingly suffered.

Let it be noted now that this action of our Government was a departure from the principle that government was created to protect man in his natural rights and not for the purpose of promoting the special rights or interests of any class of citizens.

THE FARM-BOARD FIASCO

Since I am upon this theme let me follow it to recent times. Forced to recognize that the farmers of the country were being impoverished, but unwilling to relax the corporate strangle hold upon the Nation, these same philosophers came forward with the proposition to enact a tariff for the protection of the farmer; but these laws were almost entirely abortive because the farmer was an exporter, not an importer.

The years ran by and finally the proposition was brought forward to promote the welfare of the farmer by invading the Federal Treasury for his benefit. Five hundred million dollars was set aside and a board created to stabilize and advance the price of farm products. A board of 10 or 15 men was thus authorized to arbitrarily raise or depress the price of products raised upon all American farms. They were to substitute their will and their judgment for the natural right of the citizen to manage his own business and control his own affairs.

They entered the market; they poured out hundreds of millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money; they accumulated vast holdings in cotton and in wheat, with the inevitable result that they broke the price not only in America but in the world on every variety of product upon the American farm. They created great surpluses which were a menace to the market—no prudent man dare buy freely—resulting in a general paralysis in the markets for farm products.

Wheat has sold at a lower price than at any time within 450 years; hogs have been lower than at any time within 50 years; cotton has struck a level so low that it does not pay for the picking of the complete crop.

The whole farcical business is illustrated by the fact that the man who is at its head has declared that droughts are a blessing and has advocated the plowing up of a part of the acreage of cotton already planted in the fields.

THE NOSE IN EVERY KITCHEN

We have set up boards and bureaus to interfere in almost every activity of life. They are spending the taxpayers' money to teach women how to raise their babies, although every town has its hospitals and its corps of skilled physicians. We are directing them as to the best style of jumpers with which to clothe their children. We are telling housewives, who know more about cooking than the Agricultural Department knows about anything, how to put up preserves and pickles. The Government has its nose in every kitchen and its finger in every enterprise.

As a result, taxes have multiplied and an innumerable swarm of Governmental agents infest the land.

We have undertaken to invade the business of the States upon the assumption that the States can not properly control their own affairs. If that be true, then the people of the States are incapable of self-government; and if the people of the States are incapable of self-government, then the people of the United States are necessarily incapable; and if that be true, then the whole theory of our Government is false and we should never have quit the beneficence of British rule.

We were forced into a foreign war which a greater appreciance, employed at the right time, might have avoided; but we entered that war in defense of American rights. No sooner were our soldiers in the field than the doctrine was announced that it was the business of America to make the world safe for democracy. Again that was an abandonment of ancient and sound principles.

OUR FALLACIOUS FOREIGN POLICY

It was not our business to make the world safe for democracy or safe for despotism or safe for Bolshevistic forms of government. It was our sole business to make America safe.

The world did not want to be made safe for democracy. England did not desire a democracy such as we have. France preferred her own particular kind of government. China, with her 400,000,000 people, wanted to live her own life and set up her own form of government. The very countries we helped create, for the most part, established kingdoms. What they will be in a few years God knows. Russia preferred to be a Bolshevik Government. We were undertaking a task beyond our legitimate boundaries and doomed to certain failure.

Proceeding upon the false hypothesis referred to, we were told that it was our business to join in an organization to keep permanent control of the nations of the world and, in doing so, to surrender or imperil our own sovereignty. Following that we were told that it was our duty to relieve European nations of $22,000,000,000 of debts they owed to the American Government, which it, in turn, owed to the citizens of America. We were informed that European governments were poor and could not afford to pay.

THE WAR-DEBT DEBACLE

First and last, without any right whatsoever, except the right of power, the American Congress and administration canceled $12,000,000,000 of that indebtedness. That is to say, they canceled the obligations of foreign nations to us, but they did not and could not cancel the obligations of our Government to pay the stupendous sum referred to.

This iniquitous and infamous measure was jammed through Congress without ever having it in any form submitted to the American people. It was pretended that these foreign governments could not pay; yet France to-day holds nearly one-half of all the gold of the world—like a great financial giant towers over the economic destiny of Europe. Italy, relieved of nearly 80 per cent of her obligations, maintains a vast standing army, builds and equips a powerful navy, and marches with iron heels over the bodies of a conquered population.

And now, with a deficit in our own Treasury of a billion and a half dollars, we find Congress truculently and ignominiously yielding to the demands of our President-international, that the United States shall, for the year at least, assume the liability of Germany to France and England to the tune of $270,000,000, and that that burden shall be cast upon the shoulders of the American taxpayer.

But the end is not yet. The movement is well under way to cancel all foreign indebtedness and to fasten permanently upon our people a debt incurred by France, England, Germany, and Italy to the United States, for the payment of which we hold their solemn written pledges.

All of this results from a departure from the fundamental precepts of our Government; namely, the United States should preserve her integrity, protect her coasts and attend to her own business and let the world attend to its business.

But the story does not yet end. As I have stated, they tried to drag us into the League of Nations. They are still determined and fixed in their purpose to make us responsible, not for our own lives, not for our own citizenship, not for our own conduct, but for the conduct of other nations of the world. They undertook, when they formed the League of Nations, to set up a supergovernment for the world. They proclaimed that it meant peace on earth and good will to men forever and a day. The world has been filled with war and turmoil.

MISDEEDS OF THE LEAGUE

The farcical nature of the experiment is well illustrated in two things: In the purely political decision rendered by the so-called World Court, in which four or five petty nations, controlled by political considerations, voted with France and denied to Germany and Austria the plainest of national rights—namely, privilege of making treaties of trade and commerce between themselves.

The second incident is shown in the fact that little Japan defied all the powers of the league, and that the league did not dare raise a finger while Japan wrested from China—which had relied upon the protection of the league—the vast Province of Manchuria. Japan is there and Japan will stay there until and unless the brown hosts of China awaken from their century-old lethargy and drive the Japanese back into their island possessions.

Again they came to us with honeyed words and proposed the reduction of navies. At that time we were engaged in building ships which, if completed, would have given us the mastery of the ocean. We entered into a treaty so drawn that at the end England, France, and Japan were able to strengthen their navies, so that to-day the United States is probably a third-rate naval power.

OUR LOST PRESTIGE

All these foolish acts have taken place in defiance of the ancient doctrines of our Government. They have involved us in critical and dangerous situations. They have cost us incalculable sums of money, and at the end America stands in the world with scarce a friend, and with less prestige and less honor than before the first gallant son of America laid down his life upon the soil of France.

Referring again to domestic matters, we have sought to regulate business and brought disaster; we have sought to usurp the powers of the several States and brought chaos. Our Federal courts have been reduced almost to the level of police tribunals.

We have stretched the Constitution to the breaking point at a score of places. We are undertaking to have the Federal Government and the State governments interfere generally with the life and habits of the people.

MUST RETURN TO FUNDAMENTALS

The remedy fundamentally must be a return to the old ideas of Government.

First. Decentralization should be the order of the day. We should begin that by withdrawing the United States from every European controversy in which we are not directly and immediately concerned. We should provide for our own protection, always remembering that while the largest and most powerful nation on earth, we are, nevertheless, unless prepared, an easy victim to the avarice and cupidity of greedy enemies.

Second. We should repeal every Federal statute which imposes upon the Federal Government powers or duties that can as well be performed by the several States.

Third. We should wipe out innumerable boards and bureaus and discharge an army of spies, snoopers, and tax eaters.

Fourth. We should cease attempting to either promote, regulate, or destroy the business of the United States. By that I do not mean we should repeal the laws against combinations in restraint of trade, for such laws are themselves protective of trade. Upon the contrary, those laws should be strengthened and every attempt at monopoly or unfair-trade practices should be, in the interests of fair trade, strictly prohibited and punished.

Fifth. We should demand that the Federal reserve banking system should no longer be made the agent and banker of the stock-gambling hells of the Nation, and the fraudulent practices of those institutions should be prohibited and punished.

Sixth. We should immediately lower tariff exactions and, as rapidly as the revenue exigencies of our Government will permit, wipe them out. This must be accomplished in order—

(a) To relieve the present burdens of our people;

(b) In order that our manufacturing industries may be able to compete in the markets of the world, thus furnishing employment for American labor.

Seventh. The laws regulating the habits and lives of the people, in so far as such laws should ever be passed, should be left to the several States; such doctrine of State sovereignty in its high and proper sense should be restored.

NO HOPE IN REPUBLICANISM

These beneficent objects will never be accomplished by the present Republican body. Since the unfortunate election of Warren Harding down to the present hour it has been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for every selfish interest which has infested and crossed the United States.

In what I have proposed there is not a word of radicalism; there is no attempt to interfere with legitimate business. There is no thought of the unfair treatment of capital or labor. It means the breaking of artificial bonds which have been forged upon the industry and labor of the great Commonwealth.

I would like to see the Democratic Party reject every experimental scheme. I would like to see it proclaim a platform based upon the old and sound principles of government, and upon that platform we can march to a great and beneficent victory.

PROPOSED EMERGENCY CURRENCY

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I have a very interesting letter from and an article by Mr. Henry Hazlitt, which is to be printed in the Nation of this week. The article is entitled "An Emergency Currency," and, in view of the legislation which is pending upon that subject and because of its importance, I ask that the letter and article may be printed in the RECORD.



There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, *January 20, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I was very much interested to see your bill proposing an emergency currency, and partly because of it and partly because the very generous friendship you showed me at Washington when I was the correspondent for the New York Evening Mail leads me to believe that you would be interested in what I have written on the subject, I am taking the liberty of inclosing an article on an emergency currency which appears in this week's issue of the Nation. This article happened to be written before I learned of your bill. I am thoroughly in agreement with you regarding the need for such a currency in the present crisis, though the kind of currency I am suggesting is somewhat different. I do not believe that there is at present any need of new currency per se, but there is a very great need for it among those banks that are now being and may in future be drained of deposits by panicky depositors. The kind of plan I suggest would allow these banks to take out currency, if necessary, against any part or all of their real assets, whether those assets are in the form of Government bonds, merchants' paper, or State or municipal or private bonds. The defect of an emergency currency secured only by national bonds, as I see it, is that only those banks can take out this currency which happen to hold Government bonds, and they can take it out only to the extent of their Government-bond holdings. This would not help many banks in desperate need—or if it helped them it would not help them adequately. I should like to call your attention to the comparison in my article between what happened in 1907, when Secretary Cortelyou offered $50,000,000 of Government bonds and $100,000,000 of 1-year Government notes to provide the basis of new circulation, and what happened in June, 1914, when the Aldrich-Vreeland notes were put out. You will notice that the banks in 1907 took only $25,000,000 of the bonds and $15,000,000 of the notes, whereas in 1914 $380,000,000 of emergency currency notes came into circulation with amazing promptness. The kind of currency I propose is very much of the Aldrich-Vreeland type. Curiously enough, it was not suggested to me by the Aldrich-Vreeland currency; it merely seemed to me the most desirable form of emergency currency; and in refreshing my memory on 1914 I found that the Aldrich notes were of this type. It seems to me a much more elastic kind of currency than the United States bond-secured notes and much better able to deal with the present crisis.

My own feeling is that instead of passing the administration's Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill, it would have been much better for Congress to have authorized that all loans to railroads should be made entirely by the Interstate Commerce Commission, while loans to banks should have been made through an emergency discount bank issuing currency against bank assets instead of forcing more bonds on the market.

However, even now an emergency bank of the type proposed could do many things impossible for the corporation.

With kind regards, sincerely yours,

HENRY HAZLITT.

AN EMERGENCY CURRENCY

By Henry Hazlitt

In a theater fire more people are liable to be killed in the stampede than by the flames. In a financial panic much more damage is done by senseless hysteria than by the inherent weakness of conditions. The suggestion in the present article is put forward as a possible way of dealing with the situation if a sudden irrational lack of confidence in our banks should develop. It must be admitted at the very beginning that the problem is far from a simple one. Most casually suggested plans for protecting the banks against panicky depositors would inevitably bring about the very collapse of credit that their proponents imagine they would forestall. One may take as an example the proposal sometimes put forward in private conversation that if conditions grow worse it may be necessary to declare a "banking moratorium." Passing over the question of how pay rolls would be met and groceries bought during the period of such a moratorium, or of what would immediately happen to trade and values, one has merely to ask what would be the result on the day the moratorium terminated. Nearly every depositor would be in line at every bank to draw his money out.

The plan here suggested is the exact opposite of this. It rests on the assumption that the need in a time of crisis is not to prevent frightened depositors from drawing out their money but to allow them to convert their deposits immediately into cash to any extent they wish. With this need in mind, the present writer proposes the creation of an emergency currency, or, at least, the setting up now of machinery that would make possible the instant issue of emergency currency if that currency should be demanded. Emergency currencies are, of course, not unknown in times of crisis. In the panic of 1893, when a number of banks adopted the extreme measure of refusing to pay cash for the checks of their own depositors, and when it seemed possible that trade might be forced to a basis of barter, a number of large employers of labor made plans to issue a currency of their own, to be redeemed when the banks resumed cash payments. There were actually large issues of clearing-house loan certificates, which remain in use 19 weeks. In the panic of 1907, $238,000,000 of such clearing-house loan certificates were issued and remained in use for 22 weeks. Moreover, banks in Pittsburgh and Chicago, where manufacturers' pay rolls created the need for large sums of currency, issued an emergency currency, the amount of which was estimated at upwards of $96,000,000. Finally the Treasury offered $50,000,000 of Government bonds and $100,000,000 of 1-year Government notes to banks with a view to providing the basis of new circulation; $25,000,000 of the bonds and $15,000,000 of the notes were taken.

Once more an emergency currency was issued in a crisis; this time in June, 1914. Shortly after the 1907 panic the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act had been passed to make possible the quick issuance of currency in the next crisis. It provided that banks could exchange the contents of their portfolios for currency notes in an actual emergency. To make certain that the currency would not be issued or remain in circulation for longer than the period of emergency, a tax was provided on the use of the notes. The act remained apparently a dead letter until the development of the war crisis; then, in the first three months after July, 1914, $380,000,000 worth of the emergency currency notes was put into circulation. Of the total authorized issue, it is interesting to note that 57½ per cent was secured by merchants' notes, 28½ per cent by miscellaneous securities, and 14 per cent by State and municipal bonds. All this currency had been retired and canceled by the end of June, 1915.

The situation to-day, it is true, is in one or two respects radically different. The old bond-secured national-bank notes were an extremely inelastic currency; the present Federal reserve notes are an extremely elastic currency. Nothing could illustrate the difference better than a comparison of the 4 per cent premium on actual currency that existed for a while in 1907, when it was estimated by Secretary Cortelyou that $296,000,000 of cash was being hoarded, with the increase of $1,000,000,000 in Federal reserve notes in the last year to take care both of hoarded money and of part of the needs of communities which bank failures have compelled to return temporarily to a cash basis. But the creation of Federal reserve notes is subject to two important limitations. First, these notes can be issued only against various forms of commercial paper having, in general, a maturity of not more than 90 days. Secondly, they can be issued only against the paper held by member banks of the Federal reserve system. It is not intended here to question the soundness of these limitations; the integrity of the Federal reserve system requires them. But it is desirable to raise the question whether, in a crisis of the gravity of the present, it would not be wise to consider the creation of a temporary currency against the assets of nonmember banks and against other assets than 90-day paper.

For this purpose it might be advisable to create a governmental emergency discount bank authorized to rediscount the paper of banks not members of the Federal reserve system, and to issue currency against such paper; while a bank subject to a particularly heavy drain, which had already rediscounted all its available short-term paper, would be permitted to borrow a high percentage against the market value of its bond holdings and other assets and to receive emergency currency for them.

As compared with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the emergency discount bank here proposed would have several advantages. It would, of course, deal solely with banks, but its operations would be extremely flexible. It could issue very little currency if very little were called for, and a great deal if a great deal were called for. What is much more important, it would not be necessary for the emergency discount bank to float huge bond issues, as the Finance Corporation is obliged to, at a time when even United States bonds are at a heavy discount. The corporation is authorized to sell up to $2,000,000,000 worth of bonds. But it was not an easy matter to sell a $2,000,000,000 bond issue, even with the fervor and pressure of war times; to sell such an issue in one of the greatest crises in a century, and to follow this with other huge Government bond issues necessary to balance the Budget, to say nothing of possible issues for relief or construction, presents a very formidable program. The effect on public confidence would be a serious one if any of these bond issues were not completely subscribed for. As heavy Government bond issues will be unavoidable in any case, the chief problem is to reduce their volume as much as possible. One way to do this is to issue currency and not bonds against the assets of banks seeking help. This method has the further advantage of saving heavy interest charges. Instead of paying out interest on bonds, the discount bank would be receiving interest on the amount of the loans to banks which the currency represented. This interest would be used partly to pay the administration expenses of the bank and partly to absorb possible losses on bad loans; anything above this would be Government revenue.

The emergency discount bank would, of course, discount at "penalty" rates—that is to say, the banks would be called upon to pay slightly higher rates for currency loans than they were receiving for the paper or bonds they were discounting—and these penalty rates would assure a retirement of the currency when the need for it had passed. While the new notes need not be directly redeemable in gold, any more than the still outstanding national-bank notes or United States notes (the "greenbacks") are directly redeemable in gold, they should be kept at a parity with all other forms of currency. They would, of course, have exactly the same physical appearance as other currency, just as a $5 greenback looks to the casual observer exactly like a $5 Federal reserve note.

It can not be too emphatically pointed out that what is here suggested is in no sense a proposal to create wealth by the printing press. It is not put forward in the crude belief that the depression is the result of any general money shortage, or that the new currency would raise prices directly. In brief, it is not intended as an inflationary measure; its purpose is, rather, antideflationary. Its aim is not directly to increase the amount of bank credit (though it would tend to do so indirectly) but to transform deposit currency that might be destroyed or locked up into note currency that would circulate. Its effect, in short, would be to substitute unquestioned Government credit for the temporarily questioned credit of individual banks. It would be a form of currency, it is true, that would lack the ideal elasticity and the unquestioned soundness of Federal reserve note currency, but it would be far more elastic than the national-bank notes and incomparably sounder than the existing greenbacks. The emergency notes would be retired as the banks paid up their borrowings, or as the slower assets were liquidated. The penalty interest rates would eventually compel this paying up and this liquidation. The life of the emergency discount bank and of the notes could, as an additional safeguard, be limited by law to a period of not more than five years, when note issuing could again be left entirely to the Federal reserve banks. I think it in the highest degree inadvisable that the kind of rediscounting and of note issue here proposed be turned over to the Federal reserve banks, not only because this would not serve the nonmember banks (in which by far the greatest number of failures have occurred) but because the emergency nature of the measure would tend to be forgotten, and if the bars were once let down it would be next to impossible to get them up again.

This suggestion for an emergency currency is not put forward entirely without reservations. It may be that the National Credit Corporation and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, between them, may be able to take care of any situation that may occur. But if these do not prove flexible enough or adequate, then an emergency-currency plan of this type seems the only supplement or alternative. We must mobilize our banking resources to keep all solvent banks open, and to enable depositors to get as much currency as possible immediately against the actual assets of banks that prove to be insolvent. The possible deficiencies of an emergency currency of the kind here proposed would be as nothing against the consequences of a possible wholesale closing of banks and consequent prostration of trade should a particularly hysterical panic develop.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT—FEDERAL FARM BOARD

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I have a letter prepared by a committee composed largely of farmers of Walla Walla, in the State of Washington, very seriously objecting to the agricultural marketing act and urging its repeal and the abolishment of the Federal Farm Board. I also have, in connection with it, a letter from representative farmers and farm bureau organizations of the same county presenting their views in regard to the matter and attempting to answer the proposition laid down in the other letter. I ask that these two letters may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WALLA WALLA, WASH., *November 12, 1931.*

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
Yakima, Wash.

DEAR SENATOR: We, the committee appointed by a group of representative citizens, mostly farmers, do by this letter most earnestly protest to you against the agricultural marketing act and the Federal Farm Board. We emphatically express our disapproval of this measure or any measure so written for a similar purpose. It is our desire that you as our representative use every means at your command to repeal this law, get it off the books, and get the Government out of business.

The law is wrong in principle and vicious in application. Wrong in principle because no government should or ought to tax the whole people for the benefit of the few. Wrong in principle because in two and one-half years of operation it has not, in any way, remedied the condition the Congress sought to relieve—has not raised agriculture to a plane of equality with business and industry. It has in fact proved to be a millstone about the neck of agriculture as well as of all private endeavor.

It has been, it is, a disastrous attempt to set aside the age-old law of supply and demand. The people, the farmers whom it sought to aid, have been grievously injured by its operation. Profits of their labor and lands have been utterly destroyed. While this has been accomplished for the farmers their impaired financial condition has reflected through all other lines of business.

The avowed intent of this act—to destroy the middleman—not only has destroyed the middleman's business but the basis on which it rested. Analyzing the wreck of the business structure of the country, we find the middleman—the speculator—to have been the keystone of the arch of business. In the cessation of activities labor has been suspended and unemployment created.

Under the direction of the Farm Board, cooperatives in name at least, have been created, viz, the Farmers National Grain Corporation, the Farmers National Warehouse Co., the Stabilization Corporation, the Pacific Grain Growers (Inc.), the Walla Walla Grain Growers (Inc.), and a multitude of others, for various and all farm products. We think the author would fail to recognize the progeny born of his marketing act under the guiding hands of unscrupulous persons.

No sooner had the $500,000,000 fund been made available than eyes from all quarters were focused avariciously upon it and brains of every character began scheming to get possession. Corporations sprang into being like mushrooms following a rain, so many of them that it is impossible to place responsibility and impossible for the farmer who is supposed to own and control these corporations and this business to find out even what salaries his employees are receiving and what prices are being paid for old warehouses and new elevators.

The various subsidiaries of the Farm Board have been sold to the farmer as "farmer owned and farmer controlled," when they are in fact controlled from Washington through a set of men in Chicago, none of whom are producers or farmers. Controlled from Washington, for Mr. Stone has said: "We (the Farm Board) reserve the right to see that they (the subsidiaries) are properly and efficiently managed."

The men in actual control of the Farmers National Grain Corporation never had it in mind to share that control with the producer. They have been busily engaged putting over a private corporation which shall live when the Federal marketing act is repealed. They are using the condition of the farm people and congressional sympathy for that condition to further private interest. They are using Government money to build these organizations—Government money in direct competition with the businesses taxed to raise said money, to the detriment of those businesses and to the benefit of only a few selfish and scheming men.

No new mouths of consumption have been created, no new markets have been developed. Farm produce has moved to market always through highly competitive channels, men have been employed, the speculator has taken the risk of ownership, the world has been fed. What more can the Farm Board accomplish, even with the resources of the United States Treasury behind it? The promises of the sponsors of the act are a mere delusion, a leading of our people a step nearer socialism or bolshevism, Government ownership, and official or bureaucratic dictation. All the savings that might have been effected have been paid to high-salaried men, often of small caliber, for motor cars of fine quality and warehouses of very doubtful value.

There is but one place to raise the farm price—that is economy of service. We can see no evidence of any intent on the part of the various offices to economize. Salaries are so princely, automobiles so numerous, and employees housed in such expensive quarters. There is no evidence of intent of economy, no evidence of farmer control.

The producer was definitely discouraged from marketing his grain in August, 1929, when the price was $1.37; again in October, 1929, and again in November, 1929. The Farm Board plainly accepted responsibility for the declaration that prices then prevailing were too low. Its appeals for holding were followed by many farmers, who later sold for as low as 47 cents per bushel.

New equipment has been built, where private capital would not venture because no return is available as an investment. This equipment is not essential for all the grain, and grain products have been warehoused heretofore with present equipment.

Here is a specific instance of the vicious operation of the Farmers' National:

From July 2 to July 6, inclusive, farmers here in Walla Walla sold wheat for prompt shipment based on 67 cents per bushel sacked, Seattle. On July 7 private dealers in Walla Walla were advised by wire not to pay any more premiums on early shipment wheat as Farm Board subsidiary had offered to sell at 57 cents and agreed to loan wheat to the buyers to be returned in September at 3 cents per bushel premium, which knocked the farmers out of premiums on early shipment wheat. Some farmers actually sold their wheat later at 20 cents per bushel less. Dating back for 30 years, premiums are usually paid on early shipment wheat from two to four weeks, but the Farm Board or their subsidiary took that premium away from the wheat raiser. If necessary, copies of contracts with farmers and sales at terminal, proving prices obtained for wheat early in July as mentioned above can be furnished. Several hundred thousand bushels of wheat would have been sold at premiums this year if the Farm Board had not interfered.

We are opposed to the Federal Government buying these farm products and removing them from the tax rolls. The fact that wheat bought by the stabilization corporation has been removed from the tax rolls again works a hardship on the farmer. He does not receive more for his crop than private trade would pay him, but the fact his wheat is removed from tax rolls means that his land must pay more. This meant a loss to taxpayers in Walla Walla County alone of $5,500.

We are opposed to the Federal Government loaning money to these organizations at rates which private institutions of finance can not meet. Just another instance of taxing a legitimate business to secure the money with which to destroy it.

The local banks carry the farmer loans when the risk is greatest. Their men understand local men and local conditions. Why should these banks be relieved of their business at harvest time when the risk has been eliminated? When warehouse receipts are available, then the "co-ops" loan money for less—Government money. The farmer benefits very little for the change during the remainder of the marketing period, but Government subsidiaries have again trespassed on private and legitimate business.

The releases from the Farm Board sound almost identical with soviet releases. The same hocus-pocus—wheat and cotton are too low. We will inaugurate a superior system and raise prices. As soon as they began operations and surplus products were held from the market, prices, to their consternation, began to toboggan, even as those of coffee and rubber had done before. Now that the surplus which was created by the Farm Board withholding, is moving into consumptive channels and no money is available to exclude the speculator, we are again nearer normal and prices are coming back to normal. We are convinced that the attempt of the agricultural marketing act and the Federal Farm Board to set aside that old law of supply and demand has been a dismal failure and a costly experiment.

Such being the case, why continue such a law and why support such institutions? Being as useless and vicious as they have proved themselves to be, the whole act should be stricken. The experience marked on the records as a failure and then forgotten. We believe there should be less Government in business and more business in Government. We are ready and willing to pledge our support to such a program.

We have no accurate figures as to percentage of farmers in this community favoring the Federal marketing act and the Federal Farm Board. We can make an estimate by the number of dirt farmers with whom we have conversed on the subject. All those so far contacted have shown in a very decided fashion an opposition to the marketing act as written and its operation as sponsored by the Federal Farm Board, except one man. This man did not indorse the act nor the board, but did state that the "holding" policy as advocated was, to his mind, all right in theory. We believe many were sold on the theory but are much disappointed in fact of operation. All thinking farmers have come to realize the fact that high prices for a commodity tend for more production of that commodity. Production past the point of consumption would result from a uniformly high price. Lower prices alone can reduce acreage to a point commensurate with world consumption.

Discussing the Farm Board policies one day in Walla Walla, a director of the local came in. We asked him outright what salary our local grain growers' manager received. His answer was as candid: "I don't think anyone knows but Kelley." Kelley has the dual position of manager of the local and district manager of the Farmers National Grain Growers (Inc.).

Inquiry of another director of this local elicited the information: "We pay Mr. Kelley $200 per month. I don't know what the Farmers National pay him."

We don't know who hires these men. We don't know who sets the scale of salaries. We don't know what power designates the kind, quality, and number of automobiles our employees shall use; but we do know they are a very favored class of individuals.

Why Mr. Milnor should have a salary equal to that of the United States President, why Mr. Collins should enjoy remuneration equal to an estate of 5,000 acres of this soil, while the farm people they serve are making a hard-earned and scanty living, is beyond our comprehension. We know "farmer owned and farmer controlled" is a myth. Farmers don't rob their backs and stomachs willingly for their employees. Some of these mysteries, Senator, we are asking you to solve. The good intent of a benevolent Government has been twisted to the benefit of the few. The act should be repealed; Farm Board abolished so that no avenues to the United States Treasury should be open to any particular business or class under our Government.

H. L. DEWOLFE, *Chairman*,
Dr. H. A. MOUNT,
JOHN F. CASPER,
W. G. SHUMAN,
WM. RENNEWANZ.

WALLA WALLA, WASH., *January 14, 1932.*

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Our attention has been called to a letter written by a committee of local men, a copy of which appeared in the December 15 issue of the Commercial Review, a grain trade publication. Many of the statements made in the letter are so grossly exaggerated and unfair that we can not permit them to go unchallenged. As dirt farmers ourselves, and speaking for an organization of dirt farmers, representing every field of agriculture among its members, we submit the following answer to the local committee of five whose names appear on the above-mentioned letter.

The very first paragraph of the letter says, speaking of the agricultural marketing act, "We emphatically express our disapproval of this measure or any measure so written for a similar purpose." The purpose of the agricultural marketing act is to put agriculture on a plane of equality with industry and labor. This means that the above-mentioned committee is absolutely opposed to any kind of a program that will give equality to agriculture. It is a nationally recognized fact that agriculture is and has been for years in a decadent condition. It is also generally agreed that permanent prosperity for agriculture must be attained before our general economic conditions will materially improve. And yet our good friends say neither this act nor other measure which has for its purpose the placing of agriculture on a plane of equality with industry should even be considered. It's rather hard to imagine any group of farmers empowering a committee to speak in this way for them.

At the door of the marketing act and the Federal Farm Board they lay the blame for the world-wide depression, which has spared no line of industry and no nation. Such a viewpoint certainly is not in keeping with that expressed by statesmen and economists everywhere. In the spring of 1929, before the agricultural marketing act had even become a law, the wool market had broken disastrously. In November, 1929, the stock-market crash in two weeks' time took an estimated $25,000,000,000 in losses from the pockets of investors in this country. This shrinkage in security values has continued until it is estimated the loss is in excess of $60,000,000,000. At that time the Farm Board had done little or nothing to interfere with our general economic program. Just how the purchase of 250,000,000 bushels of wheat by the Farm Board subsequently in order to remove a depressing surplus and maintain a fixed minimum price can be blamed for the world-wide depression is beyond the ability of some of us who have tried to analyze the situation to comprehend. The Farm Board's whole program has been one of stabilization, of holding up prices and removing surpluses, at a time when everything has been in a demoralized, chaotic condition. Its efforts have been directed toward stemming the downward avalanche of commodity prices, and in wheat alone it has made millions of dollars for the American grain growers.

It is said this act is intended to destroy the middleman. This is not the case, but, rather, to aid the farmer in developing the most efficient type of marketing machinery. If the middleman can render the more efficient service, his future is assured.

Our friends of the committee state that speculation is the keystone of the arch of business. May we then submit it is high time that agriculture be put on a more firm and stable basis than one based on speculation.

We feel sure the committee is not fully informed concerning the Farmers' National Grain Corporation, its set-up, nor the men who are responsible for its policies and methods of business. May we say emphatically, Senator, as you yourself no doubt know, that the directors of the Farmers' National and of our own North Pacific Grain Growers are honest, sincere, and intelligent farmers who for years have given their best in trying to improve farm conditions. In no wise or respect are they to be discounted for lack of sincerity or failure to have the farmers' best interests at heart.

To say that the Farmers' National Grain Corporation is a cooperative in name only is ridiculous and absurd. To say that none of the men in charge are producers or farmers is equally ridiculous and absurd. We challenge the committee to show in even the smallest degree any justification for their statement that "the men in actual control of the Farmers' National Grain Corporation never had it in mind to share that control with the producer." As a matter of fact, those in charge never had any other objective than to serve the grain growers whom they represent in a wholehearted and successful way. We challenge their statement that "the whole program is to benefit a few selfish scheming men," as being absolutely untrue and made with malicious intent.

The committee says that "no new markets or new sources of consumption have been developed." As to this we are not in a position to say at this time that such is or is not the case with respect to the Farmers' National. But we do know that going back over agricultural history during the past 20 years on the Pacific coast, it has been the producer, when he was faced with bankruptcy because of the low prices paid him for his crop by the middleman, who has gone out, organized his own selling agency, standardized his commodity, raised its quality, and tremendously broadened his markets and the consumption of his produce. That is true of the poultry producers; it is true of the dairy producers and of the fruit producers. Never has the speculator or middleman appeared in the limelight for that type of service. Given a little time we believe that the Farmers' National will do for the grain producers along lines of producing new markets and greater sources of consumption what other cooperatives have done for their producers. Certainly, they are entitled to an opportunity to show what can be done.

The statements of the committee "that all the savings that might have been effected have been paid to high-salaried men, often of small caliber, or for cars of high quality and warehouses of very doubtful value," is another charge open to direct challenge. That approximately 400,000,000 bushels of grain have been marketed the last two years at a cost of less than 1 cent per bushel would indicate a very efficient organization and tend to belie conclusively the above statement.

The committee says there is but one place to raise farm prices and that is by economy of service. Assuming that to be true, have the old-line grain dealers any right to claim having rendered such a service? If so, when the freight differential to Portland was established, reducing the freight on grain 1½ cents a bushel, why didn't the old-line grain dealers reflect that price back to the farmers of this district rather than absorb it for their own pockets? If they are rendering economy of service, why do they leave their schedules of dockages and discounts on practically the same basis as when wheat sold at $2 per bushel? Why is it that back in 1921 and 1922, when the Northwest Wheat Growers' Association was operating, and again during the last year since the Farmers' National has been in the market that the Pacific coast prices have been on a par with or above Chicago prices? This condition has only been pronounced during the two above-mentioned times. It must help materially to have a little real competition and economy of service in the grain-buying business.

The Farm Board did stay by the farmer in 1929 and did maintain a pegged price for the growers which was kept in good faith to all who applied.

The matter of building new equipment is challenged by the committee not only as being a poor investment but as not being needed because present warehousing facilities are adequate. May we answer this by saying many farmers can remember during the past few years when they have gone to sell their grain statements to this effect from the dealers, "The market is poor, the terminals are full, the tracks are full of cars of grain with demurrage piling up." Do these statements indicate adequate warehousing facilities?

One of the most unfair statements in the whole letter is their statement that several hundred thousand bushels of wheat could have been sold at premiums this year if the Farm Board had not interfered. We must remember that the Farm Board with its pegged price had kept the 1930 crop in the neighborhood of 70 cents, basis terminals. It was inevitable that when the new wheat came in with the pegged price having been taken off June 1 that the market would go on down to the world level, which it did, and which only goes to prove how much the 1930 pegged price meant to the producers of that crop.

With regard to the loss of taxes through wheat purchased by the Stabilization Corporation, the farmers of this county can well afford to pay $5,500, which the committee says was lost in taxes on wheat purchased by the Stabilization Corporation, in view of the fact that the pegged price in 1930, based on an increased return of 20 cents per bushel to the grower, has meant an increased return to the farmers of this county of $1,000,000. Wonder why private dealers almost always happen to have their wheat in transit at assessment time.

Continuously through the committee's letter crop out statements objecting to the Government doing this or doing that for the farmers. Has the committee, Senator, ever filed with you objections to the Government aiding in a merchant marine, financially and otherwise? Have they ever objected to the deficit in the postal department, caused by the low rates for which magazines and newspapers are carried? Have their voices ever been raised against the Federal reserve system, which has materially aided the banks? Did they object when the Railway Labor Board was formed?

Of course, we realize that the loans made on wheat receipts are made possible not because of the agricultural marketing act but because of the Federal intermediate credit bank, an institution which has been with us since 1924.

In speaking of releases from the Farm Board, which the committee refers to, may we paraphrase it by saying their letter sounds like the same hocus-pocus as that emanating from the grain trade. And is not it peculiar, too, Senator, that there is such a close relationship between the committee and the grain trade, as is indicated by the fact that their letter appeared in the grain trade's official publication on the coast very soon after you received it?

Their accusation that a surplus of wheat was created by the Farm Board withholding its purchases sounds like some more hocus-pocus from the grain trade. Domestic and world wheat statistics from 1926 on show that an increasing surplus was being accumulated each year, not only in this country but in the world.

No; we can not agree with the committee that the agricultural marketing act and the Federal Farm Board have been a costly, dismal failure. Had it not been for the board's stabilizing influence in pegging the price in 1930, a national calamity would doubtless have ensued. Even the Chicago grain trade admits that.

As to the number of dirt farmers in this community who are for the marketing act, we have no poll to show their state of mind; but we do know that many, many of them, not wheat growers alone but members of the dairy and egg associations, are exceptionally well satisfied and appreciative of the work it has done. And may we add that a great many more would be thoroughly sold on it were they correctly informed rather than misled by false malicious propaganda which is being handed out by opponents.

The committee says, "We do not know who hires these men," speaking of the local managers of the Grain Growers. And may we say, Senator, in view of the fact that the local Grain Growers is a local corporation, what business is it of the committee or anyone else, except the membership, who hires them or what they are paid? As to the power that designates the kind, quality, and number of automobiles used by employees, we would answer it by saying the same power that determines the kind of an automobile a banker, a grain buyer, or his employees would drive; namely, what their own individual desire or pocketbook might determine. Reference has been made to Mr. Kelley, our local manager, his salary, and the car he drives. Mr. Kelley is paid $200 a month by the local co-op.; he also is district manager for the Farmers' National, and looks after their warehouse facilities as well. We don't know what the Farmers' National pays him for these services. There are two paid employees in the local Grain Growers' office. Judging from wheat purchased to date, Mr. Kelley will buy more wheat this year than all the other 10 grain offices put together in Walla Walla. How is that for economy of service? It would be just as fair for us to go out and ask that the salaries of the private grain dealers or bankers be made public property. We think a comparison of the cost of the office of the local Grain Growers with that of any other local grain firm would not be to its disadvantage. Incidentally the nice car which Mr. Kelley drives was purchased by him out of profits made when operating as an independent grain dealer.

You no doubt have noted the incorrect statement made by the committee that Mr. Milnor enjoys a salary equal to that of the President of the United States. He draws $50,000 and the President $75,000—just a slight discrepancy of 33⅓ per cent. That and the whole talk about salaries, cars, fine offices, etc., just reminds us of some more "grain trade hocus-pocus."

Incidently the chairman of the committee thought enough of the Farmers' National when he sold this year's crop to sell it to them. One other member of the committee has been very influential in urging his clients to sell their wheat through this agency.

It is the fact that, "Farmer owned and farmer controlled" is not a myth, which is bothering certain people; and, by the way, they are not farmers, either.

In closing, Senator, may we say that while we realize any movement of such gigantic magnitude as the program of the agricultural marketing act will no doubt see mistakes made; yet we are firmly convinced that its good points far outweigh the bad. That it is a sound and constructive program, and if given an opportunity, together with the correction of some of its weaker features, will do much toward bringing agriculture back to a plane of equality with industry.

We sincerely hope you will continue to support the act and efforts to strengthen it by its friends.

Sincerely yours,

WALLA WALLA COUNTY FARM BUREAU.

This letter authorized by a unanimous vote of the following members of the board of directors of the Walla Walla County Farm Bureau in executive session, January 9, 1932:

Z. R. Lewis, Frank Farrens, Mill Creek Farm Bureau; Lincoln Russel, Valley Chapel Farm Bureau; H. A. Gorham, Guy Kent, Sudbury Farm Bureau; H. S. Brewer, Philip Reser, Prospect Point Farm Bureau; M. J. Lowden, J. M. Wroe, Elmer Lusk, Lowden Farm Bureau; C. M. Berryman, Valley Grove Farm Bureau; S. P. Maxson, Floyd Shemwell, Russel Creek Farm Bureau; E. R. McCaw, Prescott Farm Bureau.

CHAS. BAKER, *Secretary.*

CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, on the calendar is a bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration to be held in Chicago in 1933. I beg to ask that this matter be postponed, and I desire to ask the President if it can be done now. Other Senators desiring to be present when the matter comes up can not ask to have the matter go over; and I therefore wish to ask that it go over temporarily without prejudice.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order will be made.

RELIEF FOR RAILROADS

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a report and recommendations for relief of railroads adopted by the New York Board of Trade at its regular meeting held on Wednesday of this week.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RELIEF FOR RAILROADS

Your committee on railway transportation, in presenting this report, desires earnestly to avoid any interpretation of alarm. The facts contained herein should be received and considered with gravity as is appropriate to a serious situation. American business makes quick response when facts are known, conditions are understood, and the remedy has been fully considered. In this spirit of confidence your committee presents the results of its findings and recommendations.

The railroads of this country are not only carriers of commerce but are large purchasers of materials and labor. They were so recognized and among the first to be called upon for concerted action when the industrial depression was in its early stages, and they responded to the best of their abilities. After more than two years of continued decline in business conditions certain pertinent facts appear. Under the present regulatory system the railroads are prevented from building up reserves in normal times to permit them to carry on under conditions such as obtain at the present. No industrial system can be regarded as sound which encourages reductions in prosperous times and necessitates increases in times of economic depression and falling prices. This provision of the interstate commerce law, or, as it is sometimes known, the transportation act, should be amended so that reasonable reserves may be accumulated by the carriers to meet conditions such as now exist.

In the decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the application of the steam carriers for an increase of rates, attention is called to a significant fact which is amplified in the annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission to Congress dated December 1, 1931. There is a lack of appropriate regulation of other forms of transportation engaged in interstate commerce. This acts as a hindrance to the development of a coordinated system of transportation embracing all land and water carriers. The commission is engaged in a study of other carriers, and its report and recommendations are expected at an early date. (A report embodying these recommendations was submitted by Leo J. Flynn to the Interstate Commerce Commission on December 5.) It is the belief of your committee that provisions should be made for

the necessary regulation of all carriers for hire, so as to stabilize the transportation industry and afford an equal opportunity among them to compete for the commerce of the country.

Taxes are a heavy burden on the railways at this time. They are 14 per cent higher than they were 10 years ago, and for the year 1931 it will require the net revenues of the railroads of this country for a total period of four months out of the twelve to pay taxes alone.

There has been a serious shrinkage in the revenues of class 1 railroads. During the year that has just closed the closest estimate of the net railway operating income will be $534,000,000 or a return of 1.99 per cent on property investment. This is to be compared with a return of 3.36 per cent return on investment in 1930. The gross operating revenues for 1931 amounted to approximately $4,259,000,000, a decrease of 20.3 per cent under those of 1930. Operating expenses for the same period amounted to $3,275,000,000—or a decrease of 17.6 per cent under the previous year. The rate of return on the basis of property investment for the past 12 years is shown in the following table:

	Per cent
1920	0.21
1921	2.84
1922	3.58
1923	4.33
1924	4.21
1925	4.74
1926	4.98
1927	4.29
1928	4.64
1929	4.84
1930	3.36
1931 (estimated)	1.99

Passenger traffic in 1931 amounted to 21,800,000,000 passenger-miles which was less than for any year within the last 27 years. This was a reduction of 53.5 per cent under the record year of 1920.

Of particular interest is the necessity of preserving the credit of the railroads. Ten class 1 railroads are now in the hands of receivers. Others are in default of payment of bonds. Protection should be afforded to the funds of fiduciary institutions, savings banks, and insurance companies, which represent the savings of the citizens of this country and which are invested in railroad securities.

Your committee, therefore, recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

Whereas the New York Board of Trade (Inc.) views with concern the jeopardy to the public interest presented by the present plight of our railroads, and desires through the passage of this resolution to express the views of its membership that prompt relief should be obtained for these arteries of our commercial fabric; and

Whereas the figures of class 1 railroads show that their estimated gross operating figures for 1931 fell off 20.3 per cent under those for 1930, itself a poor year; that their net income returned but 1.99 per cent on their property investment and that their passenger revenue was less than for any year within the last 27 years, amounting to a reduction of 53.5 per cent under the year 1920, and

Whereas the larger part of the bonds issued by our railroads is the property of fiduciary institutions, savings banks, and insurance companies, constituting a substantial part of the savings of the community, resources which our population relies upon against danger and disaster; and

Whereas our railroads are large taxpayers, employers of labor, and consumers: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the New York Board of Trade (Inc.) urges Congress to take prompt action with the view of enacting such legislation as will provide relief for the railroads, particularly with reference to those proposals which have the indorsement of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to wit: (a) Regulation of all forms of interstate transportation in a manner similar to the railroads; (b) repeal of the recapture provisions of section 15 (a) of the transportation act; and be it further

Resolved, That proper officers of the board be, and the same are hereby, empowered and directed to communicate these views to the President of the United States, to the Members of Congress, and to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Respectfully submitted.

W. F. RICHARDSON, *Chairman*,
F. X. BOYLAN,
JOHN DUFFY,
B. F. FITCH,
C. L. HILLEARY,
H. W. MCARTHUR,
REGINALD G. NARELLE,
J. W. ROBERTS,
D. L. TILLY,
Committee on Railroad Transportation.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution relative to the free coinage of silver and a newspaper article on the same subject.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolution

Inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States of America declares that Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, we, the citizens of Portland, State of Oregon, in mass meeting assembled, declare ourselves in favor of Congress exercising that authority; and

Whereas there are over 900,000,000 people touching the Pacific Ocean who are now using silver as a basis of their monetary system; and

Whereas Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, of Montana, has introduced a bill in the United States Senate providing for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, that we here assembled declare ourselves in favor of the immediate passage of said bill; and

Whereas the prosperity and contentment of our people depend to a large extent upon a sufficient supply of money to meet the requirements of the people; and

Whereas the gold standard has proven to fall far short of the demand for basic money not only in the United States but of the world:

We therefore ask that Congress immediately pass Senator WHEELER's bill that our mints may be thrown open to the free coinage of the silver dollar, which means immediate employment of thousands of people and will also greatly increase our basic money, which means higher prices and better times.

Dated at Portland, Oreg., January 13, 1932.

FREE SILVER PROPOSED—MILTON A. MILLER RESOLUTION MEETS FAVOR OF HOUSEWIVES' COUNCIL

Declaring that free coinage of silver would give employment to thousands of people, increase the basic money of the United States, stimulate trade with foreign countries, and return higher prices and better times, Milton A. Miller presented a resolution before the housewives' council, meeting at the public library last night, favoring BURTON K. WHEELER's Senate bill providing for free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

The resolution was adopted.

Miller declared that approximately one-half of all the gold in the world is in the United States and that this amount would hardly begin to redeem the obligations of the United States. England could not stay on a gold basis, he said, and changed to silver, and is now trading with silver countries at a 30 per cent advantage over the United States.

RADIO STATIONS IN MEXICO AND CUBA

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, on two different occasions within the last few days I have called the attention of the Senate to the building of radio stations in Mexico and Cuba which are interfering with American stations. I have in my hand a number of articles which I would like to have inserted in the RECORD, but before I make the request I want to say one or two things about the situation.

The State Department, for some reason or other, refuses to take any official action whatsoever in this matter. It has been charged by some that the State Department is really in favor of seeing these stations built along the Mexican border and in Cuba. I refuse to believe that. I can not believe that the State Department takes that attitude, but I do think that the department is to blame for a continuation of the present conditions. These articles which I have rather confirm the reports which have been made to me.

I ask to have inserted in the RECORD at this point an article appearing in the Chicago Tribune under date of January 18, two days ago, by Martin Codel; another article of the Consolidated Press by Robert Mack; and a statement from the publication called Broadcasting, under date of January 15, 1932, entitled "Cuba Looms as New Menace to United States Radio."

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Martin Codel in Chicago Tribune]

MEXICO FORCING WAVE ISSUE WITH BORDER STATIONS—POWERFUL BRINKLEY XER THREATENS CHAOS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—[Special]—War on the wave lengths impends with Mexico. Chaos in North American broadcasting may result not only from the 75,000-watt station recently placed in operation just across the border from Del Rio, Tex., by Dr. John R. Brinkley, the former Kansas medico-broadcaster, whose license was revoked by the Federal Radio Commission, but from the half dozen or more other stations now reliably reported to be in the course of construction on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande.

American and Canadian radio officials now have a "gentleman's agreement" between themselves as to a division of the limited number of radio waves—an agreement to which Mexico

is not a party, for the reason that it has consistently failed to send delegates to the North American radio negotiations of the last five years. As matters are now developing, the United States and Canada may be forced to invite parley with Mexico regarding the radio situation.

MEXICO LICENSES NEWCOMERS

An interesting aspect of the pending war of the wave lengths is the fact that American capital is largely responsible for the erection or proposed erection of the new stations on the Mexican border. These stations are ostensibly for service to the Mexican populace, but obviously they are designed to be heard by Americans far and near. The number of radio sets in all Mexico, from best available data, does not equal the more than 257,000 sets reported in the recent radio census in the State of Texas alone.

Mexico appears to be licensing newcomers without let or hindrance, placing them on midchannels of the 10-kilocycle separations now in force between stations operating on adjacent wave lengths in the United States and Canada. The Brinkley station, for example, can be heard regularly in many parts of the United States on the 735-kilocycle channel, which is midway between the 730 kilocycles of CKAC, Montreal, and the 740 kilocycles of WSB, Atlanta. Reports are that it is interfering with both these stations, and engineering advice is that a 5-kilocycle separation is not sufficient, at least where such high power is used.

HIGHJACKING ON THE AIR

Some of the builders of the new Mexican stations, like Brinkley, are serious in their purpose of operating them as advertising media for a profit. Others are suspected of playing a sort of "highjack" game; i. e., they are building cheap outfits which they threaten to place on or near wave lengths being used by prosperous American stations in the hope that they will be bought off.

The names of the builders of the additional stations along the Rio Grande are not known, nor are reports available as to the locations or the wave lengths to be used. Federal agents, however, have been watching developments and are reporting to the Department of Commerce, the Radio Commission, and the State Department. These are the American agencies that must shortly join with Canada to confer with Mexican officials to clear up the situation.

In the meantime, however, the agents are powerless to act, for the Mexican Government is a sovereign power. Mexico has readmitted Brinkley, who is now on the air regularly over his XER, at Villa Acuana, despite the fact that the Mexican Government was informed by the American State Department that Brinkley was ordered off the air because his medical-advice broadcasts were regarded as inimical to the public health. Brinkley has resumed his "medical question box" over XER, and the letters he gets come mainly from listeners in the States.

MEXICO SUPPORTS BRINKLEY

Now that Brinkley is again "persona grata" with Mexico—for he was barred from that country for a while—the Mexican Ministry of Communications has given every indication that it expects to stand by the Mexican corporation, backed by Brinkley money, which it licensed to operate XER. In a bulletin it defends its right to license the station on an intermediate channel. The bulletin reads:

"Any person has a right to use this station for announcements and commercial broadcasts. It is not true that a 75,000-watt station in Mexico can be considered prejudicial to the United States stations, since this station and those in the United States operate on different wave lengths. This one is in absolute compliance with the international regulations now in force."

[Radio dispatch]

By Robert Mack, special correspondent of Consolidated Press Association

WASHINGTON, January 16.—Little Cuba, heretofore a negligible factor in North American radio, appears as a new and unexpected menace to the broadcasting allocations of this country with the reported invasion of American capital for the establishment of stations designed to cover the southeastern portion of the United States.

Apparently following the lead of Mexico, which has permitted the more or less indiscriminate "squatting" of new high-power stations on channels used by American and Canadian stations, Cuba is understood to be deviating from its long-established policy of not interfering with American stations. Troubled internal conditions, and a need for funds which can be derived from the licensing of high-power stations, are reported as the reasons for the changed status.

The saturation point for new stations of substantial power already having been reached in this country, several American groups are known to be building stations in Mexico for the primary purpose of serving the United States. Now Cuba also is being invaded because of its strategic location, only 125 miles from the Florida mainland. The over-water haul, moreover, engineers say, helps wave propagation.

Already the aerial bombardment of radio waves from across the Mexican border is seriously curtailing the service of a number of American and Canadian stations. The Mexican Government, along with Cuba, was not a party to the "gentleman's agreement" whereby the 96 available broadcasting wave lengths were divided. This 1924 arrangement gave the United States 90 channels and Canada 6, with a provision for division between the United States and Canada of 11 of the 90.

None of the three countries is satisfied with the existing allocation. Canada has served notice that it desires more frequencies. Mexico has proceeded to license new stations, and it is reported that about 10 are now under construction, financed by American capital.

Because of internal conditions Mexico recently set up a special fee for broadcasting stations. This fee, said to be several thousand dollars, is in addition to the regular license tax of 2 pesos ($1) per watt for the power used. The newest big station in Mexico, XER, at Villa Acuna, operated by Dr. John R. Brinkley, deposed Kansas medico-broadcaster, in the town just across the border from Del Rio, Tex., is of 75,000 watts, the highest power used by any station in the Western Hemisphere.

Private cliques operating in Mexico in several instances have warned American stations that unless they paid them tribute high-power stations would be built in Mexico to operate on their channels and "blast them off the air." The Mexican Government is said to be doing its utmost to combat this situation.

[From the Broadcasting, Washington, D. C., January 15, 1932]

CUBA LOOMS AS NEW MENACE TO UNITED STATES RADIO—CHAOTIC CONDITION FORECAST AS INTERFERENCE FROM MEXICAN STATIONS GROWS WORSE; STATE DEPARTMENT ADAMANT

By Sol Taishoff

Foreshadowing a condition that will become intolerable unless prompt action is taken by United States authorities, Cuba is entering North American broadcasting as a new and unexpected menace.

With interference steadily growing worse as new Mexican stations of substantial power take the air, reliable reports reach Broadcasting that private American radio interests are "investigating" the Cuban field and contemplate the location of stations on the island to cover southern and eastern portions of the United States.

Heretofore a negative factor in North American broadcasting, Cuba, however, is strategically located for coverage of a wide sweep of American territory. As Cuba is only 125 miles from the Florida coast, engineers say that the overwater transmission would make Cuban stations of substantial power even more effective than those just across the Mexican border for United States coverage.

While the American Government idly stands by because of an inexplicable attitude of the State Department, conditions are rapidly approaching a chaotic state. Internal political complications both in Mexico and in Cuba have tended only to aggravate the situation.

Certain stations in the United States are known to have been warned by private cliques that unless they paid substantial amounts high-power stations would be built in Mexico to operate on their wave lengths and would "blast them off the air."

The Government of Mexico is said to be badly in need of funds, and special fees are being paid by American interests seeking radio franchises for the concessions, over and above the Federal annual fee of $1 (₱2) per watt of power. This price is fixed upon concessions before they are granted. Mexico was not aroused to the money-making possibilities of broadcasting until last year, but since then there has been an influx of American capital to build new stations along the border for the undeniable purpose of covering the United States.

RADIO COMMISSION QUIET

American capital is moving into Mexico, and probably into Cuba, because the saturation point has been reached in the United States in so far as new stations of high power are concerned. These interests have as their motive coverage of the American markets rather than those in the countries in which the stations are located. Coverage of foreign markets may be some inducement to American industries to advertise over the stations, but it is far from the predominating influence.

The Radio Commission is well aware of the seriousness of the situation, but it has hesitated even to talk above a whisper about it because of the adamant attitude of the State Department. There is no thought of a North American conference for a new deal respecting broadcasting wave lengths at this time, but some farseeing broadcasters have suggested that conversations, at least, be had with officials of Canada, Mexico, and Cuba, to arrange orderly allocation procedure until the whole matter can be threshed out at Madrid next fall.

While Mexico has not adhered to any definite allocation plan, Cuba up to this time has been careful to avoid conflict with United States stations regularly received on the island. New developments, however, coupled with the recent death of the man who was responsible for this orderly broadcasting arrangement in Cuba, indicate anything but favorable prospect.

Reports from Cuba are to the effect that applications are being made for increased power to 5 kilowatts and above for two existing stations as well as for new stations. The American interests are not so set upon the installation of new stations as they are upon purchasing existing stations and stepping up their power. There are only two stations in Cuba operating with power of more than 1 kilowatt, while only about one-half of the 60 licensed stations use as much as 100 watts.

LARGEST CUBAN STATION

The largest station in Cuba is CMK, operating with 3,150 watts on the Canadian exclusive channel of 730 kilocycles, licensed to the Hotel Plaza in Habana. Announcements over the station are

made both in English and Spanish. CMW, also in Habana, uses 1,400 watts and is operating on 588 kilocycles. Advertising rates over stations are fixed by the Government.

Revolutionist forces are active in Cuba and are responsible to a large degree for the unsettled radio situation. Whether in their need for funds the officials in power will permit a deviation from the policy of not allocating frequencies and power to Cuban stations which would disturb United States stations is not definitely known.

The current regulations designed to prevent interference were drafted by the late Augustus York, an American who went to Cuba as a soldier in the Spanish-American War and afterwards became the Government official charged with radio regulation. He was an uncle of Sergt. Alvin York, outstanding hero of the World War.

Some 10 new stations of substantial power now are being built in Mexico, supported by American capital, and mainly along the border. Because of the unsettled political conditions which resulted recently in reorganization of the Mexican cabinet, no accurate official information is available as to the concessions for new stations which have been granted by the new authorities. A number of applications, however, are known to be pending, seeking assignments on frequencies in between those used by American and Canadian stations.

POLICY LIKELY TO CONTINUE

The old administration favored the location of American-capitalized stations in Mexico, since that country is not a party to the North American "gentleman's agreement" of 1924 dividing between the United States and Canada the 96 available broadcasting wave lengths. The attitude of the new administration is not known, but its dire need for funds indicates a continuance of the policy, regardless of whether interference is caused with American stations.

Power boosts for a number of Mexican stations have been approved recently, and inevitably will result in further interference to American and Canadian stations. XEO, Mexico City, operated by the National Revolutionary Party, has been authorized to increase its power from 1 to 5 kilowatts, operating on 940 kilocycles. This is a regional frequency used in the United States by WCSH, Portland, Me.; WAAT, Jersey City; WFIW, Hopkinsville, Ky.; WHA, Madison, Wis.; WDAY, Fargo, N. Dak.; and KOIN, Portland, Oreg. On this wave also is KGU, Honolulu.

The Brinkley station, XER, at Villa Acuna, just across the border from Del Rio, Tex., is causing interference with CKAC, at Montreal, on the Canadian exclusive channel of 730 kilocycles, as well as WSB, Atlanta. With 75 kilowatts, the highest power used by any station in the Western Hemisphere, the station is operating on the mid-channel of 735 kilocycles, and is perhaps more easily heard than any station on the continent.

It is reported that the station is receiving between $1,000 and $1,500 daily from listeners given medical advice by Dr. John R. Brinkley, goat-gland specialist, whose station, KFKB, of Milford, Kans., was thrown off the air by the Radio Commission because of his medical broadcasts and other practices which were construed as endangering the public health and welfare. Doctor Brinkley offers a "dream book" over the radio at $1 each.

The Canadian Government, it is learned authoritatively, has received a protest from CKAC, operated by the powerful French-language newspaper La Presse, against XER. Presumably that protest was forwarded to the Mexican Government, but nothing has been done about it.

SOME MEXICAN STATIONS

XED at Reynosa, across the border from McAllen, Tex., is operating on the mid-channel of 965 kilocycles with 10 kilowatts. On 960 kilocycles, a Canadian exclusive channel, are five Canadian stations, while on the 970-kilocycle frequency are KJR, Seattle, and WCFL, Chicago, the former with 5 kilowatts and the latter with 1½ kilowatts at night.

Other stations of 5 kilowatts in Mexico are XEQ, Juarez, opposite El Paso, Tex., which operates on 750 kilocycles, a clear channel, and XEW, Mexico City, operating on 910 kilocycles, a Canadian exclusive channel used by CJGG-CNBL, London, Ontario, with 5 kilowatts and CFQR-CNRS, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, with 500 watts.

One of two new stations being built at Tia Juana, presumably with American capital, has just been licensed with call letters XEFD, to operate on 1,020 kilocycles, with 300 watts. This frequency is assigned in this country to KYW, Chicago, using 10 kilowatts. XEFD is licensed in the name of Carlos de la Sierra.

Of the 45 Mexican stations now licensed, including the 5 Government stations, 17 are in Mexico City. The power of stations has been kept down, not by Government regulations but by the tax of about $1 per watt.

Mexico is understand to favor the proposal for widening of the broadcast band as a means of accommodating more stations and of alleviating congestion and interference with stations in the United States and Canada. The former administration had made definite plans to advance a proposal to that end at the forthcoming International Radio Conference at Madrid. The Canadian broadcasting situation is quiescent at this time, but that nation is supposed to be standing ready to demand more frequencies when the subject is opened.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes; requested a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. BYRNS, Mr. BUCHANAN, and Mr. WOOD of Indiana were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate insist upon its amendments and agree to the conference asked by the House, and that the Chair appoint conferees on behalf of the Senate.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator tell us just what the differences are between the House bill and the Senate bill?

Mr. JONES. The differences are the amendments that we put in on yesterday and a day or two ago.

Mr. KING. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Washington.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. JONES, Mr. HALE, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. GLASS, and Mr. MCKELLAR conferees on the part of the Senate.

THE CALENDAR

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

Mr. MCNARY. Mr. President, as the morning business is closed, I think under the usual practice the calendar automatically comes up under Rule VIII. I should like to have that announcement made.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the first bill on the calendar.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Dale	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Bailey	Dickinson	Kendrick	Schall
Bankhead	Dill	Keyes	Sheppard
Barbour	Fess	King	Shipstead
Bingham	Fletcher	La Follette	Smith
Black	Frazier	Lewis	Smoot
Blaine	George	Logan	Steiwer
Borah	Glass	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glenn	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Goldsborough	McNary	Townsend
Bulkley	Gore	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulow	Hale	Morrison	Tydings
Byrnes	Harris	Moses	Vandenberg
Capper	Harrison	Neely	Wagner
Caraway	Hastings	Norbeck	Walcott
Carey	Hatfield	Norris	Walsh, Mass.
Connally	Hayden	Nye	Walsh, Mont.
Coolidge	Hebert	Oddie	Waterman
Copeland	Howell	Patterson	Watson
Costigan	Hull	Pittman	Wheeler
Couzens	Johnson	Reed	White

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FESS in the chair). Eighty-eight Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The clerk will announce the first bill on the calendar.

BILLS PASSED OVER

The first business on the calendar was the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This bill is the special order for the 26th instant and will go over.

The bill (S. 1861) authorizing the George Washington Bicentennial Commission to print and distribute additional sets of the writings of George Washington was announced as next in order.

Mr. FESS. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES in the chair). The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 2326) to establish fish and game sanctuaries in the national forests was announced as next in order.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY] asked that that bill go over in his absence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

HARDING TOWNSITE, FLA.

The bill (S. 476) for the relief of certain purchasers of lots in Harding Townsite, Fla., was announced as next in order.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let that go over.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I would like to have the bill brought up and disposed of, if the Senator from Michigan could see his way clear to allowing that to be done. He objected the other day, and I thought he had looked into the matter. A similar bill has been passed once by the Senate, and this bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Public Lands again.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would not for a moment want to prevent the Senator from having his bill considered. I have no objection to his moving to have it taken up and having it disposed of, but I could not personally consent that it shall be taken up by unanimous consent.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to issue a patent to any person (or the legal representatives of such person) who, as a result of an auction sale of lots in Harding Townsite, Fla., conducted during February, 1924, by a representative of the Department of the Interior, agreed to purchase a lot in such townsite, and who, (1) prior to the date of approval of this act, has paid to the United States 50 per cent or more of the agreed purchase price of such lot, or (2) within 12 months after the date of approval of this act makes payments to the United States which, together with payments previously made, amount to 50 per cent of the agreed purchase price of such lot. In the event that any person entitled to a patent as herein provided has paid to the United States more than 50 per cent of the agreed purchase price of any such lot, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to refund to such person an amount equal to the amount received by the United States in excess of such 50 per cent.

SEC. 2. As used in this act, the term "person" includes an individual, partnership, corporation, or association.

SEC. 3. There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, perhaps it will be preferable for me to state my objections to the bill, and then the Senator from Florida can respond as he sees fit.

Mr. President, at a time when we are supposed to be embarked upon an economy crusade, and when we spend hours and hours debating infinitely smaller items in connection with appropriation bills, it seems a perfectly amazing process to me that here we should have what is virtually a $200,000 appropriation bill quietly moving along on the Private Calendar.

In the first place, this bill is not approved by the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office. That of itself should put us on warning, at a time when we are supposed to be economizing.

This is apparently what happened: In 1924, when Florida real estate was at its height, the Government auctioned off certain lands. Admittedly there was an ultimate legal difficulty in connection with the title, but in spite of that legal difficulty many of the purchasers of this land were able ultimately to resell the property which they purchased at a financial profit to themselves. Therefore it seems obvious that the flaw in the title, or the legal difficulty involved, did not prevent those who wanted from realizing upon their purchases.

What subsequently happened? Some of the purchasers of these lots were unable to fulfill their contracts, and this bill proposes to release them and give them full title if they pay 50 per cent. Obviously, in order to extend that privilege to these particular lot owners, who find themselves caught in the collapse, as a matter of equity it is necessary to deal with those who have paid in full for their lots. Therefore the bill proposes to rebate down to 50 per cent the purchase price to those lot owners who have paid in full for their lots.

So we have three classes of lot owners upon this particular Florida real-estate transaction. We have the lot owners who purchased lots from the Government and sold them at a profit. Of course, they keep their profit; the Government has no recourse as far as they are concerned. Then we have the second class of lot owners, who have not been able to pay in full. We give them title if they will pay up to 50 per cent. Then we have the third class of lot owners, those who have paid more than 50 per cent, and we propose to rebate them back to 50 per cent, and give them their title.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. REED. Take the first class, those who resold their lots at a profit. Would they not have a refund of 50 per cent, in addition to their profit?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Perhaps; I am not sure. At any rate, there is enough profit in this bill to warrant its defeat without even including that.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. FLETCHER. I know that the Senator does not want to be unfair about this measure.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not.

Mr. FLETCHER. The only reference to what the Senator has said is in the report of the commissioner. He says:

It has been reported by some of the purchasers that they have sold their lots at more than double the prices paid.

Undoubtedly some of these purchasers were offered a profit, but they could not give title. There was no transaction of that kind which went through. They could not give title because they had no patents. So that assumption is all wrong. They could have sold, and they probably agreed to sell, and that part of it went through, but the transaction could not be completed because the Government was not in a position to issue patents to the original purchasers.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Of course, I have no desire to misrepresent the situation, and I am simply depending for the moment upon the following paragraph in the report of the Commissioner of the Land Office, Mr. Moore, dated January 6, 1932:

The purchasers exercised their own choice and judgment in the purchase of lots. The competition for the lots was keen and the bidders made their own prices. At the date of the sale real estate prices were very high in Florida and much land was bought for speculation. It has been reported by some of the purchasers that they have sold their lots at more than double the prices paid. It should be noted that no interest was charged on the lots sold. Under all the circumstances I do not favor the enactment of the bill.

Mr. President, just a word in conclusion. Let me indicate the extent of the financing involved in this bill. It is proposed to release approximately $85,000 of contract values still due the Government. It is proposed actually to refund, out of the Treasury of the United States, over $100,000. Therefore this is in fact an appropriation bill of $100,000, and in effect an appropriation bill of nearly $200,000. Under the circumstances, particularly under the urge of economy which is supposed to challenge our interest and meditation at the moment, I submit that the bill should not be passed.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, it is important to consider what led up to this situation. Here was a piece of land, a reservation owned by the Government originally as a sort of a life-saving station, probably 20 acres or 40 acres in extent, most of it in mangrove swamp.

The life-saving station decided they did not need all the reservation. They reserved a certain strip alongside it for the life-saving station, and that strip is now a Government reservation.

This land was located some eight or ten miles north of Miami Beach, fronting the ocean, and running back to the bay. Upon deciding to release this portion of the original reservation, the Government threw it open to entry under the public land laws.

One Norton entered the land; he went on the property, built his house, made certain clearings, and was complying with the public land laws.

When the Florida boom arose to sufficient height to induce the Government to participate in it, and to attract them to do so, they concluded, under certain powers they had, to cancel the order about opening this land to public entry under the public land laws, and to declare it a town site. So they notified Mr. Norton that he would have to get off, that they were going to make a town site there, lay it off in lots, and sell the land as town lots.

Mr. Norton naturally resisted that. The poor fellow had gone there, made his entry in good faith, and built his house. I have been to his house. I saw his poor wife, who died there, eaten up largely by mosquitoes, I presume, and afflicted with malaria, and so forth, because it was all a swamp then.

Mr. Norton continued to occupy his house, and continued to resist the Government's authority to once declare the land open to public entry, permit him to go on and put his improvements there and comply with the laws, and then change their minds and declare that they were going to make a town site of the property and sell it off for the money there was in it.

Mr. Norton resisted and filed suit, which suit continued in the United States district court, went to the court of appeals, and even to the Supreme Court. Norton lost out finally and had to give up his entry. The Government proceeded then to lay the property out into lots and held an auction sale. They went out there in the boom days and auctioned off the lots, people were there to buy, and they did buy at extravagant, exorbitant, unreasonable prices. It was a day of speculation, I grant. Lots 50 by 100 feet 8 or 10 miles from any town or city sold there for $15,000. It was perfectly absurd. The whole property was not worth $1,500 and could not be sold to-day for $1,500. At any rate that was the situation. But they did come there and bid for and buy these Government lots.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will suspend a moment. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, under the rule the consideration of the calendar will be suspended.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate continue the consideration of the calendar under Rule VIII.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The Senator from Florida will proceed.

Mr. FLETCHER. The Government agents making the sales gave notice to everybody present that the Government was in a position to issue patents immediately to the people who bid at the sales upon complying with the terms of the sale. Bids were made. I have not any doubt that some of the purchasers were subsequently offered higher prices for the lots they bid in, but there is no evidence anywhere that they ever succeeded in selling any of them or realizing on their purchases, because they had no title. Notwithstanding the fact that the sale was made at public outcry and purchasers were notified that the Government was in a position to issue patents, notwithstanding the fact that some of the people paid up in full and some paid a part of the purchase price, notwithstanding that they complied with the terms of the sale, the Government for four years was unable to issue patents on account of the suit pending in the United States courts by Norton, Norton trying to set up and establish his right as an entryman of this area as public property which the Government had invited him to make by declaring it open for public settlement.

Naturally, Norton contested this change of mind on the part of the Government to declare it a town site in order to make money out of it. For four years that case remained in the courts. The Government was not in a position to issue patents to any of the purchasers, so the people who bid at the sale could not do anything with the land after they presumably got it, because they had no title. They could not sell. They had opportunity to sell; many of them had opportunity to make large profits on their purchases, because people were wild about these lots down there at that time; but the purchasers could not realize anything on their purchases. They were all held up simply for the reason that the Government was not in a position to issue patents, notwithstanding it had declared at the time of the sale that it was in a position to pass title and to issue patent. Agents of the Government so declared at the time.

That was the situation. These people, after waiting four years, or from four to five years, as many of them did, to get their titles have lost out. They have lost the opportunity to realize on their lots. They have lost any chance to make any profit or to complete their possession of the property. They have not been able to make improvements on their property because they have had no title and could get none.

What was the actual transaction? The commissioner reported that—

> A total of 128 lots of 133 embraced in the town site were sold for $386,400.

The whole property was not worth at that time actually $3,000, but the Government got this bid of $386,400 at public sale for the 128 lots. The appraised price of the lots sold was $56,550. After they decided to make it a town site and undertook to get Norton off the land entirely they appraised it, made plats and maps, and laid out the lots and valued them then, before any sale was made, at $56,550 for the 128 lots. So they were in a position to clear up on that transaction $329,850. In other words, they sold the 128 lots at a price which would give them a profit of $329,850.

The appraisal of the property by the Government was at $56,550, and they sold 128 lots at this public sale under the assurance that they were in a position to give title, which they were not and did not do and never have done, so far as I know, because of the Norton suit pending in the court. If the whole transaction had gone through at that time, the Government would have cleared $329,850. The total amount paid on the lots sold was $300,327. That is what the people paid who bid in the lots. The total amount due on the lots sold is $86,163.

Some of those people can not pay or will not pay the balance due. The lots are not worth anything approaching what their bids were, and consequently they will not pay. Why should they? A lot that was bid in for $10,000 could not be sold for $1,000 to-day. The man who has paid $5,000 on account of that lot is not going to pay any more on it. Why should he? Of course, the people will lose what they have paid, but the Government will never get that $86,163. A man would be foolish to carry out such a contract. All he has to do is to forfeit his contract. They will all forfeit their contracts.

The report of the commissioner says that the department, under the terms of the bill, would receive half of the sale price, which is $193,200. They would have cleared that much, and the Government would get $193,200 out of the transaction. The appraised value of the lots is $56,550. The Government therefore would realize on the property appraised by it at $56,550 the sum of $193,200 if the bill is approved, making a profit absolutely clear of $136,650. Of course, the Government has disposed of Norton. It did not sell the lot on which his house was located. I do not know what became of that, but Norton is dead and his wife is dead and all of them have disappeared, so the Government claims that lot, too.

The bill proposes that where the purchasers have paid 50 per cent of the price they bid at the public outcry under the assurance that they would be given their patents, they shall be entitled to a patent now, and where they have paid more than 50 per cent of the purchase price it is provided that they shall be refunded the amount paid in excess of the 50 per cent. The 50 per cent payment would give the Government $193,200 for property for which the Government itself paid $56,550. I can not see anything unreasonable in that. I see nothing but justice and fairness in it. The Government will never get the balance of the payments due under the contracts because the property is not worth it. It does not approach even the appraised value now.

The bill provides that out of the total of $386,400 paid in, the Government shall pay back to these purchasers $100,000 where they have paid in excess of 50 per cent of the purchase price. All we are asking and all the bill provides is just that much, and it seems to me fair and just and right in view of the fact that the Government could not give title to the property after the people bid the lots in. For four or five years the Government was unable to give title, during which time all opportunity to dispose of the property or to make any profit on the lots had disappeared and was extinguished, so that now what we are asking is that the Government take this very exorbitant profit, this tremendous profit of $136,650, and be content with that.

I think the Government ought to be willing to do that, and especially I think the Government ought to do it because of the fact that the Government was not able to carry out its assurance to the public when the lots were bought that the Government was in a position to give title to the property. The Government could not do it and did not do it. It fought the Norton claim through all the courts to the Supreme Court of the United States, and in the meantime all opportunity to make any profit on the lots disappeared and the purchasers lost what they had paid. I think the Government ought to be satisfied with this little piece of ground which they appraised, in those days of high prices and speculation and wild dreams about the value of real estate down there, at $56,000 and for which they received $386,400.

We ask that the Government turn back $100,000 of that sum to the people to whom they could not give title and who have lost all opportunity of realizing on the lots because the Government did not issue patents and would not issue patents until the Norton suit was disposed of. The Government held these people there between four and five years without title to their lots. There is no dispute about that. During that time the purchasers had the right, if they had had their title, to make the profits on their lots. They were offered advanced prices; they were offered profits and could have made profits on their purchases, but they could not get title from the Government.

We ask now to let them lose 50 per cent of what they have paid. They will never realize 10 per cent of the other 50 per cent, but we will let them lose 50 per cent. Those who have not been able to pay 50 per cent may pay up their accounts to that extent and get title to the lots, so they can do something with them perhaps hereafter. They can hold them indefinitely, because the Government is now in a position to give title to them. Norton is out of the way, because the Supreme Court held against him and the Government can now convey title. The purchasers are in a position to convey title when they get their patents. All of these people have made considerable payments, though some of them have not made quite 50 per cent, and can not make them and probably never will make them. They will lose all they have paid in unless we provide that they will be permitted to pay up 50 per cent of their bid and get title to the land, and that those who have paid in excess of 50 per cent will be refunded that excess.

When that is all done the Government will realize a net profit of $136,650 out of a property for which they have paid $56,550. Is not that enough? Is not that in all conscience fair, and especially so in view of the fact that the people who bid at the sales were not able to go on with their purchases, were not able to realize anything by reason of their purchases, because the Government was not in a position to issue patents to the property, and this condition continued for four or five years.

I submit the bill is entirely reasonable and proper and that it ought to be passed.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office does not favor the enactment of the bill; he is not enthusiastic about it, but is not very strong in opposition to it. We can not expect the department to favor a bill which will cause the Government to pay back some money that has been paid into the Treasury. But it is utterly unconscionable that the Government should insist upon the payment of $386,400 for property which it appraised at $56,550, and at the same time withhold from purchasers who made bids amounting to the aggregate sum patents for the lots as they acquired them. The department was not in position to give the patents.

Mr. President, I hope the Senate will see the justice of this bill. The Government will realize 50 per cent on the bids, which were made in exciting times when people were wild about values and when speculation was rampant. In addition to realizing 50 per cent on the bids, the Government will get a profit of $136,650 on those lots. That ought to be sufficient.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for third reading and read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

AUGUST R. LUNDSTROM

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1440) for the relief of August R. Lundstrom, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment on page 1, at the end of line 8 to insert: "*Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowances shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws August R. Lundstrom, late of Company L, Eighteenth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of said organization on the 6th day of April, 1903: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowances shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JOHN F. WALKER

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1891) to amend the military record of John F. Walker, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, there are quite a number of bills of this character on the calendar. Neither the Senators who introduced them nor the Senators who reported them appear to be present in the Chamber. I should like to have an explanation of some of these measures before we act upon them.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, this is the case of a soldier who served a full enlistment, received an honorable discharge, was given authority by the department again to enlist in 1922 in order to get an honorable discharge, but when he presented himself for medical examination he was found not to be up to the physical standard, and consequently could not reenlist even for that purpose. Because of the fact that he had served the full term during the Spanish War and was honorably discharged, with character good, the committee thought it might pardon his subsequent desertion in peace times and allow recognition for his good service in war times.

Mr. FESS. I have no objection to the passage of the bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The amendment was, at the top of page 2, to strike out section 2, as follows:

SEC. 2. The Secretary of War is authorized and directed to issue to John F. Walker a discharge certificate showing that he is held and considered to have been honorably discharged as of such date.

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws or any laws conferring rights, privileges, or benefits upon persons honorably discharged from the United States Army, their widows, children, and dependent relatives, John F. Walker shall be held and considered to have been honorably discharged as a private (first class), Hospital Corps, United States Army, on December 26, 1903: *Provided*, That no pension, pay, or bounty shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill for the relief of John F. Walker."

LEMUEL SIMPSON

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 315) for the relief of Lemuel Simpson, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, on page 2, line 2, after the word "shall," to strike out the word "accrue" and insert "be held to have accrued," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the administration of the pension laws and laws conferring rights and privileges upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows, and dependent relatives, Lemuel Simpson, late of Company B, Seventh Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and Company K, Fifty-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, shall be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of said Company B, Seventh Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, bounty, or other emoluments shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I am asked for a statement on this bill.

This beneficiary enlisted in the Black Hawk Cavalry in the Civil War, served faithfully, was wounded, and was sent home in order to convalesce. When he came back to join the organization he tried to do it, but the Black Hawk Cavalry had been disbanded; it had been consolidated with some other organization which he never reached. Consequently he was not given any kind of a discharge, but he subsequently served until he was honorably discharged in the Fifty-fifth Indiana Infantry. He was barred from getting a pension. He is now about 90 years old, if I remember the case correctly, and the committee thought that his honorable services, his wounds, and his subsequent enlistment and honorable discharge entitled him to the discharge that he was not there to get from the Black Hawk Cavalry.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DENTON L. SIMS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 542) for the relief of Denton L. Sims, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, in line 11, after the word "shall," to strike out the word "accrue" and insert the words "be held to have accrued," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws and laws conferring rights and privileges upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows, and dependent relatives, Denton L. Sims, late of Company H, Thirty-eighth Regiment United States Volunteer Infantry, shall be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of said organization on June 30, 1901: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, bounty, or other emolument shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the soldier who is the beneficiary of this bill was court-martialed and dismissed from the service dishonorably.

Mr. McKELLAR. In what war?

Mr. REED. In the Philippine campaign after the Spanish War. He was dishonorably discharged for having committed arson, in substance, and his War Department record looked pretty bad, but on investigation the committee found that all he had done was to light a small fire for the purpose of attracting, for some reason, attention to his location; that he did not thereby damage any building; that he did not cause 10 cents worth of damage to any property. The committee has been utterly unable from our study of the case to understand how that court-martial ever reached the conclusion it did. There was no conflicting evidence, nothing contradictory to the many affidavits submitted by him and his comrades. So the committee came to the conclusion that it was a case of great justice.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HAROLD S. SHEPARDSON

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1293) for the relief of Harold S. Shepardson, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, after line 9, to insert: "*Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowances shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Harold S. Shepardson, formerly private, Company A, Fourteenth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged April 28, 1905, from the military service of the United States: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowances shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I should like to have an explanation of the bill? Otherwise, I shall ask that it go over.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, the beneficiary of this bill—and I read from the report of the committee—

Enlisted April 7, 1899, for three years and served during this period in the Coast Artillery. He was honorably discharged April 6, 1902, by reason of expiration of the term of service, as a sergeant. He again enlisted May 5, 1902, for three years—

Promptly after being discharged at the end of his first enlistment he reenlisted—

and was assigned to Company I, Third United States Infantry; was transferred January 14, 1903, to Company A, Fourteenth United States Infantry.

The record shows—and this is the only question that can be raised as to his service at all—that eight days before the expiration of this enlistment he left his company, after making an effort to obtain a leave of absence. His property at home was being dissipated, he was, as he claims, about to lose everything he had, and he was obliged to get away to look after the matter. So eight days before his term expired he left his company. Some of his relatives had died, the estate was being dissipated; everything was being lost, and, under these circumstances, he claims he had to leave in order to save what little he had at home. He had served some five years and received an honorable discharge at the time of his first enlistment. In every way except as indicated, his record is creditable.

Mr. McKELLAR. Did he make a good soldier?

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes; he seems to have made a good soldier, and the only thing, as I have stated, which can be said against him was that he left eight days before his last enlistment expired.

Mr. FESS. I have no objection to the passage of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

THE LAW'S RELATION TO TEMPERANCE AND MORALS—ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR MURRAY, OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered before the Anti-Saloon League at the Mayflower Hotel on January 18, 1932, by Gov. William H. Murray, of Oklahoma.

There being no objection, the address was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, temperance and morals are ever-pressing questions of every generation of mankind, of every family and individual therein, because we do not inherit either temperance or morals—both grow largely out of training to enable the individual to master his appetites and passions. We may inherit will power; we may inherit the disposition for right living, but rare indeed would any individual live correctly but for rigid training from childhood to maturity—from the cradle to the grave. True, by reason of different character of inheritance, some may more easily control themselves than others, but all depends upon rigid training to self-mastery, self-control, the conquering of self, by controlling dispositions and by a mastery over those personal tendencies to evil.

Hence, with every family and every generation, as with every individual, temperance and morals are an ever present and burning issue.

Just how to bring about private and public morals is when the disagreement arises. A few think, judging from their preachments, that it can be done, so far as public morals are concerned, by law alone; on the other hand, a few likewise believe that it can be accomplished by home training alone. The great body of experienced citizens realize that it requires both such training and the law; and, again, out of just how much of law and of training arises another disagreement. Hence, in the beginning, we had best invoke the Scriptures: "Come, let us reason together."

In my opinion, in youth, by precept and example in the home is the mainstay of private and public morals, aided by the law to destroy the shops of both evils, and, for the most part, they are allies of each other. I think it will be agreed that theft and gambling, and many other evils require the law as aid to the training of the child.

Home influence should begin with the lisping mother's croonings to her infant in the cradle; to instill shame, whispering admonitions of right conduct, fortified by the stern precept and example of the father; and, to the more mature man and woman, the preaching of the fundamentals of religion, true and undefiled, from the pulpit; indeed, the social basis of each of the five great religions have a common purpose—private and public morals.

But the question arises—how far should and can the law aid?

It may be of interest to learn the beginning of laws making for temperance. In the early centuries of the Christian era, when the Saracens (Mohammedans) were marching over Asia and Africa and conquering the most of Europe, until checked by Charles Martel in 732 A. D., at Tours, they captured the Holy City, the city of Jerusalem. After they subdued this city and reduced it completely to their control, Omar, the general, made a treaty with the Christians residing in Jerusalem. Among other things, the treaty recited that the Christians should be permitted to reside in the city and go in and out at will, pursuing their trades and commerce, subject only to section 4 of the treaty. Section 4 provided that the Christians should never sell intoxicating liquors in the city of Jerusalem. What an outstanding irony! This was the beginning of laws governing temperance, although earlier and since very rigid laws governing morals had been invoked. Since this Jerusalem treaty, for some twelve hundred years, the Christian world has entered into a hot discussion over temperance by law—in some periods more or less loose; in others, very rigid.

Unmistakably the training of the child in the home and in the educational institutions must be relied upon as a basis of all private morals and of the child's future existence as an element of society and public morals. Nevertheless, unless the law at least is invoked far enough to destroy the shops, the dives of intemperance and debauchery, little progress can be made, particularly in public morals, which, in the end, affect the private morals of the citizen, and we must presume that this is the purpose of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. If they do not perform this service to society, then they must be pronounced a failure.

While I undertake on this occasion to discuss the law's relation to temperance and morals, yet candor exacts of me that I state my personal opinion of that method of control. When, as president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, as is well known by Doctor Dinwiddie, your Washington agent, I threw my entire strength and prestige on the side of prohibition, because I wanted Oklahoma to step in duly sober; but I stated at the time, and it is my judgment now, that prohibition will not prove the wisest legal solution of the control of the liquor traffic. It is but a beginning of the solution of this vexatious question; but, as between prohibition and the evils of the old saloon which many of our citizens seem to have forgotten, which became veritable brothels, not only for intemperance but gambling, pocket picking, and sexual debauchery, the master of these saloons offensively insinuating himself in the school elections and in all public movements for proper restraint of appetities and passions of men. As between the return of the institution, destroyed by prohibition, and prohibition itself, in my opinion, there is no argument; and doubtless this is the cause of the position of the wives and mothers of the country who uniformly support that cause and vote for candidates who do not subscribe thereto, and permit me here to warn the politicans of the country that while the wives and mothers do not nominate Presidents, and will never do so until they attend with their husbands and brothers the party caucus or primary convention, yet they vote just as strong and will destroy any candidate or party who plant themselves on the side of a return of that debauchery. Wives and mothers would sooner give up the ballot itself; they would trust their husbands and sons at the ballot box, but they are too wise to trust them in such a brothel.

I give this warning to my fellow men, and particularly to the politician who imagines that he can frame a political slate, mix the political medicine pot, and force the women of the country to swallow it.

It will be observed that many men and groups of citizens profit by the debauchery of humanity; the viewpoint of that class should never be considered in the settlement of any wholesome question, for the commercial minded consider everything from the standpoint of personal gain and nothing from the standpoint of the public weal. Personal honor and integrity are worthy of the serious consideration of an honest citizenship. Therefore the advice of men and women who believe in temperance and morals should be accepted in drafting such laws.

On the other hand, I wish to be candid enough to give you what, in my opinion, constituted the greatest error in the legal control of the liquor traffic. I am thoroughly convinced that had the original Sheppard amendment been adopted, which only prohibited the "sale and transport of liquor" and therefore left the citizen free to grow grapes and make his own wine, purchase hops and make his own home-brew; and, if he did not grow grapes, import them from California or elsewhere and make his own wine—I say I believe had that original provision been adopted, the law had better been enforced, received a greater public support, and more easily enforced, this because the sacredness of home from trespass is too often violated by enforcement officers committing a greater wrong than the wrong committed by the homemade-wine maker; and by reason of this error the strong and powerful in society keep liquor at all times that has been transported, and their homes are made secure against unreasonable "search and seizure," and the average man, particularly the "poorest and least important citizen," is pounced upon and wheeled off to jail for doing exactly what the higher-ups are guilty of, and everybody knows it. This breaks down respect for the law, because it is not uniform on everybody.

This lack of uniform enforcement was one of the causes that contributed to the abolition of the saloon. The laboring man at the end of the week or month visited the saloon and, in the purchase of his drinks, exhibited his bills until he became intoxicated to that extent that he knew little about what he was doing. Eyed closely by the bartender, who, in making the change, often took more than full compensation; picked up the bills dropped on the floor; and, when the laboring man's last dollar was gone, kicked him out on the street or handed him over to the "cop," to be thrown into jail for public drunkenness.

The laboring man throughout the country justly resented this treatment, and, therefore, how much greater does he resent the trespass upon the sacredness against trespass of his home. One of the cardinal doctrines of the American Revolution was in opposition to "unreasonable search and seizure." It was written in all our constitutional instruments, all our fundamental laws, that there should never be "unreasonable search and seizure" of the citizen's home. For many years the American citizen was fond of repeating that very lofty and beautiful political sentence of Lord Chatham, the great English statesman, who said: "Though a British subject live in a log-walled hut, though the puncheon floor may sag beneath his feet, the door may screech upon its wooden hinges, the winds may howl around it, the thunder may roar, and the lightning flash above it, the rain, sleet, and snow may enter it, but the King can not without his consent"; it is his castle.

This doctrine of the home is so sacred to the American citizen that any trespass upon that doctrine, whatever be the excuse, has been, and always will be, resented. Too often, as I have known it to be done in Oklahoma, the courts have issued to the enforcing officers search warrants in blank, in violation of all American constitutional law, and that officer meandering down the street, deciding he wishes to enter a given dwelling place, writes in the number on the door and proceeds to violate this fundamental American doctrine.

Permit me to give an example, as Governor of Oklahoma: A thrifty farmer living in the remote precincts of Lincoln County, Okla., always responsible for his obligations, with an excellent credit, paid his taxes, obeyed the laws, and lived a circumspect citizen; grew some grapes last year. He squeezed the juice out and let nature do the rest. A deputy sheriff of his county who did not like him, searched his premises and found this wine which nature had made from the grapes he grew himself, and from which he extracted the juice. It was admitted that he never transported it and never sold it, but he was jerked up, given 30 days in jail and a heavy fine and costs. A great number of his neighbors and fellow citizens who had always voted for prohibition assured me that that was not a crime, and I took their view of it, and did not permit him to suffer a day in prison, nor the expenditure of his funds; and, somehow, I do not believe that that man committed any crime, but he technically violated the eighteenth amendment.

The question is, Should that be the law?

I do not now undertake to say what should be the settlement of this question, what laws to be enacted, what course should be pursued to bring about a settlement of this question, for the reason that I do not think that the American people have reached the point where they would listen to a settlement of the question, nor will they be, so long as they are locked on the question of

repeal on one side and no change in the law on the other. For that reason, the only wise thing, in my opinion, is to lay the subject aside until there is greater thought and deliberate judgment matured in the minds of the people that will lead to an ultimate solution.

If the public mind (thought) could be brought to bear directly upon the question, as to what is best, rather than what "I believe," and what "I stand for," because beliefs too often begin just where information ends, it would be correctly settled. Here is a great question confronting the American people just at a time they are least fitted to solve it. For more than two decades, our institutions of learning have turned out graduates, taught for the most part "what to think" rather than how to think. So, it is folly for man to attempt to think so long as that is the attitude of both sides of the question. How unjustly are treated the thinking few by those who never think, but think they do!

Some have suggested that it will be necessary to repeal the eighteenth amendment and leave to each State the settlement of the question. That will not permit a State to be dry, if it so desires, owing to the exercise of interstate commerce by the Federal Government, which would do more to destroy the law than the bootlegger. A State could not be dry if it wanted to, because the Federal laws would interfere through the exercise of interstate commerce.

It could be done within the Constitution and under its limitations, by the use of leagues of States and zone control—in effect, a treaty between the States and the Federal Government—a power used but once or twice in the history of the Government—yet entirely within constitutional powers and limitations.

I give this merely as an illustration of what can be done. It would be entirely constitutional, as in the settlement of the source of the waters of the Boulder Dam, for the United States Government through Congress to create a commission to make a treaty between the several States by groups or zones of States in league for a common method, each State, in turn, appointing a commission to draft jointly a plan with the Federal commission.

Suppose then they should agree that a uniform law covering the entire Republic could not be made satisfactory; that they found New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin wanted beer and wine; California and the other Pacific and grape-growing States wanted wines; certain other States wanted to handle liquor in a given way, for medicinal purposes only; and certain other States wanted to remain bone-dry. It would be within the power of such a commission to draw a statute, grouping these States according to their desires and wishes, and have that statute ratified by Congress and by three-fourths of all the States; at the same time, providing that interstate commerce should exist only between the States or groups of States permitting the sale of the same liquors; in other words, that interstate commerce between the beer States should be had, but not between them and any other States; and, likewise, that those having wine alone prohibiting interstate commerce with the bone-dry States. Such a law drawn on the zone system, when ratified by Congress and legislatures of three-fourths of the States, would undoubtedly be within the Constitution and the law of the land until amended or changed by a like method.

I wish it especially noted that in this discussion I am pointing out what could be done, and how, and not offering any plan for solution for the reason expressed in the beginning. Since to repeal the eighteenth amendment requires two-thirds of both Houses of Congress and its ratification by three-fourths of all the States, so that so long as 13 States would oppose a repeal it could not be done. I have therefore suggested that the wise course to pursue would be to lay the question aside and not attempt its solution, especially by party action; indeed, constitutional amendments should not be made with a religious, a partisan, or fanatical bias; the Constitution being the fundamental law of the land, prescribing the form of government; and, since the power of all government originates with the people the fundamental law should be the reflex of the deliberate judgment of the people, and not to be changed in moments of popular passion, fanaticism, or bigotry.

It is also fundamental, as expressed in the first section of the bill of rights of every State in the Union, "all power of government originates with the people, made for their benefit; and they have the inalienable right to alter, reform, or change the government at their will." This is a fundamental doctrine running through the bill of rights of every State of the Union; they may amend their constitution and then repeal that amendment; but I insist it should always be done as a deliberate judgment rather than by partisanship; and, since it would be impossible to repeal the amendment during the next four years, and in view of the economic errors confronting us which, if left uncorrected, will lead us on to revolution, and which must be settled during the next four years; or if not settled, we shall have no Republic in which to discuss the question of prohibition at all.

We have discussed prohibition now in a Christian world for some twelve hundred years; we shall have twelve hundred more, if our Nation may endure, to do so; but we can not await the settlement of the economic errors; otherwise we shall have no government for such discussion.

To me, therefore, it is more important for the citizen to be enabled to buy a square meal and have a surplus before he should think of where he is going to get a drink. In short, "bread and butter, bacon and beans" is of more importance than "beer and booze." This will display a greater strength of brain and backbone.

I have observed that sundry candidates for the Presidency on my party ticket uniformly overlook the fundamentals which so beset us—the correction of economic errors, and an attempt to make the paramount issue the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. This should create a suspicion as to the real motives to serve the corrupt interests of the country, by dividing the people upon a question in which there is too much hate for settlement at this time. These candidates do not express themselves on any other issue except occasionally to read a "paper" which we may term a "composition"—not possessing the strength of rhetoric, or diction, language, or logic to be termed an "essay"—which generalizes on many unimportant things and gives no definite expression on anything save and except the eighteenth amendment. I shudder at the prospect.

I do not know how others would view promotion in public affairs by such method. I should hate to have it said that I rode into the White House either on a wave of fanaticism or astride a beer keg.

I repeat again: Public and private morals and temperance should begin with the cradle, as it has always begun, and run with every citizen to his grave; home training, through the public school, strengthened by the eloquence of the pulpit, ballasted by wholesome laws to sustain private and public morals. This has always been the mainstay of society and wholesome government; and you may therefore place me in every contest on the side of temperance and morals; and out of no consideration of political expediency, financial gain, or personal aggrandizement would I depart from that position.

HARVEY K. MEYER

The bill (S. 2406) for the relief of Harvey K. Meyer, and for other purposes, was read, considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to allow credit in the accounts of Harvey K. Meyer, superintendent and special disbursing agent at Colville Agency, Wash., for payments aggregating $312.67, made from tribal funds of the Spokane Indians to William S. Lewis, of Spokane, Wash., to reimburse him for travel expenses incurred in behalf of said Indians, as provided in his contract with them as their attorney, which payments were disallowed by the General Accounting Office for the reason as claimed that there was no authority of law therefor.

QUINAIELT INDIAN RESERVATION, WASH.

The bill (S. 2408) to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation, in Washington, for lighthouse purposes," was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to set aside for lighthouse purposes lot 5, section 13, and lot 1, section 24, township 21 north, range 13 west, Willamette meridian, within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington, containing a total of 43.21 acres, be, and the same is hereby, repealed in its entirety.

SKULL VALLEY INDIAN RESERVATION, UTAH

The bill (S. 2553) to reserve certain land on the public domain in Utah for addition to the Skull Valley Indian Reservation was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the south half of section 14, township 5 south, range 8 west of the Salt Lake meridian, Utah, on the public domain, be, and the same is hereby, reserved as an addition to the Skull Valley Indian Reservation: *Provided*, That the right and claims of any bona fide settler initiated under the public land laws prior to September 2, 1931, the date of withdrawal of the land from all form of entry, shall not be affected by this act.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 1951) for the relief of Howard P. Cornick, reported adversely by the Committee on Military Affairs, was announced as next in order.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, in the absence of the Senator from California, I should not like to have action on this bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be passed over.

CONDITIONS IN HAWAII

The resolution (S. Res. 137) providing for an investigation of conditions in Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii was announced as next in order.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, this resolution relates to the same subject matter which was debated earlier in the day. The resolution of the Senator from Tennessee is also

pending before the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. It has been temporarily postponed pending preliminary reports from the Department of Justice and its investigators. In view of that circumstance, I suggest that the resolution go over.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses recommended that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, but when it was reported there was some objection to that course and it therefore had to go to the calendar. This is not the recommendation of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. Therefore, I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Ohio.

The motion was agreed to.

SURVEYS AND DIKE CONSTRUCTION IN OREGON

The bill (S. 719) authorizing a survey of Columbia River from Tongue Point to the sea was announced as next in order.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the bill the title of which has just been read, together with Orders of Business Nos. 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, and 102, being the bills, respectively, S. 721, S. 726, S. 727, S. 729, S. 730, S. 718, S. 723, and S. 728, all refer to authorizations for surveys and the construction of and operation of dams and dikes to prevent the tidal flow of waters along the Oregon coast. Similar bills were passed during the latter part of the last session. They have been reintroduced at this session. Favorable reports have been received upon them from the department. Without further explanation, I submit them to the consideration of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, Orders of Business 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, and 97, being, respectively, the bills (S. 719) authorizing a survey of Columbia River from Tongue Point to the sea, (S. 721) authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of Alsea Bay, in the State of Oregon, (S. 726) granting the consent of Congress to the Sunset Investment Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a dam to retain tidal waters in Inner Depoe Bay, Lincoln County, Oreg., (S. 727) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Haynes Slough Drainage District to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Haynes Slough, Coos Bay, Coos County, Oreg., (S. 729) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Larson Slough Drainage District to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Larson Slough, Coos Bay, Coos County, Oreg. (S. 730) to provide for preliminary examination and survey to be made of the Willamette River and its tributaries, Oregon, with a view to providing a navigable channel from Eugene to Sprinfield, and (S. 728) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Beaver Slough Drainage District to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Beaver Slough, Coquille River, Coos County, Oreg., having been reported without amendment, will be considered as having been read, as having passed through the various parliamentary stages to passage, and passed.

Order of Business Nos. 98 and 99 being, respectively, the bills (S. 718 and S. 723), have been reported with amendments, which will be stated.

SURVEY OF COQUILLE RIVER, OREG.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 718) authorizing a survey of Coquille River, Oreg., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments, on line 6, after the word "such," to strike out "examination and"; and on line 8, after the word "four," to strike out "examinations and surveys" and insert "examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to cause a survey, in accordance with House Document No. 308, Sixty-ninth Congress, first session, of Coquille River, Oreg. The cost of such survey shall be paid from appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

SURVEY OF YAMHILL RIVER, OREG.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 723) authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of the Yamhill River, Oreg., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments, at the beginning of section 3, page 2, line 12, to strike out "a sum sufficient to pay the" and insert "The"; in line 13, after the word "survey," to strike out "is hereby made available" and insert "shall be paid"; in line 15, after the word "for," to strike out "examination" and insert "examinations"; and in line 16, after the word "contingencies," to strike out "for" and insert "of"; so as to make the section read:

SEC. 3. The cost of such examination and survey shall be paid from appropriations heretofore made, or to be made hereafter, for examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair understands that Order of Business No. 101, being the bill S. 355, is to be passed over.

Mr. McNARY. That is correct.

BRAZOS RIVER AND HARBOR NAVIGATION DISTRICT, TEX.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I do not understand that the Senator from Oregon included Order of Business 100, Senate bill 2278, in his request. I do not think there is any objection to that bill.

Mr. McNARY. No; the order suggested by the Chair should apply to Order of Business 101 but not to Order of Business 100.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2278) authorizing the Secretary of War to reduce the penalty of the bond of the Brazos River and Harbor Navigation District, of Brazoria County, Tex., furnished as surety for its doing certain work on the improvement of Freeport Harbor, Tex., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments, on page 1, line 5, after the word "River," to strike out "and"; in the same line, after the word "Harbor," to strike out "navigation district" and insert "Navigation District"; on page 2, line 3, after the word "River," to strike out "and"; and in the same line, after the word "Harbor," to strike out "navigation district" and insert "Navigation District," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War may, in his discretion, reduce the penalty of the bond executed April 27, 1928, by the Brazos River Harbor Navigation District, of Brazoria County, Tex., as principal and the National Surety Co. as surety, to insure the payment of the sum of $861,000 to such amount as in his opinion will cover any further contribution which may be required from the said Brazos River Harbor Navigation District in connection with the project for improvement of Freeport Harbor, Tex., authorized by the river and harbor act of March 3, 1925: *Provided*, That whenever the Secretary of War is satisfied that the said project has been completed and the works have become so stabilized that no further expenditures will be necessary other than normal maintenance, he may cancel said bond and release the said principal and surety from any obligation thereunder.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to reduce the penalty of the bond of the Brazos River Harbor navigation district of Brazoria County, Tex., furnished as surety for its doing certain work on the improvement of Freeport Harbor, Tex."

LEASE OF POST-OFFICE GARAGE, BOSTON, MASS.

The bill (S. 88) to authorize the Postmaster General to investigate the conditions of the lease of the post-office garage in Boston, Mass., and to readjust the terms thereof was announced as next in order.

Mr. BLAINE. Let that go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. May the present occupant of the chair ask the Senator from Wisconsin to withdraw his objection to the bill? A similar bill has already passed the Senate.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I am very sorry that I can not comply with the request of the Chair. This is one of the leases included within the survey that is being made by the Select Committee on Leases, and the committee has detailed information concerning this leasehold. I think, as a matter of fact, the bill ought to go back to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads until the select committee has reported on these several leases. That report is in course of preparation. When it will be completed I can not say, inasmuch as there are so many details that a great deal of stenographic work is necessary to make up the report. My own feeling is, if the author of the bill does not object, that the bill ought to be recommitted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The author of the bill, being in the chair, is somewhat handicapped in discussing it.

Mr. BLAINE. I am not asking that that be done now, while the author of the bill is in the chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION OF MILITARY ARSENALS, ETC.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2378) to regulate the conduct and administration of military arsenals, Air Corps depots, and other War Department activities and property, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with amendments.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from Pennsylvania please explain that bill?

Mr. REED. Yes; Mr. President, I am glad to do so.

The bill is a composite of several minor provisions, some of which the Senate has already passed in previous Congresses, and some of which are rather obviously necessary.

If Senators will take first section 1, that is the same as a bill which was passed by the Senate in the last Congress, and merely authorizes the Government to apply the rental moneys that it receives on property rented to other institutions or States or counties or cities to the maintenance and upkeep of the property—something naturally necessary. The Senate, after considering the provision rather fully, passed it at the last session. It is obviously the prudent and businesslike thing to do to apply the rentals to the maintenance of the property from which they are derived.

Mr. McKELLAR. Is any report to be made to anyone about it? I think the idea of allowing any department to appropriate moneys that come into its hands without their going through the Treasury is of doubtful propriety, and I was wondering what safeguards there are in this measure for it.

Mr. REED. There are not any safeguards, because the amounts involved are so trivial. I do not think they would amount to many hundred dollars in the course of a year. I have not at hand the very lengthy report which was made to us by the War Department on the same bill last year, but I do remember distinctly that when it was explained no one had any objection to it. It is a comparatively trifling matter. I shall be glad to get that report for the Senator and give it to him later, and then we can reconsider the bill if he wishes to have that done.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendments of the committee will be stated.

The amendments were, on page 3, line 18, after the word "all," to insert "operating"; in line 19, after the word "incurred," to strike out "except pay of commissioned and enlisted personnel"; on page 4, line 10, after the word "are," to insert "first"; and on the same page, after line 13, to strike out:

SEC. 6. That the Secretary of War is empowered to authorize chiefs of supply branches of the Army, in conducting manufacturing or similar operations under any particular appropriation heretofore or hereafter made, to use material procured under any appropriation and to replace the same in kind or otherwise: *Provided*, That in so doing the methods shall be such that each appropriation will be charged with the full value of the material used in carrying out its object.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of War is empowered to authorize chiefs of supply branches of the Army, in conducting manufacturing or similar operations, to charge any indirect or general expense for labor or material therefor against any of the appropriations authorizing these operations in such manner as is most economical and efficient: *Provided*, That the methods adopted shall show that each of such appropriations bears its ratable share of the total amount of these expenses.

SEC. 8. That under such regulations as the President may prescribe, licenses under patents or applications for patents owned by the United States may be issued to individuals, firms, or corporations upon such terms and conditions as may best serve the public interest: *Provided*, That no exclusive licenses issued under such patents and applications for patents shall be valid unless approved by the President: *Provided further*, That rights are reserved to the United States to manufacture, produce, or acquire any article covered by said patents without the payment of royalty or other fee: *And provided further*, That all moneys received in respect of licenses issued under the provisions of this act shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

SEC. 9. That paragraph 8 of the act entitled "An act to discontinue certain reports now acquired by law to be made to Congress," approved May 29, 1928, is hereby amended by adding thereto a subparagraph reading as follows:

"Reports of sale of any war supplies, matériel, lands, factories, or buildings, and equipment showing the character of the articles sold, to whom sold, the price received therefor, and the purpose for which sold (40 Stat. 850)."

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., (a) That in all cases in which property of the United States under the control of the Secretary of War is used or occupied, in whole or in part, under permit or license, by another department, bureau, or other establishment of the Government, it shall be lawful for such department, bureau, or other establishment to reimburse the particular appropriation or funds of the War Department involved in an amount representing the fair proportionate share, as may be determined by the Secretary of War, of operation and maintenance expenses, including services, of such property, if used or occupied in part, or the full amount of such expenses, likewise determined by the Secretary of War, if wholly used or occupied; (b) that in all cases where property of the United States under the control of the Secretary of War is used or occupied under lease, license, or permit by a State Territory, or the government of the Philippine Islands, or a subdivision thereof, the District of Columbia or other place under the jurisdiction of the United States, a corporation partnership, an association, or an individual, it shall be lawful for the Secretary of War to apply such portion, as may be determined by him, of the agreed compensation therefor, monetary or otherwise, to the care, preservation, maintenance, and operation, including services, of the reservation or property involved.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to loan, under regulations to be prescribed by the President and without cost to the United States, such articles of aeronautical equipment or material as may be available and which have not been purchased for that purpose and are not obtainable as commercial articles in the open market, to American manufacturers or designers of aircraft or others engaged in research work in connection with aeronautics for the purpose of assisting in the development of aeronautics, and the Secretary of War shall require in each case from every manufacturer, institution, or person a bond in the value of the property issued for the care, safe-keeping, and return thereof in good order to the United States when required.

SEC. 3. That on the request of the Secretary of Commerce and authorization of the Secretary of War, and under such regulations as the latter may prescribe, experiments or tests may be made by the Air Corps for any persons who are citizens of the United States or corporation at least two-thirds of whose capital stock is owned by citizens of the United States which may be engaged in the design and/or manufacture of aircraft or aircraft parts or accessories pertaining thereto: *Provided*, That any such experiments or tests shall be at the risk of the persons or corporation for whom made: *Provided further*, That the United States shall be reimbursed by said persons or corporation for all operating expenses so incurred, to be computed under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, and the funds so reimbursed shall be credited to the appropriation originally charged and shall be available during the fiscal year in which credited and one fiscal year thereafter: *And provided further*, That the results of such experiments or tests shall be regarded as confidential and shall not be divulged without the consent of the persons or corporation for whom made.

SEC. 4. That such governmental agencies as may be available may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, without incurring direct expense to the Government, supervise the care and maintenance of private battlefield memorials in Europe when funds to defray the costs of such care and maintenance and the direct and necessary expenses of such supervision are first furnished by the owners concerned.

SEC. 5. That authority is hereby granted the Secretary of War to sell or otherwise dispose of in accordance with law and regulations the United States Army transport *Merritt*.

SEC. 6. That the President is empowered, in his discretion, to class as secret or confidential any material, apparatus, or equipment for military or naval use which is of such nature that the interests of the public service would be injured by publicly divulg-

ing information concerning them, and may authorize the purchase and award of contracts for the development, manufacture, or procurement thereof without public advertisement for bids or notice to the trade: *Provided*, That such purchases and contracts shall not be made or awarded except under circumstances where it shall be impracticable to develop, manufacture, or procure such material, apparatus, or equipment in Government establishments: *Provided further*, That when such material, apparatus, or equipment has been classed as secret or confidential the head of any Government department, establishment or agency shall take proper measures to maintain the secret or confidential nature thereof and of the contracts and pertinent papers relating thereto: *Provided further*, That the decision of the President as to what material, apparatus, or equipment shall be classed as secret or confidential and as to whether or not it is practicable to develop, manufacture, or procure such material, apparatus, or equipment in Government establishments shall be final and conclusive: *And provided further*, That the provisions of section 3744, Revised Statutes, and the act of February 4, 1929 (45 Stat. 1147), requiring the filing of copies of certain Government contracts in the General Accounting Office, shall not apply to contracts made in pursuance of this section.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I should not like the bill to pass without explaining briefly just what else is in it.

Section 2 provides for the loan of aeronautical equipment to concerns in the manufacturing business only in case the articles are not obtainable in the market by those people, and only in case the United States is protected by a bond for their safe return. There are a few cases where aeronautical equipment is manufactured solely by the United States, not by any commercial manufacturer, and it is necessary to use it on occasion in the testing of new aircraft and aircraft devices. The Government is fully protected; and the purpose of the loan is really to increase the number of sources of material to which we can resort in case of emergency. It will cost the Government nothing.

Section 3, I ought to explain, merely allows the United States at Wright Field, out at Dayton, Ohio, to use its testing facilities for the purpose of testing aircraft or aircraft devices for private concerns that are American owned. There is a provision safeguarding that, as Senators will see. Every penny of the cost, together with the pay of officers and men involved in those tests, has to be reimbursed to the United States. It will make for safety. It will cost the United States nothing.

Section 4 allows the Graves Registration Service or the Battle Monuments Commission to take care of some of the private monuments that have been built on the battlefields in France, but only where the cost of doing so is first paid to the United States Government, and where the Secretary of War approves it. It reflects on the whole country to have some of those monuments unkempt and uncared for. Where they are well constructed, and where the funds for caring for them are paid to us, it is only right that those agencies which have the men there should take care of the monuments.

Section 5 authorizes the Secretary of War to sell the transport *Merritt*. The *Merritt* is a little bit of a boat, less than 3,000 tons, built back in 1912, and has been used for many years solely for interisland service in the Philippines. It is no longer necessary. It is costing about $900 a month to keep it in an inactive status, and yet the Secretary can not sell it without the consent of Congress. The committee was clearly of the opinion that we ought to sell the boat, which is useless to us, and get what we can out of it, and end the payment for keeping it up.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It seems to me, on reading section 6, that that is a very important, sweeping provision; and, if the Senator will yield for that purpose, I should like to suggest the absence of a quorum before he explains section 6.

Mr. REED. Very well.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Dale	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Bailey	Dickinson	Kendrick	Schall
Bankhead	Dill	Keyes	Sheppard
Barbour	Fess	King	Shipstead
Bingham	Fletcher	La Follette	Smith
Black	Frazier	Lewis	Smoot
Blaine	George	Logan	Steiwer
Borah	Glass	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glenn	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Goldsborough	McNary	Townsend
Bulkley	Gore	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulow	Hale	Morrison	Tydings
Byrnes	Harris	Moses	Vandenberg
Capper	Harrison	Neely	Wagner
Caraway	Hastings	Norbeck	Walcott
Carey	Hatfield	Norris	Walsh, Mass.
Connally	Hayden	Nye	Walsh, Mont.
Coolidge	Hebert	Oddie	Waterman
Copeland	Howell	Patterson	Watson
Costigan	Hull	Pittman	Wheeler
Couzens	Johnson	Reed	White

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-eight Senators having answered to their names, there is a quorum present.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, section 6 of the bill, which Senators will find on page 6, allows the President to class as secret certain material which can not be manufactured in Government establishments. This section is exactly the same as the bill which passed the Senate once before, in the Sixty-ninth Congress. It did not pass the House, and that is the reason for its being repeated here. It allows this process to be resorted to only in the case of material which can not be made in Government establishments, and under as many safeguards as can reasonably be put around it.

The sort of thing the measure is intended to take care of can perhaps be illustrated when we consider the nature of the apparatus which is used for controlling the fire of antiaircraft guns. Very clever electrical apparatus has been devised, which is successful in operation, which allows the captain of the battery, by standing at a box perhaps the size of one of these desks in front of each of us, to control the range, the elevation, and the traversing of all of the guns of the battery without any action whatsoever being taken by the gun crew. All the gun crew does is to put in the fresh charge, and the moment the breech is closed, pull the lanyard, then put in a fresh charge and pull the lanyard again, with no regard whatever to the pointing of the gun. That is all controlled electrically by this mechanism at which the guiding officer of the battery is standing.

Part of that is a secret. If we had it built in the ordinary way, the Government having no electrical establishments capable of making such things, it would be necessary for us to advertise publicly, make the specifications of the machine public, and file a copy of the specifications and the contract in the General Accounting Office, so that not only everybody in the accounting office, but everybody curious enough to get a copy of the specifications, would know all the secrets. Obviously it is not to the interest of this country that in cases like that, such a secret should be given away.

There are comparatively few cases in which the section would be resorted to, because most of the secret apparatus used by both the Navy and the Army is built in Government establishments; but occasionally, as in the case of electrical machinery, it is necessary to let a contract outside.

Both the Navy Department and the War Department are anxious that this authority should be given. As I remember it, under the suggestions which first came to Congress, the Secretaries of those departments would have been allowed to exercise this discretion; but we in the committee thought that was unwise; that as it is a very wide discretion, the burden should be put squarely up to the President of the United States to make the decision; and the legislation is now in that form. I hope the bill may be passed.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, the Senator from Pennsylvania makes a very persuasive argument for this section of the bill, as usual, but I ask Senators to note the sweeping character of the language of the section:

That the President is empowered, in his discretion, to class as secret or confidential any material, apparatus, or equipment for military or naval use which is of such nature that the interests of the public service would be injured by publicly divulging information concerning them, and may authorize the purchase and





award of contracts for the development, manufacture, or procurement thereof without public advertisement for bids or notice to the trade.

Then it provides, as stated by the Senator from Pennsylvania:

That such purchases and contracts shall not be made or awarded except under circumstances where it shall be impracticable to develop, manufacture, or procure such material, apparatus, or equipment in Government establishments.

Obviously that also leaves to the discretion of the President the determination of whether the development of this equipment is practical or not, and in view of the President's attitude toward the Government undertaking any enterprise, naturally I think we may assume that he will consider it impractical for any of these apparatus to be developed in Government arsenals where they can be developed elsewhere.

Then there is another proviso:

That the decision of the President as to what material, apparatus, or equipment shall be classed as secret or confidential and as to whether or not it is practicable to develop, manufacture, or procure such material, apparatus, or equipment in Government establishments shall be final and conclusive: *And provided further*, That the provisions of section 3744, Revised Statutes, and the act of February 4, 1929 (45 Stat. 1147), requiring the filing of copies of certain Government contracts in the General Accounting Office shall not apply to contracts made in pursuance of this section.

That simply means that the supervision of the Comptroller General, the agency established by Congress to make certain that contracts and the carrying out of contracts made between the Government and private parties shall be in conformity with law as passed by Congress, is entirely eliminated from consideration in connection with any of the contracts or any of the arrangements made for the development or manufacture of this material, the publication of information as to which, in the discretion of the President, he may declare to be inimical to the public interest.

The Senator from Pennsylvania states that the bill has once before passed the Senate, but it seems to me this is a very important provision which is being considered; it is very sweeping in its terms. We have up until this time developed all of our apparatus without any such wide and broad powers being given to the President, and I think the Congress should hesitate before it gives to the President such sweeping power as is contained in this section.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. REED. I think there is some force in the criticism made by the Senator of the last proviso about letting the Comptroller General scrutinize these contracts, and I believe the Comptroller General is perfectly capable, when his attention is called to it, of keeping a secret in his office. I would be willing, for myself, to see that last proviso stricken out.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I should think that if that were done, it would remove at least one of the principal objections urged by the Senator from Wisconsin.

May I ask both Senators, with the indulgence of the Senator from Wisconsin, just how the proviso on lines 17 to 22, inclusive, would be carried into effect?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is the point which I wish to make in connection with the suggestion made by the Senator from Pennsylvania that the last proviso be eliminated.

It will do little good, so far as Congress is concerned, if the Comptroller General is given power to supervise these contracts, if he is under an injunction of secrecy and can not report any findings to Congress. It seems to me, if I may have the attention of the Senator from Pennsylvania, that if we are to eliminate the last proviso there should be a proviso added making it possible for the Comptroller General to include in his report to Congress any findings which he may feel it his duty to bring to the attention of the Congress concerning the operation of contracts under section 6 of the bill.

Mr. REED. I think that would clearly be his duty now under the present law.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. But the proviso is—

That when such material, apparatus, or equipment has been classed as secret or confidential the head of any Government department, establishment, or agency shall take proper measures to maintain the secret or confidential nature thereof and of the contracts and pertinent papers relating thereto.

Obviously that would prevent the Comptroller General from reporting concerning any contract which he thought had been entered into that did not properly protect the Government's interest.

Mr. REED. No; I think it would only prevent him from disclosing the secrecy that was endeavored to be maintained. If there was any irregularity in the contract, it would not only be his right but his duty to report it to Congress.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. But it says "of the contracts and pertinent papers relating thereto." That would interdict the Comptroller General from making any report to the Senate concerning any contract entered into under this section.

Mr. REED. I do not so construe it. Can the Senator suggest anything that would solve the difficulty. I am sure the Senator sees the necessity for some provision of this kind.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am perfectly willing to grant it. I have the same feeling about this section that I had about the previous bill, that in order to accomplish a perfectly laudable purpose the Senator has employed very sweeping language. I also feel that Congress is entitled to have the contracts scrutinized by the Comptroller General to make certain that the interests of the Government are protected. Unless the Senator from Pennsylvania is extremely anxious to press the measure, if he will permit it to go over, I shall be glad to confer with him about a substitute for the last proviso.

Mr. REED. I think the best way to handle it for the present would be to strike out all of section 6 and let the uncontested sections be agreed to. I will introduce a new bill embodying only the provisions of section 6, and we can work that out together.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Very well. I move to amend the bill by striking out all of section 6, beginning in line 5, on page 6, down to and including line 7 on page 7.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Wisconsin.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXCHANGE OF OBSOLETE AND SURPLUS WAR DEPARTMENT SUPPLIES

The bill (S. 1694) to authorize the Secretary of War to exchange obsolete, surplus, deteriorated, or unserviceable supplies or equipment for new supplies or equipment of the same general character was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to exchange, upon such terms as he deems to be to the best interest of the public service, any obsolete, surplus, deteriorated, or unserviceable supplies or equipment for new supplies or equipment of the same general character.

BEQUEST OF LATE WILLIAM F. EDGAR

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 48) to authorize the acceptance on behalf of the United States of the bequest of the late William F. Edgar, of Los Angeles County, State of California, for the benefit of the museum and library connected with the office of the Surgeon General of the United States Army was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Whereas by a codicil to his will the late William F. Edgar, of Los Angeles County, Calif., provided as follows:

"4. After the foregoing bequests are made I desire that the bulk of the funds in the hands of my trustees may go to the benefit of the museum and library of or connected with the office of the Surgeon General, United States Army, and I therefore revoke the bequest in the foregoing will and bequeath to said institution as follows: Second:

"I give and bequeath to these institutions to the extent of $40,000, or what may be lawful in that amount, or if not lawful then less, but in the proportion as follows: To the museum connected with the office of the Surgeon General, United States Army, at Washington, D. C., four-fifths of said amount above mentioned, and one-fifth of said amount I give and bequeath to said library connected with the same office."

Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Surgeon General of the United States Army be, and is hereby, authorized to accept the said bequest and to receipt therefor on behalf of the United States and to deposit the funds so received in the Treasury of the United States as a special fund dedicated to the purposes stated in said codicil, said fund to be subject to disbursement for such purposes upon vouchers submitted by the Surgeon General of the United States Army under authority of the Secretary of War and to be available until expended.

The preamble was agreed to.

NELSON KING

The bill (S. 402) for the relief of Nelson King was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Nelson King, who was a member of Company A, Fifth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 13th day of September, 1864: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

AMENDMENT OF IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1924

The bill (S. 268) to amend subdivision (c) of section 4 of the immigration act of 1924, as amended, was announced as next in order.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I have no report in my file as to just what the committee thought about the bill or what it means. May I have a brief statement with reference to it?

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, this is a bill which passed the Senate two years ago to include immigration from Mexico under the quota law, but the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and others opposed it, and some Senators very much in favor of it are not here this afternoon, so I shall not object to its going over, but I want to give notice that I shall move to take up the bill at the first opportunity.

Mr. BINGHAM. May I ask the Senator before he does that if he will not submit a report?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes; I shall be glad to do so.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

JOHN A. PEARCE

The bill (S. 1030) for the relief of John A. Pierce was considered.

The bill had been reported from the Committee on Claims with amendments in line 5, to strike out "$15,000" and insert "$1,500" and in line 6, to strike out the name "Pierce" and insert the name "Pearce," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,500 to John A. Pearce, in full payment for injuries sustained by him on July 19, 1918, when he was shot by a sentry at the Aberdeen Proving Ground in the State of Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment to the committee amendment. I move to strike out, in line 6, the numerals "$1,500" and insert in lieu thereof "$2,500."

I would like the attention of Senators for a moment in order that I may place before them the merits of the claim. At the Edgewood Arsenal there was a lot of wheat. The Government wanted to have it harvested, so it employed a man who owned a threshing machine to do the work. To that man and his crew were issued passes to come and go from the arsenal. The next day the three men with passes drove up to the entrance of the arsenal, submitted their passes to the sentry, and were told to go ahead. They had driven a short way when another sentry shot at them, killing one of the men, and the bullet then passed through the back of another man and came out in front. He was a laboring man making $20 a week. Since that time he has been unable to work at manual labor, because his left side is absolutely useless. He has submitted affidavits from competent medical authorities showing that he is unable to perform manual labor.

The bill proposes to give the man but $1,500, when his whole disability was caused by a sentry shooting him as I have stated. To turn that man loose in this condition, brought about through no fault of his own, with only $1,500 when he is not able to earn a living, would be a rank injustice. I submit that even $2,500 is very poor compensation to a man who has been incapacitated from earning a living for the rest of his life through no fault of his own, but through the carelessness of one of the servants and agents of the Government.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland states that affidavits have been supplied from medical authorities showing that the man is permanently disabled. I know of no such affidavits. There is an affidavit filed by the man himself in which he states that he has been unable to work. I submit that in dealing with a claim of this character there should be evidence submitted that is adequate to justify a greater sum than the committee advises should be paid.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. HOWELL. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I know the Senator is familiar with the statements in the case. Two of them are from the Secretary of War.

Mr. HOWELL. I am speaking of medical evidence.

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes. The Secretary of War wrote to the Edgewood Arsenal and asked for the medical report on this man. Unfortunately they did not keep very accurate reports there. There is no dispute that the man was in the hospital for 13 weeks, but the reports of the Government's own doctors in the Government hospital did not show that he was there at all. They made no record of it, but the man made affidavit that he was there for 13 weeks. Subsequent to his discharge he went back there twice a week for a while and then once a week. However, not being able to get his left side in operation so he could earn a livelihood, he then went to a very celebrated surgeon in the section of the country where I live—namely, Dr. George Stump—who was surgeon for the Pennsylvania Railroad, and he was under his treatment for some time. Unfortunately, Doctor Stump died before the claim was submitted to Congress, but there is no doubt in the world that the man went to Doctor Stump and there is no doubt in the world that he was for 13 weeks in a Government hospital. The Government itself, which had its own doctors examine him, does not say he is able to earn a living. He is incapacitated, shot through the shoulder, the bullet entering the back and coming out in front.

It seems to me it is wrong to refuse a laboring man more than $1,500 under circumstances of this kind. If he is worth anything, he ought to get more than that. I submit that in a court of law a jury on evidence of that kind would give him at least $7,500 or $10,000. My sole reason for asking that the amount be increased is due to the fact that if the Government is going to say, as it does say in the statement of the Secretary of War, that the man who shot him was culpable of negligence, then in view of that fact we ought to give him enough at least to enable him to eke out some kind of an existence and not turn him off with only $1,500 when it was not his fault at all that he is in his present condition.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, I am not arguing that the man may not be entitled to more, but I am stating that sufficient evidence has not been submitted to justify a greater allowance than the committee has granted. The Senator from Maryland speaks of Doctor Stump. He died in 1921. There is no evidence at the present time before the committee except the man's own statement respecting his condition. Upon this evidence the committee decided that the amount granted should be $1,500.

I acknowledge that if the man's statement is correct he is entitled to an additional $1,000, but the question is how are we to proceed in deciding these cases? The committee can not guess as to what should be taken out of the Treasury of the United States in a case of this kind, but must be justified by evidence. It has no evidence except the man's own statement as to his present condition and his inability to work. The fact is that during the time he was in the hospital all his expenses were paid, and furthermore that after he came out of the hospital no charge was made for the further attention which he received.

Mr. TYDINGS. May I point out that while the man was in the hospital 13 weeks he did not get any pay, and while he went back to the hospital after that twice a week for some time he was not able to work, and while he went back to the hospital subsequent to that time once a week he was not able to work. It was after that that he went to Doctor Stump. There is a period of perhaps 30 weeks during which the man earned nothing, to say nothing of his suffering.

Here was a man who had to keep at work in order to keep alive. Now he is unable to work and his left side is incapacitated. It stands to reason he must be seriously incapacitated. After he has gone through all this suffering through no fault of his own, to cut him down to $1,500 simply because he is a laboring man and turn him out unable to earn a living, does seem to me to be unjust.

Mr. HOWELL. May I just make one statement in response to the Senator? He was not cut down to $1,500 because he was a laboring man. He was cut down because there was not evidence submitted to jusify the payment of a larger amount.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. HOWELL. Certainly.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. How did the committee arrive at the conclusion that $1,500 was a just amount?

Mr. HOWELL. It arrived at the conclusion on the basis of the time that he was confined in the hospital and the time that he stated he was receiving treatment by Doctor Stump. We have an affidavit from the man himself to the effect that his ability to work at the present time is decreased. If proper evidence had been submitted that the man is permanently disabled and unable to work, the committee probably would have granted a larger amount.

Mr. McKELLAR. Did the evidence show that the man was shot through the body?

Mr. HOWELL. He was shot, as I remember, through the shoulder.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me a further inquiry?

Mr. HOWELL. Certainly.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The point of my inquiry was to ascertain whether there is a fixed standard by which the committee arrived at the conclusion that $1,500 is a correct amount, or whether the committee merely estimated as best it could the damages that he claims were suffered?

Mr. HOWELL. That is what the committee did.

Mr. BLAINE and Mr. TYDINGS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. HOWELL. I yield first to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. BLAINE. I wish to inquire of the chairman of the committee whether or not it is impractical to have an ascertainment made as to the degree of disability this man suffered? Is there not some way by which that may be determined?

Mr. HOWELL. Affidavits by competent medical authority could be submitted as to his condition at this time.

Mr. BLAINE. As I understand, the United States Compensation Board has representatives all over the country. Certainly they must be equipped to determine questions of this character. If they are, they constitute a public authority whose findings could be relied upon. It seems to me that a man suffering what apparently is a total permanent disability ought not to have his claim dismissed by the payment of $1,500. The amount paid ought to equal at least that which is granted under the compensation act for a similar injury. I am merely inquiring whether there is not some practical way by which the committee may determine the degree of disability?

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, in the report of the committee I find this comment:

> Since the claimant is a common laborer and the injury to his left arm and shoulder is permanent, he has been unable to secure employment because of his injuries. The claim appears to be a meritorious one, and your committee recommends the passage of the bill, as amended.

There is where the injury is admitted to be permanent. Take the case of a man 60 years old, with a permanent injury to his left side, a man who is a laborer; what chance has he to earn a living? I submit that $2,500 is a trivial sum under such circumstances.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. What is the date of that statement that he is permanently incapacitated?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It is dated December 30, 1930.

Mr. TYDINGS. It is dated December 30, 1930.

Mr. BORAH. I ask the chairman of the committee is not that sufficient evidence of the claimant's permanent incapacity?

Mr. HOWELL. It is my judgment, Mr. President, that it is based upon information that dates back to the time when he was in the hospital. The question now is, Is he permanently disabled? That question is subject to proof, but proof has not been submitted. I am not urging that for a man permanently disabled $1,500 is a sufficient amount, but I do say that we did not have before the committee proper proof justifying a larger allowance.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HOWELL. Certainly.

Mr. TYDINGS. Assuming we had all the proof it was possible to get, such as statements from several doctors—and it would be easy to get them—would not the Senator then feel, if this man was permanently injured and for the last 10 years had received no compensation from the Government, that he would properly be entitled to $7,500 or $10,000, inasmuch as his means of livelihood has been taken away from him?

Mr. HOWELL. I will not acknowledge that, but I will acknowledge that he is entitled to more than has been granted in this instance; there is no question about that. I am not arguing against this man's claim; I am arguing against the evidence that has been submitted and upon which the committee had to base its action.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, if this man were a younger man, I would advise him to withdraw his bill and obtain the kind of evidence the Senator would like to have—which I am sure he can get—and then come back here again; but the man is 60 years old; this bill has been pending in Congress for four or five sessions and has died in one House or the other. I should like to get for him some money before he goes into the next world.

Mr. HOWELL. I sympathize with the efforts of the Senator from Maryland to afford this man an adequate amount, but the committee is endeavoring to conduct an examination into the various claims that come before it in a proper manner and to insist upon adequate evidence before granting compensation.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I am wondering if it would not be signally unjust to turn this man aside with $1,500 if his injury is such as the Senator from Maryland contends. I understand that affidavits may be obtained at almost any time. Why can not those affidavits be submitted before we vote upon this measure?

Mr. TYDINGS. I think perhaps it would be a good idea to let the bill remain on the calendar. In the meantime I

will attempt to get the affidavits. I withdraw my amendment, because I feel sure I will have to make the amount larger.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, I suggest that the bill be recommitted to the Committee on Claims and that the Senator from Maryland submit additional evidence to the committee.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I should dislike very much to surrender the place the bill has on the calendar, but I will say to the Senator that I will not press it again until I have made every attempt to obtain the information the committee requires, believing that if I can show by competent medical authorities that this man is permanently injured and that he is unable to earn a living the committee will not then be unfavorable to an amendment along the lines of the one I have offered.

Mr. HOWELL. I can assure the Senator that no time would be lost, and that the committee is not inclined to be unfair or unjust in any case of this kind. The only thing they will ask is adequate evidence, and hence I think that the proper procedure would be to recommit the bill for further consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska move to recommit the bill?

Mr. HOWELL. I make that motion.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. I understood the Senator from Maryland to ask that the bill go over, in which case I ask the Chair whether a motion to recommit is in order?

Mr. TYDINGS. I am willing to have the bill recommitted on the statement of the Senator from Nebraska that he will get it back on the calendar at the first available date.

Mr. BINGHAM. Very well.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Nebraska to recommit the bill to the Committee on Claims.

The motion was agreed to.

WALTER J. BRYSON PAVING CO.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 477) for the relief of Walter J. Bryson Paving Co., which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, on line 6, after the words "sum of," to strike out "$6,156.16" and insert "$3,500.50," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay Walter J. Bryson Paving Co., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $3,500.50, in full and final settlement of all claims against the Government for certain dredging work performed by said company in the improvement of the channel in the Anclote River, Fla.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WILLIAM W. DANENHOWER

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1302) to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of William W. Danenhower, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment on page 2, after line 5, to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 20 per cent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, on account of services rendered in connection with said claim. It shall be unlawful for any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, to exact, collect, withhold, or receive any sum of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 20 per cent thereof on account of services rendered in connection with said claim, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to William W. Danenhower, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $34,260 for damages caused by the depreciation in value of his property situate in square 737 in the city of Washington, D. C., which said damages were caused by the elimination of the grade crossings of railroads in pursuance to the act of Congress approved February 12, 1901 (31 Stat. L. 774), and acts supplemental thereto, as found by the Court of Claims and reported in Senate Document No. 2, Sixty-seventh Congress, first session: *Provided*, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 20 per cent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, on account of services rendered in connection with said claim. It shall be unlawful for any agent or agents, attorney or attorneys, to exact, collect, withhold, or receive any sum of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 20 per cent thereof on account of services rendered in connection with said claim, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

UNION SHIPPING & TRADING CO. (LTD.)

The bill (S. 2531) for the relief of the Union Shipping & Trading Co. (Ltd.) was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the claim of the Union Shipping & Trading Co. (Ltd.) against the United States of America for damages alleged to have been caused by a collision on April 25, 1918, near Pauillac, in the Gironde River, France, between the Spanish steamship *Consuelo* (at the time of the collision the British steamship *Reims*) and the American steamship *Berwind*, then in the transport service of the United States War Department, may be sued for by the said Union Shipping & Trading Co. (Ltd.) in the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, sitting as a court of admiralty and acting under the rules governing such court, and said court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine such suit (in accordance with the principles of libels in rem and/or in personam), and to enter a judgment or decree for the amount of such damages (including interest) and costs, if any, as shall be found to be due against the United States in favor of the said Union Shipping & Trading Co. (Ltd.) or against the said Union Shipping & Trading Co. (Ltd.) in favor of the United States upon the same principles and measures of liability as in like cases in admiralty between private parties and with the same rights of appeal: *Provided*, That at the trial of said suit the written report or reports concerning said collision made by the pilot, master, any officer or member of the crew of the steamship *Berwind*, who is not available to testify because he is dead or can not be found, may be admitted in evidence: *Provided further*, That such notice of the said suit shall be given to the Attorney General of the United States as may be provided by order of the said court, and it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to cause the United States attorney in such district to appear and defend for the United States: *Provided further*, That said suit shall be brought and commenced within four months of the date of the passage of this act.

AMOS D. CARVER AND OTHERS

The bill (S. 2535) for the relief of Amos D. Carver, S. E. Turner, Clifford N. Carver, Scott Blanchard, P. B. Blanchard, James B. Parse, A. N. Blanchard, and W. A. Blanchard, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Amos D. Carver, S. E. Turner, Clifford N. Carver, Scott Blanchard, P. B. Blanchard, James B. Parse, A. N. Blanchard, and W. A. Blanchard, owners of the schooner *Betsy Ross*, the sum of $35,916.68, in full and final settlement of all claims against the Government for loss or losses which they may have suffered by reason of the interference of the United States Shipping Board or other governmental agencies with the schooner *Betsy Ross* at the port of Melbourne, Australia, on or about April 5, 1918.

ANNA MARIE SANFORD

The bill (S. 2822) for the relief of Anna Marie Sanford, widow of William Richard Sanford, deceased, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 17 and 20 of the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended,

are hereby waived in favor of Anna Marie Sanford, widow of William Richard Sanford, deceased, former furnaceman, navy yard, Washington, D. C.: *Provided*, That compensation, if any, shall commence from and after the date of passage of this act.

PUBLIC SERVICE COORDINATED TRANSPORT OF NEWARK, N. J.

The bill (S. 259) authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Public Service Coordinated Transport of Newark, N. J., was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to settle and adjust the claim of the Public Service Coordinated Transport of Newark, N. J., arising out of the removal by the War Department during the late war of certain tracks, car house, storage tracks, etc., belonging to said company or its predecessor, from their original locations to new locations, and the War Department's failure to restore same to their original location in accordance with an informal arrangement respecting the matter, and to allow in full and final settlement of any and all claims arising out of said transactions an amount not exceeding $122,442.43. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $122,442.43, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the payment of said claim.

WILLIAM J. RYAN

The bill (S. 659) for the relief of William J. Ryan, chaplain, United States Army, was read, considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to William J. Ryan, United States Army chaplain, Fort Winfield Scott, Calif., the sum of $225.75, in full satisfaction of his claim against the United States for damage to his automobile as the result of an operation of the United States Army on Lincoln Boulevard, Presidio of San Francisco, Calif., on April 18, 1929.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 1663) to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails was announced as next in order.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. I ask that that bill go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

CLASSIFICATION OF PARCEL-POST PACKAGES

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 621) to repeal section 7 of the postal act, approved May 29, 1928, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of section 7 of the act (Public, No. 566, 70th Cong.), approved May 29, 1928, to amend title 2 of an act approved February 28, 1925 (44 Stat. 1066; U. S. C., title 39), regulating postal rates, and for other purposes, and reading as follows: "The classification of articles mailable, as well as the weight limit, the rates of postage, zone or zones, and other conditions of mailability under this section, if the Postmaster General shall find on experience that they or any of them are such as to prevent the shipment of articles desirable, or to permanently render the cost of the service greater than the receipts of the revenue therefrom, he is hereby directed, subject to the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission after investigation, to re-form from time to time such classifications, weight limit, rates, zone or zones or conditions, or either, in order to promote the service to the public or to insure the receipt of revenue from such service adequate to pay the most thereof" be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect from and after its approval by the President.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I should like to have a brief statement as to what the effect of the repeal of section 7 of the postal act referred to will be.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that a similar bill passed at the last session of Congress, as I recall, having been reported by the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. The bill involves a proposed increase by the Postmaster General of $7,000,000 on parcel-post matter. There was an amendment agreed to on the post-office appropriation some years ago giving the Postmaster General, under certain conditions, the right to make changes in the size of packages, and so forth. In the report it is shown by excerpts from the colloquy on the floor of the Senate that it was never intended to give the Postmaster General the right to increase rates generally, and yet the Postmaster General undertook to increase them generally, with the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission. So this bill was introduced for the purpose of putting parcel post on the same basis as all other mail matter, the rates to be fixed by the Congress. The Postmaster General is not allowed to fix the rate on first-class mail matter or second-class mail matter or on third-class mail matter. If the Senator will look at the excerpts from the RECORD which are quoted in the report of the committee he will find that it was not the intention to give the Postmaster General this power, and when it was attempted to be exercised this bill was framed and introduced in order to prevent such action. I ask for a vote.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMENDMENT OF RULES—REFERENCE OF RESOLUTIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 125) to amend Rule XXV so as to provide for reference of certain resolutions to standing committees having jurisdiction of substantive matters was read, considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the fourth paragraph of clause 1 of Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, relating to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, be amended by adding before the semicolon at the end thereof a colon and the following proviso: "*Provided*, That any such resolution relating to substantive matter within the jurisdiction of any other standing committee of the Senate shall be first referred to such committee."

ASSISTANT CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 136) authorizing the employment of a special assistant clerk for the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, which had been reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate and also from the Committee on Rules with an amendment, on line 4, after the words "rate of," to strike out "$2,220" and insert "$1,800," so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs is hereby authorized to employ a special assistant clerk during the Seventy-second Congress, to be paid at the rate of $1,800 per annum out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

CICERO A. HILLIARD

The bill (S. 478) for the relief of Cicero A. Hilliard was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the requirements of sections 17 to 20, inclusive, of the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended, are hereby waived in favor of Cicero A. Hilliard, postmaster at Dinsmore, Fla., and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission is authorized and directed to consider and act upon his claim for compensation for injury suffered in the performance of his duties as such postmaster, under the other provisions of such act, as amended, any compensation allowed under this act shall take effect from the date such claim is allowed.

NATIONAL BEN FRANKLIN FIRE INSURANCE CO.

The bill (S. 1280) for the relief of the National Ben Franklin Fire Insurance Co. was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $406.29 to National Ben Franklin Fire Insurance Co., in full reimbursement for the sale by the Government of a Buick automobile stolen April 21, 1930, and, while operated by the thief for illegal purposes, was seized April 26, 1921, forfeited, and sold under the customs revenue laws and the proceeds converted into the Treasury of the United States.

PRINTING OF FEDERAL FARM-BOARD REPORTS

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 58) to authorize the printing of the annual reports of the Federal Farm Board without limitation as to number was announced as next in order.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, the joint resolution provides for the printing of the annual reports of the Federal Farm Board without limitation as to number.

That applies not only to the existing or the most recent reports of the Farm Board but to such reports as have been printed in the past, and it authorizes their printing without number. I do not understand how we can go on record at this time as authorizing the printing without number of such reports for the past years as well as for the present year. I should like to have a statement as to the purpose of the joint resolution before it shall be considered.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I did not catch the purport of the statement of the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The resolution authorizes the printing of reports of the Federal Farm Board for past years as well as for this year without limitation as to number. That would make it possible to print 50,000,000 copies of such reports and use them throughout the country in a way that some one might charge was not fit. I doubt if that is the desire of Congress. I should like to know the purpose of the resolution.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, this resolution was suggested by the Federal Farm Board because of the great demand made upon it for its reports, which, of course, include the activities of the Stabilization Corporation and information as to certain loans made to cooperative institutions and organizations.

I am not as familiar with the rules of the Printing Committee as perhaps I should be, but I am told that this joint resolution is in the usual form of those passed when larger quantities of publications are wanted for distribution. The committee has control over such matters, I think. I am sorry the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] is in the chair. He probably understands the situation in that respect better than does the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If the Chair may be permitted to make the statement, under the act of 1895 the usual number of prints which may be made by a department is as limited as the usual number of Senate documents; and when the occasion arises for the publication of a larger number of reports of any executive department or any agency of the Government legislation in this form is generally enacted. The Chair may state further that the cost of all this comes out of the fund of the Farm Board, and not from the printing fund of Congress.

Mr. McKELLAR. May I ask the Senator from Oregon to let the joint resolution go over until the next time the calendar is considered, simply in order that some inquiry may be made about it?

Mr. McNARY. I shall be very happy to do so.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, there is pending in the Senate and in the other House of Congress a bill proposing to alter some of the provisions of the farm marketing act. A resolution has been passed by this body proposing a further investigation into the activities of the Federal Farm Board. As I understand, that resolution is pending before the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, seeking money with which to conduct this investigation. It occurs to me that a joint resolution of this kind should not pass prior to the consideration of the proposed bill and prior to the further investigation.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, it is obvious that the attitude the committee may take in the future has no relation to the annual report, which simply discloses the activities and operations of the farm board for the last fiscal year. There is no connection between the two propositions.

It is true that before the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate there is a resolution asking funds further to investigate their activities. This, however, is only a statement by the Farm Board concerning what it has done under the marketing act for the fiscal year ending last June. There is a great demand from all over the country, from cooperative organizations and farmers, for copies of the annual report showing what the Farm Board has done, or tried to do, or done amiss; and it is only to accommodate those farmers—actual producers—that the request is made to authorize out of the board's funds the printing of a certain number or an unlimited number of its reports, so that it may meet the current demands of those actually tilling the soil and farming.

I have closed the subject by simply saying that at the request of the Senator from Tennessee I ask that the matter go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be passed over.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, in answer to what the Senator from Oregon has just said, I desire to state that this joint resolution was introduced on December 17. A moment ago I sent for a copy of the report, and it came to me forthwith; so we must have copies now. Therefore, the demand for these reports can not be so very great.

Of course, I have no objection to the joint resolution going over; but I am opposed to consideration and favorable action upon the joint resolution, especially at this time.

Mr. McNARY. I think the Senator misconceives the situation. This has nothing to do with the hearings had before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry which involve an investigation of the Farm Board's activities. This is to provide for printing copies of the annual report submitted to Congress under the statute by the Farm Board. The Senator is quite correct in the statement that there are plenty of copies of the report of the hearings before the committee. This has nothing to do with that. It is an entirely different document. The document the Senator has in his hands appertains to a further investigation.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The Senator is mistaken. The document I have here is the second annual report of the Federal Farm Board, and copies of this are available. The demand for them is not so heavy. I have no objection to keeping on hand plenty of copies, but I would not at this time agree to the passage of a joint resolution providing for an unlimited printing of these copies for distribution to those asking for them.

Mr. McNARY. I think if the Senator will look at the document he has he will find that it came from the Senate document room, where there is always a reserve. I am speaking of those that are now in the possession of the Federal Farm Board at their principal office, at which place all have been exhausted. To conclude the proposition, however, I state again that I ask to have the matter go over to-day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution has already been passed over.

CLARKS FORK RIVER BRIDGE, WASHINGTON

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 573) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment, on page 1, line 6, after the word "Washington," to strike out "*Provided*, That the work of constructing this bridge shall not be commenced until the plans therefor have been filed with and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army," and to insert "in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled 'An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters,' approved March 23, 1906," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the commissioners of Pend Oreille County, Wash., to construct a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Wash., in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That completes the calendar.

SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF HON. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

Mr. COOLIDGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a radio speech by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of Hon. Louis D. Brandeis, an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Public officials never need be eulogized for doing their duty. This is especially true of justices of our courts. Judges particularly, in fact, all public officials in highly responsible stations, should instinctively and obviously perform their duties with courage and diligence, and administer exact justice as assiduously as trained and enlightened human nature permits. The doing of the just thing should be accepted as the expected and natural course of conduct in public life. A devoted mother seeks and asks no honeyed words of appreciation for her devotion, her loyalty, and her sacrifices for the welfare of her children. Children are not entitled to thanks for their thoughtful attentions, their helpful deeds, their overt acts of affection to their protectors and parents. All these are the instinctive and normal promptings of human nature. So he whose birthday anniversary we celebrate to-night personally seeks and expects no words of praise or thanks.

However, we who have observed the high motives that have actuated the public service of Louis D. Brandeis insist that this seventy-fifth birthday anniversary shall not pass without assurance from us that what he has done and given to the public has not been unobserved, and we seize this opportunity to pay tribute to him, not that he needs or desires it, but that his accomplishments and his exalted service may awaken in his fellow citizens an ambition to emulate him.

I am honored to be your spokesman in asking our citizens to pause in the midst of this day's burdens, activities, and recreations to pay fitting tribute on the occasion of his anniversary to one of the most cultured, patriotic, courageous, and ablest Americans of our generation, Louis D. Brandeis. To-night 75 years of honorable, devoted service to humanity speak to us. Not all these years have been in public office, for Louis D. Brandeis has been a justice of the United States Supreme Court only one-fifth of this span of years; yet all his life has been consecrated to the service of mankind. The first 25 years were devoted to preparation, by intense mental concentration and through the development of studious habits that make possible the orderly and constructive mind, which made him a great tribune of the people and won for him the reputation of being one of the most brilliant law students to emerge from that unexcelled legal institution, the Harvard Law School. The 50 years of life that follow his law-school days record a steady upward climb, until to-day he stands with the few who have reached the highest peak, where we, who still struggle in the valleys below or are engaged in conquering one by one the precipices that bar the lofty heights, may behold his majestic figure free from the rivalries and jealousies that effaced his real personality when he was fighting at our side.

Louis D. Brandeis was a friend of justice long before he reached the Supreme Court of the United States. He devoted days and weeks of his precious time and lucrative law practice in advocacy of justice and equality of opportunity in connection with causes that intimately concerned the rights of his fellow citizens. In his early days as a brilliant lawyer, he had his choice to serve large financial interests as a legal adviser or to serve the public welfare as an unpaid advocate. In a score of great fights where the rights of the public were involved—in the days when monopoly was triumphant—Louis D. Brandeis stood forth as a sturdy, often a lone, champion of the public interest. The man or woman who does not appreciate that in the early days of liberal and progressive movements in American politics it took almost supercourage to fight privilege (often intrenched through partnership with government) is indeed most unsophisticated.

Here in Massachusetts for years, without seeking office, without party affiliations, he became the public champion of the commonweal.

The time is too scant to relate now the many controversial problems in which he battled against the force that sought through powerful organizations of wealth and greed to exploit the public. When the public needed a champion to suppress the avarice of those seeking higher steam and trolley rates, gas rates; when the movement for minimum wage was born; when Alaska land frauds called for a prosecutor—Louis D. Brandeis emerged as the unpaid public prosecutor. What public officials were paid to do, but failed to do, he gratuitously undertook. As a result no man in our generation has contributed more to the enactment of legislation that promotes social justice than he. The unorganized millions, who ask too little of their government, really seeking only to be let alone in the enjoyment of their inalienable rights free from exploitation, had in Louis D. Brandeis an able and fearless spokesman whose sole motive was to give and to serve in the ranks. For public office or party favor he never sought. He stood and worked for great truths.

The savings bank insurance law of Massachusetts is one of the many great monuments to his industry and farsightedness and devotion to organized unselfishness at a time when widespread organized selfishness was the accepted order. The movement for savings-bank insurance was one of the biggest battles of his life. He formed a league to carry the idea to the wage earners throughout the State. For several months he spoke from two to six times a week to labor unions, boards of trade, and other groups. Against the opposition of the powerful commercial insurance companies his cause triumphed in June, 1907, by the enactment of the Massachusetts savings bank insurance law. Notwithstanding violent and bitter opposition and every conceivable device used to thwart the plan in operation, savings-bank life insurance is now obtainable in 21 banks of the State, and the amount of savings-bank insurance in force in 1930 was $72,800,000. It is estimated that the establishment of this form of life insurance in our Commonwealth has resulted in a saving to the people of Massachusetts of no less than $11,000,000 per year, because the mere presence of cheap insurance of this kind has forced a reduction of rates upon the part of all commercial insurance companies.

However, it is as a judge of the highest court of the Nation that we think most frequently in our day of Judge Brandeis. It is particularly as the friend and administrator of justice that we salute him to-night. The fundamental purpose—indeed, the chief end—of government is to establish and secure justice. The founders emphasized it. In the words of the Constitution's preamble they proclaimed it in unmistakable language:

"In order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity."

It is the spirit that inspired these principles and the application of them that have made for our Nation's progress and our material greatness in the century and a half of the Nation's existence. If we lose the spirit of justice we lose all—both material greatness and that which makes it worth having. Without a continuing and growing justice there is certain to come into existence a vast mechanism of oppression and a great subversion of our liberties.

The establishing of justice in our day means not only the impartial, impersonal administration interpretation of the law but more than ever to-day it means the adequate facing and handling of complicated questions. No man in America better understands that the steady depletion of our natural resources and the concentration of economic power require more careful and more courageous study of economic conditions and their effect upon the masses of the people than Louis D. Brandeis. The challenging economic questions that find their solution in the United States Supreme Court will find in Louis D. Brandeis a man whose mind has been trained to think not so much of the strong and powerful, of one particular social class, or of one particular party, but to think as well of the perceptions and aspirations of the poor, of the working man and woman, the multitude, and to insist that they also be the beneficiaries of justice—not the victims of injustice.

My favorite definition of justice is that given to us by Whittier. He called justice "the hope of all who suffer; the dread of all who wrong." The life of Louis D. Brandeis embodies and typifies this concept of justice. He is the hope of all Americans who suffer civic and economic injustice and the dread of all Americans who infringe upon the civic, social, and economic rights of their fellow beings.

To-night it is not merely his many years of service that we, his fellow countrymen, proclaim with pride, but we emphasize even more the character of that service; his tolerance and broad-mindedness; his championing of the cause of liberality, impartiality, and truth; in a word, his discerning legal opinions, coupled with a great independence, have made him a national figure both conspicuous and beloved. He has demonstrated, like his associate, Mr. Justice Holmes, that not necessarily do accidents of birth, environment, culture, and learning cause those born with the advantages of educational and conspicuous legal talents divert one from sympathy with the struggles of the average citizen, and from the display of such sympathy, even when it requires standing alone and against powerful social classes, for the fullest protection of the legal rights of the humble.

The 75 years of honorable, useful, and patriotic life that speak to us to-night have not only earned for Justice Brandeis the affection and gratitude of the Nation but also inspire all who are called to public service to emulate his industry, courage, integrity, and devotion to his country's welfare.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, justly proud of her noble son, and the grateful people of this whole country felicitate Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis on this day, the happy anniversary of his birth. May Louis D. Brandeis be spared to serve his fellow men in his present exalted office for many years. This is our hope and our prayer.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting

nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. SMOOT, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of Frederick A. Hobbs, of Alfred, Me., to be surveyor of customs in customs collection district No. 1, with headquarters at Portland, Me., in place of Frank B. W. Welch, deceased, which was placed on the Executive Calendar.

THE CALENDAR

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The calendar is in order.

THE JUDICIARY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Charles G. Briggle to be United States district judge, southern district of Illinois.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the next three nominations appertain to members of the Federal Farm Board. At the request of the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK], I ask that they may go over for the day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will go over.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 38 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, January 21, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 20, 1932

GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO

James R. Beverley, of Texas, to be Governor of Porto Rico.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

Martin Brown, of Michigan, to be United States marshal, western district of Michigan. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expired December 17, 1931.)

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate January 20, 1932

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Charles G. Briggle to be United States district judge, southern district of Illinois.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thy precious word, O Lord, standeth sure. It says, "There is but one commandment which is central and that is love." O Love Divine, rest on the throne of our hearts and rule there in the name of our Savior. May Thy sway be supreme and continuous until the end. Everywhere in all the earth let Thy name be honored. Come Thou and open the eyes of those who may be steeped in vainglory and earthly riches that the light of Thy truth may dawn upon them. O cleanse our natures from selfishness and from everything that pulls downward. Let us see more clearly, judge more accurately, and know with a common feeling that man sitting at the "gate beautiful," afar to the godless glitter of Solomon's throne, is the child of God Immortal. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6660. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 475. An act to provide for the establishment of the Everglades National Park, in the State of Florida, and for other purposes.

REFERENCE OF A BILL

The SPEAKER. H. R. 7917, a bill to amend subdivision B of section 502 of the World War adjusted compensation act in relation to time in which certificate may be presented to obtain loan privileges, was inadvertently referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation. This bill should have been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and without objection, the bill will be referred to that committee.

There was no objection.

COMMEMORATION OF THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mr. WOODRUM. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the joint committee on arrangements for the ceremonies on February 22, I present a concurrent resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia offers a concurrent resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 12

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington the two Houses of Congress shall assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 11.30 o'clock a. m. on Monday, February 22, 1932.

That the President of the United States, as the chairman of the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, is hereby invited to address the American people in the presence of the Congress in commemoration of the bicentennial anniversary of the birth of the first President of the United States.

That invitations to attend the ceremony be extended to the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the diplomatic corps (through the Secretary of State), the General of the Armies, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and such other persons as the joint committee on arrangements shall deem proper.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. WOODRUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point by inserting the order of arrangements.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The order of arrangements follows:

ORDER OF ARRANGEMENTS

The Capitol will be closed on the morning of the 22d day of February, 1932, to all except Members and officers of Congress.

At 10 o'clock the east door leading to the rotunda will be opened to those to whom invitations have been extended under the concurrent resolution of Congress and to those holding tickets of admission to the galleries, which said tickets will be issued by the Doorkeeper of the House under direction of the joint committee.

The Hall of the House of Representatives will be opened for the admission of those who have invitations, who will be conducted to the seats assigned to them, as follows:

The Cabinet will occupy seats in front of and on the left of the Speaker.

The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court will occupy seats in front of and on the right of the Speaker.

The General of the Armies, the Chief of Staff United States Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps will be seated on the left of the Speaker.

The ambassadors and ministers of foreign governments will occupy seats on the left of the Speaker in section A—west.

Senators will occupy seats back of the Cabinet and the Supreme Court and on the east and west side of the main aisle.

Governors of the several States will occupy seats on the right of the Speaker in section A—east.

Representatives will occupy seats on the east and west side of the main aisle and back of the Senators and governors of the several States.

The House of Representatives will be called to order by the Speaker at 11.30.

The United States Marine Band Orchestra, under the direction of Capt. Taylor Branson, will be in attendance at 11 o'clock.

The Senate will assemble at 11.30 o'clock and, immediately after prayer, will proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The President and his Cabinet will assemble in the office of the Speaker.

The ambassadors and ministers will meet at 11.15 o'clock in the Ways and Means Committee room in the Capitol and be conducted to the seats assigned to them in Section A, on the left of the Speaker.

The United States and District of Columbia Bicentennial Commissions, the governors of the States, the General of the Armies, the Chief of Staff United States Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps will meet in the room of the Committee on Appropriations at 11.15.

The Vice President will occupy the Speaker's chair.

The Speaker of the House will occupy a seat at the left of the Vice President.

The Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House will occupy seats next the presiding officers of their respective Houses.

The other officers of the Senate and of the House will occupy seats on the floor at the right and left of the Speaker's chair.

The Joint Congressional Committee on Arrangements and the members of the United States and District of Columbia Bicentennial Commissions will occupy seats at the right and left of the President of the United States.

The Presiding Officer will recognize the Vice Chairman of the Commission, Senator FESS, of Ohio, who will present the President of the United States.

Address of Herbert Hoover, President of the United States.

The invited guests will retire from the Hall in an order reverse to that in which they entered.

The Joint Committee on Arrangements:

SIMEON D. FESS,
ARTHUR CAPPER,
CARTER GLASS,
For the Senate.
CLIFTON A. WOODRUM,
JOSEPH W. BYRNS,
JOHN Q. TILSON,
For the House.

ORDER OF PROCEEDINGS—JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS TO BE HELD IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1932, AT 11.30 A. M.

Opening of the House of Representatives by the Speaker, Hon. JOHN N. GARNER.

Prayer by the chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D.

Arrival of the Senate, preceded by the Vice President, Hon. Charles Curtis, and the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms.

The following officials and guests of honor will be announced by the Doorkeeper in the following order:

1. The Joint Committee on Arrangements of the Senate and House of Representatives.
2. The Supreme Court of the United States.
3. The ambassadors and ministers of foreign governments.
4. The General of the Armies; the Chief of Staff of the United States Army; the Chief of Naval Operations of the United States Navy; the Major General Commandant of the United States Marine Corps.
5. The United States and District of Columbia George Washington Bicentennial Commissions.
6. The President of the United States and his Cabinet.

Singing of two verses of America by the entire audience.

"The Recessional," by Reginald De Koven. The Interstate Male Chorus, under the direction of Commissioner Clyde B. Aitchison.

The Speaker of the House will call the joint session to order and the Vice President will conduct the further proceedings.

The Vice President will recognize the vice chairman of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, Senator SIMEON D. FESS, who will present the President of the United States.

Address: The President of the United States.

The Star-Spangled Banner by the entire audience.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech made by Governor Murray before the Anti-Saloon League.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I present a conference report on the bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes.

ADDITIONAL ASSISTANTS IN HOUSE PHYSICIAN'S OFFICE

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged resolution from the Committee on Accounts and ask for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina offers a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 111

Resolved, That the number of assistants in the attending physician's office of the House of Representatives shall be increased from two to three and the allowance of $30 per month for the one additional man shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House until otherwise provided by law.

The resolution was agreed to.

MARGARET ALBRECHT

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I offer another privileged resolution from the Committee on Accounts.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina offers a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 108

Resolved, That there shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House to Margaret Albrecht, mother of Lillian M. Albrecht, late an employee of the House, an amount equal to six months' compensation and an additional amount, not exceeding $250 to defray funeral expenses of the said Lillian M. Albrecht.

The resolution was agreed to.

JANE WILSON

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Speaker, I offer another privileged resolution from the Committee on Accounts.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina offers a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 107

Resolved, That there be paid out of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives to Jane Wilson, daughter of L. S. Wilson, late an employee of the House, an amount equal to six months' compensation and an additional amount, not exceeding $250, to defray funeral expenses of the said L. S. Wilson.

The resolution was agreed to.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 6660, making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies, in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes, disagree to the Senate amendments and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 6660, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object merely to ask the gentleman from Tennessee a question. The gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] very ably defended an item in this deficiency bill on the floor of the House against all assaults. I refer to the deficiency appropriation for the George Washington Bicentennial Celebration. This went to the Senate and they did a very unusual thing, something I have never known them to do before; they reduced the amount of this appropriation. As the House overwhelmingly supported the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], may I ask the gentleman from Tennessee what his attitude will be on this matter?

Mr. BYRNS. I have not conferred with my fellow conferees on the subject; but the attitude of the conferees, of course, I may say to the gentleman, would be to sustain the action of the House in appropriating the $250,000; and that would be my personal attitude, I can tell the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. And before the gentleman would agree for that item to be reduced he would bring it back to the House for another expression of opinion?

Mr. BYRNS. I hope the gentleman will not make that as a condition. I can assure the gentleman that the conferees will do all they can to sustain what they believe to be the sentiment of the House, not only with reference to this amendment but all amendments.

Mr. BLANTON. And the sentiment of the House was expressed very forcefully in upholding the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM]. And I think that we should continue to stand behind him.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. BYRNS, BUCHANAN, and WOOD.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, may I present New Hampshire's gift to Democracy, Hon. WILLIAM N. ROGERS, who is present and desires to take the oath of office? [Applause.]

Mr. ROGERS, of the first New Hampshire district, presented himself at the bar of the House and took the oath of office prescribed by law.

JOHN W. LANGLEY

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of announcing to the House the recent death of the Hon. John W. Langley, who was long a prominent Member of this body. He died at his home in Pikeville on last Sunday morning of double pneumonia.

I make this announcement as a token of respect to him and to his family, and particularly to his surviving widow, who was erstwhile my opponent for election to this House and herself a former Member of this body. I also do this that any other Member who desires to do so may have an opportunity to comment on the life and career of the former Congressman.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7912, with Mr. MCCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 30 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the press carried some time ago the statement that there was a drive on foot by the administration to decrease the governmental expenditures and to establish real economy in the administration of our Government.

Ever since the establishment of the Budget the order of the economical branches of the Government having to do with appropriations has been as follows: First, the Cabinet officers, in their recommendations of estimates, have been the most extravagant; the Budget has been the next most extravagant; the Senate has been the next most extravagant; the House has been the next; and the Appropriations Committee of the House has been the most economical of any governmental unit in making appropriations.

I had occasion to review the first six years of the operations of the Budget, and this demonstrated that the House had decreased the Budget's own estimates $600,000,000 during that time.

So I sincerely hope that in this governmental drive for economy the House will maintain its reputation as being one branch of the Government that is in favor of a real, intelligent, economical administration. [Applause.] The drive has been started. It has been started in low gear; but, gentlemen, let us cooperate and go into high gear on economy throughout every governmental branch.

All of the increase in the expenses of the Government and in appropriations has not been due to the departments or to the Budget, but a portion of it has been due to the Congress. Let us shoulder our responsibility. Let us acknowledge it, and the sooner we correct it the better for us and the better for the country.

You will find on page 10 of the hearings on the agricultural bill that in 1910 the total appropriations for the Department of Agriculture were $17,136,736. We will then skip down beyond the war, and we find that in 1919 they had increased to $49,000,000 instead of $17,000,000, and that the employees in the Department of Agriculture had increased from 12,000 to 25,000. Why was there this increase? Because the Congress included by authorization $15,000,000 for stimulating agriculture and $10,000,000 for the disposing of nitrate of soda.

Then we come down to 1920, and we find that $50,000,000 was appropriated. Why was there this increase? Because Congress appropriated $11,000,000 for increased activities in the department. We come down to another year when they had increased to $71,000,000. Why was there this increase? Because Congress increased it by $10,000,000 for the destruction of the corn borer. Then we come down to 1922. I find another big increase here where Congress increased the appropriation for seed loans throughout the Northwest.

Now, let me say something about seed loans while I am at it. Since 1922, when that started, up to the present time Congress has appropriated $83,750,000 for seed loans throughout the country. There is still outstanding in these seed loans the sum of $41,000,000. What does that involve?

The collection of the seed loans demands an increase of the personnel in the department, an increased expense and increased appropriation, until this year we are appropriating $500,000 to employ men to collect these seed loans.

So that is an expense not only in that line but in other lines. If you keep on increasing the activities of the Department here and elsewhere there will be no end to the amount of the appropriation, and ultimately the Lord's Prayer will be changed to "Our father who art in Washington, Uncle Sam is thy name; give us this day our daily dole, for thine is the power and the glory. Amen." [Laughter.]

Now let us get down to this bill, but before I get to that I want to make a suggestion. I know that this suggestion would not be approved by the Democrats if they had control of the Executive branch of our Government. I know the suggestion will not be approved by the Republicans, because they are in power. There is nothing partisan about the suggestion. If the suggestion is ever translated into law it will have to be through a bill that will take effect after the term of office of the administration in power has passed.

Gentlemen, I would like to see every Cabinet officer, every assistant to every Cabinet officer, which includes every department chief and every independent establishment, placed under the civil service law, that would subject them to dismissal for pernicious partisan political activity.

I would like to see the Cabinet officers and assistants occupy an exalted position like unto that of the Supreme Court, where they take no active part in politics and devote their whole attention to intelligent, economic advance of our country.

Just so long as you permit the vast appropriations made by this Congress to be expended by the political—I will not say buccaneers, but political guardsmen of the administration in power—just so long undue influence will be exercised to procure appropriations. [Applause.]

If we amended the oath they are required to take in qualifying for office so as to make them swear that they would take no active part in politics and would not permit political considerations to influence their action in recommending or spending appropriations, they would be selected by the President, not for political influences, not as political shock-absorbers for the administration, but selected for their high

integrity and ability to handle the fiscal affairs of the Government like other big business institutions are handled.

As it is they are selected for their political influence.

This suggestion is submitted with no hope whatever of its being adopted by this Congress but only in the interest of economy.

Now as to this bill. The appropriation for the Agricultural Department for 1932 was $235,664,694. The Budget estimate was $186,243,405.

The amount recommended in this bill is $175,443,814, or $60,000,000 less than the appropriation of last year. It is $10,799,591 less than the Budget estimate, so that I think, if the House will sustain this committee in these reductions, we are on the way to a real intelligent economy. It was the policy of this subcommittee not to allow the increase of a single item of the Budget and not to allow the initiation of a single new activity. It was the policy, so far as we could carry it into effect, not to allow the employment of a new additional employee or to create an additional position for any employee to be placed in. The first two of these policies suggested the committee carried out to the letter. In this entire bill there is not an increase of a single Budget item. As a matter of fact there are over 200 units in the Agricultural Department, by whom this money is expended and among which it is prorated. In 45 of those units we approved the Budget figure. In over 160 of them we reduced the Budget figure. In fact, in my judgment we cut this bill to the bone, and I hope that every other department will do likewise. [Applause.]

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the policy adopted by the subcommittee, which the gentleman honors by being its chairman, the policy that has been agreed on by the full Committee on Appropriations, namely, that they will in no instance go above the Budget estimates, or is it just the policy of the subcommittee on the agricultural appropriation bill?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The policy not to increase a single Budget estimate or add a new activity is the policy of the entire committee in carrying out an intelligent, economical program.

Mr. STAFFORD. To that I subscribe, but I am seeking to know whether that is the agreed-upon policy for all of the subcommittees by the full committee?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It is the understanding; yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman repeat the statement he just made regarding the policy of the subcommittee?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No; the main committee.

Mr. SIMMONS. Because the policy announced is not the unanimous policy of the subcommittee.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I understand that. I stated, however, that it is the policy of the whole Committee on Appropriations. I do not mean every member of it, but it is the policy of that committee that every subcommittee is supposed to translate into action what I have described, in order that we might have an economical government. If the President, the departments, and the Budget agree that only so much money is necessary for them to perform their duties, what right have we, or what business have we, to come in and say to them, oh, no, you can expend a lot more money and we will give it to you—and that during this period of depression? For one, I am not going to do it if I can help it.

Just a few words now on the matter of reduction. You will notice in the hearings that there is a reduction of $470,012 of the Budget, which was arrived at by deducting 5 per cent from the general administration, such as the purchase of supplies, communications, stationery, and so forth. We deducted that 5 per cent from that fund in each bureau, and it totaled the amount I have just stated. I think they can stand it. I think they will stand it. If there should be one or two bureaus where an injustice has been done, let them make that showing in the Senate, and it will be corrected. You will never have a real showing for economy from any of the departments until you compel them to make that showing by reducing their estimates.

Mr. YON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. YON. If there is insufficient money to carry on the work of these bureaus in good shape, could not the deficiency bill take care of it?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Certainly, the deficiency bill could take care of it.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. While the gentleman is discussing the question of reduction, will he inform the committee about the reduction of $9,000,000 for public roads?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The Budget recommended $125,000,000; that is, it placed $125,000,000 in the estimates. From that they subtracted $16,000,000, as one-fifth payment of the emergency appropriation of $80,000,000 that we made or loaned to the States last year. The law provided that that money should be loaned to the States, and that one-fifth should be paid out of each recurring five appropriations. They subtracted the $16,000,000 from the $125,000,000, which left an estimate to go before the committee of $109,000,000. Your committee recommended back to this House an appropriation of $100,000,000.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. In that connection does the committee understand that there is actually no reduction in the expenditure for public-road work that is being now carried on?

Mr. BUCHANAN. This $100,000,000, even if there is no reduction in the States of road work, will pay every cent that will be due the States up to the time the regular annual appropriation bill will be passed next year.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. In other words, $100,000,000 is sufficient for the road-work program as it now stands?

Mr. BUCHANAN. More than sufficient. I questioned the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads and he admitted that $80,000,000 in this bill would be sufficient to carry on up to the time the deficiency bill is passed next December. At that time there was pending before the subcommittee considering the deficiency appropriation bill a deficiency estimate for $60,000,000 for public roads. That committee, in its wisdom, reduced that Budget estimate $10,000,000, bringing in and passing a bill for $50,000,000 for that purpose. When that was done my subcommittee had to add this $10,000,000 reduction to the $80,000,000, making $90,000,000, to meet the debts of the States as a claim upon the highway fund.

But, to make sure and to take no chances that we would have an abundant fund to pay the States, we increased it to $100,000,000, which will carry it up to the next annual supply bill and will be sufficient for one year's operation.

Mr. SWING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. SWING. I just wanted to get the picture before me. I understand that last year, as a part of the effort to aid unemployment, we increased, by doubling, in addition to the $125,000,000 we usually appropriate, $250,000,000 in addition. That is not going to be followed this year, and the usual $125,000,000 is to be cut to $100,000,000. Is that the picture?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No; not the normal $125,000,000. Instead of $125,000,000, which is the authorization for this year, we are appropriating $100,000,000. Sixteen million dollars is taken off, which we had to pay back in that emergency appropriation, which left $109,000,000. The $9,000,000 is taken off, which leaves $100,000,000 in this bill.

Mr. SWING. The previous emergency action of $250,000,000——

Mr. BUCHANAN. It was only $80,000,000 for public roads, which I am discussing.

Mr. SWING. Was it not $250,000,000 for forest trails and roads?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It might have been $250,000,000 estimated for the entire Government service, but only $80,000,000 for public roads, and that is the subject under discussion.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. The bill provides that $100,000,000 be made immediately available, to remain available until expended. That, as I understand from what the gentleman has said, is sufficient to meet all requirements until March, 1933?

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is correct; until the next regular annual supply bill is passed by Congress.

Mr. JONES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. JONES. The total amount carried by this bill is $175,000,000, in round numbers. Of that amount, $100,000,000 goes to roads. That leaves only $75,000,000 for agricultural purposes. This bill is the only appropriation bill that will be presented that carries an appropriation primarily for agriculture?

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is correct.

Mr. JONES. Yet agriculture represents about 30 per cent of the American people. I am thoroughly in sympathy with the statement which the gentleman made, that we should have economy all along the line, but I want to state in this connection that if the House sees fit to cut these appropriations to the figure stated by the bill and explained by the gentleman, I can see no reason why all of the other measures should not, in all reason, be cut in similar fashion, and if that is done I do not think anyone can complain. If this is done in all bills presented it will mean a real program of economy.

Mr. BUCHANAN. In reply to my colleague, I think the farmers of the United States are more intensely in favor of economy than anybody else, and the Agriculture Department is leading out, to set forth an example for all the other departments, to be followed by them. [Applause.]

Let me further reply to my colleague, the gentleman from Texas, that the gentleman stated that agriculture is the primary industry of the Nation, and it was poorly provided for or poorly recognized in appropriations by the Government as compared to other departments. I want to call the attention of the Members to this fact: I will start out with the highest allocation of governmental appropriations and will go to the lowest. In June, 1930, the Treasury Department made a financial statement. It showed the total amount of our appropriations to be $4,699,936,585, a vast sum, over $4,600,000,000. How was that expended among the departments? The public debt took up $1,213,231,216. Of that amount $553,883,603 was for redemption of our indebtedness and $659,347,613 was for interest on debt. The public debt took up 25.8 per cent of our entire appropriation of $4,699,936,585.

The next department in the order of the amount expended was executive offices and independent establishments. That took $941,855,332, or 20 per cent of the entire $4,600,936,585.

The next was the Post Office Department, which spent $797,256,748, or 16.9 per cent of our entire appropriation of over $4,600,000,000.

The next was the War Department. Of the entire amount it spent $440,916,126, or 9.4 per cent of the $4,600,000,000.

The next was the Navy Department. It spent $374,165,638, or 8 per cent of over $4,600,000,000 appropriated by the Government.

Now we come to the Agriculture Department, about which my colleague spoke. That department spent in that year $177,580,581, or 3.8 per cent of the entire $4,600,000,000. In that appropriation was $90,000,000 for public roads, which is not essentially or absolutely or exclusively an agricultural activity. Therefore it should be subtracted. If you subtract it, agriculture, representing one-third of the people of the United States; agriculture, representing the very foundation rock upon which all of our industrial enterprises are based, cost less than 2 per cent of the amount appropriated to all governmental departments.

Mr. COLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. COLTON. Could the gentleman tell us whether the amount just given as representing the expenditures in the executive department includes expenditures for the Veterans' Bureau?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Oh, yes. That is an independent establishment. Does the gentleman want the amount expended for veterans?

Mr. COLTON. I would like to have that information if the gentleman has the figures.

Mr. BUCHANAN. For the Veterans' Bureau, $853,397,951; for the Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation, $31,000,000. I am giving the gentleman round figures. For the Interstate Commerce Commission, $10,000,000; Federal Board for Vocational Education, $8,000,000, and miscellaneous, $37,000,000. Those amounts all come under the Executive Office and independent establishments. I could go on and give you the smaller departments, such as the Department of Commerce, which spent $54,000,000, or 1.2 per cent; District of Columbia, $45,000,000, or 1 per cent; Department of Justice, $41,000,000, and so on. My purpose was to emphasize, not only to this House but to the country, the fact that the Agricultural Department was not the cause of this vast amount of governmental expenditures.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 30 additional minutes.

Mr. FIESINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. FIESINGER. There seems to be the opinion in the country that there is a great deal of overlapping of activities, useless bureaus, or activities that do not justify the expense entailed, and the expenditure of money that is not necessary. Is there any such in this bill?

Mr. BUCHANAN. There is nothing of that kind contemplated by this bill. The committee has given attention to duplications during the 15 or 16 years I have been on this subcommittee. However, where you have scientific research—and a great deal of this money is for scientific research in connection with agricultural problems—necessarily two sciences run together in the solution of a single problem, so it is hard to draw the twilight zone between two activities. It is very hard. In fact, gentlemen, I believe it is utterly impossible in any one instance not to have a little bit of duplication. I wish with the gentleman that we could avoid all duplication, but when two problems run together you can not draw the twilight zone.

Mr. FIESINGER. The gentleman could not tell me whether there is any duplication in this department with other departments of the Government?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Only from the testimony. They claim they are cooperating with every other department that touches their activities, and are doing the very best they can to avoid any and all duplications.

Mr. FIESINGER. It seems to me there ought to be some general analysis made to determine whether there are duplications, useless bureaus, or activities that do not justify the expense entailed, because I know there are a great many people who think there is extravagance in Government departments due to overlapping and duplications, and activities that do not justify the expense entailed.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I do not think there is as much as there is reported to be.

Mr. GIBSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. GIBSON. Will the gentleman tell us how much the recommendations of this committee cut below the President's estimates as contained in the Budget?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I can give the gentleman that exact figure.

Mr. GIBSON. Is it $10,799,591?

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is the figure; yes.

Mr. GIBSON. In passing the deficiency appropriation bill we cut off about $14,000,000. Does not the gentleman think it would be possible for the Appropriations Committee

to recommend cuts totaling at least $100,000,000 from the President's estimates as contained in the Budget for all the appropriation bills, those submitted thus far and those to be submitted?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes; a great deal more than $100,000,000.

Mr. GIBSON. I am not asking these questions in a spirit of criticism. I commend this subcommittee and the subcommittee handling the deficiency bill for commendable work in reducing appropriations.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I wonder if the gentleman from Texas can tell us how many employees there are in the Department of Agriculture and how many of those employees get in excess of $5,000 a year?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I have that list here, but it would take some time to go through it.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Could the gentleman give us an idea without being exact about it?

Mr. GREEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. Several months ago, I believe last year, the gentleman will recall there were emergency funds appropriated for roads that were charged against future allocations to various States. I was wondering if these emergency funds are still charged to the State funds and are being taken out of such appropriations.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We took $16,000,000 out of this estimate, which is one-fifth. The States are to pay one-fifth out of the amounts allocated to them, and we took it out of this bill. However, the States will still obtain a sufficient amount of money to carry into effect their entire public-roads program.

While I am on that question, let me say that we are behind in appropriations about $51,000,000 as compared to the authorizations; in other words, we are behind $51,000,000 in appropriating all we are authorized to appropriate. In justice to the Department of Agriculture, I feel I should make this statement:

From my investigation I believe this department is one department of the Government that has cooperated with the President 100 per cent in striving to reduce expenses. To substantiate this statement I am going to refer to a few facts. We will take up, first, the question of personnel. When personnel is decreased this means at least a continuous reduction for a while because, if a position is discarded, it stays discarded until Congress authorizes putting it back.

Now, listen. The Department of Agriculture decreased its employees in the District of Columbia under the Budget estimate 73 positions.

The Commerce Department, under the Budget estimate, increased its positions in the District of Columbia by 462 positions.

The Department of the Interior increased its positions in the District of Columbia 132 positions.

The Department of Justice, increase, 69 positions.

The poor little Department of Labor that had only 850 employees, under the Budget estimate, is compelled to decrease 50 positions.

The Navy Department has the same number under the Budget estimate as this year.

The Post Office Department, increase, 7 positions.

The State Department, decrease, 14 positions.

The Treasury Department, out of 13,092 positions, decreased only 68 positions, while the Department of Agriculture, out of only 5,000 employees, in round numbers, decreased 73 positions.

War Department, increase, 3 positions.

When you take the salaries provided for these positions, you will find that the Department of Agriculture has decreased, under the Budget estimate, nearly one-half of all the other departments of the Government.

Take traveling expenses. The Department of Agriculture decreased one-third as much as all the other departments of the Government.

So in justice to this department I feel like stating that it is the only department of the Government that is striving with might and main to conduct an economical administration.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Absence from the Chamber prevented me from hearing all the gentleman's speech. Has the gentleman stated the reduction that his committee has made in this bill under the amount contained in the Budget recommendations?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes; ten million seven hundred and some-odd thousand dollars.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I congratulate the gentleman and his committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Gentlemen, before I close I feel I should discuss an important reduction we made in this bill that affects a product that is raised extensively in every State of the Union. I feel the membership of the House ought to know the attitude of this committee so they can give this attitude due consideration and pass judgment upon the committee's action in making the reduction.

In order for you to understand it clearly I am going to explain two other subjects briefly.

This map [indicating] represents the area infested by the gypsy or brown-tailed moth. We did not disturb that appropriation of $583,000, because we have a remote possibility of ultimately eradicating that pest from the United States. You will notice the line here and the bright place here between the infested area and this area here [indicating] that is called the moth-free zone, and all the moths are kept out of that zone to prevent its spread from the infested area. This zone runs from the sea to the Canadian line.

Why can we keep it within bounds by maintaining this zone? Because the female moth can not fly. Therefore, if we keep that zone free they can not cross it in the air. With proper quarantine—and that zone is a quarantine—and proper work inside we may ultimately eradicate it, and I may say that of all the insects that infest our country we have met with greater success in destroying the gypsy moth by parasites than in destroying any other kind. They are doing wonderful work along this line right now.

Mr. CLARKE of New York. If the gentleman will permit, I want to compliment the committee upon its broad-gaged attitude, because I know from the work under the Clarke-McNary bill and the activities we are carrying on independently in the State of New York the absolute necessity of this work. We are planting each year from 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 trees. We have now authorized a bond issue of $20,000,000, buying up the farm lands, and this year, under present financial conditions, every effort has been made to meet this problem, which is one that affects New England, New York, and New Jersey particularly.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I thank my colleague for that expression and I may state to him that I have always been an ardent advocate of using every means within our power to eradicate any pest, if such eradication is possible, and as long as there is a chance, even though remote, of eradicating it and getting rid of it. We would save years and years of expense in combating it and seeking to control it and decrease its ravages. For this reason I have always been an advocate of eradication regardless of what part of my country was affected.

Let me tell you that the prosperity, success, honor, and glory of one section of the United States adds to the honor and glory of our common country. [Applause.]

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman state what is the method of getting rid of this pest?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Spraying with poison, and letting loose millions and millions of parasites, which work havoc with the gypsy moth. The only trouble is that in cleaning up the gypsy moth so fast they do not have food enough, and so the parasites die. So that they have to keep breeding them and releasing them each year.

Now we come to the Japanese beetle. This map shows where it is located. There is no hope held out to us now, and never has been in recent years, for the eradication of that pest. Last year we spent $20,000 on roads and quarantine. Well, $25,000 is a mere drop in the bucket. Quarantining a few roads did no good.

This [indicating] is the location of the infested area. It has spread 350 miles in several directions. We have cut out that $25,000 for road quarantine. How can you stop a bug migrating in the air by stopping an automobile in the road?

But we did appropriate $375,000 for examination and treatment and quarantining shipments from the infested area. There is forty-five to sixty-five million dollars value of industrial enterprises in the infested area dependent upon interstate shipments to market the products.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman state whether they have found any parasites for the Japanese beetle?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes; they have some parasites for the Japanese beetle, but the beetle is so hard and breeds so fast that the parasites find great difficulty in destroying them. The prospect of destroying the beetle by a parasite is not very encouraging, notwithstanding the parasites in Japan are controlling the beetle so that they do not do any commercial damage.

Mr. LINTHICUM. How much do you appropriate for the gypsy moth?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Five hundred and eighty-three thousand dollars.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I think we have some gypsy moths in Pennsylvania.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. And they have begun to come into Maryland?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes; and the States are cooperating with the Federal Government by appropriating funds.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I received a letter from the department this morning referring to this appropriation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. As I understand, the gipsy-moth infestation is largely in the New England area?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes; the gipsy moth.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The attitude of the gentleman from Texas on this matter refutes the idea sometimes maintained that Congressmen are local and preferential in advocating Federal aid. Some assert that Congressmen merely want to represent their own section.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Oh, yes; but those are fossil remains of a past age. At the close of the World War that went out, and we are now all one country. [Applause.]

Mr. CLARKE of New York. The gentleman will remember that when he came to us for aid to eradicate the pest in Texas we responded in the same broad-gage national spirit.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Yes; and that is the reason why when you ask for aid now, we respond in that same broad-gage spirit. [Applause.]

Mr. KNUTSON. And may I say for the RECORD that I appeared before the gentleman several times, and, although we belong to different political parties, I found him just as sympathetic with our problems in Minnesota as with any other part of the Union.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You gentlemen are paying me these compliments, but I would a heap rather you pay them in the way of voting for this bill, so that we may have economy in governmental expenditures. We kept the $375,000 on for the Quarantine Bureau, to maintain a quarantine and certify these products out of that district so that they could enter interstate commerce and so that it would not bankrupt the forty to fifty million dollars of business enterprises that are situated within the infested area. If the Federal Government raises its quarantine, immediately every surrounding State would put on its quarantine and those business enterprises valued at forty to fifty or sixty million dollars would be bankrupt, because they depend upon interstate commerce for a livelihood. We believe that is one of the high provinces of the Agriculture Department.

I come now to a subject that I want to discuss which concerns you all. The discussion of these first two pests has led us up to the celebrated corn borer, of which you have heard so much. The Government has already appropriated throughout the years a little over $19,000,000 to combat this pest. No doubt exists in my mind that if, when it was first discovered, there had been declared a plant-free zone by the Government and sufficient money appropriated to keep it free from all vegetation, it could have been eradicated just as the pink bollworm was eradicated with the appropriation which the gentleman from New York [Mr. CLARKE] helped us to get. But that was not done, and there is no use in grieving over milk that is spilled. It has been here now since 1910. It has spread from 1 or 2 States and now is in 13 States. Every scientist and every practical man who has given the subject study advises us now, and has advised us in the past, that it is impossible to eradicate it; that it is impossible to prevent its gradual spread; that as sure as grass grows and water runs it will ultimately cover the entire United States.

That being the fact, $500,000 was recommended to us in this Budget for a road quarantine of the corn-borer-infested area. There is the infested area on this map. They claim now that that quarantine line is 1,700 miles long. If that is 1,700 miles, then all of these lines down here will average twice that, or 3,400 miles, or, say, 3,000 miles. Five hundred thousand dollars a year for road quarantine and automobile quarantine! It would take 40 years to get down here into central Texas—40 years of road quarantine with this $500,000 increased to $1,000,000, which would be $40,000,000 to conduct a road quarantine against a pest that can fly, and you can not stop a flying bug with a man on the road stopping automobiles. Forty million dollars to conduct a road quarantine against the spread of a bug that hibernates in cornstalks and in every weed that has a pith in it, that has infested 13 States, with numerous creeks and rivers running through them, so that cornstalks and weeds that are infested may travel down them finally to the Gulf of Mexico.

I say that is too much to accomplish; something that will not be accomplished, even with that expenditure. If it succeeded, it would be a different proposition. If you could guarantee, or have reasonable assurance that road quarantine would stop this spread, it would be all right. It has already gone across Lake Michigan once and has gotten into Wisconsin and Illinois, and is now in Kentucky. It is probably there now waiting to increase in sufficient numbers to let itself be known. I think the expenditure of that money is foolish, because it does not do much good.

Now, I shall give you a few facts on the corn borer itself. In this country it has never done any appreciable commercial damage to field corn. It is a peculiar bug. It originated in central Europe. We sent two experts over there who remained there two years investigating the corn borer. It is a seasonal bug. Some years it would produce great damage over there, and then it would skip for several years, and then a year would come along when it would multiply and increase and do great damage again; but I noticed in the experts' report that the only time they gave the corn produced per acre on an average we find it was from 27 to 29 bushels per acre, and that is pretty good corn in the corn-borer home, is it not?

If it does not do any more commercial damage than that, then we need not be so apprehensive about the depredations of the corn borer. I do not believe the expenditure is justified. Therefore the committee cut out the $500,000. Mind you, we left appropriations of approximately $750,000 in the bill to study culture methods for controlling it, for research, to determine remedies or poisons for it, and for the importation of parasites to control it—every conceivable avenue of approach except road quarantine. We left every appropriation in there that would help us control it and minimize its damage and meet the problem as it should be met.

The automobile road quarantine cost in one year $500,000. They intercepted and took 300,000 ears of corn, or $1.60 an ear—a pretty good price for corn.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. LINTHICUM. How does the corn borer operate? I do not know much about it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The corn-borer moth lays a little cluster of eggs, generally on the underside of a leaf of corn, close to the stalk. When the time arrives, as prescribed by nature, the eggs hatch into little worms. I am talking in plain language. This little worm crawls to the stalk and bores a hole in the stalk and then bores down the stalk. It may go up, but all I have ever seen, their heads, were going down, as if they were going to hell, and I hope they will. [Laughter.] Now, when a sufficient number get in that stalk and a wind comes that stalk is weakened so that it blows over, and there is more damage done to the corn in Europe by the stalks blowing over and breaking than in any other way. In central Europe high winds are almost constant, often approaching little storms, and when 5 or 6 or 8 corn borers get into one stalk it becomes so weakened that it blows over and breaks off. Then, when harvest time comes the little corn borer turns into a fortune teller and hibernates in that cornstalk or in a weed. It attacks everything that has a stalk and pith in it.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I think the gentleman is talking business when the gentleman says the committee has eliminated $500,000 for highway quarantine. That is really getting down to brass tacks. Will the gentleman be good enough to continue the good reason which caused him to eliminate $500,000 and eliminate perhaps two-thirds of the remaining $750,000, which I say will absolutely be wasted, as far as the interests of the farmer are concerned?

Mr. BUCHANAN. To be frank with the gentleman, I think some of these other items can be and should be eliminated; but when you cut $500,000 from an activity, you become apprehensive that that might not get by the House; and if we go too far at one cut, we may ruin the good which could have been done by being reasonable and moderate and sensible and sane. I do not know whether the gentleman has gone into the matter fully or not, but some of the appropriations which are carried in this bill, which the gentleman desires to have cut out, are absolutely essential and should be allowed. For instance, we have sent to European countries and brought a number of parasites here.

The Government is now engaged in breeding those parasites, breeding them by the millions, of different kinds, and turning them loose and observing them to see what they do and see how they survive and how they multiply. If we could get enough parasites which would reproduce themselves and get the Corn Belt stocked with them, the problem of any more danger would be at an end. Shall I, as one humble Member of this Congress, stand in the way of that great benefit that would come to the greatest agricultural crop, in terms of quantity, at least, that is produced in the United States?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself five additional minutes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Upon what basis did we quarantine against Argentine corn? Was that on account of the corn borer?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No, sir. The corn borer came to this country in shipments of broomcorn from Europe.

Mr. LINTHICUM. There is a quarantine against corn from the Argentine, is there not?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I do not recall what the gentleman is talking about. There are over 1,000,000,000 bushels of corn produced in the United States outside of this infested area. If we could get enough parasites to control this bug before it invades this vast area, with that great value of corn crop, we should do it.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I would like to suggest to the gentleman that he could carry all the corn which the corn borer has killed in the State of Indiana under his arm. There is not a corn farmer in Indiana who does not know how to combat this pest. I am in favor of the investigation which the gentleman has suggested, but I do not think it should cost half a million dollars.

Mr. BUCHANAN. As I understand, the hearings show that Indiana and Ohio and every other area that is now infested with the corn borer puts the corn crop generally, while it is green, in shock. Is that correct?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. BUCHANAN. And they afterwards take the corn off and feed the fodder to their dairy cows. Is that true?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. That is true.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Of course, if the fodder is fed to the stock, that destroys the corn borer hibernating in those stalks. It is either eaten by the stock or it is trampled under foot or otherwise. That is very well. The great section of this area that is not infested with the corn borer, like Nebraska and the entire South and West, do not cut and shock their corn and feed the stalks and fodder to the cows. They leave it standing in the field, which is an ideal way to breed the corn borer. The difference in culture methods in Indiana and Ohio from the vast region of the corn-producing area of the United States is in those two methods of handling. Therefore this was left in the bill.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The gentleman knows very well that I have contended for years, based on the testimony of Doctor Marlatt, Chief of the Bureau of Entomology, that this corn-borer expenditure should be eliminated and that it is a pure waste of money. The chairman has just told us how this came from Europe, and, with his permission, I want to read about a half dozen lines:

> It was brought in from Europe with importations of broomcorn about 1908–1910, and when we came to look for the European records we found that there were only a very few records of the insect. It was not even catalogued among the leading injurious pests of European corn or farm lands.

This is the biggest waste of money, in my opinion, of anything that Congress appropriates. There are 15 places in the bill where we carry items to combat the corn borer, which has never caused $100,000 damage in all the United States in any one year, according to the records in the department.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will state to my colleague from Washington that while that testimony is in the record I have read the report of the two scientists sent to Europe to investigate this corn borer. If the gentleman wants it, I will send it to his office and let him read it. According to that report considerable commercial damage is done every year by the corn borer. In some years it has amounted to 75 per cent, but in other years it has amounted to only 15 per cent. According to that report it is a real menace to central Europe.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. That report does not indicate that 75 per cent of the whole crop is damaged, but it may be 75 per cent of one little patch in a wet piece of ground. That is the testimony we get, that a little garden patch, as it were, is affected and suffers severely.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That report shows that in a normal year the average damage is 15 per cent, while in some years it is 75 per cent. That is the statement made in the report.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. GARBER. I want to commend the membership of the gentleman's committee for the diligence and industry displayed, as evidenced in the hearings, in the consideration of every subject presented. I especially commend the prohibitive sections in the bill, which limit the employment of new personnel. I think the members of the committee are to be congratulated upon their retrenchment in all the various items carried in the bill for the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I think the gentleman's speech is a good time for me to quit. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 30 minutes.

Gentlemen, I had not intended to speak at this particular time, yet I rather think that some of the things I have to say will fit in fairly well with what the chairman of our subcommittee and my esteemed colleague from Texas have said. So I shall undertake to discuss certain features of this bill.

Let me state first that our proceedings within the subcommittee have been entirely friendly and cordial. The gentleman from Texas, as chairman, has been exceedingly fair and courteous to the minority at all times. The differences that have come up in the subcommittee are in no wise personal. However, I can not fail to present what I think are some very serious questions involved in the action the committee has taken with regard to this bill.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] has correctly stated that the Department of Agriculture in its personnel has taken a material cut in the Budget figures this year and on a percentage basis that cut is larger than that contemplated by any other department. But may I call the attention of the committee to this significant fact: That while the Budget estimate for a decrease of 73 employees in the Department of Agriculture in the District of Columbia for the fiscal year 1933 over the fiscal year 1932, yet the fact is that they will have in the city of Washington working for the Department of Agriculture 343 more employees under the 1933 Budget than that department had in 1931. Likewise, while the Budget figures show a total reduction of 407 employees in the field, yet, if the Budget bill is accepted, the Department of Agriculture in the fiscal year 1933 will have in the field 282 more employees than it had in the fiscal year 1931. So the Department of Agriculture is not suffering by the cuts which have been made.

I want also to call your attention to this fact, and here is the first place that I disagree with the action of the Budget and in which I am not in accord with the action taken by my colleagues on the committee: The 73 employees cut in the District of Columbia represent a cut of 1½ per cent of the employees in the department here in the Capital City. The 407 employees cut from the field force represent 2⅕ per cent of the employees in the field.

The first charge I make is this, and it is not a charge against the Budget Bureau, but it is a charge against administrative officers in the department: That the economies, real and fancied, in this bill are made at the expense of the actual service which the Department of Agriculture renders throughout the agricultural States, and that they have not taken cuts in the city of Washington comparable to the cuts which they have asked us to approve in the field. For instance, the Secretary's office in this bill carries 403 employees. They have not been reduced one employee. The Bureau of Information carries 190 employees, but that bureau takes not one cut in Washington. Their mechanical force takes not one cut in Washington. The Arlington Experimental Farm is not reduced a nickel in the Budget decrease. They have not taken their fair share of the reduction in expenditures in the Washington offices, which the President asked the departments to take.

Here is another interesting item—and I could take all my time this afternoon in discussing items such as this: The bill last year carried an appropriation of a flat $1,000,000 for printing and binding in the Department of Agriculture. That was cut $50,000 in the recommendations of the Budget to us. There are some 43 subheads which make up the $950,000 they ask for. Twenty-seven of those took cuts ranging from $100 to $5,000, but the printing item for job work here in Washington for the Department of Agriculture did not take one nickel of cut.

Now, I am not going into illustrations which could be multiplied. However, I proposed in the committee, and the committee accepted that proposal, that in the items for expenditures, such as travel and maintenance, equipment, incidental expenses, and all of that, we should cut 5 per cent.

Clearly no one can say that 5 per cent is too little or too big, but we feel that a 5 per cent cut can be justified, and the committee accepted that line of reasoning. So the bill that has come to you carries a reduction in incidentals, or what is carried in the breakdown of the Budget under the title of "other expenditures," of $470,000, a very material reduction. I am pleased that the committee accepted my recommendation on that.

Now, I likewise proposed in the committee and my colleagues did not see fit to agree with me, and I am going to propose it to the House during the consideration of the bill by this committee, that we also apply a similar reducing diet to the Department of Agriculture in Washington, and that while we have taken 5 per cent from their contingent expense, we also take 5 per cent from their salary allocations.

In other words, under the office of the Secretary of Agriculture there are various items that are carried in this bill with 403 salaries of $775,000. I shall propose a reduction that on the average would require the Secretary to operate on 380 employees [applause], or, in effect, wherever there are 100 employees carried in one of these items, I believe in these times that these departments can operate on an average of 95 and not 100. Proportionate decreases will be offered to many items. It may mean that some messengers will be discharged. It may be that now and then a chauffeur will be dismissed. It may mean, and in my judgment it should mean, that expending offices in the Department of Agriculture should go through this bill and clean out at least 5 per cent of the activities that render no practical, efficient service to American agriculture. [Applause.] I do not believe that this cut would in any way hurt the efficient service of the department.

As I say, my colleagues on the committee did not agree with me in this, but I expect to offer a series of amendments that will make that reduction approximately $500,000 additional upon the floor of the House.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MICHENER. Was the gentleman the only member of the subcommittee that did not agree with them?

Mr. SIMMONS. I trust the gentleman will not ask me to answer that question.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. How many employees are there in the Department of Agriculture—how many in the field and how many here in Washington?

Mr. SIMMONS. As near as I can get the figures, and, of course, these figures have to be approximations, because a shift is constantly being made, there are roughly 5,500 civil-service employees in the city of Washington and approximately 18,000 civil-service employees in the field.

Mr. LINTHICUM. How many of them are in the Bureau of Roads?

Mr. SIMMONS. The Bureau of Public Roads does not carry its employees so that I can answer that question, because their appropriations are paid out of a fund of 2½ per cent of the total appropriations, and they are rather unlimited, and we do not get a very exact check upon their expenditures, and for that I am sorry. The legislation creating the Federal aid road situation is such that the Committee on Appropriations does not have a very exact check upon their expenditures for personnel and incidental expenses.

Before I go to one other matter in this bill, I want to discuss a matter that the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. GARBER] approved in commenting on the action taken by the subcommittee, and that is the putting into this bill of language intended to restrict the activities of the Department of Agriculture in the employing of new personnel.

I have no quarrel with that language. As I understand, it merely carries into effect an administrative order that the President of the United States made some six or eight months ago, to wit, that when vacancies occurred in the expending agencies of the Government, they should not be filled; also, that where vacancies occurred, promotions should not be made and increases of salaries should not be effective, and, subject to the order of the President, as I understand it, no employee could be put on except when the head of that department approved it.



My quarrel with the language carried in the bill is that it requires a finding that a new employee or the filling of a vacancy is absolutely essential, and that finding, I may say to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. GARBER], must be made by the President of the United States in writing. With that I disagree.

I am opposed to placing additional minor administrative duties, personally, upon the President. Under this language, sir, that you have approved, if they want to hire a charwoman to scrub the floors in the Department of Agriculture Building, the President of the United States must first investigate and say in writing that this is absolutely essential; rather, I think the Congress should endeavor to take from the President the detailed administrative work that he is now required personally to perform in order that his energies and his abilities may be given to the broad, general problems of government. I shall propose the elimination of that language when we reach it in the bill.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GARBER. The gentleman's opposition goes to the matter of administration?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GARBER. As I understand it, the gentleman is in accord with the prohibitive features as being essential and as exercising a great moral influence which ought to be, in my judgment, distributed to all the various departments of Government. In regard to the administrative provision to which the gentleman refers, there may possibly be some objection to that phase of the legislation.

Mr. SIMMONS. My feeling is that the language, so far as it relates to restricting personnel is concerned, does not go far enough.

Mr. GARBER. I am very pleased, indeed, to hear the gentleman say so.

Mr. SIMMONS. I am sure the gentleman is in accord with that.

Now, in this bill there is evidence that branches of the Department of Agriculture have eliminated the items they felt could be best defended. They have retained the items that can be least defended. They have maintained too much of a personnel in the city of Washington and, in my judgment, restricted too far the Department of Agriculture activities in the field. They propose to retain the Federal activities here in Washington and make up the savings that were proposed by the Budget by reductions of those not in Washington. For instance, in South Dakota, which has been hard hit by the depression, by grasshoppers, and drought, Congress established a station to aid dryland culture. They erected several in other dry-land sections. They propose to close that station in South Dakota. That in my judgment is false economy.

Now, how do they propose to save money in the market-news service—by cutting out the activities in Washington in the different personnel? Not at all. They propose to save the money by going to Spokane, Wash., and Nashville, Tenn, closing the stations there.

Congress approved the establishment of three additional soil-erosion stations—one in Wisconsin, one in Ohio, and one in Georgia.

They say they save $30,000 in soil erosion. How? By cutting out a station which they established in the State of Georgia, by cutting out the activities of the station in the State of Ohio, by cutting out the activities of the station in the State of Wisconsin.

That, I take it, is false economy.

Last year the Congress authorized the appropriation of $377,000 for barberry-eradication work in all the States of the north Central West, where the barberry is carrying a disease which is fatal to the raising of wheat. The Budget recommended a cut from $377,000 to $200,000. Where did they get it? Every Budget salaried official in this Capital at Washington, save one, is to be kept on the pay roll if you approve of this bill.

Every paid salary official in barberry eradication in the field, save two, is to be kept on the pay roll if you approve this bill, but the saving of $177,000, or 47 per cent in that item is accomplished by stopping the work of actual barberry eradication in the field, and that, I take it, is false economy. I could go on with a number of items such as that.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Is it the purpose of the gentleman to try to amend the bill on this barberry item?

Mr. SIMMONS. I shall answer that in a minute. I mention some of the items that the Department of Agriculture is now doing in the field, directly aiding the farmer, as the gentleman from Montana knows. Then the committee saw fit in the subcommittee to permit our colleagues here in the House to come before us and to permit representatives of farm organizations to come before us and ask for funds in addition to or supplementing those the Budget had recommended. One of those was a matter that came up from the State of Texas, where last year 150,000 or more sheep died as the result of eating a weed called the bitterweed. They asked for $10,000 to have a scientist from the Government study that weed and tell the sheepmen of Texas how to protect their flocks. I favored it. The subcommittee favored it.

Out in my State during the war we produced 60 per cent of the potash used in the manufacture of munitions. The farmers in 6 or 8 or 10 of those Western States are now importing fertilizer from South America and from Germany, paying high transportation costs in the process. It is an essential matter in the problem of production by the farmer to reduce his costs of operation. If we can reduce the cost of fertilizer to our western farmers we have reduced the cost of production to him and thereby aided him. [Applause.] I asked the department officials who came before us regarding the investigation that has been going on in a preliminary way over a period of months how much it would cost to go into the potash lake area of Nebraska and study those lakes to determine whether or not fertilizer suitable to agricultural needs could be produced, develop methods of production, in order that we might have domestic fertilizer supplied in that area where now none exists. They told us it would cost $25,000 next year. My colleagues on the committee agreed that it was a justifiable expenditure.

Up in Alaska there is an experiment station in which the Government has a considerable investment, at Matanooska, about 135 miles north of the city of Seward. Alaska is not an agricultural country, but we have been carrying on that work, determining what can be done up there. The Budget Bureau did not include the maintenance and continuance of the station at Matanuska, but recommended that we expend $947,000 on forest trails and roads in Alaska. The subcommittee considered the matter and determined to take $593,000 away from the roads-and-trails item in the forests in Alaska and transfer it and place $500,000 in the forests of the United States, and then, within the savings we had effected, we proposed to put that $35,000 in this bill for the continuance of the Matanuska Experiment Station.

Away out in the Pacific, 3,500 miles west of the city of San Francisco, is a little moon-shaped island 35 miles long and approximately 7 miles wide. We took possession of the island of Guam during the War with Spain. About 20,000 people live there. Their opportunities are restricted. For years the Government has been aiding them in developing some sort of agriculture that would make that group of people self-supporting.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MICHENER. Does the gentleman feel that there is ever hope of developing any agriculture in Alaska?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MICHENER. In which part?

Mr. SIMMONS. Right where the Matanuska Experiment Station is. They can produce a considerable part of their fresh vegetables.

Mr. MICHENER. In the first place, they have not anybody there to eat them.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is the matter the gentleman can discuss when that particular item is reached.

Mr. MICHENER. Does not the gentleman feel that Alaska is a Territory latent with many things which in time to come may be of value to the United States, but that the best way the United States can treat Alaska to-day is to leave Alaska alone so far as large expenditures for development are concerned? [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Perhaps so, as a general proposition. I was in Alaska this summer for seven weeks, and my babies had to drink canned milk, because there was not sufficient fresh milk there for them. There are hundreds and thousands of youngsters who have grown to manhood and womanhood in Alaska, white boys and girls, who have never known the taste of a glass of fresh milk. Is it wrong for the Government to teach those people how they can develop dairying for themselves?

Mr. MICHENER. The Government has spent considerable money there already, has it not?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MICHENER. And without success?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, sir.

Mr. MICHENER. In attempting to cross all kinds of cattle and get a cow that will live and produce milk in Alaska?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; and those things we have cut out, but there is need for dairying, there is need for solving some of the problems of truck gardening, forage production, and things of that kind in order that the people there might have a fresh supply of those things that your children and mine enjoy as a matter of right in continental United States.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. LINTHICUM. A few moments ago the gentleman spoke of the bitterweed. I do not think the gentleman finished his discussion of that. Is there any appropriation recommended to fight weeds generally?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LINTHICUM. It seems to me that is a great expense to this country; one of the greatest that I know of. In traveling through other countries I have found that weeds have practically been eliminated, and it seems to me that in this country they just grow in abundance, and we fight them, but we do not get rid of any of them. Is there any appropriation recommended for that purpose?

Mr. SIMMONS. There are appropriations in several places in this bill for that type of activity.

Mr. LINTHICUM. But has there been any effort to fight weeds generally, to try to get rid of them?

Mr. SIMMONS. Not at Government expense. A good time ago my father taught me that the best way to kill a weed was to take a hoe and cut it off half an inch under the ground.

Mr. LINTHICUM. But his neighbor does not cut his off, and the seeds blow over on his place and we do not get rid of them.

Mr. SIMMONS. But the bitterweed problem which we are discussing is a poison which the sheep got from eating that weed out on the prairies of Texas.

Mr. LINTHICUM. But I am interested in having the Government fight weeds generally and get rid of them so that the expense will be saved forever. If we could just do that, it would save the country millions and millions of dollars.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. May I have the attention of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] when I say that Alaska produces each year about three thousand times, in money value of products, the little item carried for this experiment station in Alaska? I do not mean agricultural products, but there should be an opportunity for people there to carry on that work.

Mr. MICHENER. As a matter of fact, the fisheries are up there. There is a railroad 367 miles in length, as I recall it, and there are 10,000 people living within 200 miles of that railroad——

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman from Michigan please let me have my time?

Mr. MICHENER. Certainly.

Mr. SIMMONS. I suggest that we can better discuss the details of this item when it is reached in the particular part of the bill where it appears.

Mr. HARE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. HARE. I was interested in the statement made by the gentleman with reference to the investigation of potash in Nebraska. Have any investigations been made by the committee and is there any certainty or any real possibility of securing commercial potash in the territory mentioned by the gentleman?

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman will find a very detailed statement of that in the hearings by Doctor Knight, indicating that there is a material proposition there. We produced 60 per cent of the potash used in the manufacture of munitions during the war, but it was produced at great expense, by machinery that was hurriedly thrown together. We want a scientific study, not only of what is there, but the possibilities of extraction and use, and I know of no better way in which this Congress can aid the farmer than by doing those things which will reduce his cost of operation. That is what I propose to do here with this little item of $25,000.

Mr. HARE. I think the gentleman is correct, but what I was getting at is whether or not investigations have been made heretofore, to demonstrate conclusively whether there is a sufficient amount of potash there to be of commercial value.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is what I was asking the fund for—to demonstrate that conclusively.

Mr. HARE. But it has not been done up to date?

Mr. SIMMONS. Not to the point that it can be said to be conclusive.

Now, over in that little island of Guam are twenty or twenty-five thousand people who are wards of the United States. They have absolutely no rights of self-expression, no control over their own political destiny. Our committee felt that the Budget had made a mistake in cutting out that little experiment station, and it was proposed that it be continued, an item amounting to about $20,000.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 additional minutes.

There was an item of $500,000, the benefits of which were to have been transferred from the forests of Alaska to the forests of the United States. Eliminating that from the discussion, the committee proposed to reduce the Budget estimate by $1,280,000, as I remember the figure. Then we proposed to put in the bill, over-Budget estimates, a number of items, some of which the department is now carrying on and has carried on for years, and put in the new ones, such as the potash item, the bitterweed item, and one or two others. The net savings proposed by the subcommittee were $1,116,000.

When the policy was adopted by the Committee on Appropriations that no matter what the circumstances might be, without regard to the merits of that which the subcommittee proposed to do, the committee would report the bill to the House, that we could not put in these items which I have mentioned, such as the potash, the bitterweed investigation, the maintenance of marketing-news service, the restoration of the Ardmore Experiment Station, and a number of other items like that, I protested. That has been the decision of the Committee on Appropriations, recommended to the Congress.

Heretofore the Committee on Appropriations of the House has maintained an independent judgment on appropriation matters. The House has given that committee its confidence because it maintained that independent judgment. Now, what is the effect of the new rule? That hereafter, at least for the period of this session, we will recommend to the

Congress only those items, in whole or in part, that the Budget has recommended to us. The first effect of it is to make the Committee on Appropriations in the House of Representatives merely a veto body of Budget messages. Our independent judgment is gone. The second effect of it is to give the Budget Bureau the absolute right of vetoing acts of Congress authorizing expenditures, as far as our committee is concerned.

A bill authorizing the expenditure of $450,000 was passed in the House on yesterday, and under the rule that has been established, if the Bureau of the Budget sends up an estimate for $300,000 for that purpose, the vote of the House yesterday will be ignored, and the Committee on Appropriations will come before you and tell you that it recommended only $300,000.

To my mind, gentlemen, that is a humiliating surrender to the Budget Bureau.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. When did that rule come into effect?

Mr. SIMMONS. It came into effect unofficially last Friday, but officially yesterday.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. What was the method of its adoption?

Mr. SIMMONS. It was the policy enunciated by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and approved by that committee.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I think the gentleman will find that a great majority on this side of the House will not agree to that sort of procedure.

Mr. SIMMONS. The House has always held, although there is no constitutional authority for it, that appropriation items as well as revenue measures must originate in this body. What is the status now? If the House approves this decision of the Committee on Appropriations the House will merely be the mouthpiece of the Budget Bureau, and the other body of the Congress becomes the appropriating power of the Congress, for they reserve the right to exercise their constitutional powers and make appropriations.

Take the situation in which the conferees will be on this bill. Denied the right to exercise our independent judgment in the committee, we will be compelled to go into conference with the Senate and there exercise our independent judgment on appropriations, but only with regard to appropriations which the Senate approves.

Now, gentlemen on this side of the aisle, my Democratic friends—and I claim them all as friends—two weeks ago put through a bill with much cheering, in which they said they were going to take back from the President and the Tariff Commission the power which the Tariff Commission now has to revise tariff rates, and now this week the Committee on Appropriations proposes to commit you to the policy of surrendering to the President and the Budget Bureau all power over initiating appropriations so far as the House of Representatives is concerned. In my judgment you are surrendering far more to-day to the Budget Bureau than you proposed two weeks ago to take away from the Tariff Commission.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the House get a chance to pass on the question which the gentleman is discussing at present?

Mr. SIMMONS. The House will.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. In what way will that be done?

Mr. SIMMONS. It will come up in a number of instances during the discussion of the bill under the 5-minute rule, and it will probably come up on a motion to recommit.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I agree with the gentleman's ideas concerning the matter. I believe we should retain our rights to pass on the question of appropriations.

Mr. SIMMONS. I want to call the attention of the committee to another matter. On page 27 of the report of the committee you will find figures showing a reduction in this bill over Budget estimates of $10,799,591. That figure has already gone to the country; in fact, it was given out to the press on Saturday, whereas the Committee on Appropriations did not meet until yesterday. The impression has been given that that $10,799,000 was a saving to the taxpayers of the country. I believe, gentlemen, we should be honest not only in the things we do but in the effect of the things we do. I question no man's motives and I make no statement regarding his intents and purposes, but I do charge that the effect of this cut of $9,000,000 in the matter of Federal aid to roads is to create in the minds of the taxpaying public of the country the fact that the House of Representatives is saving $9,000,000, whereas, as a matter of fact, so far as the taxpayers are concerned, that $9,000,000 cut does not save one little red copper cent to the taxpayers of this country, not one.

Federal aid for roads, gentlemen, is allocated to the States on the basis of authorizations of Congress and not on the basis of appropriations. We are required to appropriate to the States on the basis of their demands on those authorizations. The President of the United States has no power to restrict those authorizations. The committee does not propose to give to the President or to any administrative officer the right to prevent an obligation accruing against the Government for that $109,000,000 that has been reduced to $100,000,000. That obligation will accrue, and in the next session of Congress, after the next national election, this House of Representatives, on the recommendation of the Committee on Appropriations, will appropriate that $9,000,000. Now, get that. We appropriate in this bill on an annual basis. This cut is the only one in the bill that is made on the basis that next fall we will come back here and appropriate the balance needed. We will come back and appropriate then instead of now. Now, get me plainly, gentlemen. Let no one misunderstand. The obligation of the United States to make these payments exists. The appropriation will be necessary. It will be necessary during the fiscal year for which this bill appropriates. The President and the Budget Bureau asked for the appropriation of $109,000,000 that will be needed in the fiscal year 1933. In this bill the Committee on Appropriations said, "We will give them part of it now and we will give them part of it next session, and in the meantime we will claim a saving of $9,000,000 over the Budget's figures."

Mr. PURNELL. Which, as a matter of fact, is only a paper saving and a mere gesture.

Mr. SIMMONS. Well, it is hardly a gesture. So while figures have gone out to the country indicating that this bill saves the taxpayers $10,799,000, as a matter of fact it relieves the taxpayers and the Treasury of only $1,799,000.

Now, Mr. Chairman, with respect to this $9,000,000, it is not my purpose to offer to include it in the bill. What will happen next fall will be that when the first deficiency bill comes to the Congress or when the regular appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture comes up, the President will again request these funds, and when that is done the Congress will grant them. The figures will show, sir, that the President has asked for $9,000,000 more than the Congress appropriated, but there will not be anything saved to anybody by it.

I propose during consideration under the 5-minute rule on this bill to offer this series of cuts that I have discussed in salaries with which I could not get my committee to agree.

I propose also to offer the increases in this bill that the subcommittee approved for decision of the House as to whether or not we were right.

I do not propose to offer a transfer of the $500,000 from the forests of Alaska to the forests of the United States, leaving that item as the committee have fixed it; but I think the House has the right to pass upon the question of whether or not activities of the Department of Agriculture in the field can be carried on. I do not believe the House of Representatives is ready to surrender to the Budget Bureau the right to tell us we can or can not appropriate funds in this Congress.

I yield to no one in this House in my desire to save money and to retrench expenditures. I think the seven years now

that I have been on the Committee on Appropriations bear out this statement, so far as I am concerned and so far as the great body of men who serve on our committee are concerned; but I do claim the right, in the committee and on the House floor, to reserve to myself an independent judgment as to what we should and should not recommend to the Congress, giving due weight to the views of the President and the Bureau of the Budget and the expending officers of the Government.

If there are any questions that any gentleman has, I would be pleased to try to answer them.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the road-building program throughout the country suffer by reason of the elimination or the postponing of the $9,000,000 the gentleman has mentioned until next fall?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; for the very obvious reason that the law requires the allocation of these funds to the States. The law makes it obligatory upon the Government to pay these moneys, and if the Congress does not appropriate these moneys, either the United States will be in default of its obligations or the Congress must later on give a deficiency appropriation. So every penny of this $9,000,000 will be appropriated by the Congress before the 4th of March, 1933.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I am pleased to hear that. I was just a little afraid that some of the States might suffer in the meantime.

Mr. SIMMONS. In the meantime Democratic orators throughout the country who may or may not know the facts on the inside of this bill will be telling the country, "See what we did in the House of Representatives. Under the control of our party we spent less than the President asked for," and they will create, sir, in the minds of those to whom they are talking the impression that the Democratic organization of this House is economical and that the President is a waster of funds.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself five minutes more.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I claim to be a Democrat but do not claim to be an orator, and here is one who shall not do that.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is fine.

Mr. BALDRIGE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. BALDRIGE. Where is that $9,000,000 shown in the report?

Mr. SIMMONS. The item of $9,000,000 is shown on page 23.

Let me repeat this statement. I do not charge the chairman of my committee with intending to deceive. I do charge that the effect of that which the committee has done is to deceive. Whenever I can cooperate with him or with my colleagues in this House in the actual saving of money to the taxpayers of the country, without crippling essential activities of the Government, I will do it, but I can not go along on a proposal of this kind without the protest that it results in no saving whatever except a change in the totals of Budget figures.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KETCHAM. In connection with the gentleman's suggestion with respect to a line of amendments which the gentleman proposes to offer during the reading of the bill under the 5-minute rule, would it be a fair question to ask whether or not the gentleman has in mind a proposition that goes into the investigation of the imported oils into this country—whether that is included in any of his amendments?

Mr. SIMMONS. I am glad the gentleman has offered that.

Mr. KETCHAM. Many of us are very much interested in that particular proposition, and it seems to me the House is entitled to information on this very important subject.

Mr. SIMMONS. I propose to offer that and I am pleased that the gentleman has mentioned it. It is one of the items I overlooked.

Representatives of the National Grange and the American Farm Bureau Federation, as the hearings show, came before our committee with what I thought were extremely modest requests from these great farm organizations. They asked for a few thousand dollars—I have forgotten the exact amount now—to make studies regarding the importation of oil of one kind and another into this country that came in competition with the oils that are produced on the farms of this Union, and this money we could not give under this rule; and, I ought not to create a false impression, I do not think the subcommittee favored it. But I am going to offer that also on the floor of the House. It is a request that came from great national farm organizations and it came from the men who represent that group of our citizenship that are demanding most in tax reduction, too. The farmers are not so anxious for tax reduction that they desire to deny these expenditures with respect to these essential matters with which the Government ought to deal.

Mr. STEWART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. STEWART. Do I understand that the item of $125,000,000 on page 66, for roads, is obligatory?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEWART. And Congress has no power to appropriate a different amount?

Mr. SIMMONS. It has the power, but the reduction of the obligation must be done by legislative act and not by cutting out the appropriation. If Congress did not appropriate one nickel in that item, the obligation of the Government would remain, because the Federal law makes it obligatory. In other words, you must appropriate the total authorization sooner or later, and if we are to reduce that amount we must do it by legislative action, changing the amount that the Federal Government has promised to pay the States.

I must correct that in this way. The gentleman said $125,000,000 and I answered yes. Last year we appropriated $80,000,000 as an emergency fund to the States, one-fifth to be repaid annually for five years. So the obligation is $125,000,000 less one-fifth, or $16,000,000, so that $109,000,000 will actually occur as the obligation of our appropriation during the fiscal year. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SANDLIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS].

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I regret more than I can say that the very first voice raised in the House during this session against the general appeal of the President for economy and reduction of expenses should come from the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS], a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and upon whom we have relied in the past, as we doubtless will in the future, on account of his very great ability in the discussion and consideration of appropriation items.

I want to congratulate his colleagues on the Republican side that up to this time not one single gentleman on the Republican side has undertaken to put one single obstacle in the way of the President of the United States in his announced intention and his earnest appeal to Congress to cut expenditures to the bone.

This bill comes here, as I understand, with the indorsement of every member of the Appropriations Committee except the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS].

But one voice was heard in the committee in opposition to these items and in opposition to the announced policy of the committee in holding down the estimates and not increasing one single item of the Budget above what the President said he wanted.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. As a member of the committee, I want to say that we took a wise position on the policy of eliminating many meritorious items, but at the

same time we were cutting the Budget well below what may be needed.

Mr. BYRNS. I want to know if there is any other member of the committee who takes the position of the gentleman from Nebraska. There are a number of them on the floor now.

Mr. BARBOUR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. BARBOUR. I would like to go on record by saying that I think the subcommittee did a wonderful piece of work.

Mr. BYRNS. I thank the gentleman from California. His statement is characteristic of him and his interest in the welfare of the entire country, and I want to also commend the other members of the committee who cooperated with the Democrats in their effort to stand by the President of the United States in this most important problem that confronts the American people to-day—the necessity of balancing the Federal Budget.

Unusual circumstances demand unusual methods. When extraordinary things occur you have to use extraordinary methods sometimes to overcome them. I would not stand here and say that the Budget estimates should never be increased if you had a Treasury full and overflowing; but what is your situation? You had a deficit of over $900,000,000 last June, and the President told you that on June 30 next you will have a deficit of $2,123,000,000, and that unless you levy taxes and cut expenditures to the bone you will have another deficit of $1,400,000,000 in June, 1933. Yet, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS], merely because some individual Member of Congress has a different idea as to what ought to be done in his particular district with reference to some appropriation he wants, whether for political purpose or otherwise, would have you disregard and increase the Budget of the President of the United States. The President is the head of the spending department of the Government, and he will be held responsible for any extravagances that may occur. Gentlemen, this is not a matter of politics. The gentleman in the closing portion of his remarks made what might appear to be a political appeal. I do not put it upon that ground. I have never played politics in the Committee on Appropriations and, please God, I never shall, whether the House be Republican or Democratic. [Applause.] The saving of a dollar to the American people, especially at this time, is above the question of politics. The people are tired of politics anyway. They do not want to see us, you and me, the accredited Representatives of a great people, sit here and play politics while they are suffering for things back home. [Applause.]

What is the situation? There is no mystery about this. Your Committee on Appropriations is simply the servant of the House. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] tells you that you are surrendering a great prerogative because your Committee on Appropriations dares come in here and say to you, unanimously, save for the gentleman who has spoken, that they advise the House not to increase any single item of the Budget. Does that take away the prerogatives of the House? After all, it is up to you. You can follow its recommendation, or you can reject it, just as you please. There is no doubt about that. But the Committee on Appropriations, charged with the responsibility of making recommendations to you, has seen fit to make that earnest recommendation, and it hopes that under the exigencies of the situation you will accept it and stand by it.

I did not hear my friend from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] in his speech yesterday, but since I mention him let me say of him what I have had occasion to say many times before. I have served under many chairmen of the Committee on Appropriations, Democratic and Republican, but I never served under any chairman at any time who has shown a greater interest and a greater desire to conserve the public money than has the gentleman from Indiana. He ranks as one of the able and good chairmen of this committee. [Applause.] And I take occasion to say now that, as the former chairman of this committee, he is cooperating with it and with its membership in the effort to hold down the appropriations to the lowest possible minimum. After I was made chairman of the Committee on Appropriations I called on the President. Of course, I would not violate any confidence or divulge any conversation which I had with him, but nothing was said at that time that the President would not be entirely willing to have related.

I said to him: "Mr. President, I have come here for a few minutes not to ask anything of you but simply to pay my respects and to say to you, feeling that you need no assurance from those of your party upon the Committee on Appropriations that as its new chairman and because I am a Democrat I want to tell you that I voice not only my own wishes and intentions but those of all my Democratic colleagues on that committee when I say to you that we are going to cooperate with you in the fullest in every effort to reduce expenditures of the Federal Government in order to assist in balancing the Budget." He expressed his pleasure, and he said to me in substance that if his Budget could be cut, to do so, and the greater the cut the greater he would be pleased. [Applause.] Gentlemen, I believe in democratic principles. I am a Democrat not only by birth but by belief, but, as I said awhile ago, this is not a political question. I am going to stand by every reasonable effort that anyone may make to reduce expenditures of this Government. We have to make drastic cuts, and, as I have had occasion to say heretofore, we are not going to get anywhere unless every man who has the interest of his country at heart considers himself as one of the guardians of the Treasury during this session of Congress. It is a matter that appeals to every one on both sides of this aisle, and I am happy to believe that when the record is written we will have an almost unanimous verdict on the part of the Representatives of the people in this great Chamber. [Applause.]

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] says that he tried to cut the personnel of the Agricultural Department 5 per cent. I do not know what occurred in the subcommittee. He says that he is going to offer an amendment here to cut the personnel of the Agricultural Department in every bureau.

Gentlemen, wherever you can cut out an unnecessary employee of the Government, show me and I shall vote with you; but I do not think it is good business, I do not think it is sound policy, I do not think the people expect of us that we should undertake to blindly take a scalping knife, without the slightest evidence, and say that every bureau and department in the Government shall be cut 5 per cent in its personnel.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. In a moment. You can take the hearings and you will not find a scintilla of evidence in them from start to finish upon which one can rely in voting for a broad, sweeping amendment like that. I assume that the President of the United States, I assume that his Director of the Budget, I assume that the Secretary of Agriculture would have made the recommendation if it could have been done; but I do not want anyone to point to me and say that without evidence, without a scintilla of information, I voted for a proposition which would serve to cripple the administration of any of these great departments in the work that it is doing.

The gentleman from Nebraska has a record with reference to the Department of Agriculture. The gentleman has had quite a change of heart—a decided change of heart under a Democratic House—from that which he entertained under a Republican House for the past two years. The gentleman has always been an influential Member of this House, and for two years he has been an influential member of the subcommittee on appropriations for the Department of Agriculture. Now, let us see what the gentleman asked you to do and what you did by virtue of his indorsement and the indorsement of his Republican associates in 1931 on the subject of employees in the Department of Agriculture.

I hold in my hand a record of the increases which were recommended by the Subcommittee on Appropriations for

the Department of Agriculture, on which the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] held second place, for the year 1931, for additional personnel here in Washington.

Remember, this is not the total appropriation. This is what the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] stood for and advocated by way of increases. In the office of the Secretary, the gentleman from Nebraska favored increasing the personnel in the sum of $8,550, and it was adopted. Mechanical shops, $1,000; Office of Information, $10,000; library, $2,000; Office of Experiment Stations, $8,980; Extension Service, $18,520; Weather Bureau, $30,000; Animal Industry, $30,040; Dairy Industry, $36,391; Plant Industry Bureau, $66,840; Chemistry and Soils, $103,476; Entomology, $54,490; Biological Survey, $44,373; Home Economics, $38,800; Plant Quarantine and Control Administration, $14,023; grain futures act, $4,400; Food and Drug Administration, $8,270; collection of seed and grain loans, $21,000; forest roads and trails, $1,163.

Not satisfied with the increase of $30,040, recommended by the Budget for the Bureau of Animal Industry, the gentleman recommends an increase of $5,000 over and above the Budget. The gentleman was not satisfied with the Budget increase. The gentleman recommended $26,000 increase over the Budget in the Bureau of Plant Industry. The gentleman was not satisfied with the estimate of the Bureau of the Budget, $66,840. The gentleman recommended $7,000 over and above the $54,490 recommended by the Budget for the Bureau of Entomology. In other words, the gentleman by his action came to this House, and you, basing your action upon the gentleman's recommendation and the recommendations of his colleagues upon the committee, increased the salary estimates $502,316 for employees in the Agricultural Department in the District of Columbia for 1931. That is not all. It is even worse for this year, because in this fiscal year it amounts to a total of $876,203.

I am going to ask the privilege of inserting these tables in the RECORD at this point to show just what Congress did in 1931 and 1932 under the leadership of the gentleman from Nebraska, in increasing the personnel in the Department of Agriculture in the District of Columbia.

Increases and decreases in District of Columbia salary allotments, 1931 agricultural appropriation bill, compared with 1930 appropriations as reported to the House

Bureau or service	Increases		Decreases	
	Included in the Budget	Allowed by committee in excess of the Budget increase	Proposed by the Budget	Made by committee in addition to the Budget decrease
	1	2	3	4
Office of the Secretary	$8,550			
Mechanical shops	1,000			
Office of Information	10,000			
Library	2,000			
Office of Experiment Stations	8,980			
Extension Service	18,520			
Weather Bureau	30,000			
Bureau of Animal Industry	30,040	$5,000		
Bureau of Dairy Industry	36,391			
Bureau of Plant Industry	66,840	26,000		
Forest Service			$3,124	
Bureau of Chemistry and Soils	103,476			
Bureau of Entomology	54,490	7,000		
Bureau of Biological Survey	44,373			
Bureau of Agricultural Economics			164,841	$7,400
Bureau of Home Economics	38,800			
Plant Quarantine and Control Administration	14,023			
Enforcement of grain futures act	4,400			
Food and Drug Administration	8,270			
Collection of seed grain loans	21,000			
Special corn-borer research			254	
Forest roads and trails	1,163			
Total	502,316	38,000	168,219	7,400

Total increases (columns 1 and 2)	$540,316
Total decreases (columns 3 and 4)	175,619
Total net increase	364,697

Increases in District of Columbia salary allotments, 1932 agricultural appropriation bill, compared with 1931 appropriations, as reported to the House

Bureau or service	Increases proposed by the Budget	Increases over and above the Budget, proposed by the committee
Office of the Secretary	$42,815	
Mechanical shops	23,000	
Office of Information	19,999	
Library	2,820	
Office of Experiment Stations	5,720	
Extension Service	57,130	
Weather Bureau	24,900	
Bureau of Animal Industry	5,860	
Bureau of Dairy Industry	10,679	
Bureau of Plant Industry	61,249	
Forest Service	63,744	$2,000
Chemistry and Soils	56,335	
Bureau of Entomology	25,660	
Bureau of Biological Survey	27,887	
Bureau of Public Roads	4,340	
Bureau of Agricultural Engineering	20,230	
Bureau of Agricultural Economics	149,600	
Bureau of Home Economics	29,190	
Plant Quarantine and Control	3,447	
Grain futures act, enforcement of	17,400	
Food and Drug Administration	80,450	
Seed grain loan collections	15,320	
Soil erosion investigations	1,140	
Forest roads and trails	1,027	
Federal-aid highways	124,210	
Total	874,203	2,000

Increases (Budget)	$874,203
Increases (committee)	2,000
Grand total	876,203

Now, the gentleman from Nebraska says in his change of heart, "I want to cut them 5 per cent." Of course, the gentleman, I presume, feels that he is not responsible now. Some of us on this side of the Chamber have been feeling that way for 15 or 20 years. Therefore, the gentleman can make any sort of suggestion like that, but I submit to the gentleman that he should at least be consistent, and if the personnel is cut 5 per cent the gentleman will not have made amends for this total of $1,240,900 that has been added in the last two years on his recommendation. If he is right now, then he was eternally wrong in 1931 and 1932.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield for a brief question.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman from Nebraska and his chief, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD], both realize that every Democrat has come here on a platform pledged to the people to retrench Government expenditures. The gentleman from Indiana has been chairman of this committee ever since we lost the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Madden]. We have not heard a word from him or the gentleman from Nebraska, since the Madden régime, about reducing personnel until the Democrats recently came into power with a majority of five in this House. Then all of a sudden we hear all of this clamor about reducing personnel.

Mr. BYRNS. Permit me to say with reference to this large personnel in the District of Columbia, it is hardly fair to the Department of Agriculture to say that all this personnel should be charged to the District of Columbia, because 30 per cent of those who are assigned and who are on the District of Columbia pay roll do their work in the field in the summer and in the fall and in the spring, and they come back here in the winter and make their reports and their proper records. To all intents and purposes they are really field forces.

Now, when it is undertaken to cut them 5 per cent, I think we should have a little more evidence to justify it. I am perfectly willing to ask this subcommittee to make a survey of the Department of Agriculture after this bill has been disposed of, and if they can find where there are too many employees, then discharge those employees. If they can find where employees drawing this $1,240,000 which the gentle-

man from Nebraska put in this department in the last two years can be discharged, then let them be discharged.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield for a brief question.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Does the gentleman approve the policy that has been carried out by reducing expenditures in the field and reducing nothing in the department? That is what has been done.

Mr. BYRNS. Oh, that has not been done.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I will show the gentleman where that has been done.

Mr. BYRNS. No; we have not done that. I do not think the gentleman is familiar with the hearings or the action of the committee or the gentleman would not make that statement.

Now, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] complains because he says the committee decided not to increase any particular Budget item. Individually I would not regard it as much of a personal saving if I save possibly a few dollars in the purchase of shoes and then turn around and spend it all in buying a red necktie or a fine shirt or something like that, and yet that is what the gentleman contends for, because the gentleman says they have cut out certain items, reduced certain items, and he wants to apply the sums so saved to certain projects which the gentleman thinks ought to have been included by the Budget.

The gentleman takes issue with the President; he takes issue with the Bureau of the Budget; he takes issue with the Department of Agriculture, and the gentleman says, "I think that should be allowed." The gentleman is telling you that you are surrendering your prerogatives because the committee did not recommend $25,000 for Nebraska, for instance, which the Bureau of the Budget and the President did not ask for; because you did not appropriate ten or fifteen thousand dollars at Nashville, Tenn., for the news marketing service, which the President and the Bureau of the Budget did not ask for, nor do I since it has not been recommended by the Budget.

An important service? Yes. I should like to have seen it continued. But, gentlemen, I am not going to stand here, in the situation in which the country finds itself to-day, and ask you to vote for an appropriation for me, for my district or for my State when I know that in all reason I can not vote for an appropriation for your district and for your State. Let us at least be fair and consistent with each other.

This bill carries a reduction of something over $10,000,000 below the estimates submitted. If the gentleman from Nebraska had had his way, it would have appropriated just $682,839 more than it does carry.

Let us see the appropriations which the gentleman from Nebraska wanted to insert in this bill and which probably, or at least some of them, he may offer on the floor. It is true that reductions were made in other items, but my proposition is that if it was found possible to cut these other estimates, that was no excuse for adding $682,839 to the bill when the President himself had not asked for it for his own administration.

How are you and I going to justify ourselves when we go back to the taxpayers and say, "Yes; we voted to impose an automobile sales tax; we voted to raise the taxes on the high-bracketed incomes; we went farther and we broadened the base so as to take in more of those who draw the smaller incomes; we have taxed other things in which you are interested, and yet, notwithstanding that, we forced the President of the United States to spend on the agricultural bill $682,839 more than he asked us to appropriate." There is no justification for that. As I said, unusual circumstances, my friends, demand unusual methods. This is a temporary matter but necessary, as your Appropriations Committee believes, to cut down your expenditures and help the President of the United States balance his Budget.

Here are some of the appropriations which the gentleman wanted to put in this bill, but which were not estimated for by the Budget: Experiment station in Alaska, $35,000. Well, I spent a couple of weeks in Alaska last summer. I think the gentleman from Nebraska was up there for two or three months. I rather agree with my friend from Michigan that Alaska may be valuable for many things, but I was born and raised in the country and I lived on a farm until I was 21 years of age, and I do not believe Alaska ever will be worth anything to itself or to the country or to the world at large as an agricultural country. I can not understand why they have that magnificent agricultural experiment station up there. Of course, if the Government had plenty of money, it might be a very friendly gesture; but I would rather see them take the money and help develop their coal, help develop their fisheries, if anything further is needed help develop the fur-bearing possibilities of Alaska, and not spend money on trying to cultivate land and grow crops when crops will not grow because they have not the time in summer in which to grow. Therefore, I think the President of the United States and the Director of the Budget were right when they said, "That is not essential now, so let us cut it out for this year." But the gentleman from Nebraska wants to put it back. Bitterweed studies, $10,000. I do not know anything about that.

Possibly it may be a good appropriation and very advisable. We have never had it before. Perhaps the gentleman forgot it in 1931 and 1932. Do not you think we can do without it for just one more year, or possibly two years, until we get a little more money in the Treasury? Restoration of Ardmore, S. Dak., station, $26,845. That may be very desirable, but the President and the Bureau of the Budget thought we could postpone it for another year; and I do not know that we will miss it very much if we never reestablish it. Apple-bud grafting experiments, $15,000. I do not know its importance. I am not attacking the importance of any of these items, unless it be the Alaska item. Protection of roads and trails, national forests.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SANDLIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 10 additional minutes.

Mr. BYRNS. Let me talk about the item of $500,000 for roads and trails in the national forests. It was not estimated for by the Budget. But the gentleman from Nebraska said, "We saved it somewhere else, so let us put it on these roads." But you and I know that it is not an essential, and we do not have to sit in a committee and we do not have to go out there at Government expense and investigate the roads and trails to know that nothing serious is going to happen for the next 12 months if we do not make an appropriation for this. If this is true, why should you add to your deficit by including it when the President asked you not to?

Potash investigations in Nebraska, $25,000. I do not know how important it is to investigate the potash out there in my friend's State. I thought there had been such investigations made during the war. Perhaps I am mistaken. It may be very important, and I am sorry that the gentleman from Nebraska is not going to get his appropriation in this Congress, but it can undoubtedly wait. I am sure the gentleman from Nebraska is going to be here many years and he will have an opportunity to go back and tell his people what he did toward getting these investigations made later on; and, therefore, I think in the interest of economy and in the interest of the Treasury he ought to postpone this for at least a year.

Rabbit experiment work, $5,000. This is what the gentleman proposed and stood for. Well, there are a whole lot of people in the country who would like to have rabbits to eat, but possibly this would not go into effect soon enough to give them what they need so badly now.

Market news' service at Nashville, Tenn.; Boise, Idaho; and Spokane, Wash.; the latter the city of my friend, Doctor SUMMERS, who has added his voice in opposition to some features of this bill.

Nashville, Tenn., is my home.

This is a valuable service. I am sorry to see it go out of this bill, but the President of the United States in his

estimates left it out, and you can not, my friends, make fish of one and fowl of another, and I would be ashamed of myself if this were in the bill and I did not stand up here and ask you to strike it out under the circumstances, when we are denying to you and to others who are not on the committee the incorporation of items in which you are interested. [Applause.]

Soil erosion stations, $25,000.

Gentlemen, these are some of the items which were not asked for by the Budget, but which the gentleman would like to have included, notwithstanding the request of the President that they be eliminated.

The gentleman refers to the fact that they cut $9,000,000 off of good roads, and he inveighs very much against this and says it is a matter of attempting to deceive the people.

Gentlemen, it has been the practice of Congress for years past to eliminate many appropriations with the idea that if not needed they can be taken care of in December; but I am here to make this prediction. You will never have a deficiency on account of the elimination of this $9,000,000. Mark my words. The Federal Government cooperates with the States.

You will never have such a deficiency unless you make an appropriation out of your Treasury to help the States put up their part, as you did a year ago. The people are thinking about economy in the States, and if we do not think about it in Washington they will make us think about it when we go home next fall. You will find that many of the States will not build the roads next year that they would have built if conditions had been different, and there was no necessity for this entire appropriation.

The Director of the Budget says there is a chance that we may need this, and he asked for the full amount authorized by the law, but I venture the assertion—and if I had my way I would have cut it another $10,000,000 [applause]—that this could have been done without the slightest injury to road building in this country.

This bill makes the road funds immediately available. The next agricultural appropriation bill will make the road funds immediately available and we will adjourn on March 4. Certainly this will be sufficient to carry them for nine months.

I say to you that I think you will find my prediction true. It will be sufficient for the entire 12 months. It has always been the custom to withhold appropriations when the administration officials are not certain they will be needed.

I remember a few years ago when the late lamented Martin Madden was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, we appropriated $10,000,000 for tax refunds when hundreds of millions were being paid out each year. You remember that. The officials did not know how much would be needed, and it could be made up in December; and yet my friend from Nebraska, who willingly acquiesced in that, now says we are playing politics. If it is, it was begun on the other side of the fence years ago. I am not making that claim, but why appropriate money when nobody can tell you when it is going to be needed? Why pile up great appropriations against your Government when, in all probability, it will not be needed.

Now, gentleman, that is the situation; your committee is trying to do the best it can, and it appeals to you to stand by the committee, and stand by the President in his Budget estimate. [Applause.] Let us reduce the estimates wherever we can. I am sure you will support the committee in its efforts and that you will vote to hold down these appropriations to the lowest possible sum. [Applause.]

Of course, it is the province of the House to do as it pleases; but I do not believe there is a man on either side of the Chamber who wants to play politics in a serious situation like this. I would be ashamed of myself if I sought to do it, and particularly at this time.

Now, I think that is all I care to say.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman from Indiana and the gentleman from Nebraska both know that our distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has made a suggestion to the chairman of each subcommittee that they keep within the Budget. Now, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] has been chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations through the last Congress, and every one of his bills have carried appropriations far above the President's Budget estimates for the coming fiscal year. We are seeking to cut below the Budget, and they say that we are playing politics.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes. I have a good lawyer friend at home who is one of the cleverest trial lawyers it has been my experience to know. Wherever he has a case where he can attack the facts of the opposition he attacks the facts that the opposition has. Whenever the facts are not subject to attack he inveighs to the jury against the witnesses, and where neither facts nor witnesses are subject to attack, then he jumps onto opposing counsel. I am not at all surprised that my good and esteemed friend from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] saw fit to attack me. He is carrying out the tactics that quite often trial lawyers follow. I stated twice, and I repeat it, that I do not charge him with attempting to deceive, although he said I did; but I do charge that the effect of this cut of $9,000,000 from the Budget for public roads is to deceive the country. He says that he would have favored another cut of $10,000,000. Well, why did not they do it? They could have cut $19,000,000 instead of $9,000,000 and have saved the taxpayers the same amount, which is absolutely nothing.

Let us now go into some of the things that the gentleman spoke about. I want to read to the House a statement that appeared in the press this week:

> Thrift is not hoarding. It is the wise provision against future needs. Provision against future needs involves saving and wise spending for insurance, home ownership, and many other constructive, sensible, and discriminating actions.

I am for that kind of thrift. I am for that kind of saving. The words I have just read to you are the words of the President of the United States. [Applause.]

I am not surprised that the gentleman from Tennessee should point out one of the items in which I am primarily interested, an item that the subcommittee had written into the bill. If any one of you doubt that, back there on the desk is the subcommittee print as it was when we were ready to report it to the main committee, and the evidence is there that every member of the subcommittee said that he believed it was worth while to have an investigation of the potash resources of my State. I apologize to no one for asking that those resources in my State be examined and investigated. Have we reached the time in this House when representatives of the people must apologize for asking that the resources and the needs of their own people be served by their Government? I take it not.

The gentleman mentioned a $5,000 item for rabbit investigation. Of course, just with that statement of fact I expected some of you to laugh. As a matter of fact, I did at first; but the hearings show that that item came from an esteemed Member of this House from the State of Georgia, who wanted $5,000 in order that a scientist of the Government might study the food needs and diseases of rabbits, with which the farmers in his State earn a part of their living. Of course, the gentleman from Tennessee laughed at farmers who want just $5,000 worth of help from the Government for that purpose; but he says they can wait. Then the gentleman says he knows nothing about this bitterweed item. Possibly so. He says it can wait. Yes; it can wait. One hundred and fifty thousand sheep in the State of Texas died last year on account of it, and we can tell the sheepmen of the Southwest that they can wait and let their flocks die—the death-dealing weed will spread—while the gentleman from Tennessee saves $10,000 now, which later on may cost the Government many times that amount. That particular item was approved by every member of the subcommittee who heard the hearings on this bill. The items that I talked about, with the exception of that one raised by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KETCHAM], were all items that were

put in this bill by the subcommittee, and up until 3 o'clock on Friday afternoon last we were ready to report to the main committee recommending their adoption by the House. The item Mr. KETCHAM refers to did not have a majority vote in the committee.

They laugh about the transfer of $500,000 from the forests of Alaska to the forests of the Pacific Northwest. They say it can wait. Yes; it can wait; but get this picture: In one stretch of the forests in this country for 400 miles north and south it is impossible for men or beasts to go, and back in those regions, when lightning strikes, fighting one uncontrolled fire may cost the Government of the United States more next year than the $500,000 saving proposed by Mr. BYRNS.

The gentleman from Tennessee approves the clause in this bill authorizing the expenditure of funds to fight fires without regard to limit. What is this $500,000 for? Last year we expended over $1,000,000 building trails back into forests, so that men who fight fires can go and get to the fires and control them. What is the advantage of having those men there? You have a group of men back in those forests working—laborers, men who otherwise will be unemployed—building trails at one minute, and when the report of a fire comes they are fire fighters, equipped to fight fire the next minute. Oh, we will appropriate for deficiencies next year for fire fighting, making up far more than the $500,000 that it is proposed we shall keep out of this bill this year.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] read from a set of figures that I have been unable to find. I do not question his figures. Quite obviously he had misconstrued them, for, after he had said we had been increasing Budget figures in prior bills, he undertook to say that what he was reading was Budget increases that we had approved. I hold here the hearings on the bill, the first bill where I served on this subcommittee, the appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1931, in which our subcommittee recommended to this House for the fiscal year 1931 a total $214,610 under the Budget figures. Last year, under the leadership of Senator-elect DICKINSON, this same subcommittee recommended a bill to this House that was $875,338 under Budget figures. Let no one attempt to say that any subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations that has handled this bill—and I want the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] to understand this—has recommended bills here increasing the gross total of the Budget estimates.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield myself 10 additional minutes.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The statement I made was that the bills which the gentleman brought in here in the last Congress for the fiscal year 1932 did exceed the estimates of the bureau for the fiscal year 1933. The gentleman will not deny that.

Mr. SIMMONS. That may be true.

Mr. BARBOUR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. BARBOUR. There is absolutely no basis of comparison between a bill of last year and the bill for this year. We are appropriating for two entirely different fiscal years.

Mr. SIMMONS. After the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] has served on the committee a little longer he will understand that.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I can not yield further.

Mr. BLANTON. The distinguished gentleman from Nebraska has rendered such distinctive service to the people of the country in past years that the gentleman does not need his little $25,000 potash item to affect his valuable standing here. I wanted the gentleman to yield just for a question.

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman knows that Mr. MacDonald stated emphatically that not only could he get along with $100,000,000 but that he could do with $80,000,000 plus the $10,000,000 that was contained in the deficiency bill until it was eliminated. Counting that $10,000,000 that was cut out of the deficiency bill, added to the $80,000,000 he needed, made $90,000,000, and that is what our distinguished chairman was referring to when he said he would be willing to have reduced it to even $90,000,000, because he then had in mind what Mr. MacDonald said he required; but the committee has given an excess of $10,000,000 over that, and the $100,000,000 that is contained in this bill for roads is $10,000,000 more than Mr. MacDonald says he needs. So why quibble over that item?

Mr. SIMMONS. Well, nobody is disputing that fact. Everybody has admitted it. What I am complaining about is that the gentleman is arguing about one thing, trying to cover up the other. The gentleman has talked about items, the gentleman has talked about road funds, in answer to my charge that the only thing that could be accomplished by this is to reduce the budget estimates, and not a penny is saved to the taxpayer.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield for one other question?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do not yield for another speech. I yield for a question, but not any more speeches.

Mr. BLANTON. I wanted to ask this question of the gentleman, because he is a valuable Member. We all admit that. Is it not a fact that if we were to appropriate $109,000,000, that extra $9,000,000 must be available in the Treasury subject to appropriation? If we do not appropriate it we do not have to make that money available in the Treasury subject to appropriation, so, after all, by reducing it from $109,000,000 to $100,000,000, we are saving the people of the United States from having the treasurer make a loan to cover the extra $9,000,000. Is that not so?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, sir.

Mr. BLANTON. Then what are the facts?

Mr. SIMMONS. Because the Treasury borrows money when the need to pay it out is there. We could appropriate $150,000,000 for public roads, and the Treasury would not need to raise one more penny than they will need to raise under this item, because they can not spend it. Most items are limited by the amount of money appropriated. On the road item the obligation of the United States is determined by law and not by the appropriations. But we will appropriate it when the request comes, and I suggest to the gentleman that that request will not come until after the election. Then we will appropriate it

Mr. BLANTON. Well, the department head is still under the jurisdiction of the gentleman's party.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; but he is absolutely unable to control this expenditure. Congress alone controls the obligation. I do not yield further.

For four years past the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives has recommended every dollar for Federal roads that was asked by the Bureau of the Budget. Once we gave them a deficiency in addition. This is the first year we have cut out anything from these items in the last four years. Why establish a new policy now? If we can cut out of the item $9,000,000 and say we will make it immediately available in the next annual bill, why not cut out one-third of the salary items in the bill and appropriate it next year? There is just as much sense to it, absolutely.

Now, going back to the charges that were made against me personally, and the praise given to my distinguished friend the former chairman of this committee [Mr. WOOD], Mr. WOOD was chairman of the committee during the four years to which I have just referred. He was chairman of the committee during the two years that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] referred to, in which the gentleman said we had brought in these items which shows an increase over Budget estimates. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] made no objection to those increases. They were unanimously reported. The Committee on Appropriations has always done that on specific items. Gentlemen, that proves the thing which I have been trying to say to-day;

that is, that we have always exercised independent judgment on the items in these bills, and have always kept the totals of the bills under the Budget total estimates.

Now, if I am to be criticized by the gentleman from Tennessee for what we did on those two bills, then may I say that the gentleman from Tennessee during that time was the ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations on the Democratic side, and the gentleman never raised his voice once in protest to that which we did, either in committee or on the floor of this House. The charges made against me apply equally to himself. In my opinion, they are not justified against either of us.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I decline to yield further now.

The answer, of course, is that the situation regarding the finances of the country to-day, as compared with that time, are entirely different. The statement made by my friend from California [Mr. BARBOUR] with reference to the bills for different fiscal years being different, also is applicable. I am pleading that the House reserve the right to use its own judgment on these items as we have heretofore done. I think the position I have taken is in support of the President in the statement he has made, which I just read to you.

The gentleman from Tennessee said he is sorry to see the market news items go out of this bill; that he wishes they could have stayed in, but the President of the United States asked that they go out, and therefore, out they must go. Will not that make a wonderfully fine and interesting speech to the people in Tennessee next summer? "I wanted your market to stay, but the Republican President insisted that it go out." There is no politics, of course, in that.

I yield to no one in my willingness to support the President in reducing Federal expenditures, but I do not believe the President of the United States would ask any Member of Congress to surrender his independent judgment on these items, neither do I believe the President of the United States has found the time to go into all of these bills item by item, but rather I think the President wants us to conserve expenditures as best we can without crippling essential activities.

But yielding everything to a desire to carry out the will of the President, my judgment is that the President of the United States would want the Committee on Appropriations, the House of Representatives, and the American Congress to appropriate money, not asked for by the Budget, if in their judgment the agricultural interests of this country could be better served by doing that thing. We are going to have to answer, not to the President but to the farmer, whose needs we have denied when we go into this next election. He will not accept the defense that the President would not let us do it.

As to these items affecting the great wheat growers of the country, the dry-land farmers, and the Market News Service, as well as all of these other items, in my judgment the President would wish us to provide for those particular services if, in our judgment, it is necessary that they be continued. We are doing the President a disservice rather than a service to just blindly say that no matter what the situation may be we will put the responsibility on him and we will not exercise any part of it. The statement of the gentleman from Tennessee that he is supporting the President does not justify that which has been done, neither does the inference that he makes that I am opposing the President justify it. The question goes to the need of these appropriations and the powers of the House. Those the gentleman does not answer.

I stated a while ago, and I state again, that in the committee I proposed two series of 5 per cent cuts, one a 5 per cent cut in the total for salaries in the District of Columbia, in the Department of Agriculture. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] has opposed that and says there is no sense in it; that we can not justify it, and, therefore, unless we can show what men can be eliminated that saving should not be made.

I also proposed a companion cut to that, and that was a 5 per cent cut in contingent expenses. There is nothing in the hearings to show where they are going to save that 5 per cent. There is not one word of testimony that justifies it, but there is just the desire on the part of the committee that they can and should cut those expenses 5 per cent.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself five additional minutes. Beginning on page 3 of the committee report, running over onto page 4 and half way down page 5, is a list of 109 different activities in the Department of Agriculture that have been cut $470,012 in this bill under the 5 per cent rule I proposed. There is not a Member on the floor of the House who can say where they are going to save that $470,000; yet I believe they will save it. The gentleman from Tennessee believes they will save it. He approves of applying the 5 per cent rule to things, but he says that the same rule applied to personnel is without sense.

The position taken by the committee in regard to the policy of the committee is one too serious to overlook. I have discussed that at length and other matters in order that the House might study them and consider them before the bill is reached under the 5-minute rule. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am very sorry that the debate on this agricultural appropriation bill has taken the turn it has. Of all things, it would be most unfortunate for partisan politics to enter into the deliberations of the Appropriations Committee, to enter into the deliberations of this House in making appropriations, or in any way to be considered in making appropriations. In my long service here, covering perhaps 16 or 17 years on this committee, this is the first time that politics, which destroys every business institution it infects, has ever entered into the discussion of this bill on the floor of the House.

I would not reply upon this occasion had not my colleague, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS], for whom I have high personal regard, made his minority report upon the road appropriation and made his attack upon the policy of the committee in reducing it $9,000,000.

I ask you upon the Republican side of the House, Who initiated this policy? None less than our late lamented Martin Madden, one of the greatest chairmen the Appropriations Committee ever had. [Applause.] Oh, was Martin Madden attempting to deceive the public when he initiated the policy of cutting down the Budget and making appropriations only sufficient to last until the next deficiency bill was passed? This policy was followed by Sidney Anderson, as chairman of this subcommittee, and was further carried out and translated into action by the late lamented Walter Magee, of whom we thought so much and who was chairman of this subcommittee, and was indorsed and acted upon by Senator DICKINSON as chairman of the subcommittee, before elections and after elections.

Oh, listen. In 1927, in making appropriations for good roads for the year 1928—a presidential election year—the Budget recommended $80,000,000 and the subcommittee on appropriations for the Department of Agriculture reduced it $5,000,000—just before a presidential election—and when the deficiency bill carrying such reduction would have to be passed after such an election, presenting the identical situation described in Mr. SIMMONS's minority report and in his speech this afternoon. I was the ranking Democrat upon that subcommittee at that time. Did I come in here and make a howl and file a minority report, as Mr. SIMMONS has done, on the political aspect and the effect it might have on the election? No; God forbid that I ever inject politics or the consideration of an election coming off or not coming off in making appropriations to provide for an economical Government. [Applause.]

Oh, the gentleman says he does not question anybody's motive in this matter. Am I to be condemned, the very first time I get to be chairman of this committee, because I carry out the policy of your good Republican chairman of the committee who preceded me as such; and if it was fair, just, and right when practiced under Republican

leadership, certainly Democratic leadership can not make it unjust, unfair, or wrong.

Let us see. In 1924 the authorization was $65,000,000 for public-highway construction. The Budget recommended $30,000,000. The Appropriations Committee appropriated $29,300,000, cutting the Budget estimate $700,000.

In 1925 the authorization was $75,000,000 that we could appropriate; the Budget recommended $13,500,000, and the subcommittee on agriculture of the Appropriations Committee cut it $500,000 by appropriating only $13,000,000.

In 1926 the Budget recommended $80,000,000 and the subcommittee recommended $76,000,000, cutting the Budget estimate $4,000,000.

In 1927 the Budget recommended $80,000,000, and your subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee recommended $75,000,000, or a cut in the Budget estimate of $5,000,000.

In 1928 the Budget recommended $75,000,000, and your subcommittee on agricultural appropriations and the main committee made an appropriation of $71,000,000, or a cut in the Budget estimate of $4,000,000.

Oh, the gentleman says that for the last four years we have been recommending the estimates of the Budget. Why? Because the agricultural appropriation act during those years made the money immediately available upon the passage of the bill, and this would do away with the deficiency committee acting on any deficiency, provided we appropriated enough to last until the next agricultural bill was passed, and that is what we have done this year. I do not believe that we have ever appropriated a sufficient amount for public-road construction to meet the demands for the entire fiscal year appropriation, for in the regular appropriation bill we have relied upon the deficiency bill or the next annual bill for the balance necessary.

If we had wanted to play politics we could easily have cut the $109,000,000 to $90,000,000 and made a $20,799,591 reduction in the Budget estimates instead of $10,799,591 without injuring the service, and justified ourselves in so doing by the testimony of the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Why did you not do that?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Because I wanted it to be enough to last until the next regular agricultural supply bill was passed, that is the reason. I did not want it to come up in a deficiency bill. I do not like deficiency estimates. They cause two distinct subcommittees to make appropriations for one project, which committees may have different views, causing confusion and rendering an accounting more difficult.

Oh, was it an attempt to mislead? Let us see. Gentlemen, read the hearings and read the questions I asked Mr. MacDonald. I asked if $80,000,000 would last them until a deficiency bill was passed, and he said he thought so, but it might be a little doubtful. I asked would $90,000,000 be enough, and he said yes, a plenty, and I asked would $100,000,000 be enough to last until the next annual supply bill was passed, and he said it would.

Attempt to mislead? Did DICKINSON mislead? Did Anderson mislead or attempt to mislead? Did Magee attempt to mislead? Did Martin Madden attempt to mislead and fool the people? They all indorsed this policy and decreased the estimates by millions and millions of dollars.

Oh, I do not like to indulge in this sort of thing, but I can not sit silent and let such stuff as this be hurled in my teeth, when I am simply carrying out an economic policy and following a program that has been set for this work for many years, which program is and has always been well understood and acted upon by the department, by this subcommittee, by the entire Appropriations Committee, and by its clerks.

Mr. BACON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BACON. I am entirely in sympathy with the gentleman and I intend to support his subcommittee. I am only sorry the committee did not cut it $10,000,000 more.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. That is the point I wanted to bring out a moment ago. I did not intend to criticize the gentleman's position. I am only sorry the gentleman did not cut out more.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Gentlemen, I have just one other suggestion and then I am through.

The gentleman [Mr. SIMMONS] says this is a mere paper saving and that it will ultimately have to be passed. Ultimately, yes; because under the organic act providing for highway construction, the various amounts stay to the credit of the States for three years if they do not sooner utilize it; but bear this in mind. These are hard times, a great depression hangs over every State of the Union and some of these States may not be able to raise the money to match, dollar for dollar, the public-road funds as required by law.

If a number of States, feeling the financial depression, materially reduce the public-road construction program therein, then it is very likely the $9,000,000 reduction we made in estimates will not be needed during the fiscal year 1933. By appropriating enough money for bills of the States as they actually come in, we may have the $9,000,000 for two or three years, and by that time the depression may be over. I hope to God it will. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON].

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, we have had a very extensive and interesting discussion this afternoon on the question of appropriations. I propose to address myself to the matter of raising money with which to meet these appropriations.

When the so-called tariff bill was under consideration by the House the other day, I did not have an opportunity to express my views upon what I consider a serious breach of faith on the part of the majority. I use the words "breach of faith" because I can think of no other adequate expression.

Since the present tariff law went into effect on July 3, 1930, the country has been flooded with a campaign of propaganda against it which has been financed by foreign manufacturers, by international bankers, and by importers. Vast sums of money have been spent to discredit it in the eyes of the American people. The depression has been laid at its door, notwithstanding that the depression set in in October, 1929, or eight months before the enactment of the law. Other charges made have been equally baseless and false.

Ladies and gentlemen of the House, I submit that the country had every right to expect that the Democrats would bring before us a new tariff bill which would represent their views as to rates, their position on the flexible feature of the present law, as well as adjust such inequalities, iniquities, and shortcomings in the Hawley-Smoot Act as we have continually been told for the past 18 months exist. It is a fair question, I think, to ask them why they brought in the measure passed by the House Saturday a week ago. That is not a tariff measure. It merely provides for throwing the whole tariff question into an international trade conference where the American producer will be at the mercy of a gang of greedy, hungry, unscrupulous competitors who will go to any length to capture for themselves the American market, which is the best market in all the world.

Now, why did not the Democrats bring in such a tariff bill as we have been promised ever since it became definitely certain they would control the House? The reason is not far to seek. The American people are going to elect a President in November. The Democrats feel quite optimistic over their ability to elect their candidate but they are not going to jeopardize that chance by bringing in a free trade, or tariff-for-revenue measure before election, because they know that the overwhelming majority of the American people believe in protection for the American producer, be he on farm or in factory, and they will do nothing to offend this feeling, neither will they just before election give to the younger voting generation a dose of what always befalls us whenever we are on a free-trade or tariff-for-revenue basis.

Again, I ask, why did not the majority bring in a bill which would have corrected such inequalities and iniquities as they have charged exist in the present law? Clearly, if they have been sincere in their charges, it was their

bounden duty to have brought in such a measure. Their failure to do so lays them open to one of two charges—either that the charges were without foundation or they place the welfare of the party above that of the country. Personally I believe both charges would lie with perfect propriety.

My friends, it is my honest belief that never before in the history of the Republic has there been greater need for protection; and why do I say that? For several reasons:

First. Because of the unemployment situation in this and in other countries.

Second. Because of adverse rates in foreign exchange.

Third. Because of the advantageous situation of foreign and competing producers in the matter of production costs due to lower living levels, longer hours, much lower wages, governmental subsidies, and pooling of interests in regulating production, fixing prices, and apportioning of trade territory.

Now, let us take up these reasons one at a time. Is there anyone within the sound of my voice who honestly and sincerely believes that it would help our unemployment problem were we to lower the rates in the present tariff law so as to make easier the importation of vast quantities of goods and produce which we are well able to produce here at home? Will some Democratic Member kindly explain to the House how it would help the return of prosperity were we to buy from other countries farm produce and manufactured goods which we can and should produce on our own farms and in our own factories, thereby giving gainful employment to idle American laboring men? And yet that is what you have promised us you will do after the next election. In the name of common sense how can we hope to compete with countries where they have much cheaper production costs, due to longer hours of toil and lower wages? Please explain that to me.

We are the only country whose currency is quoted on the exchanges of the world at par. How does that affect the tariff? Let us see. I will use butter as an illustration, because that is the leading product which we have in Minnesota. We will say that a given quantity of Canadian butter is worth 750 American dollars, or 1,000 Canadian dollars, in Canada; but when brought into this country, it brings 1,000 American dollars, because the exchange rate is 25 per cent adverse to Canada. When those 1,000 American dollars are taken back to Canada they become worth 1,250 Canadian dollars, hence the Canadian dairyman, in shipping his butter to this country, has increased its value from 750 to 1,000 American dollars by the time he gets his money back to his Canadian home—an increase of 25 per cent, which acts as a rebate or drawback on the butter tariff rate. The law calls for a specific duty of 14 cents per pound, but with an adverse exchange rate of 25 per cent the tariff on Canadian butter is now only about 10 cents. That is the reason butterfat is now bringing less than 30 cents per pound in Minnesota. What is true of butter is equally true of most of the other items in the present tariff law, and yet they talk of lowering the rates.

Let us turn to the third reason. Living conditions abroad are far below American standards. We ride about in 27,000,000 automobiles on hundreds of thousands of miles of hard-surfaced roads; we communicate with each other over 20,000,000 telephones; we eat our meals to the accompaniment of music from 13,000,000 radios; many homes are modern, equipped with electric laundry machinery, electric lights, heat, and so forth. In the cities eight hours is the usual length of the working day and wages have been fairly high. How different in competing countries. Longer hours of toil and much lower wages. On a free-trade basis we can not hope to compete with these countries unless they bring their living standards up to ours or we bring our standards down to their levels. Until such adjustment is made we are going to need a tariff that represents the difference in production costs here and abroad, plus a fair profit.

Another advantage enjoyed by foreign manufacturers, many of whom are Americans who have moved their plants abroad, is government subsidies which enable them to compete with almost any price level prevailing in other countries. Many European Governments encourage the formation of cartels or pools which limit production, fix prices, and apportion trade territory. That is a tremendous advantage in going after the foreign trade, and to offset this and other advantages a protective tariff is absolutely indispensable if we are to survive.

Charges that our tariff law is destroying our foreign trade are without foundation. The decrease along that line has been exactly in the same ratio to the decline of exports and imports of other countries, and is due to the present world-wide depression. So long as the exchange rate is adverse to nations that would buy from us under normal conditions, we probably will lose some trade for that reason. For example, Canadian dollars are now worth only 75 cents in the United States. While this is to Canada's advantage in selling to us, it works to her disadvantage in buying. She must do her buying in such countries as England, whose pound sterling has also shrunk 25 per cent in its purchasing power abroad. This holds good with all other nations. The only way in which we can meet that situation, as I see it, is to shrink the American dollar to a point where it will be on a parity with the currency of our customer countries, but, as Kipling would say, that is another story which must be dealt with separately.

Those Members of Congress who were here during the discussion of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill in 1929 may recall that at that time I inserted in the RECORD a partial list of the 2,000 American manufacturers who have moved their plants abroad since the war in order to take advantage of the opportunities there offered for cheaper production in other countries. Nearly all of them are engaged in the manufacture of goods now on the free list, which enables them to manufacture across the water and sell their products in our market. You may recall that I particularly cited the action of Henry Ford in moving his tractor plant from Detroit to Ireland, throwing thousands of willing American laboring men out of work. If we had a tariff on tractors and other products which they manufacture, Mr. Ford and his fellow American industrial expatriates would be compelled to resume operations in this country, and thereby give work to millions of worthy Americans. That is the sole purpose of protection, my friends. If we were to go on a tariff for revenue or free-trade basis, hundreds—yes, thousands—more factories would be moved over there, and thereby further aggravate the very serious problem of unemployment which exists with us to-day.

We are importing into this country annually, in round figures, about four thousand million dollars worth of products of one kind or another, and it is estimated that we are capable of producing two-thirds of that amount here in our own land. Only the other day I received a letter from northern Minnesota, which reads in part as follows:

> We wish to call your attention to the conditions existing in northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan at the present time, namely, that practically all kinds of logging and cutting of spruce pulpwood and other forest products are at a standstill, for the reason that Canadian timber is being shipped into the United States free of duty; and on account of the difference in monetary exchange the Canadian products are shipped into this country so cheaply that we, in this locality, are unable to compete with their prices, causing a general shutdown over a territory comprising a considerable area of the United States.
>
> This condition affects all kinds of business in this area, and we think that it has become too one-sided entirely and that we should have some tariff protection from Canadian forest products. We believe that some prompt action should be taken at once in this matter, as we, in this area, should be given some consideration because of the fact that logging and the producing of forest products are really our basic industry in this territory and form the backbone to all of our business enterprises.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield to my friend from Nebraska.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman tell us whether or not the manufacture of tractors in Ireland has resulted in a lowering of price of tractors in this country?

Mr. KNUTSON. No reduction whatever, but it has thrown thousands of American workmen out of a job.

Mr. LOZIER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield to the distinguished Member from Missouri.

Mr. LOZIER. The gentleman knows that the Aluminum Co. of America has built in Canada within the last year a commodity-production factory which will produce 60 per cent of all the aluminum utilized in America. The gentleman also is not ignorant of the fact that the United States Steel Trust has built in Canada a steel plant costing more than $3,000,000.

Mr. KNUTSON. Let me ask the gentleman, where is the best market for the aluminum and steel industries?

Mr. LOZIER. The best market for the products of those two monopolies is in America. They are both protected, but they are going into these other countries and establishing plants, and those are only two of the instances. Thousands of protected industries have gone into Canada and Europe and established branches.

Mr. KNUTSON. And the reason why they go to these other countries is because the difference in cost of production here and there will more than offset the tariff. That is why present rates in many instances are too low. Think, if we were to give these essential industries such protection as they need, what it would mean in the way of employment to the American men and women who are now walking the streets of our cities looking for work. A former Minnesotan, now living in Arizona, recently told me that if Congress would put copper on the protected list, the copper industries of that State could and would give employment to every idle man in the Southwest. Why not put a tariff on copper and open the idle mines and smelters? Also on tractors so as to compel Henry Ford to bring his Irish plant back to the United States and give employment to thousands of worthy Americans who are now unemployed.

The Hawley-Smoot Act is not perfect by any means, but the flexible provision provides the machinery necessary to iron out existing inequalities. Already more than 50 changes in rates have been made by the Tariff Commission, most of them downward. The so-called tariff bill which passed the House Saturday a week ago would leave the flexible provision in doubt. Our dairymen will look with disfavor on any attempt to do away with this very helpful provision, which enabled President Coolidge to raise the rate on butter from 8 cents to 12 cents per pound back in 1926. Minnesota granite producers also have occasion to feel friendly to the flexible feature.

When the present law was before the Ways and Means Committee, and later before the House, a group of us sought to place copra on the protected list for the benefit of our dairy and livestock industries; also we were not at all satisfied with the rates given potato flour and sago. Personally, I felt that a tariff should have been given to the manufacturers of pulp and print paper and pulpwood for the protection of a very important American industry, which is giving employment to tens of thousands of American workingmen at American wage levels. How many of you realize that foreign-made print paper can be laid down cheaper at Denver than the actual cost of production at such points as Sartell, Little Falls, Brainerd, Cloquet, and International Falls—all in Minnesota and nearer to Denver than any coast port? As a newspaper publisher, it would probably cost me a little more in the long run, but such increase would be completely offset in the knowledge that we had provided for an important American industry, employing thousands of men, which is now fighting with its back against the wall. The American oil and copper industries are on the rocks because we have lacked the moral courage to provide for their needs.

Mr. Chairman, I am not a "spot" protectionist. If an adequate tariff is beneficial to us in Minnesota, it is equally helpful to the Oklahoma oil man and the Arizona copper producer. The trouble, as I view it, is that there is not a man or woman in this House but who has some interest back in his or her district which must be protected, and the Member is most insistent that such interest be given the necessary protection, but when it comes to giving protection to other sections of the country, then the tariff too often becomes to that Member an indefensible system for "exploiting the downtrodden consumer." In other words, too many look upon the great principle of protection as a local issue when it should be a broad and comprehensive national policy that would protect all sections of the country and cover every American industry subjected to competition from abroad.

The thing that impressed me most in the debates had on the tariff monstrosity passed by the House Saturday a week ago was the failure on the part of the majority to specify a single item in the existing tariff law as being too high, although challenged repeatedly by the Republicans to do so. Think of it. Not a single Democratic Member was able to mention a single rate as being too high, although they have been "cussing" and discussing the measure for the past 18 months. Why? Is it not that all their "ballyhooing" is purely for political effect? It is nearly always safe to condemn a thing along broad, general lines, but it takes exact knowledge and not a little courage to be specific. In this instance the Democrats have shown a complete lack of both, so we can only conclude that the attacks they have been leveling at the Hawley-Smoot law the past 18 months were purely for political effect, to be sent out as propaganda by the Democratic National Committee in an attempt to discredit the tariff and thereby make victory for them easier of attainment next November. A game as old as the hills.

Do the American people want to return to free trade, which will force them into active competition with the producers of Europe and the Orient? Time will tell. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN].

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the bill passed by the House known as the reconstruction measure will eventually cause the issuance and sale of $2,000,000,000 worth of bonds to the American people. The object and intent of the legislation, as I understand it, is to place more money in the country. In other words, to place purchasing power in the hands of consumers. We have plenty of consumers in America to-day, people who are in a position to consume everything that is offered for sale, but who do not have the purchasing power. The object of that legislation was to try to get the purchasing power into the hands of those consumers. If it is possible for the money to go through the big banking institutions and the big banking corporations that will get the money and percolate on down to the people who have the consuming power, that object will have been carried out. I do not believe that we should take that course in an effort to bring about prosperity to the masses. If we want to bring prosperity to the masses of the people, the farmers and wage earners of our Nation, I think some means should be devised of getting the purchasing power directly into their hands, and instead of trying to help the wage earners and the farmers through the big banks and the big business institutions, let us help the big banks and the big business institutions, if they need help and are entitled to it from the Government, through the farmers and the wage earners. Let it go through them first. Prosperity will always go upward, but it does not always go down to the farmer and the wage earner. I think we should devise a plan that will place money in the hands of the consumers throughout the length and breadth of our land.

I know and you know that when $2,000,000,000 worth of additional Government securities have been floated in America that will absorb the bond market for many months to come, and possibly for the next year or two. It is almost useless for us to discuss other appropriations that would require the raising of money through additional bond issues. United States bonds to-day are selling as low as $84 on the $100. There is a reason for that; some one in authority in our Government—I do not know who—has promised the foreign nations that they will never have to resume payments on their obligations to the United States. I believe I can convince you that that is true. When the Debt Funding Commission brought in its recommendations to you to

pass upon and those debts were funded that foreign countries are to pay us a clause was placed in each and every one of those contracts which read like this:

We reserve the right to pay the United States in her own bonds at par and accrued interest.

No one would object to that provision being placed in the contract, because it is reasonable. No protest was entered. No one opposed it. For years and years our Liberty bonds and Treasury certificates after that stayed away up above par. I shall give you a concrete illustration which will convince you of the reason for it. On June 15, 1924, England made a payment to the United States of $69,000,000 on her war debt. Out of the $69,000,000 that were paid $27.44 was paid in cash, and the remainder was paid in our own bonds at par and accrued interest. The reason was that our Liberty bonds and notes had gone slightly below par, and England quickly came into the market and purchased those bonds because she could use them to pay her debt to us at par and accrued interest, and she was paying an interest rate much less than the bonds bore. Therefore it was to England's advantage to buy those bonds. On the $69,000,000 payment, if England could save 50 cents on a hundred-dollar bond, she could save about $300,000.

Therefore, for years and years our Government securities were away above par. If they reached down near par, where it would be to the advantage of the foreign countries to purchase those bonds, they would go into the market and purchase the bonds. It would be to their advantage to do it. Therefore, they always stood above par; but some of the officials of our Government went to Europe this summer, and after staying over there a while and discussing war debts and reparations, they came back to America, and since that time the foreign nations have gone out of the market and they do not purchase our bonds any more. Therefore, our Liberty bonds have gone down, and the Treasury obligations went down to 95, to 90, to 85, and as low as 82. Do you not know, my friends, that if England or France had an idea that she would have to resume payment upon her obligations to us that she would go and buy a dollar for 82 cents.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. PERKINS. Does the gentleman think that it was the purchase of United States bonds by foreign countries that kept them up to par?

Mr. PATMAN. That was one thing that kept them up.

Mr. PERKINS. Has the gentleman any information as to the relationship between the purchase of bonds by foreign countries and the domestic market for bonds?

Mr. PATMAN. I have this information, that foreign countries were in the market at all times, and they are not in the market now. France has enough money in New York banks to pay her obligations to America for the next 10 years. Your own distinguished Senator, a gentleman who is very close to the White House, made that statement, and I presume he has correct information. If France has that money in New York banks to-day, sufficient to pay her obligations to us for the next 10 years, and if she thinks she will have to resume payments, she would buy some of our dollars for 82 cents, which are drawing twice as much interest as she will have to pay.

Mr. TREADWAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. TREADWAY. I understood the gentleman to say that France has money deposited in New York that would pay her obligations to this country for 10 years. If the gentleman will examine the recent hearings before the Ways and Means Committee, where testimony was asked from representatives and agents of foreign countries in New York, the gentleman will find that his statement is incorrect.

Mr. PATMAN. I heard that testimony. I do not have to examine it; and I considered the witness was very evasive, and members of the committee were not insistent about the production of that information.

Mr. TREADWAY. May I ask the gentleman further, if it will not interrupt him, does the gentleman think that the witness was evasive when he did not consider that he was obligated to give private information to the public as to the relations between client banks and foreign countries?

Mr. PATMAN. I heard the gentleman who was a representative of a New York bank testify he did not want to give that information, but he did not know why, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] suggested to him that there was a possible confidential relationship existing there, and that would be a very good reason why. [Applause.] And he pleaded that exemption.

Mr. TREADWAY. Was not the excuse offered a suitable and proper one?

Mr. PATMAN. But the witness did not urge the excuse. The gentleman from Massachusetts suggested it to him. The gentleman should read the record.

Mr. TREADWAY. The man who was the witness needed no assistance from the gentleman from Massachusetts before the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. PATMAN. He was in a helpless condition until he got that assistance.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman will acknowledge he was a very bright young man and needed no assistance from anybody so far as our committee was concerned.

Mr. PATMAN. But he was in a helpless condition until the gentleman from Massachusetts came to his rescue.

Mr. TREADWAY. I do not agree with the gentleman at all.

Mr. PATMAN. If the gentleman will read the record, he will, absolutely.

Mr. TREADWAY. No. I take just the opposite attitude, and if the gentleman will read the record he will find I am correct about it.

Mr. ARENTZ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. ARENTZ. In a way the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] is correct, because prior to Monsieur Laval's visit there was $600,000,000 worth of gold on deposit in New York to the credit of France. I do not know how much more there was in other securities, but we do know before Monsieur Laval's visit word was sent here that the call rate was not high enough, and unless the call rate was raised the $600,000,000 would be shipped to France. I am very happy to say that the New York bankers said, "We can not have France dictate the call rate to us. You can leave the money here or take it out; suit yourself."

Mr. PATMAN. The object of my talk this afternoon is to try to convince the members of the committee of a way to distribute sufficient money into every nook and corner of our Nation that will absolutely increase, not only the per capita circulation of money but the purchasing power of the people to the extent that it will be possible for us to have prosperity. There is one way that this money can be distributed. That is by the payment, not of a bonus—many people call it a bonus, but it is not a bonus—but by the payment of a just and honest debt that the Congress of the United States has confessed to the veterans of the World War for services rendered.

In order to persuade the Congress of the United States to enact a law providing for the full cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates, the burden is upon us to show (1) that the face value of each certificate is past due and (2) that the Government can pay the debt at this time without detriment to the general welfare. I believe we can make this showing. We can show further that the payment of the debt at this time will benefit all the people of the Nation and promote the general welfare. The Government can make the payment without a bond issue, without increasing taxes, and without paying interest.

We need more money in circulation. This debt should be paid in Treasury notes, which will circulate as money, the same as notes of the Federal reserve banks. They should be nontaxable and noninterest bearing; good for the payment of all debts, public and private, and should be full legal tender. Such payment of $2,200,000,000 will cause moderate inflation of the currency, which is very much

needed at this time and which is being advocated by the President of the United States, bankers, economists, and others, and in no way endangers the gold standard.

This plan can become effective at once, and the money distributed in payment of the debt to the veterans in every nook and corner of America. Purchasing power will be placed in the hands of consumers; wheels of industry will commence to turn to supply the demands of these consumers, and the full cash payment will represent about one-half of 1 per cent of the total national wealth, or about $50 on every $10,000.

Mr. PERKINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. PERKINS. If I understood the gentleman correctly, he said that if we issued $2,000,000,000 of Treasury notes there would be mild inflation.

Mr. PATMAN. Moderate inflation. That is what we were told when we passed the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill.

Mr. PERKINS. Does the gentleman know how much money is in circulation in the United States to-day?

Mr. PATMAN. Well, I know what is reported to be in circulation.

Mr. PERKINS. How much?

Mr. PATMAN. About $44 per capita; but it is not in circulation. A lot of it is being hoarded; a lot of it is in foreign countries, and a lot has been destroyed by fire and shipwrecks. So it is not all here.

Mr. PERKINS. It was testified before the World War Veterans' Legislation Committee yesterday that the total amount in circulation in this country is less than $2,000,000,000, so that this moderate inflation would double the entire circulating medium of the country.

Mr. PATMAN. Does not the gentleman think it would stand being doubled, and it would take the place of credit, because credit is now being used instead of money?

Mr. PERKINS. It would be what is popularly known as rag money, would it not?

Mr. PATMAN. Some people call it rag money, or greenbacks. That is the argument that will be made, that it is fiat money. If it would be rag money, Federal reserve notes are rag money. After the Civil War there was a strong argument made against paper money, but that money could not be used for the payment of all debts. It was restricted in its use. It could only be used for a certain purpose. A few people hoarded the gold, and when people wanted money to pay taxes and duties on imports they had to get gold with which to pay them, and in order to get that gold they had to pay several times the amount in greenbacks.

But Secretary Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, in 1879 passed an order making those greenbacks good 100 per cent for the payment of all of those debts for which gold had theretofore been used. Since that time greenbacks have been worth 100 per cent. That was the reason that money was not good. It was because it was restricted in its use. I would not have restricted money. I would have it good for all debts, public and private. You take the silver dollar you have in your pocket. You can purchase that much silver for 25 cents on the market to-day. Why is it worth $1? It is because the United States Government has said it is worth $1, and it is good in payment of debts for $1.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I gladly yield.

Mr. GARBER. The gentleman has said that we are using credit instead of money in actual circulation. Since 1929 the credit currency of the country has decreased in excess of $6,000,000,000 and the money in actual circulation, which actually circulates, is not in excess of $2,000,000,000. Now, I am in accord with what the gentleman says in regard to the issuance of emergency currency direct to those who hold a just debt. It is the best channel through which we can get money into actual circulation in every section of this country.

Mr. PATMAN. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. GARBER. It will increase the purchasing power of farm products.

Mr. PATMAN. And remember that this money will go not to one section but to 3,600,000 people residing in every nook and corner of America. You can not imagine a village in America that will not be benefited. It will not only benefit the veterans, but they will pay their debts, they will buy the comforts and the necessities of life, so it will benefit everybody.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Would the gentleman consider it going to a logical conclusion to advocate that the Government pay off all its public debt by the issuance of currency

Mr. PATMAN. No; I would not say that. There would have to be a limit to it, and I think we should have in mind a limit and we should not exceed that limit. I can see where it would be dangerous, but to circulate $2,200,000,000 would not be dangerous at a time when we have less than $2,000,000,000 in money and when the banks of this Nation have $50,000,000,000 in deposits. So there is too much of a difference between the actual money and the deposits.

Mr. McGUGIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

Mr. McGUGIN. Is not the gentleman mistaken in his statement? Do not the deposits amount to about $70,000,000,000?

Mr. PATMAN. In savings accounts and time deposits I suspect it would exceed $50,000,000,000.

Mr. McGUGIN. It is my understanding that last year they amounted to $70,000,000,000.

Mr. PATMAN. If we have such a small amount of money, why could we not have more money? We would never have to retire this money, because as the Nation's population increases the circulation of money should increase. We need that much money in circulation, and it would never have to be retired.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Suppose there was a demand to retire it? What would the Government substitute for it?

Mr. PATMAN. For that money?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. It could raise the money by taxes and retire 5 per cent a year if it was desirable to do so.

Mr. O'CONNOR. With gold or what? Suppose it were brought to the Treasury for retirement?

Mr. PATMAN. Well, we could raise the money in taxes to retire it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Retire it with gold?

Mr. PATMAN. Well, we could retire it with gold because we have sufficient gold to do it. We have sufficient to authorize the issuance of $6,000,000,000 or $7,000,000,000 more of money, and we will have a sufficient gold reserve, according to the standard that is laid down by the strongest gold advocates in America to-day.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I am very much interested in the argument the gentleman is making. As I understand it, this surplus in the gold reserve is not, as a matter of fact, in the Treasury of the United States but is very largely held by the Federal reserve system. Does the gentleman think it will be necessary to work out some program by which it should be transferred to the Treasury from the reserve system before it could be used as a medium of redemption to meet obligations?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; and the point is that the gold that is now in America would justify the issuance of this money and we could work out later the details.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I think that is true.

Mr. PATMAN. I also want to submit for the consideration of the committee that these 3,600,000 adjusted-service certificates can be paid at this time by the issuance of Treasury notes, which will not require a bond issue. It will not require the payment of interest or of additional taxes. The payment can be conveniently made and will not only assist the veterans and their families but will assist everybody. It will go into every section of our Nation and it

can be placed there immediately. It will not be dependent upon blue prints and specifications of architects in making drawings for public buildings and then waiting months and years in order to get the money in circulation. It will go out at once and it will stimulate business, and the people who are now consumers will have purchasing power and we will again have at least the opportunity of having prosperity in our own Nation.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman yield for another question, purely for information?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Has the gentleman introduced his bill for the payment of this balance due?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; I have. It is House bill No. 1.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Does the gentleman make any provision in that bill for this method of securing the money which he is now discussing?

Mr. PATMAN. House bill No. 1 does not, but I introduced an amendment to it a few days ago which does provide that Treasury notes shall be issued in payment of these certificates. [Applause.]

I thank you for your attention.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STOKES].

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOGG] has requested that I speak in support of the Joint Resolution No. 112, which he introduced and which has been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, a similar resolution having also been introduced by the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BURTNESS].

The resolution proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States giving the Federal Government power to tax income from State and municipal obligations and the corresponding right of the States to tax income received by its residents from obligations of the United States Government.

When Knute Rockne's football team was beaten by a narrow margin, Rockne, in commenting on the result of the match, said, "The two teams were practically equal physically, but the other team had the best mental poise." Well, when they got home, the old janitor ran forth and asked who won. "The other side" was the reply. "Too bad," said the old man, "but who lost the game for you?" "Mental poise," said a player. "Oh," said the janitor, "I knew that boy could never play football."

Let us not make the mistake the janitor did, but let us have a clear understanding of the meaning of this bill, in order that we may have a right judgment on this important question.

In every country in the world at this time new sources of revenue that will not burden real estate or trade and commerce are being sought.

The Treasury Department has estimated that there are about $20,000,000,000 of capital invested in this country on which not one cent of income tax is being paid. These tax-exempt securities can not now be taxed, because they are outstanding and in the hands of the public.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. STOKES. Yes.

Mr. GARBER. Did that include State and municipal bonds also.

Mr. STOKES. State, municipal, and United States Government bonds.

It is estimated about $1,000,000,000 a year of new tax-exempt securities are being issued.

The passage of this bill would, after a certain date, prevent the issuance of these securities as tax-free obligations and put them on an equality with other bonds—Government, corporation, railroad, and industrial—and would, therefore, bring in a very large sum of money to the Government which is now escaping taxation, increasing each year in proportion to the amount of tax-free bonds that are paid off.

It is estimated all would be paid off in about 20 years, as they are mostly serial maturities, due from 1 to 10 years and 1 to 20 years.

One of my colleagues has told me he fears it would give too much centralized power to the Federal Government; but this is not the case. What the States give away to the Federal Government they in turn receive from the Federal Government.

The United States Government has approximately $1,392,236,850 of 3½ per cent bonds outstanding, callable at par next June and due 1947, which are free of all tax, but it is not at present permitted by law to issue any more bonds of this class.

To-day it is almost impossible to get wealthy investors to buy any other than tax-free securities and, of consequence, it is hard to get any market for corporation, railroad, or industrial bonds.

In Philadelphia, from whence I come, there are about $38,000,000 of unpaid taxes—real-estate and school and water taxes—and this condition applies to some of our other larger cities. Any means, therefore, of an additional tax which does not burden real estate would be, I believe, very welcome.

Within the last 30 days the City Council of Philadelphia felt it their duty to increase taxes in order to balance the budget. When the taxpayers heard of this an army of 50,000 or more marched on city hall and remonstrated against any increase in taxes, threatening that if the city council did so they must take the consequences.

The result was that taxes were not increased and the budget is not as yet balanced. These high taxes have come mainly from municipal extravagance.

I shall give you a small summary of Boston's, New York's, and Philadelphia's bonded indebtedness:

Boston in 1917 about $128,000,000; Boston in 1931 about $159,000,000. This is a conservative increase.

New York in 1917 about $1,000,000,000; New York in 1931 about $2,386,000,000.

Philadelphia in 1917 about $250,000,000; Philadelphia in 1931 about $606,000,000.

Mr. Mellon in a letter dated September 23, 1921, stated in part:

> As you know, in my letter of April 30, 1921, to the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, a copy of which I inclose, I recommended to Congress that it consider the advisability of taking action by statute, or constitutional amendment where necessary, to restrict further issues of tax-exempt securities. The ever-increasing volume of tax-exempt securities (issued for the most part by States and municipalities) represents a grave economic evil, not only by reason of the loss of revenue which it entails to the Federal Government but also because of its tendency to encourage the growth of public indebtedness and to divert capital from productive enterprise. The issue of tax-exempt securities has a direct tendency to make the graduated Federal surtaxes ineffective and nonproductive because it enables taxpayers subject to surtaxes to reduce the amount of their taxable income by investing it in such securities, and at the same time the result is that a very large class of capital investments escape their just share of taxation.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STOKES. Yes.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Does the gentleman think that cities would be better off if they could not issue tax-exempt securities. Would Philadelphia be any better off if it had not issued tax-exempt securities?

Mr. STOKES. I think it would. One of our colleagues said that it would be giving too much power to the Central Government; but, remember, the bill calls for the same power given to the States that the States give to the Federal Government.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. The States now can, by an act of legislation, regulate tax-exempt securities.

Mr. STOKES. This bill provides for taxing municipal bonds, and that could not be done without an amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. That is true; but at present the States can regulate the issue of municipal bonds, so they can control issuance of taxable bonds or tax-exempt bonds.

Mr. STOKES. That is true; but only relative to State taxes.



Mr. O'CONNOR. If the gentleman will yield. The other side to this is if you issue tax-exempt bonds, say to sell at par and yield 3 per cent, they would sell readily. But if they are taxable by the State or other governmental agency, you would not be able to sell them at 100, but perhaps at 98. So the question of how it works out from an economical standpoint is material.

Mr. STOKES. The gentleman's point is well taken, and instead of selling them to individuals they might be sold to those corporations not liable for taxes.

Mr. PERKINS. With Government bonds selling at 84, how do you account for that?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Mills did not put on a high enough rate to provide for a thorough distribution. They were also probably sold by foreign governments who had been previously holding them.

I believe in the splendid future of this country, but we must all bear our share of the burdens and sacrifices in proportion to our income. Let us endeavor to place our national finances on a sound basis by endeavoring to balance our Budget, which is most important if confidence is to return.

There can be no objection to the poor man escaping taxation, but when the wealthy man does so it strikes at the root of the principle of just taxation—that taxes shall be paid in proportion to the wealth of the individual. That we may deal justly, and remember mercy, and walk humbly before our God. [Applause.]

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HALL].

Mr. HALL of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I rise to call the attention of the House to a very important bill which has been reported by the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, H. R. 4650. The committee has requested a rule from the Committee on Rules for its consideration. It is not my purpose now to go into the merits of the bill. It is known as the drainage bill, for the relief of drainage districts throughout the country. It is the opinion of the sponsors of the bill that it is one of the most important bills to come before the Congress and will extend relief in this direction to the equal of any other bill that we have had before the House. I have here a report from a subcommittee of the Irrigation and Reclamation Committee which was appointed to look into the constitutionality of this particular legislation. I am sure this report will be instructive to the entire membership, and I ask unanimous consent to place it in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The matter above referred to is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 19, 1932.*

Hon. ROBERT S. HALL,
Chairman Irrigation and Reclamation Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: At a meeting of this committee on January 11, 1932, the undersigned were appointed by you as a subcommittee to investigate and report on the constitutionality of H. R. 4650, and, having investigated the question, we make the following report:

The purpose of this bill is well stated in the caption thereof. It is designed to provide for the relief of farmers in any State by the making of loans to drainage districts, levee districts, levee and drainage districts, irrigation, and/or similar districts, other than Federal reclamation projects, or to counties, boards of supervisors, and/or other political subdivisions and legal entities.

This proposed bill is not an innovation in national legislation. The principle upon which this proposed bill rests has heretofore been recognized by Congress in the passage of legislation, particularly the legislation designed to protect areas from flood waters, and to provide for the reclamation of vast areas in the arid and semiarid Western States. The principle involved is national and regional as well as State, and the enactment of this legislation will not be an entering by the National Government upon an entirely new field of legislation.

The principle that the Congress can exercise only the powers granted to it by the Constitution would seem too apparent to require enforcement by argument. This principle is now universally admitted.

Speaking of the power possessed by Congress, Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of Cohen *v.* Virginia (6 Wheat. 381; 5 L. Ed. 257, 259), said:

"That the United States form for many and for most important purposes a single Nation has not yet been denied. In war we are one people. In making peace we are one people. In all commercial regulations we are one and the same people. In many other respects the American people are one; and the Government, which is alone capable of controlling and managing their interests in all these respects, is the Government of the Union. It is their Government, and in that character they have no other. America has chosen to be, in many respects and to many purposes, a Nation; and for all these purposes her Government is complete; to all these objects it is competent. The people declared that in the exercise of all powers given for these objects it is supreme."

Is the power to legislate as proposed in the bill given by the Constitution?

Article I, section 8, clause 1, of the Constitution reads:

"The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts *and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.*"

That part of the section which is in italics has been interpreted in the case of United States *v.* Boyer (D. C. Mo. 85 F. 425) to mean that the power of taxation only is given and this power is limited to objects of a national character; that is, to pay the debts and to provide for the common defense and general welfare.

Mr. Justice Story on the Constitution, sections 907-903, says:

"The reading, therefore, which will be maintained in these commentaries is that which makes the latter words a qualification of the former; and this will be best illustrated by supplying the words which are necessarily to be understood in the interpretation. They will then stand thus: 'Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, in order to pay the debts and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States'; that is, for the purpose of paying the public debts and providing for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

In the case of Buttfield *v.* Stranahan (192 U. S. 492) the Supreme Court of the United States, in speaking of an express power conferred upon Congress, said:

"The power to regulate commerce with foreign nations is expressly conferred upon Congress, and by an enumerated power is complete in itself, acknowledging no limitations other than those prescribed in the Constitution."

In the case of Fairbanks *v.* United States (181 U. S. 288) the Supreme Court said:

"The powers confided to the General Government are to be taken as broadly granted and as carrying with them authority to exercise those powers and to pass those acts which may be reasonably necessary to carry them into full execution, and are not to be nullified by astute verbal criticism with regard to the grand aim and object of the instrument."

Thus it is apparent that since the Congress has the express right to lay and collect taxes, in order to provide for the general welfare of the United States, that this power is broad enough to give to the Congress full authority to enact any act which it may deem reasonably necessary to carry this express power into full execution.

In the case of in re Quarles & Butler (158 U. S. 535) the court said:

"The United States are a Nation whose powers of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, within the sphere of action confided to it by the Constitution are supreme and paramount. Every right created by, arrived under, or dependent upon, the Constitution may be protected and enforced by such means and in such manner as Congress, in the exercise of the correlative duties of protection, or of the legislative powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, may in its discretion deem most eligible and best adapted to attain the object."

In the Lottery Case (188 U. S. 321-354) the report said:

"While our Government must be acknowledged by all to be one of enumerated powers, McCulloch *v.* Maryland (4 Wheat. 316, 405, 407), the Constitution does not attempt to set forth all the means by which such powers may be carried into execution. It leaves to Congress a large discretion as to the means that may be employed in executing a given power. The sound construction of the Constitution, this court has said, 'must allow to the national legislation that discretion, with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it in the manner most beneficial to the people. Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional.' (4 Wheat. 421.)"

In the case of Massachusetts *v.* Mellon (262 U. S. 447) the Supreme Court held that a State may not as parens patriæ institute judicial proceedings to protect her citizens, who are likewise citizens of the United States, from the operation of a Federal statute upon the ground that as applied to them it is unconstitutional.

Therefore, it would seem that if the constitutionality of the proposed bill, when enacted into law, is to be questioned, a suit would have to be brought by an individual; but the court in the same case says:

"The administration of any statute likely to produce additional taxation to be imposed upon a vast number of taxpayers, the extent of whose several interests is indefinite and constantly changing, is essentially a matter of public and not of individual concern. If one taxpayer may champion and litigate such a cause, then every other taxpayer may do the same, and not only in

respect to the statute hereunder reviewed but also under respect of every other appropriation act and statute whose administration requires the outlay of public money and whose validity may be questioned. The bare suggestion of such a result with its attendant inconveniences goes far to sustain the conclusion which we have reached—that a suit of this character can not be maintained."

Therefore, in our opinion, the Congress has constitutional authority and power to enact the proposed legislation, and that it is the sole judge of the advisability of enacting the same; that in the exercise of its discretion it is supreme, and having exercised the discretion no one is in a position to question the validity of the enactment.

Respectfully submitted.

JNO. E. MILLER,
O. H. CROSS,
ROBERT R. BUTLER,
FREDERICK C. LOOFBOUROW,
ROBT. S. HALL, *Subcommittee.*

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. PATTERSON].

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, there is no question about the serious condition in which we find ourselves at this time. The thing that concerns me most at this time—and I think is in the minds of the millions of our citizens—is that we have had but little proposed besides palliative and temporary remedies. It seems that we are to finally stumble through this, the most serious condition this country has ever faced, as best we can, and then only wait and pray that the time when another such condition will come upon us be prolonged.

We have heard a great deal about reconstruction measures, and we have been urged time and again to hurry up and pass these measures, which practically everyone admits are only palliative and would have only psychological effect; and when I really think of the status in which we find ourselves—after going through the greatest crisis of financial depression, unemployment, hunger, suffering, and poverty that this country has gone through in its history, which, for more than 25 months, not even a palliative remedy has been offered, with a single exception, probably, of a few slight appropriations for public works, a great many of which have been held up to use during this year for some reason—then the purpose of urging upon Congress the extreme importance of rushing this legislation is, I think, apparent to all.

I am one that believes that there is no permanent cure for our condition without increasing the purchasing power of the great masses of our people. Some of those in authority have talked from time to time about the great surplus and its harm. My own personal opinion of those things is that we are suffering a great deal less from overproduction than from underconsumption.

In speaking as best I may as a humble Member of this House for that great mass of our citizens on the farms, in the factories and mines, or wherever they toil, I would say that if employment would return and they could receive a proper amount of wages and income which the resources of this country should assure them, this time of sorrow, distress, hunger, and want would pass away as a dark cloud lifts itself and we see again the glory of the shining sun.

In my judgment, none of these great constructive corporations, whose sole purpose, many of us believe, is to help boost and further to perpetuate causes which have brought these conditions on our country, will never bring about a return of this desired income of our people.

It is certainly unfortunate at a time like this, when we face so many great questions which challenge the statesmanship of our own country and that of the entire world, that we should have such short-sighted leadership of those in power whose ideas seem to me are to make the rich richer and hope that a little will simmer down among the masses of the people and enable them to eke out a bare living and drop down without protest to slavery and peasantry.

There is no need for me to give evidence of the short-sighted leadership. Time and again you remember in the past that for more than 12 months we were told that the depression was temporary, and, as I recall, in the spring of 1930, almost two years ago, we were told that in 30 or 60 days more we would be through and on the highway to recovery. Since that time this great country has lost probably $50,000,000,000 of its wealth; the wage earner has lost on the average of $10,000,000,000 annually; and many of our people have gone to untimely graves because of weakened bodies and distress caused by the lack of the necessities of life.

Each message to the Congress was a long series of apologies and summaries of conditions which are caused by conditions in foreign countries and the aftermath of war, and in that connection I refer to the inaugural address on March 4, 1929, in which the President in regard to the aftermath of the war, expressed himself at that time:

> We have emerged from the loss of the Great War and the reconstruction following it with increased virility and strength. From this strength we have contributed to the recovery and progress of the world. What America has done has given renewed hope and courage to all who believe in government by the people. In the large view we have reached a higher degree of comfort and security than ever existed before in the history of the world.

Now, in all of these reconstruction measures, most of which in my judgment mean very little other than more burdens laid upon the shoulders of the masses of the people, we are told by the Secretary of the Treasury and his able assistant, backed up, I presume, by the President of the United States, that one of the reconstruction measures is a plan for an increase in taxation. I wish to address myself for a short time to this plan submitted.

Taxation has always been and probably always will be the greatest question before any government. In fact, I suppose almost 95 per cent of our legislation here is, Who is to pay the taxes? How much they should be? And who is to spend them and how? Practically every great country that has had internal trouble had it because of an inequable tax system. And imagine my astonishment when I read the press reports of the hearings of the Secretary of the Treasury and Mr. Mills before the Ways and Means Committee and the kind of taxes they submitted.

I had heard radio reports and read press reports regarding some of their proposed taxes, but I did not believe they would come up and offer to submit some of the unfair taxes and put them on the shoulders of our people; but we have the proposition submitted, and my honest opinion is—and I speak in this matter as I do in all matters, not for any party or on anyone's responsibility except my own—that such a scheme of taxation as this carried out by any party will cause the people of this country to question whether the ideas of that party are the kind that should govern this great country. I recognize that there is a need for more taxation in some lines, brought about by that great administration of economy.

Everybody, it seems to me, should know that one of the things wrong with the country now is the centralization of wealth and that a few men are getting a larger and larger percentage of the wealth in their hands. Of course, under conditions like this, one of the ways to reach this problem is through taxation. Since more taxes have got to be raised, income taxes on higher brackets and estate taxes should be increased, and there should be a corresponding gift tax as a complement to estate taxes; but when I look at some of those taxes reported as recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, such as 2 cents on a check, it is my honest opinion no more inequitable or nefarious tax scheme has ever been submitted to any great and free people, and I do not believe this Congress and my party, which is in power in this House, will submit any such plan.

Too, we have other indefensible taxes which are calculated to put more of the burden of taxation on the shoulders of the masses of our people and relieve those great corporations, big owners, and financiers who have been making millions of dollars during this depression while the masses of our people on the farms, laborers, small business men, and men and women of nearly every profession have been near starvation. Speaking for myself, I am opposed to any such system of taxation, and I sincerely hope that those who are in authority and those who are going to have to take the responsibility for submitting a tax measure to this House will not submit to an overburdened people such a scheme.

Take the status of the poor farmer if this bill was to pass, the poor southern farmer—and I am sure the same is true with our farmer friends in every section of the country, but probably on a different scale—but the poor southern farmer who borrows a hundred dollars from his banker or some other one, if he can, with the understanding that he is to use $5 a week during the crop time, his maximum check would be $5, making $20 a month, and in all he would pay 40 cents tax, and the fellow who was able to issue a larger check, naturally, would pay relatively a much smaller proportion.

Then, too, we are told that we must even have a tax on a Ford automobile, as this is a luxury for those people who work and toil. My colleagues, to-day as I stand here and view the events of the past three years, all that talk of prosperity and what a wonderful thing was going to happen when the present administration went into power, of their prophecy of how we would soon be on the highway of prosperity and the full dinner pail, and the abolishing of poverty from the earth forever, I feel like we should enter a period of mourning.

I want to point out to you three outstanding measures submitted for relief up until the present Congress: The Farm Board, the tariff, and a supposedly tax-reduction measure.

In connection with the tariff, I think that we might get a good deal of humor out of the 1930 tariff. When that bill was passed it was decided to sell it to the American people by psychology. Each member of the Cabinet and the President were to say something about it at a certain time. I think Senator WATSON led off with a prophecy that in 30 days it would bring us out of the morass in which we were stumbling. And it seemed from press reports that each member of the Cabinet was to make a speech on the tariff at a certain time, but for some reason or other the material gave out before it got all the way round.

The next iniquitous bill was called the tax-reduction scheme, and those of you Members who were not here in the latter part of 1929 will be interested to learn what happened, especially since they are asking now to levy a tax on checks and moving pictures. The moving picture is about the only pleasure resort that thousands of people in the cities have.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman suggested that the small farmer would have to pay so much tax on a small check. Does he take into consideration the fact that he must also pay the bank a fee for keeping this small amount, because it is small?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. LUCE. Has the gentleman asked the Ways and Means Committee to reduce any specific tariff?

Mr. PATTERSON. I have not.

Mr. LUCE. Does the gentleman think that any tariff rate ought to be reduced?

Mr. PATTERSON. I shall answer that when I get to discussing the tariff question. I most certainly do.

I want to contrast this so-called tax bill with the present recommended tax increase. I hope many of you can recall the earlier part of December, 1929, when, in my judgment, in order to satisfy a few people who had made large contributions for campaign expenditures, we brought into this House, under the guise of tax reduction, not a bill for tax reduction but a dole, which is just as much a dole as anything ever offered here on the floor of the House. Many of these beneficiaries had gone through the years and collected taxes from the laborers and others to pay these income taxes and then they had them remitted. This was held up as a great reconstruction measure because there was such a tremendous surplus in the Treasury.

Now, if Mr. Mills was quoted correctly in newspaper reports when he appeared before the Ways and Means Committee, we might feel a great deal of cause for alarm in the doings of the present administration. When he appeared before this committee it had been but 25 months since we had this glowing report of such a large surplus in the Treasury and what this would do for business if this dole was given to the rich and those who were able to pay. I remember in the speeches made on this case what glorious promises were held out. I was one of those with the contrary belief at that time that this was a dole to the wealthy. These parties which painted in such beautiful oratory of this relief made me feel disturbed a great deal, but not enough, of course, to make me see their way; but I remember that they led us up the "delectable mountains," I thought, to show us the promised land, or the celestial city; but behold, when we looked out all was morass, despair, and disappointment. We have 25 months later, if the Evening Star of that date quotes the Under Secretary of the Treasury correctly, that during the past 24 months the public debt has been increased by $4,100,000,000. This, in contrast with those glowing reports of what the Secretary of the Treasury was doing to pay the debts of the country and to take care of its finances. I have no doubt to-day that some of those present who put that language into the RECORD at that time would like very much to withdraw those remarks. I and the other less than 25 gentlemen pointed out the iniquities and opposed this legislation and have referred to this time and again, and I challenge any Member of this House to-day—with the developments since and the conditions we find ourselves in to-day—to rise in his own time and defend this legislation in view of the present program.

I think we all to-day might take off our hats to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. RAMSEYER] and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN], who led the fight against this legislation. I have heard—and, of course, not being a leader, I do not know what is in the mind of the leaders on either side of the House—but there are some rumors that those who followed after this thing were berating themselves and those who misled them under their breath for such indefensible legislation sponsored upon a nonsuspecting public.

I pointed out in private then, and have pointed out time and again since on this floor, the iniquitousness of such a dole, if you see fit to call it that, which did not reach the poor man who needed tax relief. There is tax relief needed in this country, and I, for one, pledge myself as best I can to help bring that tax relief about, and as one Member of this House, it is not my purpose to support the part of this scheme of tax legislation that will burden our common people as was submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury and would regret to see the Democratic majority of this House led into such a blind alley as this seems to me. Well may the present administration rejoice; but the people of this country who have been looking for relief would need to put on sack cloth and ashes.

Speaking as best I can for the mass of the people all over this great country and my constituents, who have intrusted me to speak for them and have no paid lobbyist nor anyone else here to speak for them except Members of Congress, I pledge that I will fight to the best of my ability such a scheme and such a system. I say again now that with the reckless expenditures of all these large appropriations for these big corporations and financial institutions, the calling for more and more taxes, and trying to spread them out on the masses of laboring, farming, and every class of our common people, so that it reaches every small business man, a scheme like this will bring our great country to a sadder and sadder plight; and I for one delight to be on the opposite side of this question and consecrate myself here and now to oppose such a scheme first, last, and all the time; and I feel that it is our duty to-day as Representatives of the people to take for our motto the philosophy of the great leaders who have led this country through storms and strife and brought it to peace and happiness. Not partisan politics, not selfish interests, not time serving, but statesmanship and service to our country. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES].

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STOKES] a few moments ago discussed House Joint Resolution 112, introduced by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOGG], to amend the Constitution so as to permit the taxation of incomes from Federal, State, and municipal bonds.

It so happens that in the morning mail I received a letter from the editorial writer of the Grand Rapids Herald, of Grand Rapids, Mich., in which he inclosed an editorial discussing that very subject, and suggested that I ask to have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The editorial is so pertinent and contains so much information that I desire to call the attention of the members of the committee who are present, to it. In the editorial, which I will ask permission to have printed in its entirety for fear that I will not be able to read it all in the time allotted to me, the editor advocates action by the Government to stop the tax-exempt feature of these State, municipal, and Federal bonds at some time in the future, not later than 1935.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks to include this editorial.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There is no objection.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Grand Rapids Herald, Sunday, January 17, 1932]

THE MAN WHO HAS BUT DOESN'T PAY

The State highway department is having difficulty in disposing of the $246,000 Kent County bond issue for financing a part of the North Division Avenue extension. Yet the per capita debt of Kent County is only some 85 cents and is among the most favorable in the whole Nation. Similarly the city of Grand Rapids is likely to have difficulty when it attempts to borrow $1,750,000 for its sewer relief program, and perhaps an additional $1,000,000 for social service during the coming months. Municipalities and other governmental units throughout the country are having this same problem in floating bond issues. They will continue to have these difficulties until Uncle Sam, in the course of eliminating permanently the fiction of tax-exempt bonds, sets a date after which no financing of this nature will be permitted.

The reasons the Kent county bonds haven't been sold and the reasons why other similar issues are not readily salable is that the supply is greater than the demand. The way to cure this glutting of the market is to curb the supply, but the curb should not be applied until a reasonable period has intervened to permit local governmental units to float their contemplated bond issues in a market eager to take them. The moment action is taken in Washington looking toward such a curb on tax-exempt bonds all municipal and other tax-exempt bonds offered will command a rich premium.

This situation is only one phase and actually just a side issue of the big problem of financing through the medium of tax-exempt bonds by the Federal Government, States, counties, school districts, townships, and cities.

The whole theory of granting special privilege to the holders of such securities is fallacious. Actually it encourages financial timidity. Only the timid money, the money of men who are afraid to take the risks of investment in trade and industry, goes into these tax-exempt bonds. Yet the Government, by granting this boon to timid money, puts a penalty upon the courageous investor who places his money in the prosperity-producing industries of the country.

These privileged securities put out by the Government serve the opposite purpose of permitting their favored holders to dodge the taxes, which in turn are the first necessity for existence of the issuing Government. Secretary Mellon said in 1928, "As long as the States and their political subdivisions continue to issue securities which are wholly tax exempt at the rate of $1,000,000,000 a year, there is at all times an ample supply of gilt-edged securities available to those desiring to escape income-tax payment through investment in tax-exempt securities."

The most casual study of the situation reveals how completely Uncle Sam is fooling himself by thus offering an escape from taxation. Most recently available estimates made by the United States Treasury Department show that there are outstanding $20,515,000,000 bonds wholly exempt from normal income tax and surtax of the Federal Government as well as State and local taxes. Since these figures are now a year old, the total undoubtedly is considerably higher. But using that total as a starting point, the fact is that income from at least twenty and a half billions of dollars escapes taxation.

Estimating that these bonds draw an average interest of 4 per cent, although the coupon rate of many is higher, that means an income to the holders of these securities in the neighborhood of $820,000,000 annually which goes scot free, while the Nation and its political subdivisions are rounding up taxable profits. If that income were taxed at the contemplated 40 per cent surtax rate—and no inconsiderable part of these bonds is held by men in the surtax classification—it would contribute $328,240,000 to the United States Treasury.

Instead, however, of the 40 per cent tax on this tremendous item of income, Uncle Sam now permits that money to go into hiding.

But, says the skeptic, it is this very feature of exemption from taxation which makes Government bonds of all forms attractive to investors. True, in some measure; but equally true is the fact that Federal, State, municipal, etc., bonds comprise the finest type of gilt-edged investment regardless of tax exemption. That fact is recognized by all students of financing. The tax-exemption feature is merely a premium which governmental units throw in by way of kidding themselves. Experience of the United States Treasury itself demonstrates that Government bonds are attractive even when lacking the tax-exempt appeal. In the public debt of the Federal Government only $4,257,650,880 out of a total of $17,040,063,880 is wholly exempt from normal income tax and surtax.

A slight premium is paid for bonds which are exempt from taxation, but the seeming advantage of this premium is lost through the fact that money derived from such bond issues must be expended in a market in which values are inflated by the necessity of industry competing for its financing in the same market with these privileged tax-exempt securities. In other words, when the State starts the job of extending North Division Avenue it will have to pay more for labor and materials, because it has floated its tax-exempt securities in competition with the contractor who, perhaps, will need to borrow money for this particular job and the cement manufacturer who requires bank financing to maintain production. Thus, we say that even the premium commanded by tax exemption is in no small measure a fiction.

There is a lot of loose talk in this country about "big money" and its menace; but the real menace of "big money" is represented by that secluded wealth which hides behind bond-tax exemption to the tune of more than $20,500,000,000.

If, instead of postponing the balancing of the Federal Budget until 1934 and instead of running around in circles putting out bond issues on top of bond issues, the Federal Government would now set itself to a comprehensive and expansive program of specific taxation to reinforce the income tax, the national deficit could be wiped out in a single year. And, if at the same time the wheels should be set in motion for stoppage of all future issues of tax-exempt securities after a set date, the Government would be on the way to a sound, sane financial program.

By postponing the balancing of the Budget until 1934, as Secretary Mellon has recommended, the Government gives notice of an approaching deluge of Government bond issues, which news inevitably serves to depress the Government bond market and at the same time the general bond market. Should, however, the Government announce an immediate Budget-balancing program, the bond market would be put on notice to look elsewhere for its investments. It might be necessary to issue some short-term certificates until the specific taxes came into production, but the very assurance of their being quickly wiped out would bolster the bond market.

Suppose that 1935, for example, were fixed as the date after which no new tax-exempt bonds could be issued, what would be the result? Immediately every available outstanding issue would rise in price. Banks, whose money is now tied up in such bonds which can not be sold at par, would automatically be reinforced through the increased liquid value of their assets. And, equally important, every local and State bond issue put out between now and 1935 would be eagerly gobbled up at a premium.

The President wants local communities to meet their own problems of depression, yet in the present situation these communities find the bond market closed to their securities, because there are no buyers. Let him suggest to Congress the advisability of fixing a date for stoppage of bond-tax exemption, and immediately he will have made a major contribution toward helping cities, etc., to help themselves.

Sound economics are offended by the very thought of tax-exempt securities. The practice is contrary to reason; and, as has been pointed out, Government through loss of tax revenue is a first victim, while coureageous money invested in trade and industry suffers as well through having to carry the whole load of tax burdens.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MCCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes, directed him to report that the committee had come to no resolution thereon.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 6660) entitled "An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. JONES, Mr. HALE, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. GLASS, and Mr. MCKELLAR to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS—AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who have spoken on this bill, and all Members who hereafter shall speak on this bill in general debate, may have five legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MICHENER. Reserving the right to object, would the gentleman from Texas object to including in his request all Members of the House? There are a great many Members of the House who will desire to discuss some particular feature of the bill, of vital interest to the particular Member, who will not have an opportunity to speak on the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I amend request to ask unanimous consent that all Members of the House who desire may have five legislative days within which to extend their remarks on the bill now under consideration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

A DISCUSSION OF THE EFFECT OF SILVER MONEY ABROAD

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Speaker, the report of the United States Tariff Commission on foreign exchange of December 31, 1931, brings most clearly before the country the embarrassed situation in which the United States finds itself to-day on account of the use of the silver standard in other countries. This report shows that the exchange value of money in the other countries that operate on the silver basis with American gold has depreciated from 2f to 37 per cent since September 21, 1931. The depreciation for the following countries is: England, 37 per cent; Denmark, 30 per cent; Norway, 31 per cent; Sweden, 30 per cent; Finland, 28 per cent; Japan, 32 per cent.

The exchange value of the money of some of the other countries that are yet on the gold standard has depreciated as follows: Canada, 18 per cent; Mexico, 20 per cent; Argentina, 40 per cent.

This means that American agriculture and American industry can not deal with these countries unless we decrease the price of our products from 20 to 37 cents on the dollar or these countries pay a premium from 20 to 37 cents on the dollar for everything which they purchase from this country. It is obvious that these countries can not and will not pay the premium. In that event, we must either depreciate our prices on everything which we export from 20 to 37 cents on the dollar or do without the business. As a matter of fact, we have lost our foreign trade of manufactured articles with these countries. They have not paid the premium and American factories have not been willing to take the depreciation.

The countries whose exchange has not depreciated in recent months are Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, and Switzerland. These are about the only countries left with whom the United States can do business. We can not do a great deal of business with Belgium and Czechoslovakia, because they do not have the money to buy and they are not natural customers of the United States. We can not do much business with France, due to French tariff barriers. We can not do any business with Germany, because she has no money. About the only way we can do business with Germany is to lend her money to buy our products. Germany will never pay us back the money, so in the end, instead of selling something, we have given it away. Switzerland is not much of a customer for anyone. As a result, there is practically no place left on earth for America to trade.

During the last three years, we have lost 68 per cent of our foreign trade. The most abrupt decline in our foreign trade has been since July 1, 1931. We have lost 17 per cent of it during that period of time. It is obvious that the greater part of this tremendous loss during the last six months has been suffered because the rest of the world is dealing in silver, a cheap money, and we are dealing with gold, a high-priced money.

To-day, 90 per cent of the governments of the world are without a gold standard or the possibility of obtaining gold for circulation. Since we demand payment for our commodities in gold, how are 90 per cent of the countries of the world going to buy from and trade with the United States when they have no gold standard nor any gold for circulation?

In this situation, the United States is not only losing its exports, but it is helpless in preserving its own markets from a flood of imports. Since these foreign countries can make their commodities by paying wages in silver money and ship them into the United States, receiving gold for them, they receive a premium which greatly absorbs our tariff schedules.

Let us take the case of an English factory. When it paid $1 in wages before September 21 and paid that $1 in gold, then the English factories were on a parity with the American factories which paid a dollar in wages in gold. When England pays the same wages in silver, she is really paying 63 cents in gold. The English manufacturer, therefore, to-day has an advantage over the American manufacturer in the matter of wages at the ratio of 63 cents to $1. American capital and labor are naturally reluctant to bear this 40 per cent reduction. As a result, American industry is losing its business; hence less profits and more unemployment in American industry. This 37-cent advantage makes it possible for English manufacturers to absorb the American tariff duty on their commodities and to flood the American market with them.

Let us bring the matter closer home: Canada has as her standard the Canadian dollar. For years the Canadian dollar has been exchanged on a parity with the American dollar. To-day, the Canadian dollar is worth 83 cents in the United States. The American dollar is worth approximately $1.20 in Canada. The Canadian dairy interests are shipping their dairy products into the United States to-day, paying the American duty because when they receive the American gold dollar they can take it back into Canada and receive $1.20 for it. The 20 cents absorbs the tariff duty. It seems apparent that if we are going to preserve the American market for American industry we must do one of two things—cheapen American money to some sort of a level with foreign money or raise the American tariff barriers to still higher brackets. We can not take this latter course without completely destroying all of our export market.

Let us take the example of England and Argentina. England produces manufactured products. Argentina produces agricultural products. England is the competitor of American industry in selling manufactured products in the Argentine. If the agricultural interests of Argentina buy our manufactured products they must pay us a premium of 40 per cent, while if they buy from England they either buy with an equal exchange or pay a slight premium of 3 per cent. The Argentine purchaser of manufactured products is not going to pay a 40 per cent premium for the privilege of buying an article made in the American factory when he can buy a similar article made in the English factory without the payment of such a premium. At the same time, Argentina is the competitor of the American farmer in the selling of American farm products in the English market. The English consumers of farm products can buy them from Argentina on either an equal exchange or receive a premium of approximately 3 per cent, while they must pay a 37 per cent premium for American farm products. In such a situation, we know that England is either not going to buy our farm products or American agriculture must bear the 37 to 40 per cent reduction in price. American agriculture, with an uncontrollable surplus, is helpless and must sell for silver, and take a 37 per cent reduction when it returns to America and exchanges its foreign silver for American gold. What is worse, this surplus of farm products sold for silver sets the price of American farm products consumed in America.

This illustration of America trying to sell her farm products to England in competition with the Argentine is illus-

trative of the position of American agriculture endeavoring to sell its products in any of the other silver-standard countries. This situation of American industry endeavoring to sell its manufactured products in the Argentine is identically the same in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Japan, and all Asia, in short 90 per cent of the nations of the world.

Since America can not hope to receive this premium for her exported commodities, it simply means that American commodities must either be reduced entirely to home consumption or sold on the foreign market with the American producer absorbing a depreciation of from 20 to 37 per cent. In actual practice, American employed labor and capital in factories are simply restricting their production, giving up their foreign export business, holding their prices to the gold-standard basis, and depending upon the American market. This means a constant increase in unemployment. American agriculture can not restrict its production to American consumption. As a result, American agriculture is selling its cotton and wheat in the foreign market for silver and taking a loss of from 20 to 37 per cent when the money is exchanged into American gold. The net result of silver abroad and gold in America is that unemployed labor and agriculture are the goats.

As conclusive proof that this adverse exchange is destroying our foreign market for industry and at the same time making it possible to flood our home markets with foreign products, I bring to the attention of the Congress a recent article in the United States Daily which quotes Doctor Klein, of the Department of Commerce. I quote in part:

> The foreign trade of the United States in 1931 sank to a new postwar depth with imports the lowest since 1916 and exports the lowest since 1914, according to figures made public January 16 by the Department of Commerce.
>
> December saw a decrease in American exports, but an increase in imports. This gain in imports is likely due to the reaction from the depreciation of currency abroad, it was stated orally by Dr. Julius Klein, the Assistant Secretary of Commerce.
>
> The figure for December imports probably reflects the beginning of anticipated larger imports from Europe, facilitated by a foreign exchange depreciation, said Doctor Klein.

This statement from the Department of Commerce is proof and fair warning to America that American factories have been driven out of the markets of the world, and now the cheap money abroad is driving American factories out of our home markets. It is obvious that the decrease in our exports is in our manufacturing commodities. Agriculture is helpless. It must export its cotton and wheat for whatever it can obtain abroad. It is now being paid for exports a ridiculously low price in depreciated foreign money and then is obliged to depreciate that money again 40 per cent when it is returned to America and exchanged for gold.

Of all our agricultural problems this exchange of money has brought about the most acute and distressing condition. We find the American producer of wheat and of cotton selling his products upon a silver standard and buying the things which he needs on a gold standard. For 10 years, industry in the United States has been able to set its price and get the best of the American farmer every time he bought the products of industry. The result was that the exchange value of the American farm dollar for industrial products from 1920 to 1930 was only 85 cents on the dollar as compared to its exchange value for the five years before the war. Industry was able to place American agriculture in a position 15 per cent below the pre-war level during the years of 1920 to 1930.

Not only is agriculture now suffering the 15 per cent discrimination it has suffered for 12 years, but it is now suffering from the position of selling its products for silver and paying for the things which it buys in gold. This is another discrimination between agriculture and industry of approximately 30 per cent. This is why agriculture to-day is living on a basis of 43 per cent below the pre-war level, while industry, transportation, and Government are tenaciously holding on to their ill-gotten postwar inflated prices. However, the situation is not working. Industry, Government, and finance have bled agriculture as much as they can bleed it. The mortgage companies do not dare to foreclose their mortgages because they can not make the land pay the taxes after they foreclose the mortgages.

Recently I received a letter from a Kansas editor who wrote in part:

> Conditions in our country are a great deal worse than the national leaders believe. Even in a community like ours here in Kansas, the people are becoming desperate. Foreclosures are fast getting the farms and there would be more foreclosures but for the fact that the loan companies have come to a place that they will do most anything rather than foreclose, as they have more land now than they can handle.

The same thing is true with industrial products sold to farmers. Industry took the farmer's money as long as he had any, then it sold to him on time, now it does not dare to foreclose on its chattels, as it would completely wreck the price of the manufactured products and it would not receive 20 cents on the dollar for the outstanding paper.

There are those who would tenaciously hold on to gold and force down commodity prices and wages. This might be all right so far as future obligations are concerned, but under such a system we can never pay the debt which is on this country. The credit element of this country wants high-priced money. It wants to collect dollars which are now worth $1.50 to $2, while the dollars it lent were only worth $1 or less. The present situation in the United States is a perfect set-up for the creditor class except that the matter has been carried so far that it can not collect its debts in gold or money and must collect its money in property foreclosures. When they do this, they are in the position of the mortgage companies who can no longer afford to foreclose their mortgages. The national debt can never be paid with high-priced money and cheap commodities. The private debt of the country can never be paid with high-priced money and cheap commodities.

With the 27,000,000 farm people in their present distressful position and with American factories losing their foreign markets, the American factories find the demand for their products drying up so rapidly that they are casting men by the millions into unemployment. With every man who goes into unemployment, there is a further decrease in the consumption of the American commodities of the farm and factory. Such is the vicious circle that is daily increasing distress and human misery in the once proud and prosperous America.

With the present depreciated price of farm commodities, labor is being forced to take cuts until factory prices are brought down to the level of farm products, and in the case of future expenses labor may not be any worse off because its living expenses are being reduced accordingly; however, labor can never pay the debt which it owes for its homes and on installment purchases from American industry. Therefore, for the good of labor and for the good of American creditors, we should be better off to maintain a substantial wage standard with cheap money rather than reduce the wage standard by paying high-priced money. All over the country millions are losing their homes, and in doing so they are virtually seeing red. This condition may rock the foundation of Government and American civilization.

If we are going to sell anything abroad, we are going to have to deal in the money which is used by the rest of the people of the world. We think we are pretty chesty and cocky in the United States; but, if we think we can arrogantly place a premium of from 25 to 40 per cent of our money above the money used by 90 per cent of the nations of the world, we are only fooling ourselves. No man has ever become so important that mankind could not get along without him. No nation has ever become so great in this world that the rest of the nations could not live without it.

The United States and France are in the position of two boys in school who were the best marble players and in playing "keeps" won all the marbles. After they won all the marbles the rest of the boys decided to play jackstones. Then the two marble experts found that their marbles were not worth so much to them. In the world, we have been playing with gold for many years. France and the United States have the majority of the gold. The rest of the nations

have quit playing with gold and are playing with silver. Now, where are the United States and France with their gold? They are very much in the position of the two boys with the marbles. They can not do business with the rest of the world, and they will not do business with each other.

There are those who are opposed to the use of silver because of political prejudice. What has the Bryan campaign of 1896 to do with present conditions? It is childish either to accept or reject silver at this time on account of a violent partisan political campaign of nearly 40 years ago. In the first place, for the sake of argument grant that Bryan was right in 1896 and grant that it hurts the pride of a Republican or a gold-standard Democrat of 1896 to admit that Bryan was right, can we afford to lose all of our world industrial market and leave our agricultural section selling on a silver market and buying on a gold market rather than injure our pride and admit that Bryan was right in 1896? In the second place, silver could be the imperative need of this country to-day while Bryan could have been entirely wrong in 1896. There is this much difference to-day; 90 per cent of the nations of the world are on silver. That was not the situation in 1896. Again, in the light of events, there was not so much of a necessity for the use of silver in 1896 as even Bryan believed since new gold fields were discovered and gold was cheapened by the virtue of the added new supply. The value of gold is regulated by the supply of gold as much as the supply of wheat regulates the value of wheat.

In the light of these facts and these conditions, I can see no way out of the present situation for the United States except to cheapen our gold dollar either by an inflation of the currency, reducing the amount of gold in the dollar until the gold dollar has a more normal exchange value with silver money of the world, or by the United States accepting bi-metalism and using silver. If the wise course is bi-metalism, I am not afraid of silver just because I am a Republican, and Bryan, a Democrat, once advocated silver. What has the United States to fear from the use of silver? America owns nearly half of the silver of the world. How can America lose if the world operates on a metallic money of which God Almighty has given the United States half of the world's supply?

It may be that one of the best ways to meet this problem is the Burtness bill which has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman BURTNESS, of North Dakota. That bill provides for lessening the amount of gold in the gold dollar. This can be done until the gold dollar is reduced to a value on a parity with foreign silver. This program would doubtless correct the impossible condition in which we now find our export and import business as a result of the unfavorable exchange rates.

It would probably not accomplish this purpose any more than the use of silver, however, it would save many debtors in the United States from an impossible debt contract which is hanging over thousands of farms and institutions in America. I refer to mortgages and bonds which by the contract must be paid in gold. An inflation of the currency or the use of silver would not bring relief to these unfortunate debtors, who by their contract must pay their debts in gold even though it takes from $2 to $2.50 worth of the commodities in silver to buy the gold dollar at this time that it would have required at the time the debt was contracted.

I believe that money must be cheapened so that a bale of cotton or a bushel of wheat will go as far toward paying the taxes or mortgage on a farm as it would have gone when the mortgage was contracted and when the public expenses were obligated.

It has not been my purpose to discuss the money question in the sense of positively advocating any particular method of cheapening the money. It has been more my purpose to discuss a question which I wished to bring before the people. It has not been my purpose to discuss this question exclusively from the angle of agriculture or unemployed labor. However, I am firmly convinced that unemployed labor and agriculture are the principal victims of this unhappy condition. While agriculture and unemployed labor are the ones who are directly hit by the matter at this time, all industry and business are so dependent for their markets upon prosperous agriculture and employed labor that every citizen in this country will sooner or later find himself suffering the same embarrassment that the farmer and unemployed labor are now suffering. Therefore, I submit that this presents a problem which must be deeply considered and eventually solved by the American people. At this time, I doubt if there is a single individual in the United States who can safely take the position that he has the solution.

SALARIES OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED AT THIS TIME

Mr. GRANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday afternoon during general debate on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill the former chairman of the Committee on Appropriations urged a salary reduction affecting all Federal employees. The method which he urged this Congress to adopt is unfair, unjust, unscientific, and inopportune. It is unfair because Federal employees earning salaries less than $5,000 per year have given faithful and loyal service to the people of our Republic. It is unjust because thousands of these employees have remained in the public service during periods of inflation and prosperity at small wages while thousands upon thousands of other citizens of our country received higher wages by reason of the prosperous conditions which prevailed from time to time. As a reward for loyalty it is urged on the floor of this House that during these times of great distress and trial they be penalized by salary cuts. To legislate a general reduction of 10 per cent on all Federal salaries is unscientific.

Government employees receiving a salary of $1,300 a year sustain a reduction of $130, which they can ill afford. I do not believe there is a man in America to-day earning a salary of $1,300 per year who is not in debt at the end of the year. Common sense must indicate that Federal employees earning $10,000 per year suffer less by a 10 per cent reduction than the employees who are forced to accept a reduction of 10 per cent on salaries from $1,000 to $3,000 per year.

The present salary levels have been attained after years of struggle and effort on the part of the employees in both private and public business. It is an unwise policy which would reduce their salaries at this time. Their demands have been granted in the past because they have been able to demonstrate that they were entitled to and earned salary increases. Certainly a reduction of salaries at this time is inopportune, and such a policy is diametrically opposed to that urged and advocated by President Hoover a year ago when he called into conference our nationally known leaders of industry. At that time President Hoover stated that wage cuts would interfere and retard our return to prosperity. It is inopportune, because after two years of the worst industrial, business, and economic depression in the history of the world this wage-cut program is recommended at a time when all of us hope, as predicted many times, that prosperity is "just around the corner."

To those Federal employees who are in debt this policy will add to their already heavy burdens. It is inopportune because our citizens are urged to spend liberally, to stop hoarding, to consume more, so that momentum may be given to the wheels of industry and the return to prosperity accelerated. Those slogans of business can not be effectively carried out unless Government and private industry maintain present salary levels. This is a time to place money into the hands of the people by the payment of fair salaries, so that it may be freely spent by them.

It is the plain duty of representatives of the Government to point the way to private industry to the end that industry will follow the example of the Government. It is no time to indicate to private industry that wage cuts are the order of the day. It is the duty of the Federal Government, on the other hand, to set a good example for private industry and retain the present wage scale to encourage private industry to follow the same course.

Already in America there are 8,000,000 men and women idle, many of whom are depending upon public and private

charity; others are dependent for the bare necessities of life upon relatives who have employment. These 8,000,000 and their dependents, which number several millions more, are not consumers in the real sense to-day. If we ever hope to return to normalcy, we must maintain the wages of those who are fortunate enough to have work, and our Government must, as speedily as possible, find employment for those who are idle.

I am unalterably opposed to any policy or program which aims to reduce the salaries of Federal employees earning less than $5,000 per year. During the years of my public service, and they have been many, I have advocated the passage of legislation to better the working conditions and to make salaries commensurate with the services rendered by those men and women in the humbler stations of life. I refuse to stultify that service to-day. If the men and women in private industry and public business are receiving fair and just remuneration for the services they render, I believe it is my plain duty to maintain the standards of wages and the present standards of living, and I will not turn back at this time. A reduction of salaries on the plan urged by some of the gentlemen in this Congress would destroy the fruits of years of effort on the part of these employees, and I refuse to be a party to any such program.

If any of the advocates of salary cuts earnestly wish to render a public service to the people of this Nation in the matter of balancing the Budget and reducing governmental expenditures, let them devise legislation to rid us of the many useless bureaus and commissions which have been fastened to our Government during the past 12 years and which to-day are directly responsible for the top-heavy tax burdens of our people. Many of these commissions—and they know it—function inefficiently, but always expensively, and are of little value in the administration of the affairs of government. They are supported by the people at a tremendous cost. Get rid of these governmental luxuries and leave the salaries of the Federal employees alone.

If, over the past 12 years, the leaders in our Government have not administered the affears of the Nation wisely and if extravagances have been permitted, why should Federal employees, who have no voice in the business administration of governmental affairs, be the victims of the extravagances of others? If during the past 12 years the affairs of our Government had been economically, frugally, and with foresight administered, we would not to-day be confronted with a huge Treasury deficit. I am opposed to any legislation that will place the responsibility of the failure of leadership in government upon the shoulders of those hard-working, small-salaried employees who had no part in the management of the Government; and that will be the result if legislation is approved calling for a reduction of Federal salaries.

Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I fear that only a small portion of the benefit of the enormous appropriation contained in the agricultural appropriation bill will be actually received by the distressed farmers of the Nation, yet I shall support the bill in the main for the reason that it is the only measure which has been offered that makes a direct appropriation for the relief of agriculture.

The Budget recommended for this appropriation by the administration was reduced $10,799,591 by the able Committee on Appropriations, yet the bill now carries appropriations in the enormous total of $175,443,814. Surely with the expenditure of this gigantic sum of public funds, if wisely spent, some benefit should sift down to the farmers.

A reading of the report of the Secretary of Agriculture brings some hope, for it shows that the distinguished Secretary finally caught the Mediterranean fruit fly in Florida, and that he is now pursuing a similar fly to the island of Hawaii, with a fair assurance of the early capture of such fly.

At page 84 of the report is found a further justification of the expenditure of public funds in the statement that the department has secured 34 musk oxen in the northeastern part of Greenland, and that they were given a nice trip at Government expense. In glowing language the Secretary describes the voyage of the musk oxen as follows:

> In the summer of 1930, 34 musk oxen were obtained by the Biological Survey through a dealer, who captured them in northeastern Greenland. After their sea voyage to New York, by way of Norway, they were held in quarantine a little more than a month. They were then taken by rail to Seattle, Wash., by steamer to Seward, Alaska, and again by rail to the bureau's reindeer experiment station near Fairbanks.

While it is difficult to understand what real benefit the farmers will receive from this service, yet all people will be glad to know that the fruit fly had a good race and that the musk oxen enjoyed a splendid trip. The bill carries an appropriation for work in increasing and caring for the reindeers and musk oxen in Alaska to bring them into competition with the dairy herds of the farmers of the United States. Such item should be stricken from the bill.

There is one item of this bill to which I desire to voice objection, and that is that portion of the bill found under the heading "barberry eradication," in lines 6 to 21, inclusive, on page 33 of said bill. The appropriation for this item is $196,400. At page 976 of the hearings before the committee, the testimony was to the effect that the most efficacious method of killing the barberry bush was by the application of ordinary simple salt. Certainly the application of this simple method for the eradication of the barberry bush would not appear to justify the appropriation contained in the bill.

DISTRESS OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. Speaker, the need of the hour is for the Government sympathetically to realize the terrible plight of the American farmer.

We are so interdependent on each other socially, economically, and commercially that the weal or woe of one industry soon affects all others.

Agriculture is the basic industry of our land, the most fundamental and essential, yet under the policies of the present Farm Board administration all of the farmers of our land have been or rapidly are being forced into ruin and bankruptcy, taking with them in their downfall thousands of banks and business houses and causing an unheard-of era of unemployment among the laboring classes.

I was raised on the farm. My mother, brothers, and sister now reside on the farm and are actively engaged in farming in my county. I have always been closely associated and identified with the agricultural interests, and I believe I know and understand the plight and condition of the average farmer.

The average farmer is to-day facing bankruptcy and ruin. The situation is appalling and tragic and should elicit the interest and sympathy of every right-thinking person.

It is a tragedy to see an honest, hard-working man who has given his life's efforts to providing a home for himself and family forced into bankruptcy and thrown out of his home in his old age. Last fall an honest, hard-working farmer of my county called to consult me about his situation, to see if I could show him a way to save something out of the wreck. He was 75 years old and had worked hard all of his life. He had reared a large family of fine boys. He said that in 1920 he owned 160 acres of good land free of debt; that he wanted to keep his boys on the farm and purchased another farm of 160 acres, giving $165 per acre therefor. Then he borrowed $70 per acre on the 320 acres. He was unable to pay the interest, and the mortgage holder foreclosed and sold the entire farm for $50 per acre, throwing him out of a home. With tears coursing down his honest cheeks he said, "What am I to do? I do not know how to do anything but farm and I am too old now to learn anything else."

Instances like this could be multiplied by the thousands. One would think that tragedies like this would melt a heart of stone, but they failed to touch the heart of the Farm Board, if it had a heart.

Another farmer of my county told me that 18 months before he had purchased 40 head of cattle. He fed and grassed them 18 months and then sold them for less than the original cost. He said, "If some one had gone into my pasture the night I purchased the cattle and shot and killed them all I would have profited by the act."

Some have suggested that the plight of the farmers has been caused by an overproduction and oversupply, but this is not wholly true. The statement of the Secretary of Agriculture, found at page 29 of his report, is illuminating on this subject. He says:

> The number of hogs on the farm has declined in recent years. The total of 52,323,000 on January 1, 1931, was about 8,300,000 less than on that date in 1926.

Notwithstanding this undersupply in September, 1931, hogs sold at the lowest price since 1900.

In 1931 the farmer was compelled to give the equivalent of 800 bushels of wheat for a binder, and to pay almost war prices for all machinery purchased.

Taking the figures of the Secretary of Agriculture it is found that the farm income has decreased from $15,719,000,000 in 1919 to $6,900,000,000 in 1931, or a decrease of approximately $9,000,000,000. The decrease in the income of the farmers for 1931 would have been more than sufficient to have paid the enormous governmental deficit, the $2,000,000,000 granted the railroads, insurance companies, and the financial interests, and the payments due on foreign loans.

The farm debts have increased from $3,320,470,000 in 1910 to the staggering sum of $9,241,390,000 in 1931, while the value of the farms which have not been sold under foreclosure proceedings has decreased 66⅔ per cent.

Is the farmer entitled to relief? I say he is. At the convention in Kansas City which nominated Mr. Hoover, and which was controlled by him, the farmers, under the leadership of former Governor Lowden, were scorned and practically driven from the convention hall. As a gesture, they promised the farmer they would give him relief. Well, in a way they have kept their promise, for they have relieved him of everything he had.

The present administration cast aside all measures offered which would have given real relief and created the pet Farm Board, placed it in the hands of the president of the International Harvester Trust, and gave it one-half of a billion dollars of the people's money with instructions to use it.

At the time of the creation of this Farm Board wheat was selling at approximately $1.26 per bushel in Chicago. In a short time it was selling at 70 cents.

At the beginning of 1931 the great Farm Board had a large amount of wheat on hand, variously estimated at from 200,000,000 to 250,000,000 bushels. Its actions had already forced ruin upon the farmers, merchants, bankers, and laborers. A new crop of wheat was ready to be harvested and all of the public leaders pleaded with the administration to publicly announce that it would not sell any of the Farm Board wheat until the new crop was sold. But the Farm Board, angry because the farmers had not obeyed orders to stop working for a year and cut production, refused to hold the 200,000,000 bushels of wheat off the market. Such action further depressed the market to such an extent that the farmer's wheat crop of 1931 sold as low as 30 cents per bushel, the lowest it had sold since 1852. This was just about one-half the actual cost of production and wrought ruin to this entire country.

This baleful influence did not stop at the farmer's bier, but cast its grimy fingers with a death grip around the vitals of labor, bankers, merchants, and all other business interests.

The policy of the Farm Board has not stopped with the grain and stock farmer, but it has dealt its death potion to the cotton farmer, who had his 1931 crop for disposal on a market which offered a price far below the cost of production. The Farm Board advised the cotton farmer to destroy one-third of the 1931 crop he had on hand as the only solution of the question. Well, if it was right for the cotton farmer to destroy one-third of his crop, why did not the Farm Board hold its 200,000,000 bushels of wheat off the market when it was requested to do so?

At the same time the advice was given to the farmers to cut production the administration was spending hundreds of millions of dollars in building the Hoover Dam, to bring into fertility and use thousands of acres of land, vastly increasing production.

In my judgment, the Farm Board was a lemon given to the farmer. It has resulted not only in injury to the American farmer, but it has caused a great financial loss to the United States, which must be borne by the American taxpayers.

The hearing before the Senate Committee on Agriculture revealed the startling fact that the United States had expended on account of salaries and employees of the Farm Board the sum of $1,036,380, and the further sum of $347,063 for traveling expenses, furniture, and equipment.

It was further revealed that one official of the Grain Stabilization Corporation, the foster child of the Farm Board, received a salary of $50,000 per annum; another, $32,500; another, $30,000; and that the total annual payment of such corporation to officials and employees amounted to $816,900. The principal accomplishment of the Farm Board was the creation of jobs for officeholders at the expense of the taxpayers.

The farmer does not ask charity. He asks only that he be given an equal chance with other industries. He is facing an emergency and is entitled to emergency treatment.

The best and fairest thought of the farm organizations and leaders of the country, after mature consideration, determined that the only way to secure real relief to the farmer and the business interests of the West was to control the exportable surplus of our farm products so that they would not come into competition with and depress our domestic market. I favor that policy as the only method by which real relief can be brought to the farmer.

The present administration enacted the indefensible Hawley-Smoot tariff law for the benefit of the privileged class. This law contained such high and prohibitive tariff schedules that the foreign nations at once enacted retaliatory tariff laws which completely closed the foreign markets to our farm and manufactured products. This brought further ruin upon the farmers, closed our factories, and threw millions of laborers out of employment. This tariff barrier must be broken down so that the channels of foreign commerce again may be open for the flow of our products.

I believe that the solution of this great agricultural question will have more to do with the return of economic prosperity than anything else, for if the farmer can not purchase, the merchant can not sell; if he has not money to spend or with which to pay his debts, the banks must fail; if he can not raise and ship his products, the railroads can not haul them and the laborers are thrown out of employment. The prosperity of the country depends upon the continued prosperity of the farmers and the laboring people.

Mr. Speaker, although I opposed such action, at the solicitation of the administration, Congress voted a moratorium for one year upon the payment of foreign debts, which was the first step toward the cancellation of foreign debts for the relief of the international bankers and foreign nations, and the placing of the burden of such payment upon the already overburdened shoulders of the American taxpayers. The Government has also authorized the expenditure of public funds for the creation of a $2,000,000,000 Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to aid the railroads, the insurance companies, and the large financial institutions. With our farmers now facing bankruptcy and 7,000,000 honest laborers out of employment and in want, I say it is now time for the Government to give its concern to the great masses of the people and to grant speedy and actual relief to the farmers and the unemployed of our land. [Applause.]

GENERAL DEBATE, AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill be closed to-morrow at the adjournment of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. SIMMONS. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, at the present time I have requests for approximately 4 hours and 30 minutes' time for general debate. I

have no desire to impede the progress of the bill in any way. If it may be understood that the House will remain in session to-morrow evening until the gentlemen who have requested time can be permitted to speak, or shall waive that time, I do not object. It may require that we sit a little late to-morrow evening.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN]?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. RAMSEYER, indefinitely, on account of death of near relative.

RELATIONSHIP OF PRICE OF CRUDE OIL TO PRICE OF GASOLINE

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the subject of the relationship of the price of crude oil to the price of gasoline.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, within the last few years we have seen the oil industry, one of the four great industries of the country, virtually crushed and demoralized. It would have been bad enough to have destroyed one of the four great industries, but the destruction of the oil industry directly destroys another great industry—the coal industry. With the demoralization of the oil industry the price for American oil has reached such low levels that it is unprofitable to use the oil of lower gravity for refining purposes. It is being used for fuel. This is playing havoc with the coal industry.

This distress of the oil industry is the direct result of the monopolization of the industry and of the importation of foreign oil. At the same time the American gasoline-consuming public is not receiving the benefits of the distress of the oil industry. In the mid-continent States, where there is yet some competition in the oil industry, there has been some reduction in the price of gasoline to the consumer, but in the large consuming sections of the Atlantic seaboard the consumers have received little of this benefit.

The price of crude oil has very little to do with the price of gasoline. This statement seems impossible and ridiculous. It would be ridiculous if there were any honest, fair, and decent economic law operating in the oil industry. Monopoly has destroyed any fairness, honesty, or decency in the oil business. Let me illustrate the facts. In 1926 the oil industry was in a prosperous condition. Development was going forward and new fields were being sought. The retail price of gasoline in 52 cities scattered throughout the United States was 18.1 cents a gallon. At that time the producers of American oil were receiving $2.26 a barrel for crude oil at the well. In 1929 the price of gasoline in these same 52 cities of the United States had actually increased to 18.4 cents a gallon, while the price of crude oil at the well had dropped from $2.26 a barrel to $1.20 a barrel. During the summer of 1931 oil in the flush fields reached the low level of 10 cents a barrel. It even reached the price of 18 cents a barrel in the old, settled fields of Kansas; yet the price of gasoline throughout the United States during the summer of 1931 showed a very immaterial decrease. The price of lubricating oil has at all times been from 25 to 35 cents a quart. This has been true irrespective of whether or not the price of crude oil was $2.26 a barrel at the well in 1926 or as low as 10 and 14 cents a barrel during the summer of 1931.

This condition has been made possible by the so-called complete unit system. The large monopolistic oil companies, with a nation-wide market, control the industry from production to retail distribution. To permit a great nation-wide corporation to engage in the business of producing, refining, transporting, and retailing of oil has resulted in a monopolization of the oil industry. This situation has robbed alike the individual producers of the oil and the consuming public of the gasoline. This is why the price of crude oil has had little to do with the price of gasoline. These complete unit companies under normal conditions practically established a price of 4 cents a gallon for gasoline at the refinery. This meant that 4 cents a gallon paid for the producing of crude oil, the transportation of crude oil to the refinery, and the refining of crude oil into gasoline. This same monopolistic system established a price of 12 cents a gallon for gasoline bought in tank-wagon lots. This meant that the moving of a carload of gasoline from the refineries to the next town and reducing it from tank-car quantities to tank-wagon quantities cost 8 cents a gallon. This same system established a profit of about 3 cents for the retailing of gasoline. As a result the individual American citizen engaged in the business of producing oil, refining oil, or retailing gasoline operated at a loss. These big companies were perfectly willing for their production, refining, and retailing departments to operate at a loss because at these places they had competition. They made their profit in the spread between tank-car prices and tank-wagon prices. This was because there was not much competition in that part of the business, as very few people would want to buy gasoline in railway tank-car quantities.

This condition has impoverished the American producer of oil, the independent refiner of oil, and made a common slave of the ordinary retailer of gasoline at the filling station. At the same time it has robbed the American consumer of gasoline by actually charging him more for gasoline when crude oil was $1.20 a barrel than when it was $2.26 a barrel and the same price for lubricating oil whether crude oil sold for $2.26 a barrel or 10 cents a barrel.

These same monopolistic companies that are large enough to be nation-wide in their scope meet independent competition in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas by reducing their price of gasoline while the same companies in other parts of the country where they have no independent competition continue to charge the same price for gasoline as was charged when crude oil was selling for nearly twice as much a barrel.

Four of these monopolistic companies have been large enough to take on an international aspect and obtain foreign oil concessions. These four companies are the Standard Oil of Indiana, Standard of New Jersey, two Rockefeller companies, the Shell Co., owned by a foreign interest, and the Gulf Oil Co., principally owned by the Mellon family. They are producing their cheap foreign oil and pouring it into the United States duty free. When they produce this oil in foreign countries, they are buying their steel and their equipment in the open markets of the world, which means that they are buying it from Europe, thus robbing the American steel industry and the American railroad industry of the business of manufacturing the steel and the transportation of the steel incident to the development of oil used to satisfy the American needs for gasoline.

These importing companies have not been content with robbing the American crude-oil industry of the American market; they have robbed the American refining industry of the American market. They have built large refineries abroad. They are refining that foreign oil with cheap foreign labor and shipping gasoline into the United States duty free. In this manner American labor is not only denied labor in the oil fields but the labor incident to the refining of gasoline used in America. This foreign oil has virtually stolen away from the American oil industry the great Atlantic-seaboard market.

The Tariff Commission has recently officially reported that this foreign crude oil is placed on the Atlantic seaboard at a price of 87 cents a barrel. The commission has also found that mid-continent oil produced in America by American labor and American capital and placed upon the Atlantic seaboard costs $1.90 a barrel. This has obviously stolen the great Atlantic-seaboard market away from the American oil industry and given it to the foreign industry. The Tariff Commission also found that it costs $1.09 a barrel to produce American oil. Since foreign oil is placed on the Atlantic seaboard at 87 cents a barrel, while in the mid-continent field it costs $1.09 a barrel to produce the oil, it would seem that gasoline would be cheaper on the Atlantic seaboard than it is in the mid-continent, yet the fact re-

mains that during the entire summer of 1931 gasoline was selling from 4 to 6 cents more per gallon on the Atlantic seaboard than it was selling for in the mid-continent field. The Shell, Gulf, and Standard of New Jersey were actually selling their gasoline for less money in the mid-continent field where they had competition and where it costs $1.09 to produce their oil than they were selling it for on the Atlantic seaboard, where they had no competition and were delivering their foreign oil at a cost of 87 cents a barrel.

The Tariff Commission also reported that the cost of refining gasoline in America is 7 cents a gallon, yet the price at the refinery in America which has been dictated by this monopolistic condition has been 4 cents a gallon. This means that every gallon of gasoline refined is being refined at a loss of 3 cents a gallon. The American refineries have been meeting this intolerable condition either by producing their own crude oil and obtaining nothing for it or by purchasing crude oil from an American producer who was producing it at a loss. The American independent company, which has owned its own refineries, its own production, and its own distribution system has been able to keep its head above water by using up its own production and receiving no compensation for it. The independent producers have been operating at a loss, and as a result have been going into bankruptcy by the thousands. Such a condition has naturally stopped development of the American oil industry.

These monopolistic companies are not content with importing their oil into this country duty free, forcing independent oil into bankruptcy, but they are taking advantage of this depression and virtually stealing the oil industry of America by buying it from its rightful owners on the courthouse steps.

A prominent official in one of these four great importing oil companies recently made the boastful public statement that his company was taking advantage of the depression in the oil industry and buying up the independent oil industry at bargain prices. On December 18, 1931, the New York Times carried a statement from an official of the Gulf Oil Co. which was in part as follows:

[Special to the New York Times, from Pittsburgh, Pa., December 18, 1931]

The Gulf Oil Corporation has taken advantage of the depression to increase its extensive holdings by buying additional oil lands and refineries at bargain prices, an official of the company said to-day in explaining omission of the dividend on its capital stock. The Mellon family has large holdings in the company.

Purchases being made by Gulf are not being confined to any particular phase of the oil industry. They are in the distributing as well as the producing end of the business.

No estimate of the results of Gulf Oil for the present year can be made at this time. Reports must be received from Mexico, Venezuela, various parts of Europe, and the Far East before earnings can be known.

The other three great importers are carrying on the same ruthless program. When they have accomplished this purpose, the American consumer of gasoline will be more shamefully robbed than the consumer of any other commodity on the American market. At this very moment in foreign countries where they have no competition, they charge over twice as much for their gasoline as they charge for gasoline which they import into America.

The Royal Dutch Shell, one of these four great importers, has one of its largest refineries on the island of Curacao in the Netherland West Indies. It has been selling gasoline in Curacao for 34.9 cents a gallon retail. This company imports oil from the same refineries into America duty free, and is wrecking the American refining industry with a tank-car price of 4 cents a gallon and retailing on the Atlantic seaboard for 19 cents a gallon.

These same importing companies take the identical gasoline which they produce in South America and import it to the other nations of the world where they have no competition.

Let me quote some of the prices for gasoline to the retailing consuming public in these countries where they have no independent competition:

	Cents
Buenos Aires, Argentina	23
Melbourne, Australia	50
Calgary, Canada	32
Breslau, Germany	40
Baghdad	42
London	33

Just as soon as they can carry out the program in America which the Gulf Co. has openly and defiantly advertised to the Nation as its present policy of buying up the American oil industry at distressed prices, then we may expect the same treatment from these companies in America as they are giving to the people in these foreign countries.

You people of the non-oil-producing States have been thinking that a tariff on oil would increase the price of your gasoline. You have been thinking that you have been profiting by the present distress of the American oil industry. You can not profit at the expense of the death of the American oil industry. If you permit the American oil industry to be destroyed as it is to-day being destroyed, then you and your children for the decades to come will be bled white by this monopolistic outfit, just as they are now bleeding the rest of the world.

Let us for the sake of argument assume that the people of the non-oil-producing States are not at all interested in the distress in the American oil and coal industries. Let us assume that they are not at all interested in the independent refining industry, yet, for their own selfish good and for the welfare of themselves and children, they can not afford to permit these four great importers of oil to take over the American oil industry as they are now taking it over. If the American people permit this to be done, they are going to find themselves paying the same price for gasoline as is now being charged by these companies when they import their oil to a foreign country where they have no competition. What these companies are doing where they have no competition is what they are going to do universally as soon as they destroy competition in this country.

We of the independent oil industry have pleaded with the people of the non-oil-producing States to protect the independent oil industry from the ravishing hands of these four monopolistic importers. The people from the non-oil-producing States may not answer our cry; they may let us go down into bankruptcy and into oblivion, but they can not make us pay all the price and all the ransom. If they permit this to be done, they are going to pay and they are going to pay in the years to come.

The sales organizations of these four monopolistic companies—Standard of New Jersey, Standard of Indiana, Gulf, and Shell—are spreading throughout the United States the propaganda that a tariff on oil would increase the price of gasoline. If the people are gullible enough to listen to this propaganda, it is true that they will destroy the independent oil industry, bring anguish and distress to millions of people, but they can not listen to this propaganda and make us of the independent oil industry suffer the full measure for their gullibility. They and their children are going to have to pay. It is the old story. A great national crime or outrage can not be perpetrated on one class of people without, in the fullness of time, every citizen of the Nation being obliged to bear his share of the misery growing out of such an outrage.

If the American market is not preserved for the American oil industry and if the back of monopoly is not broken in the American oil industry, then the millions of American citizens honestly engaged in the oil industry are soon to be destroyed, and the entire American public is to be robbed and unmercifully robbed. The experience of the ages of the works of monopoly is before us to guide us at this time. The experience of other nations of the world, which are being pilfered by these monopolistic companies, is clearly before us. A tariff on oil protecting the American market for the American oil industry and an enforcement of the antimonopoly laws alone can save the American oil industry from complete monopolization and the American people of this and future generations from a perpetual robbery.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

In conclusion I wish to make a few remarks pertaining to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. I firmly believe that it is basically unsound for the Government of the United States to appropriate $500,000,000 from the Federal Treasury, and in addition thereto, to guarantee the payment of $1,500,000,000 in bonds in order to obtain $2,000,000,000 to underwrite the banking structure of the country. It is socialistic, paternalistic, and basically unsound for either the great or the small to expect the taxpayers of the United States to bear their economic burdens through direct contributions from the Public Treasury.

Irrespective of the causes of our present situation I recognize the emergency and would have gone along with the majority of Congress and the administration and supported this measure if there had been any assurance that this fund would be administered equally and justly for the benefit of the large financial institutions and the small financial institutions. When the Congress refused to write into this act that 20 per cent of the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation would be used for loans of $50,000 or less to institutions whose total borrowings did not exceed $50,000, that was fair warning to me that the small institutions will quite likely not receive their share of the benefits of this act. Without this amendment the bill as passed leaves the small institutions at the sufferance, the mercy, and the discretion of the board administering this bill. I would not vote for such a measure. Whenever I vote for such paternalistic legislation it must be written into the law that small business will receive its share of the benefits.

In the light of the discrimination against small business since the war one who wishes to represent truly such business is not exercising proper caution if he does not demand that protection for small business be written into the law. Eight thousand local banks have gone broke during the last few years, and this much is certain; no one suggested governmental aid or a Reconstruction Finance Corporation when these 8,000 local banks were going broke. Interest in such a paternalistic movement only became evident when the large banking institutions of the country became embarrassed.

I voted against the bill because there was no protection for small business written into the law. Now that the bill has been passed by the Congress, I hope that my fears were ill founded and that the board which administers this fund will be an exception to the general rule, and that it will deal fairly and equitably as between the small banking institutions of the country and the large banking institutions.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

A joint resolution of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. J. Res. 37. Joint resolution providing for the filling of vacancies in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution of the class other than Members of Congress; to the Committee on the Library.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, January 21, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Thursday, January 21, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

Commodity short selling.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Construction bill (H. R. 6661).

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

(10.30 a. m.)

All bills pertaining to the prevailing rate of wages.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

(10 a. m.)

Department of national defense (H. R. 4742, H. R. 7012).

COMMITTEE ON ROADS

(10 a. m.)

National aid to roads of $125,000,000 per annum (H. R. 4716); also authorization for forest roads.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE, RADIO, AND FISHERIES

(10 a. m.)

General inquiry into the American merchant marine, the United States Shipping Board, and Merchant Fleet Corporation affairs.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

(10.30 a. m.)

Bridge across inland waterway from Norfolk, Va., to Beaufort Inlet, N. C., between Fairfield and Columbia, N. C. (H. R. 6184).

(11 a. m.)

New York and New Jersey channels (H. R. 395).

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

(10 a. m.)

Provision for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation (H. R. 4743).

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(11.30 a. m.)

Fee reduction in naturalization proceedings (H. J. Res. 132).

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m. and 2 p. m.)

Miscellaneous taxes.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Section 15a–7116 and 7117, interstate commerce act.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

397. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Department of State for the fiscal year 1932, amounting to $415,000, for the general disarmament conference, Geneva, Switzerland (H. Doc. No. 230); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

398. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation pertaining to the legislative establishment, House of Representatives, for the fiscal year 1933, in the sum of $4,000 (H. Doc. No. 231); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. WARREN: Committee on Accounts. H. Res. 111. A resolution authorizing the addition of an assistant to the attending physician of the House (Rept. No. 189). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 4712. A bill to establish a minimum area for the Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 192). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. KNUTSON: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 225. A bill providing for payment of $50 to each enrolled

Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States; with amendment (Rept. No. 193). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. KELLER: Committee on the Library. H. R. 4583. A bill providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 194). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. GILBERT: Committee on the Library. H. J. Res. 152. A joint resolution for the improvement of Chevy Chase Circle with a fountain and appropriate landscape treatment; without amendment (Rept. No. 195). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. GILCHRIST: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 7619. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for lots to Indians within the Indian village of Taholah, on the Quinaielt Indian Reservation, Wash.; without amendment (Rept. No. 196). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. WARREN: Committee on Accounts. H. Res. 108. A resolution to pay Margaret Albrecht, mother of Lillian M. Albrecht, six month's compensation, and an additional amount not exceeding $250, to defray funeral expenses of the said Lillian M. Albrecht (Rept. No. 190). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. WARREN: Committee on Accounts. H. Res. 107. A resolution for the relief of Jane Wilson (Rept. No. 191). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 4143. A bill for the relief of the Sherburne Mercantile Co.; without amendment (Rept. No. 197). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SHANNON: A bill (H. R. 8072) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Randolph, Mo.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MAJOR: A bill (H. R. 8073) to amend the World War adjusted compensation act, as amended; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 8074) providing for a reclassification of watchmen, messengers, and laborers in the Postal and Railway Mail Service of the United States in three grades with increase in salary; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. GARBER: A bill (H. R. 8075) relating to the construction of a Federal building at Ponca City, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. McLEOD: A bill (H. R. 8076) providing for an appropriation toward the alteration and repair of the buildings of Eastern Dispensary and Casualty Hospital; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BECK: A bill (H. R. 8077) relating to the prescribing of medicinal liquors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURRY: A bill (H. R. 8078) to provide for the appointment of prosecuting officers of the Territory of Hawaii, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. GILBERT: A bill (H. R. 8079) to regulate the admissibility of evidence in certain actions in the courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANKIN: A bill (H. R. 8080) to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended by providing allowances for widows and children and dependent parents of veterans of the World War; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 8081) to amend section 13 of the Federal reserve act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 8082) to revise and equalize the rate of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War; to certain widows, former widows of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8083) providing for the appointment as ensigns in the line of the Navy of all midshipmen who graduate from the Naval Academy in 1932; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIS: A bill (H. R. 8084) for the protection of the northern Pacific halibut fishery; to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

By Mr. GILBERT: A bill (H. R. 8085) to regulate the business of executing bonds for compensation in criminal cases and to improve the administration of justice in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: A bill (H. R. 8086) to amend section 106 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary (U. S. C., title 28, sec. 187); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: A bill (H. R. 8087) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to vacate withdrawals of public lands under the reclamation law, with reservation of rights, ways, and easements; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. LEWIS: A bill (H. R. 8088) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: A bill (H. R. 8089) providing for the inclusion of certain additional names in the roll of the Yankton Sioux Tribe of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. DISNEY: A bill (H. R. 8090) providing import duties on crude petroleum and all products of crude petroleum imported into the United States from foreign countries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BURCH: A bill (H. R. 8091) to authorize advances of funds to the States for emergency highway construction under the Federal highway act, with a view to increasing employment; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. STALKER: A bill (H. R. 8092) providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CHINDBLOM: A bill (H. R. 8093) to amend section 20, as amended, of the act of June 10, 1922, as amended, entitled "An act to readjust the pay and allowances of the commissioned and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service"; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HALL of Mississippi: Resolution (H. Res. 117) providing for the consideration of H. R. 4650, a bill to provide for the aiding of farmers in any State by the making of loans to drainage districts, levee districts, levee and drainage districts, counties, boards of supervisors, and/or other political subdivisions and legal entities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: Resolution (H. Res. 118) to pay James W. Boyer, jr., for extra and expert services to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. BRUNNER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 228) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDRESEN: A bill (H. R. 8094) for the relief of G. E. Blaul; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8095) for the relief of Harry Fagen; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8096) for the relief of C. W. Kanne; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8097) for the relief of John W. Le Crone; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ANDREWS of New York: A bill (H. R. 8098) for the relief of Frank L. Noon; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8099) for the relief of James J. Gallagher; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BACHMANN: A bill (H. R. 8100) for the relief of John Bielska; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BACON: A bill (H. R. 8101) for the relief of Anne B. Slocum; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BALDRIGE: A bill (H. R. 8102) granting an increase of pension to Alfred G. J. Peterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BOEHNE: A bill (H. R. 8103) for the relief of William Pierce; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8104) granting an increase of pension to Amanda A. Sibrel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BURCH: A bill (H. R. 8105) granting a pension to Keith B. Wilborn; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CABLE: A bill (H. R. 8106) granting increases of pension to Cynthia F. Chiles and her dependent and helpless daughter, Effie P. Chiles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8107) granting a pension to Artalissa McElhaney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8108) to reimburse M. P. Creath for taxes illegally assessed; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8109) granting a pension to Joseph Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARDEN: A bill (H. R. 8110) granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Blacketer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8111) granting a pension to Mattie L. Stults; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHINDBLOM: A bill (H. R. 8112) for the relief of Joseph Duncan Smedberg; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COX: A bill (H. R. 8113) for the relief of John D. Steuart; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8114) for the relief of John W. Cullens; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8115) granting a pension to Lena Hester; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 8116) granting a pension to Amy Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8117) granting a pension to Julia Edmonds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FISH: A bill (H. R. 8118) granting an increase of pension to Matilda A. Barnes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GAMBRILL: A bill (H. R. 8119) for the relief of Jennie Bruce Gallahan; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8120) for the relief of Jack C. Richardson; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GREEN: A bill (H. R. 8121) for the relief of John Z. Reardon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARE: A bill (H. R. 8122) authorizing and directing the removal of the body of Warren G. Jernegan from Spartanburg, S. C., and interred in the Arlington National Cemetery; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8123) for the relief of Carteret Street Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Beaufort, S. C.; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HASTINGS: A bill (H. R. 8124) granting a pension to Virgil A. Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HILL of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 8125) for the relief of Carrie K. Currie, doing business as Atmore Milling & Elevator Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOGG of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8126) granting an increase of pension to Louisa Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8127) for the relief of Arthur M. Crews; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8128) for the relief of Albert Kimble; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8129) granting a pension to William J. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOPKINS: A bill (H. R. 8130) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay a certain claim as a result of damage sustained to Leslie J. Kennedy; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON: A bill (H. R. 8131) for the relief of William C. Reese; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8132) granting a pension to Bessie L. H. Ricks; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JENKINS: A bill (H. R. 8133) granting an increase of pension to Louisa F. Corn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KETCHAM: A bill (H. R. 8134) granting a pension to Ida A. Davis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LAMNECK: A bill (H. R. 8135) granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Bowers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LONERGAN: A bill (H. R. 8136) for the relief of John J. Moran; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. LOZIER: A bill (H. R. 8137) granting an increase of pension to Samantha Midgett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8138) granting a pension to Artie Newsom; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAJOR: A bill (H. R. 8139) granting an increase of pension to William H. Harris; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8140) granting an increase of pension to Marie Burch; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 8141) for the relief of John S. Weiden; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 8142) for the relief of Millard Filmore Knight; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MARTIN of Oregon: A bill (H. R. 8143) granting a pension to Samuel F. Gill; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MILLER: A bill (H. R. 8144) for the relief of O. H. Chrisp; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 8145) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Farley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8146) granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Teed; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PARSONS: A bill (H. R. 8147) granting a pension to Mary A. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. POLK: A bill (H. R. 8148) granting an increase of pension to Harriett E. Trickler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8149) granting an increase of pension to Emma Boys; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PURNELL: A bill (H. R. 8150) granting an increase of pension to Anna R. Mitchell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REED of New York: A bill (H. R. 8151) for the relief of J. Edwin Swanson; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SPARKS: A bill (H. R. 8152) granting a pension to Isabell Simington; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWING: A bill (H. R. 8153) for the relief of Helen Fay; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8154) for the relief of S. C. Davis; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. VINSON of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 8155) granting a pension to Edgar F. Bradley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8156) granting a pension to Nancy Jane Branham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

540. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petition of Dr. William C. Thompson and 19 other citizens of Westerly, and Annie E. Parkin and 16 other citizens of north Providence, Johnston, and Cranston, R. I., opposing the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

541. By Mr. BROWNING: Resolution of Johnson City Post, No. 1618, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Johnson City, Tenn.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

542. By Mr. BURDICK: Petition of Grace P. Barber and 49 others, of Providence, East Providence, Aububrn, and Cranston, R. I., opposed to the repeal, resubmission, or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

543. Also, petition of F. Elizabeth Starrett and 20 other residents of Warren and Bristol, R. I., opposing the repeal, resubmission, or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

544. Also, petition of Ruth E. Richardson and 21 other residents of Providence, R. I., opposing repeal, resubmission, or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

545. Also, petition of Daisy O. Main and 38 others of East Providence, Rumford, and Providence, R. I., opposed to the repeal, resubmission, or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

546. By Mr. CRAIL: Petition of United Scenic Artists of America and Warner Bros. Theaters of the Pacific Coast, protesting against the proposed admission tax on sale of tickets to motion-picture theaters; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

547. Also, petition of Madera irrigation district against House bill 4650 in present form, because it benefits only districts having bonds in default and makes no provision for assisting districts incurring future indebtedness; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

548. Also, petition of W. R. Dickinson and numerous irrigation districts in California, urging favorable consideration of House bill 4650 for relief of western irrigation districts; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

549. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of Ohio Hotels Association, urging the Congress to modify the national prohibition laws to permit and legalize the manufacture and sale of wine and beer under proper restrictions, and to take such steps as shall be necessary for a submission to the various States of the Union the matter of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

550. Also, petition of the Ridgewood Real Estate Board (Inc.), protesting against the passing of a bill now in Congress proposing to restore such a real-estate transfer tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

551. Also, petition of Maywood Post, No. 223, of the American Legion, Department of California, reaffirming and concurring in the stand of the department convention, American Legion, at Long Beach, and go on record favoring a full cash payment of adjusted-service certificates at their face value by the forthcoming seventy-second session of Congress; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

552. Also, petition of the Automobile Merchants Association of New York (Inc.), recording its vigorous protest to any and all measures which would discriminate against the automobile industry through the imposition of special taxes on the sale or use of its products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

553. Also, petition of the Maryland Hotel Men's Association in annual convention in the city of Baltimore, on the 9th day of December, 1931, petitioning the President of the United States and the representatives of the people in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives to lend their every effort to modify the national prohibition act to permit of the manufacture and sale of beer and wine, and to pass the necessary legislation for submitting to the States the question of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

554. Also, petition of Victory Post, No. 4, of the American Legion, Department of the District of Columbia, urging the speedy passage of legislation transferring the veterans, wives of disabled veterans, and widows of deceased veterans now employed on temporary appointments in the Census Bureau to the classified civil service; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

555. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of the board of temperance, prohibition, and public morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C., protesting against methods proposed for the amendment of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

556. Also, petition of the citizens of Enid, expressing opposition to the proposed 10 per cent tax on theater admissions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

557. Also, petition urging the passage of House bill 4680, referred to the Committee of Expenditures in the Executive Departments; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

558. Also, petition of R. S. Kemp, proprietor of Kemp's Drug Store, Billings, Okla., urging enactment of the Capper-Kelly fair trade bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

559. Also, petition of Beaver (Okla.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, urging enactment of such measures as will make more effective the absolute abolition of the use, traffic in, and conveyance of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and the retention of the present definition of the alcoholic content of prohibited beverages; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

560. Also, petition of Medford (Okla.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, expressing opposition to resubmission of the eighteenth amendment, modification, or repeal of the Volstead Act, and urging that the present law be strengthened and enforced; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

561. By Mr. HALL of Mississippi: Petition presented by T. C. Rateliff, adjutant Walter Williams Chapter, Disabled American Veterans, Laurel, Miss., of 2,400 members of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War, of south Mississippi, unanimously indorsing the Patman bill calling for the full payment in cash of the adjusted-compensation certificates, and asking for its immediate enactment; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

562. By Mr. HOCH: Petition of various residents of Hamilton, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

563. Also, resolution adopted by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, of Yates Center, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

564. Also, petition of members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Hamilton, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

565. Also, petition of 40 residents of Climax, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and

its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

566. Also, resolution adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

567. By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: Petition of the West Virginia Motor Transportation Association, of Charleston, W. Va., protesting against any tax being levied by the Congress of the United States upon motor vehicles or upon gasoline used in the operation thereof; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

568. Also, petition of Central West Virginia Automobile Club, protesting against any tax being levied by the Congress of the United States upon motor vehicles or upon gasoline used in the operation thereof; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

569. By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: Petition of R. J. Jackson, Corsicana, Tex., opposing automobile sales tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

570. By Mr. KENDALL: Petition of First Presbyterian Sunday school of Brownsville, Pa., opposing repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

571. By Mr. KETCHAM: Petition of Mrs. B. M. Hiscock and 71 other citizens of Allegan, Mich., and vicinity in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

572. By Mr. KURTZ: Petition of Charlotte Harrison Woman's Northside Christian Temperance Union, also Second U. P. Church Missionary Society, Pittsburgh, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

573. Also, petition of official board of Civic Club, Cambria County, Pa., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

574. Also, petition of residents of Lewistown, Pa., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and opposing any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

575. Also, petition of members of Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Carnegie, Pa., protesting against the resubmission of the temperance question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

576. Also, petition of residents of Chambersburg, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

577. By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of Baltimore Canned Foods Exchange and John S. Gibbs, president Gibbs & Co. (Inc.), Baltimore, Md., protesting against prices of canned goods packed in Canada; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

578. Also, petition of Van Sant, Dugdale & Corner (Inc.), Monitor Controller Co., Thomsen-Ellis Co., all of Baltimore, Md., and American Creosote Works, New York City, urging the passage of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

579. Also, petition of American Trust Co., Barton, Duer & Koch Paper Co., James O'Meara, American General Corporation, the Equitable Trust Co., R. C. Heller Co. (Inc.), J. W. Breedlove & Co., Read Drug & Chemical Co., all of Baltimore, Md., in opposition to retroactive taxation legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

580. Also, petition of R. L. Maloney, president the M-M-T Motor Co., Baltimore, and Davis Bros. garage, Abingdon, Md., in opposition to increasing taxes on automobiles, accessories, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

581. Also, petition of McDowell & Co. (Inc.), Maryland Mortgage & Guaranty Co., Harry N. Reuschling, and Sauerwein & Lindsay, attorneys, all of Baltimore, Md.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

582. Also, petition of Frederick C. Robbins, M. D., Perry Point; E. L. Robertson, M. D., Chevy Chase; R. E. Sands and Robert H. Fitts, jr., Baltimore, Md., protesting against amendments to the emergency officers' retirement act; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

583. Also, petition of Wyatt & Nolting, architects; the Johns Hopkins Hospital; and Mottu & White, architects, Baltimore, Md., urging passage of House bill 6987, to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to contract for architectural and engineering services in the designing and planning of public buildings; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

584. Also, petition of Manuel-Reuling Motor Co. (Inc.), Cross Roads Garage, Henry Reckord, Central Garage, Bob Fleigh (Inc.), Jarman Motors (Inc.), R. J. Loock & Co., Walter Scott (Inc.), Automobile Trade Association of Maryland, Sterrett Operating Service, the Mar-Del Mobile Co., and J. R. Hunt & Co., all of Baltimore, Md., in opposition to increasing taxes on automobiles, accessories, and parts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

585. Also, petition protesting brush manufacture in Leavenworth prison; to the Committee on Labor.

586. Also, petition of the Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Baltimore, Md., urging passage of House bill 4509 and Senate bill 570; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

587. Also, petition of Frederick Kisten, Baltimore, Md., urging repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

588. Also, petition of DeCourcy W. Thom, Maryland Forestry Association, Baltimore, Md., protesting omission of appropriation for forestry research in the agricultural appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

589. Also, petition of the Purity Building Association, Madison Square Permanent Building Association, Colombo Building Loan & Savings Association (Inc.), the Traders' Savings & Loan Association, Waldorf Savings & Loan Association, the State Mutual Building Association, Loyola Perpetual Building Association, Fillmore Cook, Esq., Washington Loan & Savings Association, No. 1, Eastern Permanent Building & Loan Society, and Harrison Building Association, No. 10, all of Baltimore, Md., stating the discriminatory provision of the home loan discount bills; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

590. Also, petition of Emma O. Lanahan and Baltimore Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Md.; Capt. J. F. Hellweg, superintendent United States Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C.; Amanda E. D. Angel; and National Association of Letter Carriers, Oriole Branch, No. 176, Baltimore, Md., protesting against reductions in salaries of Federal employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

591. Also, petition of William T. Terry, Baltimore, Md., urging sufficient appropriation for the National Guard; to the Committee on Appropriations.

592. Also, petition of James O'Meara, Baltimore, Md., urging passage of House bill 4680 to require contractors on public-building projects to name their subcontractors, material men, and supply men, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

593. Also, petition of Joseph Votta, of Baltimore, Md.; the Federal Bar Association, Washington, D. C.; W. G. Clary and J. R. Walker, Baltimore, Md., protesting against reductions in salaries of Federal employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

594. By Mr. MAPES: Petition of 46 members of the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Real-Estate Board, urging the enactment of the President's Federal home loan discount bill; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

595. By Mr. RAMSEYER: Petition of voters of University Park, Iowa, protesting against any change in the prohibition



amendment or the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

596. Also, petition of resident of Blakesburg, Iowa, opposing an excise tax on automobiles, accessories, or motor fuels; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

597. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of the Maryland Hotel Men's Association, favoring the modification of the national prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

598. Also, petition of New York Board of Trade, New York City, favoring such legislation as will provide relief for the railroads, as indorsed by the Interstate Commerce Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

599. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of M. D. Smith and many other citizens of Westfield, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and highway bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

600. By Mr. STALKER: Petition from the members of the Ulysses Unit Women's Republican Club, favoring disarmament; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

601. Also, petition from the residents of Atlanta, N. Y., favoring prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

602. By Mr. WELCH of California: Petition of national business and professional women of San Diego, opposing a decrease in the salaries of Federal employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

603. By Mr. WOLCOTT: Petition of World War veterans of Macomb County, Roseville, Mich., requesting legislation authorizing the payment in full of adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Appropriations.

604. By Mr. WOODRUFF: Petition of past president of the Michigan Woman's Christian Temperance Union on the subject of resubmission of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

605. By the SPEAKER: Petition by the Englewood First Methodist Episcopal Church, of Chicago, Ill., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

606. Also, petition of the Bethlehem South Side Civic League requesting relief; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

607. Also, petition of H. Ely Goldsmith, New York, requesting Congress to appoint special court for review of affirmance of conviction; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 1932

The Chaplain, Rev. Zebarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, whose most dear Son did take little children in His loving arms that He might bless them there, betokening Thy tender love to all mankind; draw near to us in this our day of serving Thee, when stress of thought, the toil of life, and duty's urgent call reveal to us our utmost need of the Father's never-failing care. Remove from every eye each filming fear, that we may see the hidden things Thou wouldst impart, till we become sincere of soul, stainless in honor, faithful in action, serving no private ends, and learn by the divine alchemy of Thy grace to cool the fevered brow of hate and soothe with gentle touch each sorrow's wound. We ask it for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Jones	Schall
Austin	Cutting	Kean	Sheppard
Bailey	Dale	Kendrick	Shipstead
Bankhead	Davis	Keyes	Smith
Barbour	Dickinson	King	Smoot
Bingham	Dill	La Follette	Steiwer
Black	Fess	Lewis	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	Fletcher	Logan	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Frazier	McGill	Townsend
Bratton	George	McKellar	Trammell
Brookhart	Glass	McNary	Tydings
Bulkley	Glenn	Morrison	Vandenberg
Bulow	Goldsborough	Moses	Wagner
Byrnes	Gore	Neely	Walcott
Capper	Hale	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Caraway	Harris	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Harrison	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Howell	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Hull	Pittman	White
Costigan	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.	

Mr. LOGAN. I desire to announce the necessary absence of my colleague the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] on official business. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-three Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

INVITATION TO WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read a communication from the George Washington Birthday Association, of Alexandria, Va., to the Senate of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY ASSOCIATION,
Alexandria, Va., January 19, 1932.

To the SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Alexandria, Va., celebrates on February 22, 1932, the bicentennial of the birth of Gen. George Washington.

Following a custom of very long standing, a parade of military, civic, and fraternal units will be held at 2.30 p. m. on that day.

It is our pleasure to extend to your honorable body an invitation to be the guests of our association and lend your presence to the fitting observance of the birth of our illustrious citizen.

Yours very respectfully,
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY ASSOCIATION,
By M. E. GREENE, *Secretary.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The communication will lie on the table.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF A JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also announced that on January 20, 1932, the President approved and signed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 79) to provide an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in a general disarmament conference to be held in Geneva in 1932.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 12) relative to the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I present a petition signed by some 150 individuals. I ask that the body of the petition, which is very brief, may be printed in the RECORD and that the petition be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

There being no objection, the petition was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and the body of it was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VERENDRYE, N. DAK.

President HERBERT HOOVER.
UNITED STATES SENATE.
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

We, the undersigned, after observation of the Federal farm marketing act, believe this law to be contrary to the best interests of agriculture, business, labor, and industry; that the present world-wide depression is a direct result of this legislation; that the act be abandoned; that the Government do not set itself up as a competitor to private and taxpaying individuals; and that supply and demand govern the price of farm products, to the end that the peoples of all nations may again have confidence in their fellow nations, and their ability to carry on business and commerce unhampered by Government regulation.

Mr. JONES presented petitions numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of Washington, praying for the passage of the so-called Capper-Kelly price protection bill, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. BROOKHART presented memorials of sundry citizens of Mason City and Nevada, Iowa, remonstrating against the imposition of a 10 per cent tax on amusements and theater admissions, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. COPELAND presented resolutions adopted by the board of directors of the Maritime Association of the Port of New York, N. Y., protesting against the passage of the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented memorials numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of New York, remonstrating against the passage of legislation for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia or any other compulsory Sunday-observance legislation, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented letters in the nature of petitions from the Niagara Falls Central Labor Union and Cataract Lodge, No. 1093, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, both of Niagara Falls; the Central Union Label Council of Greater New York, with headquarters at Brooklyn; and the Central Labor Council of Buffalo and Vicinity, all in the State of New York, favoring the passage of the so-called Bulkley bill, being the bill (S. 2415) to amend the national prohibition act, as supplemented, in respect of the definition of intoxicating liquor, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Male Choir Bavaria, of Buffalo, N. Y., favoring the passage of legislation permitting the manufacture and sale of 4 per cent beer, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Hancock and Jamestown, N. Y., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Oriskany Falls, and the Fordham (Local) Branch of New York City Woman's Christian Temperance Union, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. WHITE presented the petition of Katharine M. Titcomb, of Farmington, and sundry other citizens of Farmington, Phillips, Livermore Falls, South Portland, Jonesport, Bangor, Rangeley, Garland, East Holden, East Corinth, Mars Hill, Wilton, and Temple, all in the State of Maine, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have appropriately referred and printed in the RECORD the body of a petition from the United Presbyterian Church, of Denver, Colo., Rev. R. A. Pollock, pastor, relative to the prohibition question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The petition was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and it is as follows:

In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we, the undersigned, urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against resubmission, modification, or repeal, and that the petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

STONEWALL JACKSON—ADDRESS BY DR. KERR BOYCE TUPPER

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have printed in the RECORD a splendid address delivered by Dr. Kerr Boyce Tupper at Orlando, Fla., at the celebration of the one hundred and eighth anniversary of the birth of Stonewall Jackson, by the Annie Coleman Chapter, Daughters of the Confederacy.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

In the splendid galaxy of genius and of accomplishment that adorn the history of our fair and favored Southland there shine, with peculiar and imperishable luster, such distinguished national Presidents as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Lincoln, and Wilson, and such military tacticians as Lee, Jackson, Johnston, Stuart, Forrest, and Gordon. Confessedly, no other section of the land can furnish among its outstanding personages a more varied, a more magnificent, a more inspirational array of strong, stalwart, virile, and vigorous incarnations of American manhood and achievement. And just as in our earlier history Washington and Jefferson appear in bold relief as statesmen, so in our later history Lee and Jackson are preeminent as soldiers.

Now, of these two supremely great Southern generals, we shall be thinking of the latter with special affection and admiration on January 21, next, that day marking the one hundred and eighth anniversary of this noble man's birth. Like Copernicus, the son of a baker; and Kepler, the son of a publican; and Erasmus, the son of a shepherd; and Luther, the son of a miner; and Lincoln, the son of a shiftless, thriftless farmer, Thomas Jonathan Jackson was born of parents who possessed neither rank nor reputation, neither fortune nor favor. And yet what a career was his! In 1842 a cadet at West Point; in 1846 a second lieutenant of Artillery during our war with Mexico and brevetted as major for gallant and meritorious conduct in battle; in 1851 professor of natural and experimental philosophy at Virginia Military Institute; in 1861, during the War between the States, a military leader noted particularly for ability of his strategy, the celerity of his movements, the splendor of his courage; in 1863, at the very acme of his ability and fame, his precious life ended so suddenly, sadly, strangely, at the hands of his own devoted troops through a most unaccountable tragic mistake. Such, in short, is the brief and brilliant career of a most illustrious American soldier.

Analyzing the character of this saint and soldier—Stonewall Jackson, as he is more familiary known—one can not fail to be impressed, above all other elements in his being, with his genuine manliness. His was the substance of life when you have blown off the chaff. His was a devotion to right in a large way and on a generous scale. He had, in a supreme, sublime, sovereign degree, what Aristotle calls Ethos—moral weight. One might say of Jackson what Macaulay declared respecting Edmund Burke, "He brought to politics a horror of crime, a deep humanity, a keen sensibility, a singular sincerity of conscience." He had a manly body and manly mind plus a manly spirit with high, transcendent virtues which were at once to him girdle of strength and garment of beauty.

Above all else, and inspirational of all else in his heroic make-up, Stonewall Jackson was a Christian of the highest type. With him, religion was not speech, nor doctrine, nor mystic faith, nor martyr-sacrifice but, rather and gloriously, love supreme to God and service unselfish to man. His was a remarkable illustration of the power that results from the union of lofty human attributes and unfailing religious faith—the prowess of the soldier and the piety of the Christian. One has well said that to attempt to portray the life of Stonewall Jackson apart from the spiritual element in his being would be like undertaking to describe the Alps without mentioning Mount Blanc or to explain the fertility of the land of the Pharaohs without taking into account the enriching Nile. To come into contact with this mighty personality was to behold heroism, majesty, purity, sympathy, interblended in character and exhibited in life, forming an image of beautiful proportions and after a heavenly original. The man matched creed with deed, buttressed doctrine with doing, made effective speech with service. With him truth loved was ever more than truth taught. How wondrously revelatory of our Christian hero's character were his last words as he exchanged his sword of warfare for his chaplet of victors: "Let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees."

EDITORIALS BY JUDGE JOHN W. DODGE

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President, in the Spectator, of Orlando, Fla., on November 12, 1931, appeared a most excellent editorial by Judge John W. Dodge on Exploitation, also another splendid editorial by the same writer appeared in the Ocala (Fla.) Star on December 5, 1931, on Scraps

of Paper. I send these editorials to the desk and ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection it is so ordered.

The editorials are as follows:

[From the Spectator, Orlando, Fla., November 12, 1931]

EXPLOITATION—BUY LAND, NOT STOCKS

By Judge John W. Dodge

The World War created a huge class of profiteers. Peace was followed by greedy industrialism. Then came the financial securities and stock-selling boom. For over two years past the people have, still are, and will for some time suffer from the exploitation by those who have controlled credit and money, as a drastic deflation brings on losses, hunger, starvation, and self-destruction.

Exploitation is using others for one's own purposes, especially when they lose rather than gain by being thus made use of.

International bankers underwrote, at a personal profit of 10 per cent to 15 per cent, over $3,000,000,000 of German bonds, unsecured. Germany had said "a treaty between nations is a scrap of paper." She had sold worthless paper marks, she had repeatedly defaulted on her obligations, when these bankers sold these bonds to the people of our country—widows, orphans, and beneficiaries of life-insurance proceeds, the owners of the savings of a lifetime. We were exploited.

The public was sold billions of watered stocks, paper profits, under representations which, in many instances, were not only false but known to be false by any set of business men. Those in high places represented these securities as gilt-edged investments. They exploited the people.

October 4, 1931, tells the tale as shown by Standard Statistics Co.'s compilation of Wall Street stock prices, as follows:

Today: Fifty industrial stocks, 71.7; 20 railroad stocks, 47.1; and 20 utilities, 108.8; total, 74.4.

High in 1929 were 50 industrial at 252.8, railroads 167.8, and utilities 353.1—total 253.5.

The people were exploited up to 253.5 and deflated down to 74.4 by Wall Street manipulators.

Stock-market stocks are worth about 30 cents on the dollar to-day. Some, many, are worth less—or about 10 cents on the dollar.

Florida real estate, the poorest, is a better investment than foreign controlled and manipulated stocks.

[From the Ocala (Fla.) Star, December 5, 1931]

"SCRAPS OF PAPER"—KNOWN BY THEIR FRUITS

By Judge John W. Dodge

"What you do speaks so loudly that I can not hear your words" is oft-quoted Emersonian wisdom.

But how dumb were many of our international statesmen, leaders, financial experts, bankers, and others when they dealt with the obligations, securities, promises, bonds, and stocks of Germany.

Macauley, in his essay on Frederick the Great of Germany, quoted Frederick as saying: "Guaranties are mere filigree, pretty to look at but too brittle to bear the slightest pressure." That was well known a hundred years ago.

In 1914 Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, referring to treaties between nations, said: "Treaties are scraps of paper." The World War exhibited plainly, beyond question, that German thought was true as spoken by Frederick the Great and by Kaiser Wilhelm.

The end of the World War saw German leaders surrender in defeat. Again they signed "guaranties" and "treaties." They made promises—issued notes—floated bonds—promised to pay.

Have you read the articles of Garet Garrett which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post and have been printed by the Chemical Foundation (Inc.), 654 Madison Avenue, New York, on The Rescue of Germany and As Noble Lenders? Better write for a copy at once if you have not. Get the facts.

Summing up our business and financial conditions, our present depression, the causes thereof, our follies and rottenness, I quote the conclusion of an article in the Saturday Evening Post, which says: "There is nothing the matter with America except 'damfoolishness.' The cure is in the hands of the Commonsense Blues if they will use it."

Germany, true to history, true to her past performances, has paid no reparations. She has borrowed but now repudiates—she demands cancellation of her debts. Her promises are like her paper marks, her guarantees, her treaties, her "scraps of paper."

Any individual citizen with such a well-known record as Germany has openly stated and exhibited, if he asked any banker to loan him even $100, would be kicked out of the bank for his presumption and gall. But our public leaders and financiers for over 10 years past have represented to Americans that German credit was A1. A large number of them now say "Cancel Germany's debt."

We need some new leaders. Moratoriums and further credit expansions for "damfoolishness" are a waste of our time, money, and self-respect—just some more scheming and stealing of "other people's money." Starving millions have been butchered and sacrificed long enough by some of our leaders.

Intelligence with integrity and truth by our leaders, is America's and the world's greatest need, it seems to me.

FINANCIAL CONDITION AND POLICIES OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I have here a very able, interesting, and instructive address delivered by Gov. O. Max Gardner over the radio from Raleigh, N. C., on Thursday, January 14, on the subject of the financial condition and policies of the State of North Carolina. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

I am taking advantage of the courtesy of the Durham Life Station to talk to the people of North Carolina over the radio to-night about the financial situation of the State. I hope I may clarify candidly and without partisanship what the administration is trying to do in North Carolina and set before all of the people the financial policy it is pursuing.

This morning I held a conference with the heads of all administrative departments in the State government and discussed with them the State's present financial situation. I reviewed the policy that I have pursued with them throughout this administration to adjust the State's financial program to the kaleidoscopic economic changes that have been taking place for two years throughout the State and Nation. I wish to put the same picture before all of the people of North Carolina because, ladies and gentlemen, we all go up or down together. There is no period in the State's history in which a united front is more necessary for the preservation of our financial integrity and our social institutions than to-day. There has never been a time when reason and clear thinking and faith were more essential to the stabilization of the State than at this hour.

I do not deny that this administration has made mistakes. I believe that I can state without egotism, however, that it has continuously tried to sense the changing economic situation and to adjust its policy and program to that changing situation. You should be interested in knowing what the situation is and what we have done to meet it. Has this crisis burst upon North Carolina without preparation on our part? Have the administration and your leaders exercised reasonable foresight? Do we have a sound program and are we following an intelligent policy?

In the beginning of my biennial message to the 1931 general assembly I stated: "We are face to face with the supreme test of our collective common sense, of our intellectual and moral courage, and of our faith in the essential soundness of this Commonwealth." I feel to-day that this sentence states more precisely the situation that we are now facing than it did a year ago. At that time we could only guess at the future. To-day, one year of the future has become the past. I ask the indulgence of the people of North Carolina in saying again that we are here face to face with the supreme test of our collective common sense, our courage, and our faith in North Carolina.

Soon after the beginning of this administration we reached the turning point in the State's economic prosperity, and we have ever since that time experienced declining profits and declining revenues. In the summer of 1929, when prices were soaring and financial leadership was saying that this Nation was on the road to perpetual prosperity, I, as director of the budget, called together the heads of the departments and institutions and laid before them the prospective revenue yields for the coming year, on the one hand, and legislative appropriations on the other. As a result of the policy set up at that meeting legislative appropriations were reduced $1,424,000 for the fiscal year 1929–30. The plan for effectuating this saving was adopted when the State and Nation were prosperous. As was to be expected, it was pointed out then that there was no necessity for so substantial a cut in the cost of government and that certain agencies could not live under this reduction. In less than three months after this action, namely, in October, 1929, came the first collapse, nation-wide.

In 1930 an entirely changed economic situation confronted the State. Larger reductions were, of course, necessary. This year we cut $2,136,000 from legislative appropriations.

If these two cuts, totaling $3,500,000, had not been made and if this saving had not been effectuated, the money would, of course, have been spent and spent wisely; but the floating debt of North Carolina would be to-day $3,500,000 more than it is. That is to say, it would have been $3,500,000 larger if the State could have borrowed an additional three and one-half millions.

In 1930, realizing that the cost of both State government and local government comes out of the earnings of the citizens of the State, I also realized that the cost of State government and of local government must be further reduced. In a thoroughgoing way this administration set about the preparation of a comprehensive plan to be submitted to the 1931 general assembly for reducing the cost of government in all services and in all units where a readjustment was possible.

In my biennial message to the 1931 general assembly I recommended that taxes on land and property be reduced. I recommended that the salary of every official and employee of the State and its subdivisions be subjected to a horizontal cut of 10 per cent. I recommended that the State take over the maintenance of the 45,000 miles of county roads; that the cost of this maintenance be reduced from some $8,250,000 to $6,000,000, and that this cost be shifted from property taxes to the gasoline tax. In connection with this, I recommended that the State take over the mainte-

nance of all county prisoners and chain gangs. I recommended and urged additional restrictions upon the borrowing powers of local governments to the end that local boards could not mortgage the future of all of the citizens of their communities by piling additional debt on the taxpayers of the communities to be paid by later generations. I approved the compromise revenue bill that was enacted to enable the State to assume the burden of support of the operation of the six months' public-school term and the economies in school costs that were effectuated at the same time.

Following these recommendations, the 1931 general assembly effectuated the largest reduction in the cost of government in all its branches that has been accomplished in the history of the State. I think the people of the State who are the stockholders in this corporation will be interested in the story of these savings. The action of the general assembly reduced the total cost of government, State and local, between five million and seven million dollars. It removed $12,000,000 from the shoulders of property taxpayers.

Last year the operation of the 6-month school term cost a little more than $21,500,000. The general assembly appropriated for this purpose this year $17,150,000. This has been supplemented by the various counties in the amount of about $1,850,000, placing the total cost of the 6-month school term for 1931-32 at nineteen millions. This has effectuated a saving in the operation of the 6-month school term, in round numbers, of more than $2,500,000.

Last year the operation of the extended school term cost about $7,100,000. In 1931-32 the cost will be $6,500,000, a saving of approximately $600,000.

For the year ending June 30, 1930, the maintenance of county roads cost the counties $8,250,000. The 1931 general assembly appropriated for this purpose $6,000,000 annually from the State highway fund. It now appears that the saving in State maintenance will be more than $2,250,000, because the figures for the first quarter of this fiscal year show that the State highway department has kept maintenance costs at nearly $500,000 less than the sum allocated for this service. Parenthetically, I will say that county roads are being maintained on a standard comparable with maintenance in the best counties last year and superior to county maintenance in the majority of the counties last year. The fears expressed that State maintenance of county roads would collapse have been dissipated in the transportation of 212,000 public-school children over these roads. The State superintendent states that transportation costs this year will be more than $300,000 less than last year, while 15,000 more children will be transported than were last year. This is a by-product of State maintenance of county roads not contemplated by the most ardent advocates of State maintenance.

The 10 per cent reduction in salaries and wages made by the last general assembly will effectuate a saving of $2,753,220 per year. The saving in public-school salaries is about $1,425,000. The saving in salaries in State departments and institutions, therefore, is $1,328,000.

The division of purchase and contract has already saved more than $400,000 so far and is estimated to save at least $600,000 for the full fiscal year.

Additional savings have been brought about through improved management. For example, the director of State-owned farms has enabled State institutions more largely to live at home than in the past. Surplus food and feed crops grown on State-owned farms are being used in institutions not engaging in farming, and this has substantially reduced the cost of their food and feed supplies. Let me say that now is the time for the people to begin to plan to carry on more intensively the live-at-home program in agriculture for 1932. The supervision of a mechanical engineer has reduced the cost of heat and fuel in State departments and institutions this year more than $41,000 under the cost last year.

One of the clearest illustrations of the substantial reduction in operating costs is found in the fact that the per capita cost in our institutions of higher learning has come down from an average of $224 per capita in 1928–29 to $181 per capita in 1931–32. The per capita cost in our hospitals and correctional institutions has come down from $280 per capita in 1928–29 to $228 per capita in 1931–32.

To summarize: In this administration we reduced legislative appropriations $3,500,000 in the first two years; we reduced taxes on property $12,000,000 this year; and we have effected savings and reductions in the last session of the general assembly that cut the total cost of government between five million and seven million dollars per year.

I believe that it can be said truthfully and fairly that these reductions and economies have been made without seriously crippling any of the departments or institutions. The public service has been maintained.

In spite of these savings, however—and I think you will agree that they have been gratifyingly substantial—it was apparent at the beginning of this biennium, in June, 1931, that declining revenue would make it absolutely necessary to bring about further reduction in the cost of the State government. Department and institution heads were advised to plan their expenditures for this fiscal year on a basis of 80 per cent availability of legislative appropriations made to them. This is to say, it was clear six months ago that the revenue out of which departments and institutions are supported would not produce at most more than 80 per cent of the appropriations made by the general assembly.

Since that time, estimates of revenues have again been revised downward as information on actual tax yields has become available. I doubt whether the public generally understands how seriously revenue yields have shrunk. I think that I can perhaps best illustrate it by comparing it to the streams of a country in the time of a great drought. Try to get this picture: Think of the total State revenue as one large stream. It is fed by many tributaries. One tributary is the inheritance tax, another is license taxes, another franchise taxes, another income taxes, another gasoline tax, another automobile license-plate fees, and so on. Some of these tributaries are medium in size; some are large, almost rivers in themselves. For example, the gasoline tax normally should yield $15,000,000 per year. All of these tributaries have been drying up. Compared with former years, some are down to a mere trickle.

Automobile registrations for 1932 stand to-day 30,000 under the corresponding date for last year. This decrease, that approximates nearly 10 per cent, can not fail to produce a corresponding, if not an accentuated, decrease in gasoline consumption and, hence, in gasoline revenue, the biggest single source of State revenue.

The State has experienced substantial decreases in the collection of inheritance taxes and Schedule B license taxes and some decrease in the franchise tax. The 15-cent rate on property for the 6-month school term will show a large shrinkage. With the tax year half over, only one-fourth of this levy has been paid. What the income tax will produce is, of course, as yet unknown, but under business conditions prevailing throughout 1931 it can not fail to show a substantial decrease from the estimates made a year ago. You may be interested to observe that our revenue from incomes declined only 25 per cent last year, while Federal revenue from incomes was declining 48 per cent.

In short, the State general-fund revenues, which were originally estimated to yield $27,500,000, are now estimated to yield only $23,750,000. In other words, our general-fund revenue will fall short of original expectations in the amount of about $3,750,000. This means, of course, that we shall have an operating deficit for this year. But whatever the deficit may be, this fact remains: The State debt, including the deficit, will be $12,000,000 less at the end of the administration than it was at the beginning.

We now have outstanding two general-fund notes, one in the amount of $2,500,000 and one for $3,800,000. We must realize, therefore, that the State should make every effort to meet its fixed charges and carry on its operations for the rest of this year out of the revenues it collects. We must operate on such basis as will conserve our cash position.

May I talk to you for a moment in a broad and somewhat general way about the basis of operations in 1932? It is exceedingly important that we all come to a realization of the basis on which business must operate in North Carolina to-day, whether that business is government business or private business.

One of the most difficult concepts for my mind to get hold of, and I believe the public in general has the same difficulty in understanding it, is this: The 1929 standard of value is no longer a yardstick for measuring 1932 ability. We hear much talk to-day about the gold standard. Some think that this Nation should get off the gold standard just as most of the debtor nations have already done. I do not here offer an opinion on the gold standard. I do have a very definite opinion that the 1929 standard of prices, the 1929 standard of income and expenditures, in particular the 1929 standard of government spending, is definitely and permanently a thing of the past. One of the primary reasons why governments continue to show increasing deficits and businesses show increasing losses is attributable to the fact that our conception of deflation has not yet reached a solid basis in fact. We must wipe 1929 off the slate of our minds. It is gone.

As I try to find my duty in formulating a policy for our immediate consideration, I am confronted with two possible courses in this serious and important matter. I am called upon to act either under the executive budget statute to meet this emergency and unparalleled crisis or to call a special session of the general assembly. I realize that there is nothing I can do as director of the budget in the way of effectuating reductions that will enable us to completely balance the budget for this fiscal year. I realize all too well that to call a special session of the general assembly at this time before our income tax and other revenue is ascertained would mean the danger of going through the process of balancing the budget and adjourning to discover that our calculations had left us again with an unbalanced budget.

I have a very definite conception of what our duty is. My judgment is that we should do the very best that we can at this time to face the situation courageously and in a spirit of mutual helpfulness. We should take no step that would further confuse or complicate our position. Our problem is to find a way to carry on. To do this we must maintain our cash position. How is this to be done? In the first place, we should abandon temporarily all operations that are not absolutely essential to the State. We must preserve the essentials, but only the essentials.

After conferring with the chairman of the highway commission, I will say to the public right now that the State is not going to build more roads and hard-surfaced highways while our situation is so critical. I have conferred with the superintendent of the State's prison, and I will say that the proceeds of the $400,000 bond issue for a new State prison plant will not be spent until we can more safely see ahead. I will say that all travel that is not absolutely required must be left off. I will say that inventories must be held to the absolute minimum.

In the conference with the department heads to-day, I asked each of them to discuss with the director of personnel and the assistant director of the budget the most practical ways in which

necessary readjustments and savings can be made in every department. These readjustments and reductions in spending are imperative. There is no other way out of our present situation. We can not maintain ourselves on any other basis.

Do you realize that the State itself does not make money? The State spends money. Every dollar the State spends comes out of somebody's earnings. When earnings go down, the Government has no choice but to adjust, as far as possible, its spendings to that situation.

After we have accomplished all these economies in operations, and after we have ascertained the maximum of revenues to be collected, it will then be time enough to give thought to the question of whether the preservation of the State's credit demands the calling of a special session of the general assembly. What I mean to say is that whatever is necessary to protect the credit of the State, no matter what it involves, will be done. Everything I say here is subject to this amendment: I would resort to the full power of this office to do anything and everything that is necessary to prevent this State from defaulting in its debt obligations. And I take this occasion to say that no such calamity shall befall North Carolina. The character and the credit of this State shall be preserved at all hazards. And I want to say further as a fact that can not be controverted: This State can not continue beyond the period of this storm to operate on a deficit—that is, on borrowed money. My entire economic thinking has been to lay the foundation upon which we may surely and safely construct a balanced budget.

Attack has been made upon our most cherished possession—the faith, credit, and character of North Carolina. May I say that we will protect and preserve the honor and credit of this State if it should require the conscription of the resources and reserves of 3,000,000 North Carolinians. A North Carolina bond is worth par anywhere and everywhere. If it sells below par, it is because of hysteria and fear, not on account of its intrinsic worth. Behind each bond of this State stands the character, honesty, integrity, and resources of a people who will make any sacrifice to defend and protect the good name of North Carolina.

We have been in war for two years, and the enemy has progressively driven us backward from our front line to our last trench. We stand with our backs to the wall. We must give no further ground. We must throw into our ranks our full reserves. We win the victory the moment we forget ourselves and willingly accept the common hardships and self-denials that come in the universality of the sacrifice of this war. If we do not volunteer, we must apply the draft. The time has come when we must consolidate our patriotism and pledge ourselves to stand without flinching in united, unselfish, and unexempted front. This is not a challenge to a few of us; it is a challenge to all of us.

North Carolina, along with every other State in the Union, is today suffering under the blight of economic condjtions prevailing throughout the world. The encouraging ray of light and hope for us is seen in the fact that our citizenship and our Government have recognized conditions for what they are and have made stupendous efforts to adjust themselves to weather the storm. In some important respects North Carolina was the last State to substantially feel the effects of the business panic. We had made comprehensive plans to adjust our operations to its demands even before its ravages began to shrink revenues. Therefore, I feel it is not unreasonable to believe that we may be the first State to escape from its grasp. Our house is in order. We have not only adjusted our operations to live through it, but when its weight lifts, this State will surely be one of the first to be able to move off of the present plane and push ahead with an accelerated progress.

In a little while we leave and others take our places. One generation after another will come to take up the continuous reins of government and carry on. In this hour of unparalleled economic revolution involving the financial, social, and humane fabrics of government, let it not be said of us that we flinched before responsibility; that we ducked into storm cellars; that we placed our own selfish interests first; that we lacked moral and intellectual courage.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF OKLAHOMA FARMERS

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I desire to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of an open letter written by Clarence Roberts, editor of the Oklahoma Farmer-Stockman of January 15, 1932, to members of the Oklahoma delegation relative to the economic condition of Oklahoma farmers.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter is as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA DELEGATION IN CONGRESS

GENTLEMEN: This is the first letter I have ever written to a Member of Congress asking or urging that any legislative action be taken. Ordinarily, I feel that the people least governed is best governed.

But this is no ordinary time.

I cite no causes. Time for that is past. We are concerned only with things as they are and with the future.

Farmers have little money and big debts. With that little money they can not live and pay taxes and interest on those debts. The reason for that simple fact, I take it, is not even debatable.

Farmers have been able to get by—most of them—that's true. But they are merely hanging on. Each day sees a few more lose their grip.

It is true that most creditors are patient. This, however, only prolongs the agony for the man in debt. But not all creditors will wait. Witness in all too many cases the man holding a small mortgage now due. In anything like normal times the borrower could refinance himself easily. Now he can not. Hence, the holder of the mortgage is able to secure for himself or a friend a farm at a shamefully low price.

While some of our farmers have maintained themselves the last year on a cash basis, having done so by a most frugal manner of living, others have gone more deeply in debt. While the majority have paid their taxes, many have not and face the loss of their farms for that reason. Tax resales are all too common, and in parts of Oklahoma, I am ashamed to say, land at such sales is selling for as low as $1 per acre.

The actual production of crops is not involved. On the whole, crops in the Southwest were well above average in yield. The man who grew the most crops may be the man most deeply in debt. When expenses outrun income, it is best to have no expenses.

In this crisis what can the farmer do? He can spend less or he can raise more. By spending less he helps that much further to depress trade; the less he buys the fewer jobs there are for men who make the things the farmer wants, needs, and would buy if he had the money.

By raising more the farmer merely adds that much to our already burdensome surplus. The more goods above the effective demand which farmers in total raise, the lower the price.

Other facts descriptive of the economic condition of farmers in Oklahoma could be given at length. The situation, however, is familiar to you. I do not wish to exaggerate in any manner but only to face the real facts as they are.

What is needed and what must obtain is either a better price for what the farmer has produced and will produce, or the chance to borrow, even if in small amount.

Let us consider the last suggestion: The ability of a farmer to borrow on the present level of prices only further increases his indebtedness. It merely enables him to hang on a bit longer; at best, to maintain the status quo. However, if there is no other way out of the situation, by all means credit in limited amounts should be provided.

How, you may ask, can this be done? Let me cite one instance: We have thousands of landowners to-day in Oklahoma whose farms are not mortgaged. These men want and need small sums of money on which to operate. They want to make small farm loans. They offer security, even present land prices, in a ratio of 5 to 1, often 10 to 1; that is, the security is not in question. Many of these men with land worth $25,000 need to borrow only $1,000, or a man with a $10,000 farm needs $500.

Such a man does not want or need a long-term loan; only a short-term loan. It need not run longer than five years. With just a fair break most of such loans would be paid in full in three years.

Most of the private loan companies are not making loans. Nor is the Federal land bank equipped to make small short-term loans.

There is the stockman who needs financing. A start toward this has been made in Oklahoma. Stockmen themselves organized a state-wide association affiliated with the National Livestock Marketing Association and were privileged through that association to use funds which it had borrowed from the Federal Farm Board to make loans to preferred borrowers. To complete that job in Oklahoma only a modest sum of money in addition is needed. Machinery to make such loans is already set up and available.

Then there is the crop farmer. His needs are not great. At present prices a small sum of money will go a long way. That was proved last year in the making of so-called seed loans to farmers in Oklahoma. And, may I call your attention to the fact that the payment of these loans by farmers in Oklahoma makes a record of which no one need be ashamed.

Due to the freezing of credits, the hoarding of money, and the disastrously low prices, money can not be borrowed locally. Our banks, to maintain a liquid condition (for which they can not be blamed), are keeping their deposits in cash and in securities which can be sold on an hour's notice.

The banks have money, but they have no money to lend—to farmers.

We have rached a condition where money is extremely scarce and credit entirely lacking.

To furnish this credit, I repeat, is not a huge task. No farmer wants to or will borrow above his absolute needs. If he borrows, it will be to "carry on." Such credit as may be extended would be to meet an emergency.

But credit alone will hardly remedy the situation; it can only ease it for a time.

What is needed is a higher level of prices for what the farmer sells. With that higher level no financing will be necessary. The farmer himself can, somehow, even though slowly, work out of his difficulties, and he would much prefer to work out in that manner than merely to be loaned more money, of which he has already borrowed too much.

Plainly put, we need more money—in circulation. Money has become scarce; it is being hoarded. Estimates place the amount

hid away at $1,000,000,000. What we need is an inflation of credit. By this means, goods we own can be turned into money. If only $1,000,000,000 of our national wealth (a mere fraction of it) is turned into currency, that other billion in hiding will come out. Our troubles would be over.

More currency means that money would become cheap in comparison to goods. The wheels of industry would start to turn. More demand for what the farmer raises would be created. His prices would go up. He could begin to pay his debts.

The farmer's position is this: "If prices only can be brought back to where they were when I made my debts, I can, with those same prices, pay my debts. That is all I want." Could any request be more fair than that? Isn't it just and equitable?

An increase of currency in circulation will unlock not only frozen credits, it will unlock frozen buying. The great mass of our consuming public will not buy at present low prices; they are waiting for them to go still lower. Just as soon as they feel prices have reached bottom, and certainly as soon as they feel prices have started up, they will rush in to put the money they now have hoarded up into goods they want and need.

Not only by this means will buying be stimulated but the hoarding of money will be effectively stopped. As long as dollars promise to be worth more than goods, just so long will the dollars stay in hiding and the goods stay on the shelves.

The mechanics of inflation I will not discuss. The means is at hand and readily understood by Congress.

To accomplish this only the National Congress can act. It alone controls the flow of money; it alone may issue currency. It is not possible for individual farmers or for the mass of farmers, united as one group, to bring this about. Only Congress can do it, and hence full and complete responsibility rests upon it to act.

In the present emergency we must forget we are Democrats or Republicans, partisans or nonpartisans. We must forget a President will be elected this year. Such considerations are unworthy at this moment. We must keep in mind that we are one Government, one people, and our every act should be in the interest of our people.

Farmers the last two years in Oklahoma have been carrying on in the full sense of the word. They have made a fine adjustment of their crop plans. They have worked; they have saved. They have been patient but now they expect action.

This is written with the realization that Congress is a cumbersome body; that the individual is somewhat submerged; and that selfish motives too often prevail. But Congress has acted with dispatch in former times. Congress never before had better reason to act with dispatch than in the present session.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE ROBERTS, *Editor*.

ADDRESS BY DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an abstract of an address entitled "The Search for Security," delivered by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler in the Halls of Parliament at Budapest, Hungary, on June 16, 1931.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

Self-preservation, whether of the individual or of the nation, is truly the first law of nature. Life once obtained and consciously enjoyed is instinctively clung to by every energy and every device which either individual or nation possesses or can control. This instinct, this hope, and this endeavor are fundamental, and without full knowledge of these and full understanding of them the history of men and of peoples can neither be understood nor interpreted. Apart from these instincts, hopes, and endeavors, international relations and international policies disappear in a mist of inconsequence.

This insistent wish for self-preservation and this continuing desire for self-expression and increasing self-satisfaction attach to individuals and to nations as such and have no reference either to size or to wealth or to importance, nor are they limited by any of these qualities. Rather do they lie deep down in the heart of humanity.

There are two different kinds of characteristics which emphasize the desire for security and self-expression on the part of nations. The first of these arises from a long and continuous historic past wherein great personalities have been produced, important institutions built for the better control of the political, social, and economic organization of men, and notable contributions made to literature, to the fine arts, and to science. That nation—whether to-day it be large or small, rich or poor, and whether placed east or west, north or south on the surface of the globe—which can contemplate such an historic background is proud indeed of it and determined at all hazards to protect it, still further to develop it and to claim reputation and distinction because of it.

The second kind of characteristic which powerfully influences and manifests the desire for security is found in those new peoples who, having set out to occupy and to develop some hitherto little known or wholly unknown part of the earth's surface, come to regard themselves as prophets of a new day, as trustees of a new order of civilization, and as exponents of a finer, a freer, and a higher mode of living than has hitherto been usual or even possible among men. Nations of this type are to be found on the two American Continents, which were settled and developed chiefly by those who went across the unknown seas either as adventurers, as explorers, or as seekers for a new and distant home where they might be free to build the institutions of their own choosing away from the influence and the domination of institutions and habits of mind and of action which had come down through the centuries and taken on forms which those who left Europe for one of the Americas did not like.

One sees a perfectly clear expression of the operation of this kind of characteristic in the very important declaration known as the Monroe doctrine. The first hint of this policy is the best expression of it. This is found in a memorandum made by John Quincy Adams when Secretary of State of the United States, under date of July 1, 1822, of a conversation with the Russian minister at Washington. Mr. Adams records himself as having said on that occasion:

I told him specially that we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American Continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments. (Memoirs of John Quincy Adams (Philadelphia, 1874–1877), Vol. VI, p. 163.)

The entire discussion and correspondence which followed before the Monroe doctrine itself was formally enunciated by President Monroe in his message to Congress, dated December 2, 1823, emphasize this point of view, and indicate both the clearness and the conviction with which it was and has since been held by the American people. Despite what has been said to the contrary by high authorities, there are and have been various departures from the Monroe doctrine as originally promulgated, and various extensions of it have been declared and advocated, but the fundamental principle of the doctrine nevertheless remains unaltered as a permanent expression of public policy on the part of the Government of the United States.

That the Monroe doctrine has largely lost its original significance is of course true, since there is no longer any "political system of the allied powers" to be extended either to the American Continents or elsewhere. Inasmuch as both continents have been fully colonized and settled, no opportunity now exists to consider any part of either of them as subject for future colonization by any European power. The Monroe doctrine has therefore become for all practical purposes the record of an historical fact and the rhetorical expression of a point of view. Any people setting up a new form of government on a distant and hitherto unsettled portion of the earth's surface might readily propose and announce a Monroe doctrine of their own. If they did so, they would be as much in search of security as were the American Government and the American people when, following the complications and disturbances which accompanied the Napoleonic era in Europe, they enunciated the Monroe doctrine as a measure of self-protection and national safety.

Older nations act quite differently. During the long centuries that they have been in the making, these nations have persistently, and in a manner that is easy to explain, sought for ethnic unity, for linguistic unity, for geographic unity, and in times past even for religious unity; all with a view to security and to those satisfactions which security brings in its train. As the period of migration drew toward its close a thousand years ago, and those groups that were shortly to become nations as we now know them found themselves either halted or definitely settled in a given area of the earth's surface, the search for security quickly began in each one of the ways just mentioned. Racial antagonisms, whether inherited or acquired, frequently led to unrest and then to civil war; hence ethnic unity was sought and racial minorities were either expelled or held in substantial subjection. Linguistic differences led quickly to misunderstanding and friction; hence emphasis was laid upon a single language and a single mode of official communication between all the inhabitants of a given nation. Lack of boundaries that might offer strategic protection, such as the sea or a broad river or high mountains, impelled nations to seek so to extend the areas under their control that they might reach to protecting frontiers of this sort which would serve as defense against attack and therefore increase the sense of security.

Almost every war which marks the history of Europe since the time of Charlemagne is traceable to one or another of these powerfully disturbing causes, and each one of them has accompanied and characterized the search for security. Now and again in the history of the past a desire for national domination over other peoples or over an area wider than that of some one nation has tempted or invited to war, but in the vast majority of instances it is the search for security which has driven men and nations to the use of armed force, to the building up of armaments, and to that whole series of international policies and attitudes which are now seen to belong to an age which is past but to have no proper place in the age which has begun.

The search for security continues to-day and is as much an impelling and directing force in forming and guiding national policy as it ever was. But the scene has wholly shifted. Under present-day conditions of scientific knowledge in its manifold applications of trade, commerce, and finance, of world-wide travel and economic interpenetration, there can be no security in isolation, much less in armed competition and preparadness for combat. No nation, however populous, however rich, or however heavily armed, can of itself gain assurance of security. Security, like prosperity, is no longer even possible for any nation acting

alone. Indeed, the time has arrived when the most heavily armed nation is likely to become the most insecure, for armaments inevitably tend to war, and modern war brings to ruin every participant, whether victor or vanquished. In the Great War of 1914–1918 every combatant lost and no combatant won. Apparent results as recorded on the field of battle are inconsequent indeed when contrasted with the economic, the social, the political, the financial, and the moral destruction and upheavals which that war brought in its train.

The world now seeks security and every nation in it seeks security, but by new constructive means and policies. High and discriminating tariffs, which are economic armaments, are little better, if any, than military and naval armaments. The day for regional and group alliances has past. The path to security now lies through international understanding, through international cooperation, and through international action in the fields of trade and finance, and as to all that promotes the health, comfort, and satisfaction of mankind. In that international cooperation every nation, great or small, should take its place as an equal, and its voice should be heard, not because of population or wealth, and not at all because of armaments, but because it speaks the language of justice, of reason, of tolerance, of sympathy, of understanding, of international helpfulness. "Public honor is security,"[1] wrote Junius in the middle of the eighteenth century, and that safety walks in the steps of justice[2] was the judgment of Sydney Smith two generations later. Both maxims are indubitably true.

National security in this twentieth century is to be found in a new point of view and in public policies which are the outgrowth and reflection of it. Were this not the case and should this not be practicable, then the modern world would already have crossed the watershed of its development and be on the way down toward that valley of destruction and death to which its pessimistic critics are accustomed to point. If human nature has not been adequately disciplined by the happenings of the past thousand years; if the human mind has not been sufficiently instructed by those happenings; and if the human spirit has not been raised by them to an elevation from which it can look out upon a world of justice, of peace, and of increasing human satisfaction, then the future is dark indeed.

If the men of the New World may bring a message to their friends and companions of the Old World, it will be one of hope, of confidence, and of appeal to the better instincts of men. It will ask that existing wrongs be righted and present injustices be remedied, not by appeal to force, but by the processes of friendly discussion and of judicial arbitrament. It will urge acceptance of the maxim that nothing can be regarded as settled until it is settled right, whether it relates to the life of one nation or to the relations between several nations. It will find progress making in the discovery and use of those principles of public morals which give high and noble character to civilized nations. It will point out and constantly emphasize the fact that it is not possible to solve the problems of the future by stubbornly thinking in terms of the past. It will not attempt to assimilate all social and political systems and all forms of government to one model or one set of political habits and principles, but it will take into account differences of historical background, of national temperament, of long-established habits of political thought and action. It will repeat and emphasize the wise words of the Englishman, John Pym, written when the government of modern England was in the making, that "The best form of government is that which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of a state to the common good." (John Pym—The Parliamentary History of England (London: 1763), Vol. VIII, p. 173.)

The search for security, then, is to go forward on a new plane with hope, even with confidence, that the mind of mankind is open, that the hearts of men are just, and that true progress is not only possible but within the reach of all who will walk in the path to which experience and wisdom and the spirit of fair dealing so clearly point.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. WALCOTT. Mr. President, I present the conference report on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon House bill 7360, known as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill. I shall not ask consideration of the conference report by the Senate until the report shall have been acted upon by the House of Representatives and sent here from that body, which will be either late this afternoon or to-morrow.

The conference report was ordered to lie on the table and be printed as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert:

"That there be, and is hereby, created a body corporate with the name 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation' (herein called the corporation). That the principal office of the corporation shall be located in the District of Columbia, but there may be established agencies or branch offices in any city or cities of the United States under rules and regulations prescribed by the board of directors. This act may be cited as the 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation act.'

"SEC. 2. The corporation shall have capital stock of $500,000,000, subscribed by the United States of America, payment for which shall be subject to call in whole or in part by the board of directors of the corporation.

"There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $500,000,000, for the purpose of making payments upon such subscription when called: *Provided*, That $50,000,000 of the amount so subscribed, and the expansion of same through the notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations as set out in section 9 shall be allocated and made available to the Secretary of Agriculture, which sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose of making loans or advances to farmers in the several States of the United States in cases where he finds that an emergency exists as a result of which farmers are unable to obtain loans for crop production during the year 1932: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Agriculture shall give preference in making such loans or advances to farmers who suffered from crop failures in 1931. Such advances or loans shall be made upon such terms and conditions and subject to such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe. A first lien on all crops growing, or to be planted and grown, shall, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, be deemed sufficient security for such loan or advance. All such loans or advances shall be made through such agencies as the Secretary of Agriculture may designate, and in such amounts as such agencies, with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, may determine. Any person who shall knowingly make any material false representation for the purpose of obtaining an advance or loan, or in assisting in obtaining such advance or loan under this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both.

"Receipts for payments by the United States of America for or on account of such stock shall be issued by the corporation to the Secretary of the Treasury and shall be evidence of the stock ownership of the United States of America.

"SEC. 3. The management of the corporation shall be vested in a board of directors consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, or, in his absence, the Under Secretary of the Treasury, the governor of the Federal Reserve Board, and the Farm Loan Commissioner, who shall be members ex officio, and four other persons appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Of the seven members of the board of directors not more than four shall be members of any one political party and not more than one shall be appointed from any one Federal reserve district. Each director shall devote his time not otherwise required by the business of the United States principally to the business of the corporation. Before entering upon his duties each of the directors so appointed and each officer of the corporation shall take an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of his office. Nothing contained in this or in any other act shall be construed to prevent the appointment and compensation as an employee of the corporation of any officer or employee of the United States in any board, commission, independent establishment, or executive department thereof. The terms of the directors

[1] The Letters of Junius (London, 1927), Letter XLII, p. 192.
[2] Holland, Saba (Lady), A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith (London, 1855), p. 67.

appointed by the President of the United States shall be two years and run from the date of the enactment hereof and until their successors are appointed and qualified. Whenever a vacancy shall occur among the directors so appointed, the person appointed to fill such vacancy shall hold office for the unexpired portion of the term of the director whose place he is selected to fill. The directors of the corporation appointed as hereinbefore provided shall receive salaries at the rate of $10,000 per annum each. No director, officer, attorney, agent, or employee of the corporation shall in any manner, directly or indirectly, participate in the deliberation upon or the determination of any question affecting his personal interests or the interests of any corporation, partnership, or association in which he is directly or indirectly interested.

"SEC. 4. The corporation shall have succession for a period of 10 years from the date of the enactment hereof, unless it is sooner dissolved by an act of Congress. It shall have power to adopt, alter, and use a corporate seal; to make contracts; to lease such real estate as may be necessary for the transaction of its business; to sue and be sued, to complain and to defend, in any court of competent jurisdiction, State or Federal; to select, employ, and fix the compensation of such officers, employees, attorneys, and agents as shall be necessary for the transaction of the business of the corporation, without regard to the provisions of other laws applicable to the employment and compensation of officers or employees of the United States; to define their authority and duties, require bonds of them and fix the penalties thereof, and to dismiss at pleasure such officers, employees, attorneys, and agents; and to prescribe, amend, and repeal, by its board of directors, by-laws, rules, and regulations governing the manner in which its general business may be conducted and the powers granted to it by law may be exercised and enjoyed, including the selection of its chairman and vice chairman, together with provision for such committees and the functions thereof as the board of directors may deem necessary for facilitating its business under this act. The board of directors of the corporation shall determine and prescribe the manner in which its obligations shall be incurred and its expenses allowed and paid. The corporation shall be entitled to the free use of the United States mails in the same manner as the executive departments of the Government. The corporation, with the consent of any board, commission, independent establishment, or executive department of the Government, including any field service thereof, may avail itself of the use of information, services, facilities, officers, and employees thereof in carrying out the provisions of this act.

"SEC. 5. To aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, including facilitating the exportation of agricultural and other products the corporation is authorized and empowered to make loans, upon such terms and conditions not inconsistent with this act as it may determine, to any bank, savings bank, trust company, building and loan association, insurance company, mortgage loan company, credit union, Federal land bank, joint-stock land bank, Federal intermediate credit bank, agricultural credit corporation, livestock credit corporation, organized under the laws of any State or of the United States, including loans secured by the assets of any bank that is closed, or in process of liquidation to aid in the reorganization or liquidation of such banks, upon application of the receiver or liquidating agent of such bank and any receiver of any national bank is hereby authorized to contract for such loans and to pledge any assets of the bank for securing the same: *Provided*, That not more than $200,000,000 shall be used for the relief of banks that are closed or in the process of liquidation.

"All loans made under the foregoing provisions shall be fully and adequately secured. The corporation, under such conditions as it shall prescribe, may take over or provide for the administration and liquidation of any collateral accepted by it as security for such loans. Such loans may be made directly upon promissory notes or by way of discount or rediscount of obligations tendered for the purpose, or otherwise in such form and in such amount and at such interest or discount rates as the corporation may approve: *Provided*, That no loans or advances shall be made upon foreign securities or foreign acceptances as collateral or for the purpose of assisting in the carrying or liquidation of such foreign securities and foreign acceptances. In no case shall the aggregate amount of advances made under this section to any one corporation and its subsidiary or affiliated organizations exceed at any one time 5 per cent of (1) the authorized capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation plus (2) the aggregate amount of bonds of the corporation authorized to be outstanding when the capital stock is fully subscribed.

"Each such loan may be made for a period not exceeding three years, and the corporation may from time to time extend the time of payment of any such loan, through renewal, substitution of new obligations, or otherwise, but the time for such payment shall not be extended beyond five years from the date upon which such loan was made originally. Except as provided in section 5a hereof, no loan or advancement shall be made by the corporation for the purpose of initiating, setting on foot, or financing any enterprise not initiated, set on foot, or undertaken prior to the adoption of this act: *Provided*, That the foregoing limitation shall not apply to loans made to agricultural or livestock credit corporations, or Federal land banks, joint-stock land banks, or Federal intermediate credit banks, nor to loans made to banks for the purpose of financing agricultural operations. The corporation may make loans under this section at any time prior to the expiration of one year from the date of the enactment hereof; and the President may from time to time postpone such date of expiration for such additional period or periods as he may deem necessary, not to exceed two years from the date of enactment hereof. Within the foregoing limitations of this section, the corporation may also, upon the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, make loans to aid in the temporary financing of railroads and railways engaged in interstate commerce, to railroads and railways in process of construction, and to receivers of such railroads and railways, when in the opinion of the board of directors of the corporation such railroads or railways are unable to obtain funds upon reasonable terms through banking channels or from the general public and the corporation will be adequately secured: *Provided*, That no fee or commission shall be paid by any applicant for a loan under the provisions hereof in connection with any such application or any loan made or to be made hereunder, and the agreement to pay or payment of any such fee or commission shall be unlawful. Any such railroad may obligate itself in such form as shall be prescribed and otherwise comply with the requirements of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the corporation with respect to the deposit or assignment of security hereunder, without the authorization or approval of any authority, State or Federal, and without compliance with any requirement, State or Federal, as to notification, other than such as may be imposed by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the corporation under the provisions of this section.

"SEC. 5a. The corporation is authorized and empowered to accept drafts and bills of exchange drawn upon it which grow out of transactions involving the exportation of agricultural or other products actually sold or transported for sale subsequent to the enactment hereof and in process of shipment to buyers in foreign countries: *Provided*, That the corporation shall not make any such acceptances growing out of transactions involving the sale or shipment of armaments, munitions, or other war materials, or the sale or shipment into countries which are at war of any merchandise or commodities except food and supplies for the actual use of noncombatants. No bill of exchange or draft shall be eligible for acceptance if such bill shall have at time of acceptance a maturity of more than 12 months. All drafts and bills of exchange accepted under this section shall be in terms payable in the United States, in currency of the United States, and in addition to the draft or bill of exchange shall at all times be fully secured by American securities deposited as collateral or shall be guaranteed by a bank or trust company

of undoubted solvency organized under the laws of the United States or any State, Territory, or insular possession thereof: *Provided*, That such securities shall not include goods stored or in process of shipment in foreign countries or the obligation of any foreign government, corporation, firm, or person.

"SEC. 6. Section 5202 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended, is hereby amended by striking out the words 'War Finance Corporation act' and inserting in lieu thereof the words 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation act.'

"SEC. 7. All moneys of the corporation not otherwise employed may be deposited with the Treasurer of the United States subject to check by authority of the corporation or in any Federal reserve bank, or may, by authorization of the board of directors of the corporation, be used in the purchase for redemption and retirement of any notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations issued by the corporation, and the corporation may reimburse such Federal reserve bank for their services in the manner as may be agreed upon. The Federal reserve banks are authorized and directed to act as depositaries, custodians, and fiscal agents for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the general performance of its powers conferred by this act.

"SEC. 8. In order to enable the corporation to carry out the provisions of this act, the Treasury Department, the Federal Farm Loan Board, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal reserve banks, and the Interstate Commerce Commission are hereby authorized, under such conditions as they may prescribe, to make available to the corporation, in confidence, such reports, records, or other information as they may have available relating to the condition of financial institutions and railroads or railways with respect to which the corporation has had or contemplates having transactions under this act, or relating to individuals, associations, partnerships, or corporations whose obligations are offered to or held by the corporation as security for loans to financial institutions or railroads or railways under this act, and to make through their examiners or other employees for the confidential use of the corporation, examinations of such financial institutions or railroads and railways. Every applicant for a loan under this act shall, as a condition precedent thereto, consent to such examination as the corporation may require for the purposes of this act and that reports of examinations by constituted authorities may be furnished by such authorities to the corporation upon request therefor.

"SEC. 9. The corporation is authorized and empowered, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to issue, and to have outstanding at any one time in an amount aggregating not more than three times its subscribed capital, its notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations; such obligations to mature not more than five years from their respective dates of issue, to be redeemable at the option of the corporation before maturity in such manner as may be stipulated in such obligations, and to bear such rate or rates of interest as may be determined by the corporation: *Provided*, That the corporation, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may sell on a discount basis short-term obligations payable at maturity without interest. The notes, debentures, bonds, and other obligations of the corporation may be secured by assets of the corporation in such manner as shall be prescribed by its board of directors: *Provided*, That the aggregate of all obligations issued under this section shall not exceed three times the amount of the subscribed capital stock. Such obligations may be issued in payment of any loan authorized by this act or may be offered for sale at such price or prices as the corporation may determine with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. The said obligations shall be fully and unconditionally guaranteed both as to interest and principal by the United States and such guaranty shall be expressed on the face thereof. In the event that the corporation shall be unable to pay upon demand, when due, the principal of or interest on notes debentures, bonds, or other such obligations issued by it, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay the amount thereof, which is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and thereupon to the extent of the amounts so paid the Secretary of the Treasury shall succeed to all the rights of the holders of such notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is authorized to purchase any obligations of the corporation to be issued hereunder, and for such purpose the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use as a public-debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities hereafter issued under the second Liberty bond act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under the second Liberty bond act, as amended, are extended to include any purchases of the corporation's obligations hereunder. The Secretary of the Treasury may, at any time, sell any of the obligations of the corporation acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of the obligations of the corporation shall be treated as public-debt transactions of the United States. Such obligations shall not be eligible for discount or purchase by any Federal reserve bank.

"SEC. 10. Any and all notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations issued by the corporation shall be exempt both as to principal and interest from all taxation (except surtaxes, estate, inheritance, and gift taxes) now or hereafter imposed by the United States, by any Territory, dependency, or possession thereof, or by any State, county, municipality, or local taxing authority. The corporation, including its franchise, its capital, reserves, and surplus, and its income shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, by any Territory, dependency, or possession thereof, or by any State, county, municipality, or local taxing authority; except that any real property of the corporation shall be subject to State, Territorial, county, municipal, or local taxation to the same extent according to its value as other real property is taxed.

"SEC. 11. In order that the corporation may be supplied with such forms of notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations as it may need for issuance under this act, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to prepare such forms as shall be suitable and approved by the corporation, to be held in the Treasury subject to delivery, upon order of the corporation. The engraved plates, dies, bed pieces, etc., executed in connection therewith shall remain in the custody of the Secretary of the Treasury. The corporation shall reimburse the Secretary of the Treasury for any expenses incurred in the preparation, custody, and delivery of such notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations.

"SEC. 12. When designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, the corporation shall be a depositary of public moneys, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by said Secretary; and it may also be employed as a financial agent of the Government; and it shall perform all such reasonable duties, as depositary of public money and financial agent of the Government, as may be required of it. Obligations of the corporation shall be lawful investments, and may be accepted as security, for all fiduciary, trust, and public funds the investment or deposit of which shall be under the authority or control of the United States or any officer or officers thereof.

"SEC. 13. Upon the expiration of the period of one year within which the corporation may make loans, or of any extension thereof by the President under the authority of this act, the board of directors of the corporation shall, except as otherwise herein specifically authorized, proceed to liquidate its assets and wind up its affairs. It may with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury deposit with the Treasurer of the United States as a special fund any money belonging to the corporation or from time to time received by it in the course of liquidation or otherwise, for the payment of principal and interest of its outstanding obligations or for the purpose of redemption of such obligations in accordance with the terms thereof, which fund may be drawn upon or paid out for no other purpose. The corporation may also at any time pay to the Treasurer of the United

States as miscellaneous receipts any money belonging to the corporation or from time to time received by it in the course of liquidation or otherwise in excess of reasonable amounts reserved to meet its requirements during liquidation. Upon such deposit being made, such amount of the capital stock of the corporation as may be specified by the corporation with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury but not exceeding in par value the amount so paid in shall be canceled and retired. Any balance remaining after the liquidation of all the corporation's assets and after provision has been made for payment of all legal obligations of any kind and character shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts. Thereupon the corporation shall be dissolved and the residue, if any, of its capital stock shall be canceled and retired.

"SEC. 14. If at the expiration of the 10 years for which the corporation has succession hereunder its board of directors shall not have completed the liquidation of its assets and the winding up of its affairs, the duty of completing such liquidation and winding up of its affairs shall be transferred to the Secretary of the Treasury, who for such purpose shall succeed to all the powers and duties of the board of directors of the corporation under this act. In such event he may assign to any officer or officers of the United States in the Treasury Department the exercise and performance, under his general supervision and direction, of any such powers and duties; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect any right or privilege accrued, any penalty or liability incurred, any criminal or civil proceeding commenced, or any authority conferred hereunder, except as herein provided in connection with the liquidation of the remaining assets and the winding up of the affairs of the corporation, until the Secretary of the Treasury shall find that such liquidation will no longer be advantageous to the United States and that all of its legal obligations have been provided for, whereupon he shall retire any capital stock then outstanding, pay into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts the unused balance of the moneys belonging to the corporation, and make the final report of the corporation to the Congress. Thereupon the corporation shall be deemed to be dissolved.

"SEC. 15. The corporation shall make and publish a report quarterly of its operations to the Congress stating the aggregate loans made to each of the classes of borrowers provided for and the number of borrowers by States in each class. The statement shall show the assets and liabilities of the corporation, and the first report shall be made on April 1, 1932, and quarterly thereafter. It shall also show the names and compensation of all persons employed by the corporation whose compensation exceeds $400 a month.

"SEC. 16. (a) Whoever makes any statement knowing it to be false, or whoever willfully overvalues any security, for the purpose of obtaining for himself or for any applicant any loan, or extension thereof by renewal, deferment of action, or otherwise, or the acceptance, release, or substitution of security therefor, or for the purpose of influencing in any way the action of the corporation, or for the purpose of obtaining money, property, or anything of value, under this act, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

"(b) Whoever (1) falsely makes, forges, or counterfeits any note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, in imitation of or purporting to be a note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, issued by the corporation, or (2) passes, utters, or publishes, or attempts to pass, utter, or publish, any false, forged or counterfeited note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, purporting to have been issued by the corporation, knowing the same to be false, forged, or counterfeited, or (3) falsely alters any note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, issued or purporting to have been issued by the corporation, or (4) passes, utters, or publishes, or attempts to pass, utter, or publish, as true any falsely altered or spurious note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, issued or purporting to have been issued by the corporation, knowing the same to be falsely altered or spurious, or any person who willfully violates any other provision of this act, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

"(c) Whoever, being connected in any capacity with the corporation, (1) embezzles, abstracts, purloins, or willfully misapplies any moneys, funds, securities, or other things of value, whether belonging to it or pledged or otherwise entrusted to it, or (2) with intent to defraud the corporation or any other body politic or corporate, or any individual, or to deceive any officer, auditor, or examiner of the corporation, makes any false entry in any book, report, or statement of or to the corporation, or, without being duly authorized, draws any order or issues, puts forth or assigns any note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or draft, bill of exchange, mortgage, judgment, or decree thereof, or (3) with intent to defraud participates, shares, receives directly or indirectly any money, profit, property, or benefit through any transaction, loan, commission, contract, or any other act of the corporation, or (4) gives any unauthorized information concerning any future action or plan of the corporation which might affect the value of securities, or, having such knowledge, invests or speculates, directly or indirectly, in the securities or property of any company, bank, or corporation receiving loans or other assistance from the corporation, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

"(d) No individual, association, partnership, or corporation shall use the words 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation' or a combination of these three words, as the name or a part thereof under which he or it shall do business. Every individual, partnership, association, or corporation violating this prohibition shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

"(e) The provisions of sections 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, and 117 of the Criminal Code of the United States (U. S. C., title 18, ch. 5, secs. 202 to 207, inclusive) in so far as applicable, are extended to apply to contracts or agreements with the corporation under this act, which for the purposes hereof shall be held to include loans, advances, discounts, and rediscounts; extensions and renewals thereof; and acceptances, releases, and substitutions of security therefor.

"SEC. 17. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved. If any clause, sentence, paragraph, or part of this act shall for any reason be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this act, but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph, or part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered."

And the Senate agree to the same.

PETER NORBECK,
F. C. WALCOTT,
SMITH W. BROOKHART,
JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR.,
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
CARTER GLASS,
ROBERT J. BULKLEY,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

HENRY B. STEAGALL,
CHARLES H. BRAND,
W. F. STEVENSON,
L. T. MCFADDEN,
JAMES G. STRONG,
Managers on the part of the House.

ADDRESS BY JOHN BARTON PAYNE ON WOODROW WILSON

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I desire to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address by Judge John Barton Payne at the unveiling of a bust of the late President Woodrow Wilson at the Capitol in Richmond, Va., on November 17, 1931.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

Permit me first to pay my tribute of appreciation to Governor Pollard for having so honored Virginia in wisely conceiving and splendidly carrying out his plan to honor her presidential sons by placing their busts in this historic Capitol. It was, indeed, a happy inspiration.

It has been only a little while since President Wilson was among us in the possession of his great powers, and yet even now the world is filled with books and articles—some of them unkind—purporting to tell us with complete confidence and ample knowledge what manner of man he was; but for the name of the subject of such writings one could scarcely tell of whom they were written.

It was doubtless because of this that Governor Pollard desired to have some one who had worked with him and knew something of him in daily life to place on record in this historic setting knowledge and impressions of him gained by such contact and experience.

The life of Woodrow Wilson from his youth up was an open book. Born in Staunton, Va., December 28, 1856; his parents were Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Jessie Woodrow Wilson. The father was a Presbyterian clergyman of character, reputation, and ability.

In 1858 the father was called to a charge in Augusta, Ga., and for a time was the teacher of the son. When he was 14 the father was called to Columbia, S. C., as professor in the Columbia Theological Seminary. Here Woodrow entered a private school, later Davidson College, and in 1875, Princeton University. Meantime the family moved to Wilmington, N. C.

After graduating from Princeton in 1879, he entered the University of Virginia as a student of the law, remaining there through 1879–80; studying under John B. Minor. Ill health caused him to leave without graduating; his studies were continued privately. In 1882 he applied for, and obtained, admission to the Georgia bar, passing with credit after an examination conducted in open court. Shortly thereafter he, in partnership with E. L. Renick, opened an office for the practice of law in Atlanta under the firm name of Renick & Wilson. For about a year while waiting for clients he occupied his time writing his first great work—Congressional Government.

The educational field seemed more attractive, and in 1883 he entered Johns Hopkins for a postgraduate course. Here he studied, taught, and wrote. For him 1885 was an important year. He finished—and Houghton, Mifflin & Co. published—his Congressional Government, which continues to be the leading American authority on the subject. This and his work at Johns Hopkins brought him an offer from Bryn Mawr of associate professor in history, with an annual salary of $1,500. After Bryn Mawr he became professor at Wesleyan University, and in 1890 professor at Princeton University.

Mr. Wilson's individuality was early manifest. Prizes for scholarship held no attraction for him. His mind was occupied with more serious things. To the curriculum he gave the attention necessary to pass his examinations with credit. The things which occupied his serious thought were his own writings and books on government, history, economics, and biography. The conviction early came to him that his usefulness would lie along these lines. That he would play his part in public life—probably in the Senate of the United States—is clearly foreshadowed in his studies and writings.

Gamaliel Bradford, who knew Mr. Wilson throughout his life, in his Quick and the Dead—speaking of this period of his life—says:

"Looking back from a later time he said of his boyhood: 'I was born a politician and must be at the task for which, by means of my historical writing, I have all these years been in training.' Even when it seemed that circumstances had cut him off from a political career, he looked to it with bitter regret: 'I do feel a very real regret that I have been shut out from my heart's first primary ambition and purpose, which was to take an active, if possible a leading, part in public life.'"

In 1902 he became president of Princeton, serving eight years. For several years his work as president of Princeton met with universal praise and resulted in building up and greatly strengthening the institution. Later he endeavored to liberalize the university. This involved him in controversy, as to which I will quote Doctor Alderman, the great president of the University of Virginia, long intimately acquainted with Mr. Wilson and his work.

In his masterful memorial of President Wilson, delivered to the Congress in the House of Representatives, he said:

"The total effect on him of all this academic warfare was the hardening of his resolution, the acquisition of formidable political skill to gain his ends, the arousing of his passion for democracy, and the fixing of his purpose to rescue universities from material control. He was born to fight for the goodness which is at the heart of things, and this ideal quickly grew into an objective of freedom which caught the eye of the Nation at the precise moment when a great tide of liberal hope and opinion was flowing in and over a generation of self-satisfaction and contentment with things as they are."

The fight he made at Princeton attracted such attention in his State that he became Governor of New Jersey, and two years later President of the United States; inaugurated March 4, 1913.

Hard work had told upon Mr. Wilson. When he came to the Presidency his health was poor; many supposed he could not live through his term. I recall with what solicitude one of his staunch Princeton friends, David B. Jones, of Chicago, told me of his precarious health and of the fear that the President would not be able to stand the strain of his great office. The responsibility, instead of breaking him down, proved to be a tonic; his health and strength improved and were equal to the demands upon him.

While without experience in politics, he was well grounded in the principles of our Government. His studies and writings were especially directed along these lines and his knowledge of our institutions probably greater than that of any former President.

It did not take him long to satisfy the country that a great President had come to the White House.

Thoroughly typical of the man was his first inaugural address—simple, straightforward, and so genuine that it touched the hearts of the people; they realized that the new President was indeed their friend and the friend of mankind. I quote a brief extract:

"The Nation has been deeply stirred; stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be in deed their spokesman and interpreter, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action. This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel me and sustain me."

He never failed them.

The measures of his administration were stated so admirably by Doctor Alderman in his memorial address that you will, I am sure, thank me if I again quote him. He said:

"Woodrow Wilson once said that the true teacher or the true artist or historian must always work for the whole impression. Working in this spirit, I can not, at this time and place, attempt even to enumerate the legislative measures which, under his leadership, went forward in the Sixty-third Congress; but I venture to claim that no such well-thought-out program of financial, social, and industrial reform, no such inspiring spectacle of governmental efficiency and concentrated energy, no such display of fearless devotion to public interests, moving high above the plane of partisan advantage or of private gain, has been spread before the eyes of this generation as is afforded by the lists of enduring enactments which crowned the accession to power of Woodrow Wilson."

One at least of these great measures should, in this period of economic stress, be emphasized. It has proved a bulwark of strength—I refer to the Federal reserve banking act. Without this our situation at this time would indeed be serious.

May I here quote an analysis of Mr. Wilson by Gamaliel Bradford. He says:

"And first it is necessary to establish squarely the lofty, ideal aims of Wilson's political life. To anyone who has followed him at all closely the slurs of Roosevelt, 'he is astute and conscienceless, his lack of all convictions and willingness to follow every opinion,' are merely ridiculous. Wilson's aims may often have been unrealizable; but if so, it was because of their loftiness. He wanted to govern, but it was because he saw the superb possibilities of government and fully appreciated the lamentable defects which had hitherto kept those possibilities unattained. He was not mad enough to say that he could remedy the defects, but he was man enough to say that he would give his brain and his whole soul and his very life to trying. Men had claimed too much for democracy. They had dallied with democracy and professed to have put it to the proof and found it a failure, and they were beginning to laugh at it and throw it aside. He believed that democracy, for all its failures and defects, held the future of the world, as Lincoln believed it. He believed that democracy, rightly guided and interpreted, even perhaps through the dazzling conception of a world unity, held the only possible hope of the future, and he was ready to give all that was in him in every way to the attempt to realize that hope.

"Nor was Wilson by any means a mere dreaming idealist. He had fixed and definite and largely elaborated theories as to how the ideal should become a reality. Even as a boy he was an organizer, and all through his career he was inclined to make systematic plans and frame constitutions of one kind or another."

In 1914 the World War came. It was not long until many well-meaning citizens at home and abroad began to insist that we should enter the war on the side of the Allies. When in May, 1915, the *Lusitania* was sunk and American lives lost, the demand became insistent. The President knew the time for us to enter the war had not come; he was not willing to involve the United States in war until it was manifest that the interests of our own country were clearly placed in jeopardy. He was waging a diplomatic controversy with Germany, strongly protesting her submarine warfare. For a time it seemed possible he had won his fight; the submarine warfare grew less and seemed likely to cease. This hope was short lived. Germany decided upon a ruthless campaign, doubtless believing that the submarines would harm the Allies more than the United States—should she join them—could do them good; reasoning that we had an insignificant Army and could not raise and equip one of effective strength and transport it to the western front before—with the aid of her submarines—she could defeat the Allies.

The experience of the United States in the War of 1812, of 1861, and again in 1898 may have influenced her decision. Certain

it is she concluded to ignore us. To her very great sorrow, she did not know President Wilson or the United States when fully aroused under his matchless leadership. The people speedily caught his inspiration and the glory of fighting a defensive war to preserve our institutions and to make the world safe for democracy, to destroy the power of the Kaiser, and to give men freedom in their lives, in their government, and freedom from future wars. War was declared; the United States standing with the President almost to a man.

What followed the declaration of war is an epic unparalleled in history. We had only a small Army; we created one of 4,000,000 men. We had no munitions; almost every factory in the United States was put to work. We had no ships; these we found or created. And so in every line of endeavor, with the result that Germany in an incredibly short time was confronted by the soldiers of the United States on the western front.

Almost of equal danger to their cause, the central powers encountered Woodrow Wilson speaking from the White House in Washington to their soldiers in their dugouts, by their camp fires, and to the noncombatants at the family fireside—the language of peace, the language of hope.

Count Czarnin, Austrian statesman, said: "In the eyes of millions of people his program opened up a world of hope."

A French writer said: "It has been toward Wilson that our leaders have most turned. We looked to him as one might look at a clock."

The armies of the central powers began to melt; desertions were frequent. This and the vigorous attacks of the allied and American armies caused all to realize that the end was near. On the 11th of November, 1918, the end came and the allied world proclaimed Woodrow Wilson the hero of the peace by making his 14 points the corner stone of the armistice.

Wilson had made his fight; the war was won. To him the world looked for the making of a peace which would satisfy the living that the dead had not died in vain.

The World War was unique in this: Our Chief Executive did not interfere with the command of the troops. President Wilson appointed General Pershing to the chief command; the President and the Secretary of War stood by him to the end; the public clamor for the appointment of distinguished men to command divisions in France made no impression upon him.

So with the organization of the civil population to supplement the departments of the Government in providing for the needs of the war. This mammoth task was done promptly, efficiently, and without scandal. When the administration changed in 1921 there was talk by political opponents of graft and scandal in the conduct of the war; lawyers and others were employed to investigate, but all to no avail—no graft—no scandal.

Why was this record possible? The President called to service men of the greatest worth in every walk of life, men whom he trusted, men whom the country trusted, men called for their merits, not their politics. The like had never happened in the United States.

We come now to the peace conference.

Was Mr. Wilson wise in participating in the conference?

So admirable a man as Claude G. Bowers, in Current History, April, 1931, says:

"It would have been better, perhaps, had he opened the congress in Paris and then returned home" and "It would have been better had he placed some outstanding Republican leader, such as Taft or Root, upon the American delegation."

Like expressions are often heard. Is it possible that constant assertion may cause us to assent to a proposition we have not thought through? I can account for Mr. Bowers's statement in no other way.

Both propositions in my view are unsound; the first, that President Wilson should have opened the congress and returned home—leaving the making of the peace to others—would have been like running away, utterly unlike Mr. Wilson and under all the circumstances downright cowardly. The second—the appointment of Root or Taft—on its face appears plausible, the thought being that Senate opposition would have been lessened or removed. It must not be forgotten that before the treaty reached the Senate it had to be negotiated. President Wilson had thought through the peace settlement and had definite and clear convictions, not merely his own but of the great mass of the people of the United States and the forward-looking people of the world as to what should be accomplished for the peace and well-being of mankind. His 14 points, embodying these principles, had been accepte dby the Allies and formed the basis of the armistice. It was essential that these should likewise form the basis of the treaty. What he conceived the United States had been fighting for and must realize by the treaty, simply stated, were: To make the world safe for democracy; that is, self-determination for subject peoples and a covenant of the nations to make future wars impossible. For these principles he was prepared to fight to the end.

Is it probable that Mr. Root or Mr. Taft would have agreed with Mr. Wilson as to the supreme importance of these principles and been willing to follow him and work with him to place these Wilson principles in the treaty of peace? Is it not more probable that such strong men would have had their own views, which they would have preferred, or, if they accepted his principles, they may have disagreed as to the terms to be employed in the expression of the principle of self-determination or of the powers to be given the League of Nations. The differences which arose on the power to be enjoyed by the League of Nations occupy—as all know—many pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. If disagreement appeared even the probable result of such an appointment, it should not have been made.

Mr. Wilson was also convinced that unless the terms of the covenant were made sufficiently strong to be effective, agreed upon early and made an integral part of the treaty, the covenant would be sidetracked and in the end defeated or rendered colorless.

In the face of much opposition he succeeded at the plenary session of January 25, 1919, in having the covenant of the League of Nations made an essential part of the treaty. Soon after this he sailed for the United States, appointing a member of his delegation to represent him in his absence. When he returned a month later, he found that two members of his delegation—one his representative—had consented to a procedure which in effect nullified the action of the plenary session as to the League of Nations. This greatly embarrassed the President and caused him to issue a statement to the press of such courage and sureness that there remained no doubt as to the leader of the conference. This is the statement:

"PARIS, *March 15, 1919.*

"The President said to-day that the decision made at the peace conference at its plenary session January 25, 1919, to the effect that the establishment of a League of Nations should be made an integral part of the treaty of peace is of final force and that there is no basis whatever for the reports that a change in this decision was contemplated.

"The resolution on the League of Nations, adopted January 25, 1919, at the plenary session of the peace conference, was as follows:

"1. It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement, which the associated nations are now met to establish, that a League of Nations be created to promote international cooperation, to insure the fulfillment of accepted international obligations, and to provide safeguards against war.

"2. This league should be treated as an integral part of the general treaty of peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied upon to promote its objects.

"3. The members of the league should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and secretariat to carry on the business of the league in the intervals between the conferences."

Chiefly by this bold move he was able to undo the mischief and to reinstate the league definitely in the treaty.

These facts are cited to suggest the difficulties which he encountered, even with his own friends, and the probability that greater difficulties, possibly insurmountable, would have arisen had political opponents been his associates.

Messrs. Root and Taft both prepared reservations. Mr. Taft sent a number to Mr. Wilson in Paris. Some were accepted and embodied in the covenant; others not. Mr. Root prepared reservations which were presented to the Senate. Some of them, we know, were regarded by Mr. Wilson as harmful to the covenant. This is not a criticism of these distinguished gentlemen but an illustration of the manifest dangers which would have been likely to result in the defeat of the League of Nations and of the principle of self-determination had Mr. Root or Mr. Taft been appointed. If this seemed to Mr. Wilson probable, it shows how wise he was in assuming the responsibility for the negotiations and thus secure permanently in the treaty the principles for which we fought, the principles of the greatest and most lasting benefit to mankind.

While perhaps all persons may not agree with me, it is my conviction from a somewhat close observation at the time that, regardless of the personnel of the delegation, the Senate would not have accepted the covenant of the League of Nations unless reservations destroying its effectiveness were adopted.

In Mr. Wilson's mind there never was a doubt as to his duty to attend and take a leading part in the peace conference, nor as to what he would fight for. That clear and strong sense of duty arose from his own conviction as to what was essential. What this was no one else so fully understood or could so adequately and forcefully speak for the United States. This clearly appears from his address to the Congress of the United States delivered December 2, 1918, just before sailing for Paris. He said:

"The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance, both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence of them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have conspicuously fought for the ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country. I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose, as the associated governments have accepted them; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which would transcend this."

If undue modesty had caused him to remain at home and leave the making of the peace to others, it would, indeed, have been a tragedy.

Was the President's preparation for the work of the conference adequate?

President Wilson could not have so touched the heart of mankind as to the possibilities of the peace without having given to the question profound consideration. His knowledge of the subject appears in all his utterances. His speeches made even during the war show that he was thinking of the peace. At Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918, he said:

"These great objects (of the peace) can be put in a single sentence: What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

Apart from his own study of the subject, months before sailing for Paris, some hundreds of distinguished scholars under the direction of Colonel House were at work in Washington preparing the essential data for use at the conference.

Ray Stannard Baker, head of the press service at Paris and author of Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement, states:

"Three days before the *George Washington* sailed into Brest Harbor, a blaze of glory, the President called together a group of the delegation for a conference. * * * The great body of the delegation was made up of geographers, historians, economists, and others upon whom the President was to depend for the basic facts to be used in the coming discussions. Many of these men had been at work for months in gathering material of every sort which might contribute to the solution of the problems raised at Paris. They had brought along with them in great boxes, now stored in the hull of the ship a substantial library of books, documents, reports, together with a complete equipment of maps."

To these trained scholars he looked for the facts of history, of geography, racial lines, ancient and modern boundaries, international law, treaties, conventions; indeed, every essential, including all pertinent facts as to each State, colony, or other enemy possession. This did not always satisfy him. In dealing with some enemy countries he caused the appointment of commissions to go upon the ground and examine the facts at first hand and to consult the inhabitants. In one case the other members of the big four declined to name their commissioners. He named two distinguished Americans who visited the country, made the necessary inquiry, and made their report.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PEACE WERE KEENLY APPRECIATED

Because mankind had accorded him the leadership in the making of the peace, he was appealed to by subject people within enemy territory and by persons suffering wrongs existing for generations.

To an American he said:

"Yet you know and I know that these ancient wrongs, these present unhappinesses, are not to be remedied in a day or with a wave of the hand. What I seem to see—with all my heart I hope that I am wrong—is a tragedy of disappointment."

To those who knew him knowledge of his thorough preparation and sympathetic attitude will cause no surprise.

THE SECRET TREATIES

A fact of the greatest importance which could not be anticipated was that before we entered the war the Allies had made secret treaties providing for the disposition and annexation of enemy territory. These treaties constituted the basis of the claims of the Allies for the spoils of war and were in conflict with the 14 points and the armistice resting thereon. They caused many and serious difficulties and sometimes acrimonious discussions.

Soon after the meeting of the conference claims were presented by one or more of the allied powers seeking the annexation of enemy territory based upon these treaties. Since all of the Allies were beneficiaries under one or other of the treaties, and the United States asked nothing for itself, Mr. Wilson found himself alone in opposition to the recognition of the treaties and strongly insisted that the subject peoples were no longer chattels to be passed from country to country, but human beings entitled to the right of self-determination; that the treaty of peace must rest upon facts and justice, and not upon secret bargains, however well intentioned. The beneficiaries, on the other hand, insisted upon the integrity of the treaties and demanded the division of territory as agreed.

The contention of Mr. Wilson was denounced as new and revolutionary. In reply he pointed out that self-determination was a fundamental doctrine of the United States, and was contained in the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Bill of Rights, and the Constitution of the United States, all based upon the principle that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and stated that as applied to war settlements his contention might appear to be new, but that war did not change the fundamental rights of mankind, and his contention was in keeping with the spirit of the age and of the purposes for which the United States entered the war.

The demands of the Allies were strongly pressed.

The British dominions had been given by the treaties certain of Germany's African colonies. Mr. Lloyd George insisted that the conference approve the treaties and award them the colonies in question, and introduced into the conference the prime ministers of the dominions, who separately supported the claim. It was a crucial situation. Mr. Wilson urged that the colonies be given to the League of Nations to be governed by its mandatories.

Mr. Wilson's contention finally prevailed.

The Turkish countries presented a like question. The French, for instance, demanded Syria; Great Britain demanded Palestine. Mr. Wilson made the same contention as before, with the same result. France now governs Syria; Great Britain, Palestine; both as mandatories under the League of Nations.

March 11, 1917, France and Russia agreed upon the control of Poland and the dismemberment of Germany. Now Poland is a free and independent State and has recently erected a monument to the memory of Mr. Wilson. Germany, with small exceptions, remains intact.

Next consider the League of Nations:

President Wilson not only insisted upon the creation of a League of Nations to prevent future wars but that it should be brought immediately into being as an essential part of the treaty and become a living force with certain definite powers, and an organization and a secretariat.

There was definite opposition to this program. Many were willing to create a League of Nations, but few were willing to give it effective power. If created as Mr. Wilson demanded, it might aid in the defeat of the claims arising under the secret treaties; Mr. Wilson contending that where peoples were not sufficiently civilized for self-determination, the countries should be given to the league and governed by it through mandatories. The contest, as you have observed, was long and bitter. Success finally crowned his efforts.

And yet Mr. Wilson's critics claim that he failed.

It is true the United States Senate, acting within its constitutional right, rejected the treaty of which the covenant of the League of Nations was, and is, an essential part; that in his great appeal to the people of the United States in support of the league covenant, Mr. Wilson was stricken and fell, holding aloft the banner of the covenant in the sight of all mankind.

Was this failure?

Did it wipe out or destroy the covenant of the League of Nations?

Did it destroy his masterful conduct of the war?

Did it destroy his work at the Peace Conference?

Did it take liberty and independence from Poland?

Did it drive the subject peoples back into bondage?

No—nothing of his work was lost—the covenant of the nations, his heritage to mankind, remains a living force; Poland is free, the subject peoples retain the rights secured for them; other enemy territory remains under the League of Nations governed by its mandatories.

The United States alone has failed!

Wilson, the soldier, fell on the field of battle!

Stonewall Jackson fell mortally wounded on the field of Chancellorsville, but the battle was won before Jackson fell. So the battle for mankind was won before Wilson fell.

What was this battle for?

It was for the creation of the covenant of the League of Nations that mankind might be forever saved from the horrors of war, that subject peoples might enjoy the right to live under a government which rests upon the consent of the governed.

This was the work of Woodrow Wilson; for this he died!

Was this failure?

A member of the delegation, steadfast and true, Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, said:

"The spirit created by the operation of the league brought about the treaty of Locarno, the Briand-Kellogg treaty, the pact of Paris, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. If the present league were to be dissolved to-morrow, the force of world opinion would re-create it stronger than ever and the first nation to demand its re-creation would be the United States. It was Mr. Wilson who, by means of the covenant, gave the world an opportunity to formulate an opinion. Out of his covenant came a World Court of International Justice, which the world will never surrender. Like the league, if the court be destroyed to-morrow, the world would find a great void that it knows would have to be refilled. A league and a covenant in some form, both the offsprings of Mr. Wilson's heart and brain, will be the eternal standard by which the world will judge the practicability of his idealism and in them will be found the full achievement of his task."

Of what other human being can so much be said?

There has been another like failure:

Almost a hundred and fifty years ago another great Virginian was accused of failure, and worse. Now all know him as: "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

And yet, on the day following his retirement from the Presidency in 1797, the leading paper of a great party spoke of him as follows (quoted from Beveridge's Marshall):

"'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation,' was the pious ejaculation of a man who beheld a flood of happiness rushing in upon mankind.

"If ever there was a time that would license the reiteration of the exclamation, that time is now arrived, for the man (Washington), who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country, is this day reduced to a level with his fellow citizens and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States.

"If ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is the moment—every heart in unison with the freedom and happiness of the people ought to beat high with exultation that the name of Washington from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity and to legalize corruption. * * *

"When a retrospect is taken of the Washingtonian administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cankered the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people, just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to have put in jeopardy its very existency.

"Such, however, are the facts, and with these staring us in the face this day ought to be a jubilee in the United States."

And even his own loved Virginia, in this place so near the Battlefield of Yorktown, the culmination of his heroic sacrifices, re-

fused to pass a resolution commending his administration as wise and patriotic.

What is the reflection? That the work of a great man must abide the judgment of posterity?

The refusal of the United States to accept the covenant of the League of Nations, in view of the partisan character of the opposition, is not an argument against the covenant nor evidence of failure on the part of its author. The league in its strength as conceived by Wilson is now the property of the world; no power may take it away. Its future, its lasting benefit to mankind, rests with forward-looking men and women in all countries and in all times.

They will not let it fail.

While we meet here to honor the memory of Woodrow Wilson, we hear the echoes of threatened war in the Orient. Instantly the world turns to his work—the League of Nations, the only organization, present or past, created by man to prevent war. The Government of the United States was almost the first to send its representative to Geneva to announce full cooperation and to declare that it would sustain and support the league's action.

This result in a single decade.

This we certainly know, that a brave and fearless man who loved mankind conceived for humanity hope, peace, and freedom and fought that these principles might be realized and remain forever its heritage, free from oppression, free from war. While fighting for these principles, he died. It is said, he did not love. And yet: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION—RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN LOANS

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I desire to ask the indulgence of the Senate for a brief space to present a matter of a personal nature.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Virginia is recognized.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, as a prelude to what I shall have to say I appeal to the record of a service in the two branches of Congress covering a period of 30 years to justify the statement that I have never in either branch of Congress made a partisan speech. I have never in all those years assailed the head of a department of this Government.

I now send to the desk and ask to have read from an Associated Press telegram the portion at issue, which is marked in ink.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

BLAMES DEMOCRATS

In his address he [Secretary Hyde] laid the blame for economic ills at the doorstep of the Democrats.

"Our Democratic friends, in their anxiety to make political thunder from the difficult and delicate economic international problems which grew out of these debts (American loans to European nations)," he said, "should pause long enough to remember it was Woodrow Wilson, William G. McAdoo, and CARTER GLASS, not Herbert Hoover, who made these loans, nearly $2,000,000,000 of them, after the war and without a legal right to do so."

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, it will be observed that the declaration thus made by Secretary Hyde in an address at New York before an association of women involves a grave accusation against the late President, Woodrow Wilson, which would have subjected him, if true, to impeachment. Likewise, it involves an accusation made against two of his surviving Cabinet ministers which would have subjected them, if true, to impeachment.

The Secretary of Agriculture seems so attached to this malicious fabrication that he has broadcast it over the country twice since he made that address in New York.

I assert that in spirit and in text it is false from beginning to end; there is not a word of truth to it; and the Secretary of Agriculture might easily have ascertained the facts had he been as cautious to observe the truth as he was swift to misrepresent the facts.

I say it is false in spirit because, Mr. President, everybody here in Washington knows that there has been no attempt by the leaders of the Democratic Party to project any partisan issue over the deplorable state of this country. All Senators know that there has been a remarkable demonstration of cooperation on this side of the Chamber with the other side of the Chamber in enacting legislation proposed by the President of the United States for the relief of this unhappy situation. Nothing comparable to it has ever occurred, as I recall, except when we were about to enter the world conflict and during that whole period.

Some of us on both sides of the Chamber have felt obliged to lay aside traditional convictions, have felt obliged to subordinate important party principles of faith in order to cooperate in this general movement for the relief of the country from the disastrous consequences of the prevailing depression. Therefore, now for the Secretary of Agriculture to undertake to make party politics of this question is distinctly unbecoming and justifies the assertion here that his statement in spirit is malicious and untrue.

Then, as to the text of it, I assert again that there is not one word of truth in his statement. I send to the desk and ask to have read a note addressed by me to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

JANUARY 18, 1932.

Hon. ANDREW W. MELLON,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In your annual reports to Congress repeated references to the funding of the indebtedness of foreign nations to the United States indicate the conviction of the Treasury that the loans thus referred to were made under authority of the several Liberty loan acts, and your reports to Congress as chairman of the Foreign Debt Funding Commission announcing adjustment of these foreign loans from time to time refer to them severally and in the aggregate as loans made to foreign nations under authority of the Liberty loan acts.

Will you be good enough to inform me whether the Treasury or the Foreign Debt Funding Commission at any time took the position that $2,000,000,000 of these loans were made by the Treasury upon the approval of the President, without authority of law?

Sincerely yours,

CARTER GLASS.

Mr. GLASS. I now send to the desk and ask to have read the response of the Secretary of the Treasury to that note.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 19, 1932.

Hon. CARTER GLASS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of January 18, 1932, requesting to be advised as to whether the Treasury or the World War Foreign Debt Commission at any time took the position that $2,000,000,000 of the loans made to foreign governments by the Treasury with the approval of the President were without authority of law. I assume that your question is directed to the amount of the loans made after the armistice, which aggregated about two and one-half billion dollars.

You will recall that under authority of the Liberty bond acts the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, was authorized to establish credits in favor of foreign governments engaged in war with the enemies of the United States, and to the extent of these credits to make cash advances to such governments through the purchase at par of their respective obligations. Under this authority loans were made both before and after the armistice. The amount of cash loans made by the Treasury before the armistice aggregated $7,077,114,750, and the amount after the armistice aggregated $2,521,121,825.45. The last credit was established April 2, 1920.

The first Liberty bond act, approved April 24, 1917, provided that the authority granted by that act to purchase bonds from foreign governments should cease "upon the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government." The second Liberty bond act, as amended, approved September 24, 1917, provided, however, that the authority granted by that act to establish credits in favor of foreign governments should cease "upon termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government." In establishing credits after the armistice and making cash advances thereunder, the Treasury took the position that "termination of the war" meant the formal conclusion of peace. In the Victory Liberty loan act, approved March 3, 1919, which amended and supplemented the second Liberty bond act, it was provided that the date of the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government "shall be fixed by proclamation of the President of the United States." President Harding, on November 14, 1921, declared the end of the war with Germany to be July 2, 1921, the date on which the joint resolution of Congress terminating the state of war was approved. No credits in favor of foreign governments were established after July 2, 1921.

Answering your inquiry, I can definitely advise you that neither the Treasury nor the World War Foreign Debt Commission has ever taken the position that the acquisition of any obligation from a foreign government, either for cash advances made under the authority of the Liberty bond acts to which you refer or for surplus war and relief supplies sold on credit under authority of various acts of Congress, was without authority of law.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. MELLON,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, supplementing that letter, the Secretary of the Treasury definitely authorized me to make the statement that neither the Treasury under his or any other administration nor the Foreign Debt Commission, of which he was chairman, ever took the view that any of the foreign loans as approved by President Wilson and made by his Secretaries of the Treasury was not in accordance with the legal sanction by Congress. Thus the Secretary of Agriculture might have easily informed himself by a simple inquiry across the Cabinet table, addressed to the member of the Cabinet best informed on this subject.

Of course anyone who has examined the question knows that these loans were made in strict conformity with the Liberty loan acts, as pointed out by the Secretary of the Treasury repeatedly in his reports to Congress, and as pointed out by him in his report as chairman of the Foreign Debt Commission.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Virginia yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. GLASS. I should be glad to get through with my statement before I yield.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. GLASS. I call the attention of the Senate again, having previously had occasion to do this, to this provision of each of the Liberty loan acts, placed there by discerning legislators in order that we might safely cover the entire prospective field of operations:

> For the purposes of this act, the date of the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government shall be fixed by proclamation of the President of the United States.

To confirm the suggestion that that was designedly done, that very provision appears in the Victory loan act, passed by the Congress *four months after the armistice was signed.* These loans were authorized to be made to "meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes."

Any thoughtful person must know that the mere signing of an armistice does not by any means terminate a war. As a matter of fact, I may state upon the highest military authority of the allied forces that at the moment the armistice was signed the best military minds among the allies in Europe could see no military necessity for Germany's acceptance of the terms of the armistice. It afterwards appeared that Germany was forced into the armistice only by reason of demoralization in its population at home. So that the simple signing of an armistice does not necessarily mean the termination of the war—might not in this case have meant it in fact, as it did not mean it in the purview of this legislation.

Therefore many loans were made in pursuance of commitments, and some necessary loans made in order to preserve the situation created by the armistice and to insure against a resumption of hostilities; and I may say that many of these loans, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, were made upon the insistence of the present occupant of the White House, who at that time was in charge of matters designed to arrest suffering among our allies and the feeding of starving people.

The distinguished Secretary of Agriculture, had he desired to be informed rather than eager to project this partisan fabrication, might have turned to the head of the table and asked the President if he regarded the $236,865,000 loaned to Belgium alone in the postarmistice period, to be expended under his administration, as made in contravention of the laws of the Congress; and that is but one example of loans made in discharge of prior commitments and some loans made without prior commitments, but within the spirit and purview of the acts of Congress.

Afterwards there were other loans made to foreign nations at the importunate insistence of the present President of the United States, who was then in charge of important activities abroad—$100,000,000 to feed the starving people of the Balkans, as we all know—but not one single dollar of foreign loans was ever made by the approval of the late President Wilson upon the suggestion of his Secretaries of the Treasury after the end of the war in contemplation of the statute. Not one dollar of foreign loans was made to any nation after the termination of the war as textually prescribed by the Liberty loan acts; and it is little short of disgraceful for a man enjoying the distinction of a cabinet minister to be going over this country traducing a dead President and falsely aspersing two of his Cabinet.

I have no relish for intemperance of speech, though I confess that I find it difficult to restrain myself on this occasion. I shall simply say in conclusion that any man of sensibility sitting at the Cabinet table of the President of the United States should, and I think would, feel painful discomfort in reflecting that he has thus maligned three of his predecessors there.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I should not detain the Senate a minute if it were not that the Senator from Virginia referred to the attitude of the present President on the foreign loans.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Ohio ask unanimous consent to address the Senate?

Mr. FESS. For just a minute.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. FESS. On January 6, 1920, Mr. Hoover gave out a statement at Sacramento, Calif., on his way from California to Washington, as to his attitude toward the loans to Europe after the close of the war. I am of the opinion that he had, although he does not state it, approved of the loans that had been made up to that time; but he was very emphatic that we had gotten to the end of it, and the loans ought not to be continued. That statement was given out on the 6th of January, 1920, and reported in the Sacramento Union of the next day. I have a photostatic copy of that statement which I should like to have read at the desk, or I will read it. This is the statement of the Food Administrator on foreign loans at that time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the reading of the statement? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read as requested.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read, and read as follows:

HOOVER OPPOSES FURTHER LOANS TO ALLIED NATIONS—UNITED STATES MUST HELP SOLVE FOOD PROBLEM

I emphatically disagree with the statement being circulated by European propagandists either as to the volume of European financial needs from the United States or their suggestion that the great bulk of these needs can not be met by ordinary commercial credits and that thus our Treasury needs to be drawn upon for new loans.

Aside from some secondary measure by our Government, the problem is one of ratification of peace and ordinary business processes and not one of increasing our burden of taxation. Our taxes are now 600 per cent over pre-war rates, while no one of the Allies has increased taxes more than 400 per cent. We simply can not increase this burden.

Of secondary measure, some dozen cities in central and southern Europe need breadstuffs on credit from the Grain Corporation to prevent actual starvation, and the Allies are asking for temporary delay in paying interest on our Government loans to them. The Allies can not pay this year in any event. The actual situation varies with every country in Europe, and generalities are not worth print paper.

SITUATION IN EUROPE

The European neutral countries have made money from the war and have asked no favors. Outside of interest to the Allies, Britain states they want nothing but commercial credit. These she can always obtain if she puts up her ample collateral assets in South America, China, etc. France also has unpledged foreign assets that would cover most of her important needs. The position of Italy is more difficult, but with demobilization of her army and her navy her needs would be less. So far as I know, no one is threatening her with war. It is possible that some of her larger cities may need breadstuff assistance beyond the ability of commercial credits. Germany could pay or secure commercial credits if the Reparation Commission would allow her to mobilize and use her resources until she gets further on her feet. The Baltic states have enough food, except milk for their children, and we are taking care of this. Bulgaria, greater Serbia, Greece, Rumania, South Russia, and Turkey (except Armenia) have a surplus of food this year and are exporting it. If they prohibit the import of silk stockings, perfume, and other nonessentials, they could procure their other imports, or at least live until they do it on a business basis. Hungary could feed herself if Rumania would return the cattle and grain they abstracted last summer.

WHERE THE TROUBLE LIES

We are therefore left with Finland, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria to consider.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, before the RECORD is lumbered up with any more of that reading I would like to have the Senator from Ohio tell me what relation it has to anything I have said here.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, the Senator stated that the loans which were made were upon the approval of the present President.

Mr. GLASS. I did not make that general statement. I said many of the loans that were made were; but that has no reference to what I have said.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I shall read the article. I will continue it.

Mr. GLASS. I do not object to its being read.

Mr. FESS. I want to have it read. I want it understood that the present President was not back of these indefinite loans, but was one of the first men to announce against them.

Mr. GLASS. Will the Senator state to the Senate what indefinite loans were made after the date of that letter?

Mr. FESS. I do not recall how many.

Mr. GLASS. No; that the Senator does not.

Mr. FESS. I do recall that I voted against a great many that were made, however, thinking it was entirely indefensible to make them after the war was over.

Mr. GLASS. The Senator had no opportunity to vote against one of these loans that was made—not one. They were made by the Treasury Department with the approval of the President, and Congress never acted on one of them. Perhaps the Senator voted against the $100,000,000 that was one of the last acts of myself as Secretary of the Treasury upon the importunate plea of Mr. Hoover.

Mr. FESS. I voted against the $20,000,000 that was to be given to Russia, because it was not limited to the Volga region.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will continue to read.

Mr. GLASS. The loans referred to there——

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I will read the article.

Mr. GLASS. Nobody makes any objection.

Mr. FESS. Then let it be read. I want to have this article read, because it was a statement of the present President when he was Food Administrator, and it was made on January 6, 1920, while President Wilson was President of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Virginia does not object to the reading of the article.

Mr. GLASS. I have no objection whatsoever to the reading of the article. I simply wanted the Senate to understand that it had no relation whatsoever to anything I said.

Mr. FESS. Let it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read.

The Chief Clerk continued and concluded the reading of the article, as follows:

Austria is the sorest point in Europe, and while Vienna must be fed this winter the Allies should be made to realize that any assistance from us is upon condition that she is free to make such political associations as will take her out of a perpetual poorhouse. Most European statesmen naturally desire to please their people by borrowing money from our Government to revive prosperity overnight, but to my mind the one essential thing for all those countries which can not provide for themselves out of normal commerce is to feed their people over this winter and to defer immediate rehabilitation of industry until the world recovers sufficiently for them to secure commercial credits and private capital. In the food matter the five last countries mentioned will take care of their agricultural and small-town populations out of their crops last year. These countries' and Italy's deficiency in commercial credits lie in a dozen large cities, aggregating, say, 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 people. Even these have some resources that to my mind are sufficient to take care of their food needs except bread and milk for the children, and the most of the latter is being taken care of by charity.

OUR PROBLEM NOT GREAT

Therefore the problem from the point of view of action of our Government, outside the temporary one of interest, further reduces itself to helping out with the bread supply of less than 5 per cent of the population of Europe. The latter is one-tenth—only an echo—of the job that our Government had to undertake in the year ending August 1 last to save Europe from famine. Therefore no such situation exists as that which confronted us last year at this time, and there is no ground for hysteria on either side of the Atlantic.

This year the Government has a large surplus of wheat flour acquired by it under the wheat guaranty. In the ordinary course we should hold it for spot cash from foreign nations. We could solve the bread situation in these dozen cities in Europe if the Grain Corporation were to sell about 15 per cent of our surplus flour on short credits to meet these acute situations. The difference between these short credits and cash is the difference between starvation and existence to them.

These plans require no new appropriations by our Treasury and no additional taxes on our people. But it does require an understanding in Europe that this country is nearing the time when it must cease to carry the economic burden of Europe except through charity and ordinary business processes set up under proper security. The American people are now finding $5,000,000 a month in charity for feeding 3,000,000 children and fighting disease. If we add bread supply on Government credit to these starving cities with this and business credits we will be doing our share of world responsibility.

EUROPEANS SHOULD ASSIST

It would appear that the 70,000,000 people of prosperous nations who have not suffered in the war should also be the scene of European appeals. Many people of Europe are not at work. For instance, their coal production is less than 70 per cent and their economic demoralization is in a great degree due to this alone. Only they can remedy it.

If we do undertake the solution of the bread question by our Government, our action will benefit and protect the other nations of Europe from infection of anarchy and chaos. Poland is the sole shield of Europe from Bolshevik invasion. If we extend this help it should be upon consideration that the stronger nations in Europe will do their full part in many directions.

While a restoration of last year's complete control of supplies in Europe would make things go smoother, it stifles the initiative to help themselves and does more damage than good. We withdrew from Europe at last harvest precisely for the reason that Europe had to be impressed with the necessity to go back to work and ordinary business processes. The world needs to get away from the notion of governmental help, work internally and externally, and get back to work and business.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, of course, if the Senator from Ohio is edified by that performance, I have no particular objection to it, and it seems scarcely necessary for me to say that when that statement was made by the then Mr. Hoover, now President Hoover, Secretary McAdoo had been out of office more than a year, and I was to retire from the Treasury within a few days and qualify as a Senator from Virginia. It has no more relation to anything I have said here to-day than green cheese has to the moon.

As a matter of fact, the Senator could have found in the papers of the Treasury a letter addressed by me to Mr. Paul Warburg and a group of New York bankers proposing to have a conference with the representatives of European nations in this country, which pointed out, if I may modestly say so, quite as succinctly and, I venture to think, more emphatically than anything said in that paper by Mr. Hoover, the undesirability of making any further loans from the Federal Treasury to foreign governments, and utterly discountenancing and disapproving the proposition to have any conference among the bankers or other interests—the United States Chamber of Commerce having joined with Mr. Warburg—which would encourage European nations to think that the United States Treasury would open its doors to any further loans. So that this paper here read has no relation whatsoever to anything I have said.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator desire to make a statement?

Mr. HOWELL. I do.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska for permission to make a statement? The Chair hears no objection. The Senator will proceed.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, inasmuch as the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] has made the statement that the war and postwar loans granted Europe were made strictly in conformity with the Liberty loan act, I desire to ask his opinion as to the justification of the Treasury Department in accepting demand notes of the borrowing nations, instead of demanding negotiable bonds.



Mr. GLASS. O Mr. President, that is just hammering old brass. That question was raised long ago and determined.

Mr. HOWELL. Determined how? Here are the facts: The first Liberty loan act provided as follows:

> The Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase, at par, from such foreign governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States, their obligations hereafter issued, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under authority of this act.

It must be clearly evident as to what was contemplated by Congress. The Secretary of the Treasury, under direction of the President, was to purchase bonds of our associates in the late war; and, furthermore, those bonds were to be placed in the Treasury subject to sale for the benefit of the Treasury. To make this plain I invite attention to a further excerpt from the Liberty loan act providing that the Secretary of the Treasury shall proceed—

> to sell at not less than the purchase price of any such obligations and to apply the proceeds thereof, and any payments made by foreign governments on account of their said obligations to the redemption or purchase at not more than par and accrued interest of any bonds of the United States issued under authority of this act.

It was clearly contemplated by the Liberty loan act that the Secretary of the Treasury, under the direction of the President, was to purchase bonds of the nations now indebted to us, and that those bonds were to be placed in the Treasury subject to sale for the benefit of the Treasury. But, Mr. President, what was done? Demand notes were accepted in lieu of bonds in sums as high as $50,000,000, rendering it evident that there was no thought on the part of Treasury officials that such obligations, though deposited in the Treasury, might ever be sold, because any such obligation, as a practical matter, is not negotiable. Had bonds been purchased, as directed by the Liberty loan act, there would have been no need of refunding those debts. There would have been no need of a debt commission and of debt settlements. Had bonds been acquired instead of notes, had they recited the same provisions our Liberty loan bonds contained, had they been free from taxation in the countries where issued, and had they been listed on the stock exchanges of the countries of issue, our situation respecting these loans would now be quite different. I insist that the loans were not made in accord with the provisions of the Liberty loan act. That act, both as to letter and spirit, was disregarded in vital respects.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. HOWELL. I yield.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator think that the economic and financial condition of the nations that borrowed money from the United States would have been improved if they had issued bonds instead of issuing their signed certificates? In other words, if they had given bonds, would it have improved their economic condition and made it more easy for them to discharge their obligations?

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, what I mean to state is that the situation of the United States as a creditor would have been very much improved. There is just one way to conduct public business, and that is in accord with the principles and methods of private business. Would any bank have thought for one moment of accepting nonnegotiable paper for its loans? The notes accepted were nonnegotiable in fact.

Many years ago when Mr. Chauncey Depew happened to be in London he was asked by Mr. Gladstone what was the largest sum of ready money under the control of one individual in the United States. The reply of Mr. Depew was that he knew of one man who he thought could command $100,000,000 in cash overnight. Mr. Gladstone replied that that was an intolerable situation. "Why," he added, "a man with such resources could control the fiscal policy of a government."

Mr. President, we played the part of the superbanker to Europe, but instead of enjoying the influence to which our lavish credits entitled us, Europe is dictating to us. Those who represented the nations that are now our debtors were indeed farsighted. They realized that if we held their listed, nontaxable, negotiable bonds to the amount of their probable and intended borrowings that we could and might dictate their fiscal policies long after the war. Yes; and more.

But this opportunity for our Government was largely lost. The representatives of our debtors saw to that. They prevailed upon the United States Treasury to accept their notes in lieu of bonds—notes for such huge sums that they were on this account alone nonnegotiable. Therefore when our Treasury called upon the debtor nations to refund their notes they were in a position to take their time, to stall, and do as they saw fit.

Mr. President, there is no question as to what was the strategy of our debtors. There is no doubt that by accepting nonnegotiable obligations we were placed in a decidedly unfavorable situation as creditors—in the same situation as an individual would be who accepted nonnegotiable obligations for his loans.

Of course, our debtors took advantage of our situation. In a letter to President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, Premier of Great Britain, unequivocably stated that he had been unwilling to participate in a refunding conference because he did not want to do anything that might interfere with the proposed all-around cancellation of interallied indebtedness.

From the very beginning—that is, within three or four weeks after the armistice—there was set on foot, and the Treasury Department was aware of the fact, a conspiracy for the cancellation of every war debt due the United States. During the administration of the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] as Secretary of the Treasury—that is, on March 8, 1919—there was addressed by Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Rathbone to Mr. Enrico Alliata, financial secretary of the Italian Embassy in Washington, a letter which read in part as follows:

> I learn that at a meeting of the financial drafting committee appointed by the executive council of 10 at the peace conference the representative of your Government proposed as one of the financial questions affecting peace the reapportionment and consolidation of war debts. While I understand that the drafting committee did not report this question as one to be dealt with in the peace treaty, I understand that it did report to the executive council as a question which had been raised "interallied agreements as to the consolidation, reapportionment, and reassumption of war debts."
>
> I need not dwell on my surprise at the position taken on behalf of your Government, and I have to state most emphatically that the Treasury, which, as you are aware, is clothed by the Congress with full authority to deal with foreign loans which it has made, will not assent to any discussion at the peace conference or elsewhere of any plan or arrangement for the release, consolidation, or reapportionment of the obligations of foreign governments held by the United States.
>
> You will appreciate also that the Treasury can not contemplate continuance of advances to any allied government which is lending its support to any plan which would create uncertainty as to its due repayment of advances made to it by the United States Treasury. * * *

A similar letter was addressed to Mr. DeBilly, the financial representative of France in this country at the time. This was in March, 1919. As stated, the Secretary of the Treasury was fully aware that there was a conspiracy on foot to accomplish the cancellation of every one of our European loans, and yet the President authorized the continuance of such loans after the armistice to the extent of approximately $2,500,000,000.

I insist that if the spirit—and the letter for that matter—of the Liberty loan act had been followed; that is, if our money had been exchanged for nontaxable bonds bearing the same rate of interest as the Liberty bonds that we were issuing, and that if the simple business precaution had been exercised of requiring that such bonds should be listed upon at least the principal stock exchanges of the borrowing na-

tions, that the United States Treasury would be in a far more dominating position with reference to these debts than now.

Therefore, I felt that without refutation I could not sit here and have it stated that our European loans were made in strict accord with the Liberty loan acts. They were not so made, and because they were not so made, our influence in the world, as great as it is, is not what it should be, and, as Europe's creditor, our difficulties are tremendously increased.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I am not going to detain the Senate beyond just saying that I have no purpose of being diverted by these utterly irrelevant matters that have no more relation to what I said than reading a half dozen chapters from the Koran would have.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I desire to take no more than a few moments——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the Senator from Texas proceeding?

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BINGHAM. At what stage of the morning-hour proceedings have we arrived?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The presentation of petitions and memorials is in order.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas withhold his request for just a moment? I have no desire to object, but I should like to offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration. It ought not to lead to any debate whatever.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield for that purpose? If so, let the resolution be reported for the information of the Senate.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I do not want to object to any remarks, but why not let us proceed with the morning business in order? In a few minutes we will have disposed of it; Senators who have bills will have introduced them, and then the Senator from Texas may address the Senate, if that will not interfere with his program.

Mr. CONNALLY. That will not interfere, except that I want just about five minutes on the matter that was immediately before the Senate.

Mr. NORRIS. That is different.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. CONNALLY. I shall be glad if the Senator from Wisconsin will wait about five minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas declines to yield at this time.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I shall not interrupt the order of morning business, except for a very short time. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS], supplementing and undertaking to add strength to the long article which he read as to the attitude of the Food Administrator in 1920, and seeking to vindicate the position of the Food Administrator, cited his own action in voting against the $20,000,000 appropriation for feeding the Russians as an evidence of the attitude of himself and of Mr. Hoover in 1920.

I want to call the attention of the Senator from Ohio to the fact that the Russian appropriation was not made during the administration of Mr. Wilson at all, but it was made under the administration of Mr. Harding, in 1921. I have not looked at the RECORD and I accept what the Senator from Ohio said as to his vote, and I am sure he is correct; but if he did vote against the $20,000,000 appropriation for Russia, he voted directly against the wishes of Mr. Hoover, who was then Secretary of Commerce and who appeared before the committee of the House of Representatives and urged the $20,000,000 appropriation for Russia.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. FESS. The Senator from Texas is not giving the Senator from Ohio any information that he does not already possess.

Mr. CONNALLY. Well, it would be difficult to do that, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. FESS. The Senator from Ohio offered an amendment to limit the appropriation to the Volga region. That was not accepted, and the result was that I voted against the appropriation. I not only voted against it but I voted against the recommendation that a loan should be made to Greece, and also a recommendation that a loan should be made to Liberia. Both of those recommendations were made by Secretary Hughes in the Harding administration.

I made the statement because I did not want it to appear from what was said that the present President had approved all these loans and that he was in favor of indefinitely loaning to Europe, and so I cited this concrete statement of his that was made on January 6, 1920. I did not say that he had not approved of some of the loans that were made. I said, on the other hand, that I thought he did; but the point I was making was that I could not sit here and have it interpreted that these loans were made as the result of the approval of the then Food Administrator. Here is a specific statement of his to the effect that we had gone far enough, and I wanted that in the RECORD.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. GLASS. Nobody except the Senator from Ohio could have possibly interpreted anything I said as he interpreted it. The idea of the President of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury particularly, asking Mr. Hoover, as Food Administrator, whether they should make loans to foreign governments never remotely entered my mind.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I accept the statement of the Senator from Ohio, and yet the Senator's statement, when he originally made it on the floor, was a clear implication that the $20,000,000 loan to Russia was one of the loans to which the Senator from Virginia made reference, and he cited the fact that he voted against it as evidence of his own attitude and seemingly to corroborate what he claims to be the attitude of the one-time Food Administrator and the then Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield briefly.

Mr. FESS. The only purpose of my making the statement in reference to Russia was that it was stated by a former Secretary of the Treasury, now the distinguished Senator from Virginia—and there is no one in this Chamber for whom I have a greater admiration—that that was not the business that came before the Congress, and that I, as a Member of the House at that time or now as a Member of the Senate, had no chance to express disapproval of these loans. I wanted to state that there was a gift I did not approve, and I meant to state, although I did not, that the recommendation for the loan to Greece that came before the House I opposed, and the recommendation for a loan to Liberia I opposed, and both of those recommendations came from a Republican Secretary of State. I wanted to make my attitude clear on the question of loaning to Europe. That is the only reason why I referred to the amendment proposing a limitation of the Russian appropriation to people in the Volga region.

Mr. CONNALLY. Everything the Senator has said about these matters, according to my information, transpired after the administration of Mr. Wilson and during the administration of Mr. Harding. The Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover, specifically advocated the $20,000,000 appropriation for Russia; and if the Senator from Ohio derives any pleasure from the contemplation of his vote against that appropriation, he voted absolutely in the face of the pleadings of the man who is now President of the United States.

Mr. FESS. That is very true, and the Senator from Ohio knew it at the time.

Mr. CONNALLY. Just a moment. The Senator from Ohio might have consulted the RECORD and also found that he, then a Member of the House, voted against the $100,000,000 appropriation for the purpose of feeding various European nations, which was advocated and sought by Mr. Hoover and which was administered by Mr. Hoover. The Senator from Ohio now is anxious on every occasion to show his great zeal and admiration for the present President of the United States, but when the $100,000,000 bill was before the House of Representatives, knowing that the appropriation was to be expended under the direction of Mr. Hoover, the Senator from Ohio was then unwilling to trust Mr. Hoover. He voted——

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. CONNALLY. Just a moment.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will not the Senator yield there?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes.

Mr. FESS. The Senator from Ohio to-day, just as then, will support Mr. Hoover in matters as to which he thinks is right and will refuse to support him in anything in which he thinks he is wrong.

Mr. CONNALLY. But the Senator is perfectly willing for the President to say what is right and what is wrong?

Mr. FESS. He may say it, but I will use my own judgment.

Mr. CONNALLY. In 1919 when the $100,000,000 appropriation for the feeding of European peoples was before the House of Representatives the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. WOOD, offered an amendment to provide as follows:

Strike out the word "President"—

The author of the amendment knew if the amount proposed was given to Mr. Wilson to expend that it would be expended by Mr. Hoover. The Senator from Ohio knew that. Everybody knew that. The Senator from Ohio voted for the amendment to strike out the word "President" and thereby strike out Mr. Hoover—

and insert "to be expended by the American National Red Cross."

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. LOGAN. I should like to ask the Senator from Texas if the political affiliation of Mr. Hoover at that time was well known?

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that I have no information as to what the President's political affiliations were at that particular time. He was then, however, a part of the Wilson administration. The Senator from Ohio was then unwilling for Mr. Hoover to have charge of the expenditure of the $100,000,000; he voted to put it in the hands of the Red Cross, and yet, as I now recall, last year, when the Senate had before it a bill to appropriate money to be expended by the Red Cross of this country, he voted against turning it over to the Red Cross and voted to put it in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture, if I remember correctly.

Mr. President, I do not care to say anything further. I want to commend the very broad and nonpartisan aspect in which the Senator from Ohio always views matters relating to Mr. Wilson's administration. As suggested by the Senator from Virginia, the loans which he was discussing all came under the Liberty loan acts, and the matter to which the Senator from Ohio now refers, the gift to Russia, was not a loan but in effect a gift of twenty million dollars during the Harding administration. Then the Senator from Ohio makes some reference to a Greek loan, which came up at a cinsiderably later period.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. FESS. The Senator makes a statement in regard to my attitude concerning an appropriation at the last session the expenditure of which it was proposed to turn over to the Red Cross, and he refers to partisanship. I think the Senator misinterpreted my attitude in regard to that matter. I believe the Senator will sincerely appreciate my attitude when I quote a statement made by me in Kismet Temple, Brooklyn, N. Y., at a Republican meeting of something like 2,500 people.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield for that purpose?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield the floor to the Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Ohio asks unanimous consent to read an article. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Ohio will proceed.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, it is not an article; it is an excerpt from an address delivered in Brooklyn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Ohio asks unanimous consent to read the matter described by him. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator will read.

Mr. FESS. In the course of an address of an hour and 10 minutes I used this language:

I want to give credit, as the chairman of the national committee, to the leadership of the Democratic Party for the splendid cooperation given to the effort of the President of the United States at this time.

That statement was made at a political meeting where there was no occasion to win any favor, but it was made because it was an honest statement of a situation that existed here. I hope that when I asked to have this excerpt read the Senator did not think it was partisan. I simply wanted the fact to be known that the present President was not in favor of unlimited loans to Europe in 1920.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President——

SEVERAL SENATORS. Regular order!

The VICE PRESIDENT. The regular order has been called for. The regular order is the presentation of petitions and memorials.

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate House Concurrent Resolution 12, relative to the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, which was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington the two Houses of Congress shall assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 11.30 o'clock a. m. on Monday, February 22, 1932.

That the President of the United States, as the chairman of the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, is hereby invited to address the American people in the presence of the Congress in commemoration of the bicentennial anniversary of the birth of the first President of the United States.

That invitations to attend the ceremony be extended to the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the diplomatic corps (through the Secretary of State), the General of the Armies, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and such other persons as the joint committee on arrangements shall deem proper.

Mr. FESS. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered by the Senate and agreed to.

READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Mr. FESS. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 145) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That Washington's Farewell Address be read to the Senate on the 23rd day of February, 1932, instead of the 22nd day of such month as provided in the standing order of the Senate relating to the reading of such address.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. HOWELL, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 111) for the relief of Rosa E. Plummer, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 125) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 3058. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad Company (Rept. No. 126); and

S. 3119. An act for the relief of J. D. Stewart (Rept. No. 127).

Mr. TOWNSEND, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 217. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of J. G. Shelton (Rept. No. 128); and

S. 224. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis Semler (Rept. No. 129).

Mr. LOGAN, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 6) for the relief of the Union Ferry Co., owners of the ferryboat *Montauk*, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 132) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 2569) authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis O. Wick, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 133) thereon.

Mr. WHITE, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 218) authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 134) thereon.

Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 249) authorizing adjustment of the claim of William T. Stiles, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 137) thereon.

Mr. BINGHAM, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 33) to authorize the President to award gold medals to Wiley Post and Harold Gatty in recognition of their achievement in making an airplane flight around the world in less than nine days, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 130) thereon.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 2334) to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 131) thereon.

Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 2639) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Montana, the counties of Roosevelt, Richland, and McCone, or any of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Poplar, Mont., reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 136) thereon.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE, from the Committee on Manufactures, to which was referred the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 135) thereon.

PYRAMID LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION, NEV.

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 142) authorizing an investigation of the situation on the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev., reported it without amendment and moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, which was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters, which were placed on the Executive Calendar.

Mr. NYE, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, reported favorably the nomination of John Robert White, of California, to be register of the land office at Los Angeles, Calif., vice Brainerd B. Smith, deceased, which was placed on the Executive Calendar.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 3174) for the relief of Stanley A. Jerman, receiver for A. J. Peters Co. (Inc.); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DAVIS:

A bill (S. 3175) to amend subchapter 3 of chapter 18 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia, approved March 3, 1901, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3176) to establish a laboratory for the study of the criminal, dependent, and defective classes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FESS:

A bill (S. 3177) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Noland (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3178) granting an increase of pension to Aley V. Turner (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

A bill (S. 3179) for the relief of Charles E. Bourke; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3180) to authorize the Secretary of War to transfer and convey to the city of New York all right and title now vested in the United States to land and buildings thereon known as Fort Schuyler, N. Y.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

A bill (S. 3181) to authorize the erection of an 854-bed addition to the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Perry Point, Md. (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

A bill (S. 3182) for the relief of Henry Stephen Miller; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 3183) to make permanent certain temporary judgeships;

A bill (S. 3184) to provide punishment for killing or assaulting Federal officers; and

A bill (S. 3185) to amend section 260 of the Judicial Code, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COUZENS:

A bill (S. 3186) to amend section 16a of the interstate commerce act; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

A bill (S. 3187) relating to certain lands and other property of the Seminole Indians in Oklahoma, and other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Idaho:

A bill (S. 3188) for the relief of Dr. A. M. Newton, of Pocatello, Idaho; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEWIS:

A bill (S. 3189) for the relief of Minnie and Ellen Barber; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NORBECK:

A bill (S. 3190) to standardize the outstanding liabilities accounts of the Government and the negotiable period of Federal checks and warrants, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WAGNER:

A bill (S. 3191) for the relief of Anne B. Slocum; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 3192) granting an increase of pension to Katherine E. Johnson; and

A bill (S. 3193) granting an increase of pension to Emma Jarvis McLean; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3194) for the relief of Gordon B. Enders;

A bill (S. 3195) for the relief of Louise Fox; and

A bill (S. 3196) for the relief of the heirs of Jacob Gussin; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3197) for the relief of Harry C. Merritt;

A bill (S. 3198) for the relief of John Shannon;

A bill (S. 3199) for the relief of James Scott;

A bill (S. 3200) authorizing the appointment of Achilles Basteyne as a warrant officer, United States Army;

A bill (S. 3201) for the relief of Thomas McLaughlin; and

A bill (S. 3202) authorizing the President to appoint Mortimer J. Israel, formerly a first lieutenant of Infantry, Organized Reserves, a first lieutenant of Infantry, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3203) to provide for the honorary designation of St. Ann's Churchyard, in the city of New York, as a national shrine, and for the erection of a monument or statue thereon to the memory of Gouverneur Morris; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 3204) granting a pension to Andrew B. Pretoka; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHALL:

A bill (S. 3205) for the relief of Ole P. Olson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3206) granting a pension to William L. Seaman; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3207) for the relief of the Title Guarantee & Trust Co., of New York City, N. Y., successors to Manufacturers Trust Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y.;

A bill (S. 3208) for the relief of the Lawyers Trust Co., formerly Lawyers Title Insurance & Trust Co., successors to the Central Realty Bond & Trust Co., of New York City, N. Y.;

A bill (S. 3209) for the relief of the Brooklyn Trust Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y.;

A bill (S. 3210) for the relief of the United States Trust Co., of New York City, N. Y.

A bill (S. 3211) for the relief of the Kings County Trust Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y.; and

A bill (S. 3212) for the relief of the National City Bank of New York, successors to the Peoples Trust Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BULKLEY:

A bill (S. 3213) for the relief of Charles C. Dearth; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOWELL:

A bill (S. 3214) granting a pension to Peter Beades; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GLASS:

A bill (S. 3215) to provide for the safer and more effective use of the assets of Federal reserve banks and of national banking associations, to regulate interbank control, to prevent the undue diversion of funds into speculative operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 86) to provide for the levying of a tariff on crude petroleum and its by-products; to the Committee on Finance.

SUITS AGAINST RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA AND OTHERS

Mr. BLAINE. I submit a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 146) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to report fully to the Senate at the earliest practicable date upon the present status of the following entitled suit: In the District Court of the United States for the District of Delaware, in Equity No. 793, United States of America, petitioner, *v.* Radio Corporation of America, General Electric Co., American Telephone & Telegraph Co., Western Electric Co. (Inc.), Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., R. C. A. Photophone (Inc.), RCA Victor Co. (Inc.), General Motors Radio Corporation, and General Motors Corporation, defendants; upon any negotiations or conferences which may have taken place between the representatives of the Government and the said defendants, or any of them and/or their attorneys or representatives, since the filing of the petition in the said suit, to wit, May 13, 1930, and upon any action taken by his office since that date to amend the petition in said action and to expedite the trial thereof, and to transmit a copy of the pleadings in said action; and

Resolved further, That the Attorney General is requested not to compromise or settle said suit or consent to the entry of any consent decree therein until the Senate has received the information and advices requested herein, to the end that legislation may be initiated for the protection of the public's interests and the safeguarding of the radio industry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

Mr. McKELLAR. What is the resolution, Mr. President? I have just entered the Chamber. I dislike to ask to have it read again, but who submitted the resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution was submitted by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE]. It will be again read.

Mr. COUZENS. This is a very important resolution, and I think we ought to have a quorum. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Jones	Schall
Austin	Cutting	Kean	Sheppard
Bailey	Dale	Kendrick	Shipstead
Bankhead	Davis	Keyes	Smith
Barbour	Dickinson	King	Smoot
Bingham	Dill	La Follette	Steiwer
Black	Fess	Lewis	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	Fletcher	Logan	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Frazier	McGill	Townsend
Bratton	George	McKellar	Trammell
Brookhart	Glass	McNary	Tydings
Bulkley	Glenn	Morrison	Vandenberg
Bulow	Goldsborough	Moses	Wagner
Byrnes	Gore	Neely	Walcott
Capper	Hale	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Caraway	Harris	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Harrison	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Howell	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Hull	Pittman	White
Costigan	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-three Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which he has submitted. Is there objection?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Let the resolution be again read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be reread for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk again read the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, at the request of several Members of the Senate, I ask that the resolution may go over for the day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will go over under the rule.

EFFECT OF DEPRECIATION OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the chairman of the United States Tariff Commission relative to the reconsideration by the Senate on yesterday of the vote by which Senate Resolution No. 143 was agreed to on the 19th instant, and returning the formal notification relative to the passage of the resolution, which, with the accompanying copy of the resolution, was ordered to lie on the table.

PROPOSED REFERENDUM ON THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, in view of the discussion had this morning on the question of nonpartisanship——

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes.

Mr. BINGHAM. There is a resolution coming over from a preceding day that I am anxious to have laid down, and then the colloquy can be resumed.

Mr. WAGNER. I shall not take more than five minutes.

Mr. BINGHAM. I am anxious that the resolution may be laid down before 2 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If the Chair may be permitted to go through the rest of the routine morning business, the resolution probably may be laid down.

After the transaction of other routine morning business, which appears under its appropriate heading—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read Senate Resolution 144, submitted by Mr. BINGHAM on yesterday, as follows:

Whereas several States have already taken appropriate action for the purpose of obtaining a referendum of their people upon the prohibition question; and

Whereas several periodicals and newspapers in the United States have conducted so-called polls on the prohibition question, the importance of which polls it is difficult to estimate: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate would welcome any action that the governors of the several States might take in recommending to their respective legislatures that such action be taken by the State as may be necessary to obtain the opinion of the people of the State with respect to (1) the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment, and (2) the repeal or modification of the national prohibition act (commonly known as the Volstead Act).

Resolved further, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the governor and to the legislature of each of the several States.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, with the permission of the Senate, I should like to make a brief explanation.

This resolution was suggested to me by an article appearing in the morning papers of day before yesterday, stating that the new president of the Anti-Saloon League, adopting a different position from that which the prohibitionists heretofore have taken, stated that he had no objection whatever to referendums being taken in the different States, although he did object to a general national referendum being taken, for reasons which he gave at that time, and to which I need not refer.

It has been my hope for a long time that we might have this question referred to the people for an expression of their opinion, believing that such an expression of opinion would lead either to the abolition of the laws or their modification, or would help their enforcement.

Mr. President, having seen what the president of the Anti-Saloon League had stated, I believed that the time had come when we might secure appropriate action by the several States if they chose to take action to have a referendum in each State. This resolution is worded, not as directing the States to take action, for we have no right to do that under the Constitution, either as a Senate or as a Congress, but we have a right to invite the governors of the States to secure an expression of opinion from their people, through proper legislative action in each State, and that is all this proposed legislation does. It is an effort to secure from the other States what several States have already done; namely, secure an expression of opinion from their people by referendum decreed by the State legislature. It in no way interferes with State rights. It in no way interferes with the Constitution by directing something to be done which we have no right to have done. It is a measure which, it seems to me, might be adopted to secure an expression of opinion from the States.

In view of the fact that the new president of the Anti-Saloon League has expressed himself in favor of just this sort of thing, I trust there will be no objection, and that the resolution may be unanimously adopted.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I trust the Senator from Connecticut will have printed in the RECORD the statement of the president of the Anti-Saloon League to which he has just referred, not that it would be an infallible guide but in order that it may be available.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I am going to suggest to the author of the resolution a reference of it to the Committtee on the Judiciary. I ask now whether the Senator has any objection to its taking that course.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, the Committee on the Judiciary has before it a great many proposals for changing the Constitution and for changing the Volstead Act. It seems to me it might help the Committee on the Judiciary and the Congress in their discussion of these matters if the referendum were taken before they come to a final conclusion in the matter. The resolution is so simple in character, does not propose to change existing law in any way, does not direct the States to do anything, that I hoped it might not go to a committee, that the Senate, in view of the general expression of opinion and the country-wide desire for a referendum, might be willing to invite the governors to do this if they saw fit. I hope the Senator will not press sending the resolution to a committee.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I shall make a motion to commit the resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary. Unless the Senator is prepared to consent to that motion, I shall make a brief statement in anticipation of it.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I should like to debate the question myself, so I hope the Senator will debate it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, the resolution is very peculiar. It declares that the Senate—

Would welcome any action that the governors of the several States might take in recommending to their respective legislatures that such action be taken by the State as may be necessary to obtain the opinion of the people of the State with repect to (1) the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment, and (2) the repeal or modification of the national prohibition act (commonly known as the Volstead Act).

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. I would like to have the Senator's opinion as to what this means when it says, "The Senate would welcome any action."

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That is exactly what I am talking about. I have said that the resolution is peculiar. I do not know what the Senator means by saying that the Senate would welcome any action. I am not prepared to commit myself to the proposition of approving just anything the governors of the respective States might do touching the subject of prohibition.

The Congress of the United States passed the Volstead Act. In so far as that act is concerned, it can only be modified by action of the two Houses of Congress, approved by the President.

I do not think the Senator from Connecticut makes very much progress in the cause of repealing the eighteenth amendment, or of repealing or modifying the Volstead Act, by declaring that the Senate will welcome anything which somebody may do about the matter. It is a patent, uncovered effort to "pass the buck," as we frequently say in common parlance. It does not reflect any decisive stand on the part of the Senate itself. It is a pitiable portrayal of impotence and cowardice on the part of this body.

If the Senator wants a vote on his proposition, and is unwilling to have it referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, so far as I am concerned I am ready that that vote shall be taken now.

There is, of course, in my judgment, no fair objection to any action, initiated by those who have the right to initiate that action, designed to secure an expression by the people of the States on any subject, including prohibition, on which they desire to express their opinion. But what has the Senate to do with welcoming action? What does it mean for this great body to commit itself to a policy of welcoming something to be done by governors?

If a vote can be taken on the Senator's resolution before the expiration of the morning hour, I shall gladly discontinue my remarks.

Mr. BINGHAM obtained the floor.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, since it is apparent that the Senator does not wish a vote on his resolution, if I may resume the floor on the resolution——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the Chair state the parliamentary situation. There being no unfinished busi-

ness, there is nothing to be laid before the Senate when the hour of 2 o'clock arrives. Therefore the consideration of the resolution will continue.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, have I the floor?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Connecticut was recognized.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield to me to make a motion I could have made had I not yielded the floor?

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I move that the resolution proposed by the Senator from Connecticut be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, my good friend, the very distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], has referred to the peculiar wording of the resolution as though there were something terrible in the Senate welcoming somebody else doing something. I agree that the Senate very seldom welcomes anybody else doing anything. That is the Senate's right, and it is due the dignity of this great body.

In drafting this resolution I wanted to avoid offending the sensibilities of those who agree with me as to the rights of the several States. I wanted to avoid anything which would make it appear that we were directing that the governors should do what the resolution suggests.

I originally drafted the resolution to read that it was the sense of the Senate that the governors should request their legislatures to enact legislation providing for referendums in the several States. But I believed that a resolution drawn in that form would meet the very proper objection that we had no right to tell the governors what they should do, and that it was better to word it in the least offensive form, that we would welcome any action they might take to secure referendums in the States. I am sorry this wording seems so peculiar to the Senator from Arkansas that he is unwilling that the resolution should be passed in this form, and insists that it go to the Committee on the Judiciary.

As a matter of fact, Mr. President, a great deal has been said in the press about a referendum on the prohibition question. If I may refer to a periodical which conducted a nation-wide referendum, the Literary Digest, it showed that, so far as they could secure the opinion of the people to whom postcards were sent, a great majority of the people who took the trouble to answer the postcards were in favor of either repeal or modification.

The prohibitionists assured us that they had begged those who believed in prohibition not to express their views, and that therefore this type of referendum, taken by the Literary Digest, was of no value and not to be considered. Very well. Various newspapers in different localities have taken referendums among their subscribers. In every case the majority of the people reporting have been in favor of either repeal or modification.

That great association, the American Bar Association, decided by a large vote to take a vote among its members, and that vote, when opened, showed that those who took the trouble to vote were something in the ratio of 2 to 1 in favor of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

These various referendums have consistently been waved aside by the prohibitionist as being unofficial, as being prejudiced, and they have urged the people who believed with them not to vote.

We have read a great deal recently, Mr. President, from members of both parties as to the advisability of a national referendum. Some of the distinguished leaders in political life of the party across the aisle, so ably represented by the leader of the minority who has just spoken, have, in fact, stated their desire to have the Democratic Party go on record as favoring a national referendum in its coming national convention. I have heard distinguished Republicans express the hope that the Republican National Convention might go on record similarly.

Mr. President, just what do we mean by a national referendum? Just how can it be obtained? The Constitution makes no provision for it, except through the form of submitting resolutions of repeal or new amendments to the Constitution to conventions. There is a resolution now before the Judiciary Committee submitting an amendment, approved by the Legislature of Connecticut, for a repeal of the eighteenth amendment and a return to the States of the powers taken from the States and given to the National Government, to be submitted to a convention to be chosen by a majority of the people in each State voting on this question.

I have also submitted a new method of amending the Constitution to provide that where powers connected with the people are concerned, the people of the States should have a right to pass upon that question as they do in most States under their own constitutions. But I think everyone will agree with me that it is going to be extremely difficult to get those who believe in the eighteenth amendment to vote for submission to conventions of an amendment which necessarily states that "the eighteenth amendment is hereby repealed."

Personally, I believe that it should be repealed. I believe it has no place in the Constitution. But there are a large majority in the Senate, I believe, who do not agree with me in that matter. Is it supposed by anyone that they or a considerable proportion of them would be willing to vote for a repeal amendment and have that submitted to conventions chosen by a majority of the people? I very much doubt it; and yet there is no other way under the Constitution by which a national referendum in the several States can be taken. To be sure, the Congress might enact a law requiring the States to take some action. Whether that law would be held constitutional I very much doubt. I can think of no way in which a referendum can be taken by the States except by each State doing it on its own initiative.

In order to show good faith I introduce this resolution. A few days ago I was accused by Mr. McBride, of the Anti-Saloon League, of pretending to want the people to speak on this matter and actually not being in favor of a referendum. Mr. McBride accused me of being for a referendum to a convention because, he said, that convention might be controlled by multimillionaires who want the law changed for their own purposes. That is a very unfair statement. I do not suppose many people who know me believe that statement, but still it was given wide publicity that I do not really want the people to speak in this matter, but only want conventions to speak on it.

Mr. President, the resolution which I have introduced is one which would permit the people of every State to speak on the matter, provided that their legislatures were willing to make provision for a referendum. I submit that that is the only way in which it can be gotten before the people.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I have from time to time bethought that I would address this honorable body upon some of the phases of the repeal, modification, or confirmation of the eighteenth amendment. This I would have done earlier, but the measures looking to relief from the present depression demanded our immediate action. In the State of Illinois, which I have the honor in part to represent, I made a political campaign on varied issues that I claimed were responsible for the distressing conditions now endured by the Nation. I presented to the people of Illinois the demand that it has become necessary to bring this Government back to the people, and return the legislation to the fulfillment of the Constitution as therein defined. Among other instances I would cite was the prohibition amendment, known as the eighteenth. In my campaign I contended, as I now insist, that in the matters of church, school, drink, food, so far as such subjects are to ever be the objects of control of law, it should be the law of the home, at the residence of the individual affected, where a vote could express the desire and need of the citizen, and where a majority of the local government should control the decision. Such position is still my attitude. It will be continued. It is my purpose, at an appropriate time later, to address this honorable body upon the basis of the violation of the American Constitution, which I feel is involved in the existence of the eighteenth amendment, wherein it opposes the right and

privilege of local government to determine its own destiny and control its own fate.

But, sir, for this moment I want to say that I do not concur in the very general opinion expressed by those who advocate what is characterized as referendum. I regret that we are in an era of public service which seems to express in action cowardice on the part of the public servants. But all the more I deplore that shifting evasion which invariably occupies the minds and directs the conduct on the part of public legislators, particularly too many eminent officials in the congressional halls of my country. To many it is assumed that shifting the expression of opinion and intention to the direction of others, through some public or secret vote, they may escape responsibility for the decision of their own, for a judgment of their own, or escape an action of their own. These seek refuge here and there for direction from other people somewhere and other persons anywhere under which they may herald forth as shelter for any responsibility for their decision. I respect the gentleman, wherever he is, in any position of public life, who prefers to adopt the general expression of what might be called a majority of his countrymen on general questions of government as a basis on which to rest his decision. But for myself, sir, I am unable to see how a referendum, even though expressed by every State of the Union, could have any effect upon that legislator who is supposed to obey two impulses, one his honorable conscience of duty, the other the expression of the people who have remitted to him the responsibility of representing them according to their directions and his representations, made as his issue in the contests.

Therefore I am unable to adopt the suggestion that a referendum could bind me. I believe it is right to repeal the eighteenth amendment. I opposed the passage of the amendment when I was here as Senator in former service. I led debate against the eminent leaders. I have fought this out on this floor with the author of this amendment, Senator SHEPPARD, whose exhibition of moral statesmanship and legislative leadership has not been excelled by any public statesman in public life. Yet, sirs, I want to assert that there is but one way to repeal the amendment: First, by a courageous action to tender the repeal measure to the body that enacted it. There in argument or essay setting forth the reasons why repeal be urged; then, sir, with the question submitted to the intelligence of the legislative body, the body may reach a conclusion and submit it to the people as their decision. The further procedure can be by submitting the decision for confirmation directly to the States; if they prefer, to a convention, as each is permitted by the Constitution. But I would submit the question directly, courageously, openly, expressing freely the purpose, which is to repeal the eighteenth amendment, or to so qualify it by reservation as will remit the question of temperance and prohibition to the several localities known as the States where they function under the Constitution, remitted to them by the theory of the Government of America, under our Constitution, that a home-rule temperance can be legislated by the people of each State and enforced by its police and county and State constabulary.

The other method to be proposed is that each State of the Union shall submit the question to the people through the direction of its legislature, either method or system being a matter which, of course, is in its own province. But I respectfully contend that no expression from the people at what might be called some referendum would have any weight with the public nor should it have any weight to change the judgment of any man who has such judgment born of his conscience and convictions, or to influence the Members of this body contrary to what they feel to be their duty as a matter of conscience or their pledge to their people in their election commitments.

For these reasons, sir, I submit I do not wish to sit in silence and have it concluded that I accept the right of the people of the country anywhere to tell me to do a thing that I would recognize as wrongful according to my conscience on the one side opposed to my pledges on which I was elected, or, as seems to me, unconstitutional to my country. Therefore I can not conceive that any other Member of this honorable body would have any other conception or standard of duty.

For that reason I take the liberty at this point to say that the public would never respect any form of referenda, whether from State or Nation, that had for its purpose the mere expression of an opinion or as expediency to avoid the direct issue. The people would not respect such decision; they would not follow it; they would be inclined to scoff it. It would be looked upon as one of those shifting tricks which in the present days of politics seems to be the occupation of too many "statesmen" around us, and which has in its nature done more to invest the people with a lack of confidence in public officials than all other events I have been able to observe in the current time of my political experience.

The hour has come upon the country when public men should have courage, when with that courage they should have honor, and with that honor there should be directness of action by which the country may know where they stand. There should be no further attempt to elude being detected in the expression of opinion. For myself, anxious as I am that at the appropriate time there should be submitted to the people the question of the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment, that we may have the restoration to the States of the privilege of controlling their temperance by their local laws and their local constabulary and police power, yet I trust that the question will be submitted without disguise when it is submitted and shall be in such legitimate manner as will invite respect and command obedience. Let the eighteenth amendment be put out of life, if it can be, in the same way that the amendment was done into life. Let us undo the act of Congress called Volstead if it shall be in the same method by which that act of Congress came into life.

I want it understood, so far as I am permitted to express something touching myself personally, that I can not join with the element of people who would have it understood that if they are told by a great number to do something contrary to their conscience and their sense of duty they will obey it. I belong to that other class, and I am sure there are many who feel—know that if all the voters of the United States of America should combine to tell an official to do an act as Senator on this floor in behalf of anyone or anything that from conscience I esteemed to be wrong and in violation of the Constitution of my country, I would disobey that referendum, and this I would do if it were the unanimous vote of every man and woman in the country that I violate the pledges I made on which the people of my State trusted me with—the honor to serve their expressed wishes.

For that reason, therefore, I want to express my conviction that the only referendum which can be binding upon the legislative body should be that which the legislative body itself inaugurates in such manner as under the Constitution and laws it is called upon to obey.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. LEWIS. I am delighted to yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BINGHAM. I agree entirely with what the Senator has said about our having to vote according to our convictions. I stand with him on that. But may I ask the Senator whether or not the State of Illinois took a referendum on this very question?

Mr. LEWIS. The State of Illinois has taken a number of referenda on its local acts and also upon the question of the repeal of the amendment submitted and in two or three different instances has expressed direct opposition to the amendment. But it has always been contended by a large number of most respectable voters in my community that there was never a real vote upon the question. From many of those views I differ, with respect.

I will say to the Senator, if he will forgive me for being so personal, that lately we had the question of the refer-

endum in the campaign where I had a part. The question was if the State voted by referendum for the repeal or to sustain the eighteenth amendment, whether the candidates then running for the Senate would abide by it. I was compelled to say to the people of my State that which I presume to express here—that if every man and woman voter in the State of Illinois voted unanimously for me to violate the Constitution as I understand it, I would decline to obey his mandate. Such is my view now. Therefore, I can not accept a referendum, I might say to my eminent and learned friend, that if I were directed by what is called a referendum, whether from the State or the Nation, advising me directly contrary to the obligation I owe the constituency which I represent and who, understanding my views, sent me here to execute that duty, I would decline to obey it. With great respect to them, I would announce my reasons, because they run counter to my sense of duty which I subscribed to upon my solemn oath when I entered this honorable tribunal.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, may I say to the Senator——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly.

Mr. BINGHAM. We all respect the Senator highly for his views, and I agree with him entirely that that is the position a Senator should take and that I myself would take. At the same time it seems to me, in view of the fact that Illinois, the State which the Senator, in part, so ably represents, did think that it was worth while to take not one but several referenda on this question, that he ought not to object to calling the matter to the attention of other States, with the suggestion that they might wisely do the same thing.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I say to the Senator I am making no objection to that course; let the Senator rest assured as to that. I am only doing that which I feel I must do, for I could not by silence assume that I would obey such because it was submitted to some general vote or that I would regard such as controlling upon my conduct. I meant to say that I feel, and I here so express myself, that the only referendum which this honorable body can respect as one suggesting weight to it as a legislature is that which is submitted to the people by this body in the form of the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment or to the respective States in the form of a direct repeal under the law as provided by our governmental system.

I merely meant to say, which I repeat, that even if we did get a referendum, such as my eminent friend from Connecticut has invited, it would have no binding effect upon the Members of this body; it would be a useless performance; and however honest the intention on his part, as I know it is, the thousands of the multitude of our country on both sides of this question would regard it as another cowardly evasion on the part of public men; they would not respect it, and we would lose further the respect of a people whom just now we should move to recapture, they having lost respect for us because of ridiculous or nauseating exhibitions of trickery or cowardice. The hour in all its serious portent calls upon us for straightforward conduct that deludes none and serves all in a constitutional course of public service.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives, announcing that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes.

Mr. NORBECK. On behalf of the Senate conferees, I present the report of the committee of conference on House bill 6172, and move its adoption.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I was about to ask the Senator if he would allow the report to go over until to-morrow in order to give us an opportunity to read it and familiarize ourselves with the bill as it has now emanated from the conference committee?

Mr. NORBECK. I will say, in reply to the Senator from Utah, that I have no desire to hurry this measure; but if we are to adjourn until Monday considerable delay will be caused if the conference report shall not be acted upon to-day. It is, as the Senator knows, an emergency measure.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report, the Chair will say, is privileged.

Mr. KING. I appreciate that, Mr. President; but I am appealing to the Senator to give us an opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the provisions of the bill as it finally has been agreed to.

Mr. NORBECK. I hope the Senator will not press his request.

Mr. KING. I shall, then, ask the Senator or some other member of the committee fully to explain the points in difference and the manner in which they have been reconciled, so that we may know just what the bill now is. Otherwise, I shall have to ask that it go over until to-morrow.

Mr. NORBECK. I will say to the Senator from Utah there were no great differences between the two Houses. They have been reconciled in this way: Under the bill as agreed upon in conference $25,000,000 will still be available for the purpose of extensions to borrowers who are unable to meet their payments. The total sum added to the capital is $125,000,000, all to be subscribed by the Government.

Mr. KING. The $50,000,000 provision of the House bill, as I understand, has been eliminated and $25,000,000 substituted?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That is a different measure. The $50,000,000 proposition was in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill.

Mr. KING. Yes; but I understood that in the House the amount had been added to. At any rate, I should be glad to have the report read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be read.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Washington will state it.

Mr. JONES. Would the motion made by the Senator from South Dakota to proceed to the consideration of the conference report displace the motion made by the Senator from Arkansas?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Oh, no; the conference report is privileged, and, having been laid down, the Senate may take such action regarding it as it sees fit. It does not displace the motion of the Senator from Arkansas, which will be immediately submitted when the conference report shall have been disposed of.

The Chief Clerk read the conference report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, and 30, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 16: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: On page 3 of the Senate engrossed amendments, line 14,

insert before the word "Farm" the word "Federal"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert:

"SEC. 5. Section 13 of the Federal farm loan act, as amended (U. S. C., title 12, ch. 7, sec. 781), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph to read as follows:

"'Tenth. When in the judgment of the directors conditions justify it, to extend, in whole or in part, any obligation that may be or become unpaid under the terms of any mortgage, and to accept payment of any such obligation during a period of five years or less from the date of such extension in such amounts as may be agreed upon at the date of making such extension. The sum of $25,000,000 of the amount authorized to be appropriated under section 5 of this act, as amended, shall be used exclusively for the purpose of supplying any bank with funds to use in its operations in place of any amounts of which such bank may be deprived by reason of extensions made as provided in this paragraph'" and a period; and on page 2, lines 10 and 11 of the House bill, strike out "$100,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$125,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

PETER NORBECK,
FREDERICK STEIWER,
ROBERT D. CAREY,
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

H. B. STEAGALL,
C. H. BRAND,
W. F. STEVENSON,
L. T. MCFADDEN,
JAMES G. STRONG,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, after bringing to the attention of the Senate a phase of this subject, which appears to be of great importance, I shall content myself with submitting the matter to the vote of the Senate. There is no disposition to delay final action on the conference report or to defeat it.

The Senate and the House of Representatives, too, I think, in considering this bill have proceeded on the theory that it has no relation to joint-stock land banks and that its provisions apply exclusively to the Federal land banks. I wish to point out to Senators a consideration in relation to that subject, and to express the opinion that a fair and legal interpretation of the act comprehended in what is designated in the conference report as "tenth" warrants the conclusion that extensions are authorized to be made by the directors of joint-stock as well as Federal land banks, and that the $25,000,000 fund set aside to supply the banks with funds to use in operations in place of any amount of which they may be deprived by reason of extensions made as provided in the bill applies to joint-stock land banks as well as Federal land banks.

I realize that there is involved in this statement an interpretation of the statute known as the Federal farm loan act, and I am entirely content with the arrangement effected in the conference report. I think it is a just and a fair arrangement if it shall be made to apply to both classes of institutions, for, by the express language of the original farm loan act, there is made no distinction between Federal and joint-stock land banks in respect to the powers which they shall exercise.

Now, to address myself directly to the point at issue—and I ask the attention of the Senator from Utah and the Senator from Wyoming—this language is found in the bill and in the conference report as agreed upon:

SEC. 5. Section 13 of the Federal farm loan act, as amended (U. S. C., title 12, ch. 7, sec. 781), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph to read as follows:

"Tenth. When in the judgment of the directors conditions justify it, to extend, in whole or in part, any obligation that may be or become unpaid under the terms of any mortgage, and to accept payment of any such obligation during a period of five years or less from the date of such extension in such amounts as may be agreed upon at the date of making such extension. The sum of $25,000,000 of the amount authorized to be appropriated under section 5 of this act, as amended, shall be used exclusively for the purpose of supplying any bank with funds to use in its operations in place of any amounts of which such bank may be deprived by reason of extensions made as provided in this paragraph."

By reference to section 781 of the code there is found the headline "Powers of Federal Land Banks Generally"; and in the language that follows that headline are provisions which, by other features of the statute which I shall read, are made applicable just as much to joint-stock land banks as they are applicable to Federal land banks. So that this conference report and the bill to which it relates constitute amendments to the powers of Federal and joint-stock land banks.

The language which I think controls that conclusion is found in section 813 of the Federal farm loan act, and it is as follows:

Except as otherwise provided, joint-stock land banks shall have the powers of, and be subject to all the restrictions and conditions imposed on, Federal land banks by this chapter, so far as such restrictions and conditions are applicable.

The conference report and the bill to which it relates amend the powers of Federal and joint-stock land banks; and the language used makes no distinction as to the powers of these two institutions, Federal and joint stock. It, therefore, follows, unless I am in error as to the legal effect of the language employed, that the amendment incorporated in the act authorizes both classes of banks to make extensions as to delinquent installments, and makes the fund carried available to those banks for the purpose of supplying the amounts needed by the banks to take the place of the sums of which they have been temporarily deprived by the extensions.

I wonder if I have succeeded in making my suggestion clear. I do not oppose the provision in any sense. I think it is fair. I think it is strange that we should have proceeded in the beginning on the theory that it was necessary to afford relief to the borrowers of one class of these loan institutions and to deny similar relief to the borrowers of the other class.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Then, as I understand the Senator, this provision as reported by the conference committee applies to both the joint-stock land banks and the others?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That is the view that I am expressing.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I hope the Senator is correct about that.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It is a very important matter. I have not felt that it was my duty to remain silent upon the subject, in view of the fact that, as I have heretofore stated on the floor, I am a stockholder and an officer of one of the joint-stock land banks. I have felt it my duty to make clear what appeals to me as the just and correct legal interpretation of the language.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will my friend yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. KING. I confess that I am somewhat at sea in interpreting this conference report. May I say that my understanding was that the bill originally, as it passed the House or as it passed the Senate, did not deal with joint-stock land banks; it did not extend to them any privileges; it did not diminish their powers or authority.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator is not entirely accurate in the latter statement. The bill does, in at least one of its features, impose additional restrictions on the joint-stock land banks with regard to the declara-

tion of dividends. It may be that under an implication of the existing statute joint-stock land banks can not declare dividends except upon the approval of the Farm Loan Board, but under this act express approval of the Farm Loan Board is required before any joint-stock land bank can declare a dividend, unless I am mistaken in my understanding of the terms used.

The Senator is correct in the statement that we proceeded here at first on the theory that for some mysterious reason not disclosed to either the Senate or the House it was desirable to limit the relief to Federals and to exclude joint stocks in so far as the terms of this bill are concerned. I do not think it constitutes an objection to the conference report or an objection to the bill that both may be included. I think it is sound that both of them should have the opportunity to grant extensions. My object in raising the question is to escape the confusion that unquestionably will arise if the question is not brought forward at this time, and if it is later made to appear that Congress had done something that some Members at least did not understand was being accomplished.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. I was not in the Chamber when the Senator from Arkansas addressed himself to the report of the conferees. Does he interpret the measure now laid before us as the result of the conference as including the joint-stock land banks?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. In so far as the act authorizes extensions and provides a fund to be supplied to banks in place of the collections that otherwise might be made, I do so interpret the act.

Mr. KING. The joint-stock land banks?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes; both of them.

Mr. SMITH. The reason why I asked the question is that I have been amazed that in whatever remedies we propose for one of the two forms of banking instituted by the Government for the purpose of aiding agriculture, both should not be included.

The Senator from Arkansas remarked a moment ago that for some reason, not clearly defined here, it has been thought that joint-stock banks are not included in this bill. I join him in what he has said on that subject, because I have not heard a statement as to why joint-stock land banks are not mentioned in terms as explicitly as the Federal land banks.

I hope the Senator from Arkansas is right in his contention that the provisions made here for extending aid to delinquents shall be construed as applying to joint-stock land banks, because I know from personal experience in my State that those who have obtained credit from the joint-stock land banks are in a worse condition in a great many respects than those who borrowed from the Federal land banks. At least, they are both in distress. Both of the institutions were inaugurated here; and I hope it will be clear to the administrators of this act that both of the institutions come under its provisions for relief.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It should be added to what has already been said that the $100,000,000 carried in the bill to authorize the Government to subscribe to the capital stock of banks is confined to Federal land banks. The $25,000,000 which are authorized in connection with extensions seem to me, under the language used, to apply to both classes.

I think there has been said all that I can contribute.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, the chief change in the bill as it came from the conference related to the amendment which was offered by my colleague [Mr. BANKHEAD] and myself—the particular section which has been discussed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] in connection with the granting of extensions.

In so far as the change is concerned with reference to that amendment, the substance of the change and the effect of the change, as I understand, are limited to the elimination of the following sentence, which became a part of the amendment before it was passed by the Senate. I read the sentence:

> The provision for extensions contained herein is not intended to, and shall not be construed to, limit the use or application of any of the funds of the banks otherwise available for the purpose of making extensions herein authorized.

That sentence was added to the amendment after it was originally proposed. It was my judgment then, and it is my judgment now, that the sentence was surplusage. I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, that the omission of this sentence has any effect upon the legal result obtained by this amendment. It is my understanding that the members of the conference committee share in this interpretation.

In other words, as the amendment was drawn it was not intended to, and in my judgment it did not, limit the Federal land banks to a use of sums outside of the $25,000,000 for purposes of extensions; and therefore the elimination of the sentence can not be construed to place a limitation upon the banks. Speaking concretely, if the entire $25,000,000 should be required to grant necessary extensions to deserving cases, and thereafter other deserving cases should make application for extensions, this amendment does not, either by inference or directly, prohibit the banks from utilizing their other funds for extensions.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BLACK. I yield.

Mr. KING. Then, if I understand the Senator correctly, all of the efforts which have been made by some, at least, to limit to $25,000,000 the amount available for extensions are in vain, and the entire $125,000,000 might be so used?

Mr. BLACK. May I say to the Senator that I do not understand that it was ever intended so to limit the amount. The object was to provide $25,000,000 which it was known would be utilized for the purpose of taking care of extensions.

Mr. KING. May I say to the Senator that, speaking for myself at least, I did not have that idea. My understanding was that the limitation for extensions was $25,000,000, and that the $100,000,000 was capital; that the capital might not be invaded for the purpose of taking care of extensions, and that $25,000,000 were available for extensions.

Mr. BLACK. I may state to the Senator that the entire $125,000,000 was for capital. As I recall, the Senator thought that and, if I am not mistaken, voted against the amendment by reason of the fact that he opposed the idea of utilizing this money for extensions. What I wanted to call particular attention to, in order that there might be no justification for a later construction by the authorities contrary to the express purpose, object, and words of the amendment, is that this amendment was not intended to, and does not, limit the banks with reference to the use of any money on hand at any time which they may need for the purpose of taking care of extensions. It was my understanding that the conference committee so understood it and so interpreted the act. I simply wanted, before this conference report was accepted, to make that statement and to say that, with that understanding, I favor the adoption of the conference report.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I had hoped that we would have some explanation from the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] or the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY]. I understood, in a brief conversation between the Senator from South Dakota and myself a moment ago, that he did not understand that any provisions of this bill related to joint-stock land banks. That was my understanding of the bill as it passed the Senate. I may have been in error. This bill, as I understand it, was intended to deal only with the Federal land banks. It was not to provide relief for joint-stock land banks.

I am not in favor of this provision if it projects the Government into the joint-stock land banks to the extent of limiting the dividends which they may declare, nor would I be willing to support this measure if it contemplates that any part of the $125,000,000 may be available to meet the unpaid loans of those who are owing the joint-stock land banks and desire extensions. My understanding was that the appropriation of $25,000,000 might be available for the

purpose of granting extensions only to those whose obligations to the Federal farm bank were due. If I am in error, I should like to be advised. If this bill goes further than that, I should be constrained to oppose the report.

I ask the Senator from South Dakota whether he understands that this measure makes provision for extensions of payments due by persons who have obtained loans from the joint-stock land banks.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, my understanding is—and that of the chairman of the subcommittee is—that it does not; that as far as the additional capital is concerned, and as far as the use of that money is concerned, it is entirely limited to this incorporated institution known as the Federal farm-land bank, to the stock of which the Government is subscribing $125,000,000, the joint-stock land bank being an entirely private institution, under a little Government supervision, the main connection with the Government being that they are permitted to sell tax-exempt securities. It was the intention of the committee to keep the two institutions separate and apart as far as possible, realizing, however, that they were created originally at the same time, with the same purpose in mind, one entirely privately owned to start with, the other entirely Government owned to start with.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas: Mr. President, the Federal farm loan act makes no such distinction between these two classes of banks as that drawn by the Senator. It is, as I have pointed out heretofore on numerous occasions, entirely true that in the case of Federal land banks the Government originally subscribed the stock, but it is also true that the whole plan contemplated the acquisition of that stock by borrowers, and the passing of the control into the hands of private citizens, and that, with the exception of a very small amount, all the stock in the Federal land banks is now owned by private individuals, and only a small amount of it—in two of the Federal land banks—is owned by the Government.

The statute itself makes no distinction, as the language which I have already read discloses. It reads:

> Except as otherwise provided, joint-stock land banks shall have the powers of and be subject to all the restrictions and conditions imposed on Federal land banks by this act so far as such restrictions and conditions are applicable.

That is the definition and the sole definition of the powers of joint-stock land banks; and in order to arrive at a definite conclusion as to what powers joint-stock land banks may exercise, it is necessary to refer to the statute defining the powers of Federal land banks. I have already done that. There is nothing either in the original statute itself or in the measure now under consideration which justifies any such distinction as that which the Senator from South Dakota has sought to make.

There is no foundation in law or in morals for denying to one-half the borrowers in the United States from a Government-created institution the privilege of having extensions if they can satisfy the board of directors in charge of the bank that their applications are sound. There is no justification in discriminating in this particular between Federal and joint-stock land banks; and if a discrimination is made, and is carried forward into the execution of the law, there will be found the greatest confusion conceivable resulting from the passage of this measure, and approximately one-half the borrowers from the land banks claiming the right of extension and being denied that right will be discriminated against, since it has been extended to others in no sense more deserving than themselves.

Mr. STEIWER. Mr. President, I do not want to detain the Senate with further discussion of the matter referred to by the Senator from Arkansas, but it is so fundamentally important that I should briefly reply.

I agree thoroughly with the suggestion just made that, as a matter of morals or equity, discrimination ought not to be practiced by the Congress in this legislation. It may be said, however, in defense of the procedure which both Senate and House have taken with respect to this bill, that the bill, originating as a House bill, was formulated in the first instance exclusively as a Federal land bank bill. It was so treated by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency and in the Senate. It was limited to the effect upon the Federal land banks in every respect save one.

I have been conscious of the force of the suggestions which are being made by the Senator from Arkansas, and recently, within the last two days, have made some little effort to inform myself as to the procedure which ought to be adopted if Congress desires to extend to the joint-stock banks a right or privilege similar to that included in this bill. I have written to the Federal Farm Loan Board and have taken the matter up with the legislative counsel of the Senate, and I hope that if there is any practical scheme which can be worked out it may be seriously considered by Congress and the relief granted.

I disagree, however, with the Senator on one legal contention, and, with all respect for his superior judgment and with full knowledge that he may be right and that I may be wrong, I feel that I am justified in saying that the language incorporated in the measure now before us in the conference report does not justify the belief that the measure applies to the joint-stock land banks.

In the first place, the subscription in section 2 of the bill is made specifically to the capital stock of the Federal land banks; and, in the second place, section 5 of the bill, which relates to the amendment of section 13 of the Federal farm loan act, and which provides for the extensions, is expressly tied up with section 2, and all concerned have intended that it should apply to the land banks, and to them alone.

I am fairly certain that it may not be successfully contended that any of these powers here created are conferred upon the joint-stock land banks.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STEIWER. I yield.

Mr. KING. I ask the Senator this question: If there is uncertainty as to the interpretation to be placed upon this measure, dubiety as to whether joint-stock land banks are included within the bill, is it not unwise to adopt it upon the conference report? If those who are sponsoring the legislation, if the committee reporting it for our consideration, are uncertain as to its meaning, as to whether or not it applies to private banks—and I regard joint-stock banks as private banks, in contradistinction to the Federal land banks—does not the Senator think we ought to pause and not give final approval until the grounds of uncertainty are removed?

Mr. STEIWER. Mr. President, I answer in this way; as far as the stock subscription is concerned, there is no basis for any kind of a doubt. The stock subscription is to the capital structure of the Federal land banks, and to no other institution.

So far as section 5—that is the section creating the power of the land banks—is concerned, there is some doubt, as is suggested here by the Senator from Arkansas. I personally am not in accord with his contention.

Let me say this to the Senator, that if there is any doubt, it relates to one provision only, and that provision would be with respect to the powers of the bank in making extension agreements. I do not know that I would be opposed to conferring upon the joint-stock banks the power to extend a delinquent or overdue obligation. That would not cost the Federal Government tnything; and if the bill should be construed as creating a new power in the joint-stock banks, it would create in that institution a right which they have already asserted they have, and one which is beneficial not only to the joint-stock banks but also to the borrowers from those banks. I can not conceive that anyone would be injured, much less the joint-stock land bank system, by reason of the creation of that power.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me further?

Mr. STEIWER. Certainly.

Mr. KING. Does not the Senator think that Congress would be exceeding its authority if it should declare that payments due joint-stock land banks should be extended

beyond the dates of maturity? What power does Congress possess to grant a moratorium——

Mr. STEIWER. We do not say that. Let me answer the Senator; then he will be easy upon this matter. We merely create in the institution the discretionary power, to do or not to do, as it and its customer may decide and agree upon. We do not take anything away from anybody. We do not force or compel any new relationship upon any contracting party. They may or may not, in their discretion, make the extension.

It seems to me that every institution, even though it be one quasi governmental in its character, ought to have the same power which the Senator and I would have in our private dealings, namely, to extend the time for making payment when a debtor finds himself unable to pay.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, does not the Senator think that if Congress attempts to project itself into the contractual relations of private corporations and to authorize a moratorium that a moral obligation might arise which could only be met by compensating those whose positions were altered to their disadvantage?

Mr. STEIWER. Mr. President, I would not think that the Senator's suggestion necessarily follows. Those institutions which are sound financially have reserves from which they may now draw to meet their obligations; they have funds which will enable them to make extensions. Some of them, indeed, are not in financial position to do so, but I am assuming that those which are not in financial position to do so will refrain from making extensions.

Mr. KING. If those corporations have the resources, and can grant extensions without jeopardizing their credit, does not the Senator think they would have the power to do so without any authority from Congress?

Mr. STEIWER. I am very certain, so far as the land banks are concerned——

Mr. KING. No; the joint-stock banks.

Mr. STEIWER. No; because the Congress in enacting the legislation expressly enumerated the powers of the banks, and it excluded, in the enumeration, the power to extend an agreement. The bill gives that power to the Federal land banks.

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me further, I think there is where we are at cross-purposes. I was speaking of joint-stock land banks and the power to extend payments due them by their debtors.

Mr. STEIWER. I am told the joint-stock land banks claim the power of extension under existing law, but I am sensible of the force of what is said here by the Senator from Arkansas. It may be they are not justified in the claim they make.

Mr. KING. Permit me just one further question, and then I shall not intrude further on the time of the Senator. Assuming that the bill does grant authority to joint-stock land banks to extend payments, does the Senator understand that any part of the $25,000,000 or any part of the $125,000,000 may be utilized to enable joint-stock land banks to pay maturing obligations or to meet delinquent payments of their debtors?

Mr. STEIWER. No; I am most certain that they would not be justified in taking that position.

Mr. KING. The Senator thinks there is no dubiety in the bill in that regard?

Mr. STEIWER. I am sure there is not.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I had hoped it would not be necessary for me to continue the discussion, having made as clear as is possible for me to make the position taken. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. STEIWER] has said that it is possible the bill does grant to the joint-stock land banks the power to make extensions. Is that correct?

Mr. STEIWER. That is not exactly as I intended to say it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I confess, after listening to the statement of the Senator from Oregon, that the conclusion which naturally follows his argument sustains the position I have taken, and I believe the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] from his manner will agree with me.

Mr. KING. Yes; I do.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The powers of both classes of these banks are defined by statute. They possess no powers except such as are either expressly or impliedly conferred upon them. The powers of the Federal land banks are in no particular different from the powers of the joint-stock land banks in the matter of extensions or reserves. There is no difference in principle whatever. If the joint-stock land banks have the power to make extensions, the Federal land banks have the same power, because, by provision of the statute which I have twice read during the course of the debate, the powers of the joint-stock land banks are defined as the same as those conferred upon the Federal land banks except such as are inapplicable.

It is nothing to dispute about that the Congress ought not to invite extensions and applications for extensions of these institutions without giving them equal protection in the matter of funds to overcome the deferment of payments which may result from such extensions.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. STEIWER] said that the provision in relation to extensions has no application to joint-stock land banks, and that is the interpretation placed upon the matter, as I understand it, by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK]. Then I want it understood that if that interpretation is correct, the joint-stock land banks have no power to grant extensions. They have been denied that power in the bill, according to the interpretation placed upon it by those in charge of it. One-half of the farm borrowers of the United States, who have been led to believe that they were going to obtain some relief through this legislation, have been denied any relief. It will be just as incumbent, after the passage of this legislation, on those who administer the joint-stock land banks to proceed with foreclosures as it was before the passage of the bill, because if they do not proceed to the collection of the amounts due them, their reserves will be quickly exhausted, their bonds will be in default, they will be in receivership, wholesale foreclosures will result, and literally thousands of men who are on exactly the same legal and moral and equitable basis, as admitted by the Senator from Oregon, as those who borrowed from the Federal land banks will be turned out of their homes.

Let us not deceive ourselves. If the interpretation placed on this measure by those most directly sponsoring it is correct, it is an inadequate measure of relief, it is a discriminatory measure of relief, it is an inequitable measure of relief in that its provisions are extended only to about one-half of those who are entitled thereto.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I have no desire to prolong the discussion, but before final action is taken I feel constrained to express my disappointment over the explanations which have been made concerning the bill under consideration. The discussion which has taken place reveals differences of opinion upon the part of able Senators as to the meaning of the bill and the construction which will be given to it not only by those administering its provisions but the public generally. A conference report upon a measure of such importance as this ought to be clear and unequivocal; it should be susceptible of but one interpretation, and Senators ought to be able to determine just what the report is and just what the report means and the implications that will arise therefrom.

The position of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. STEIWER], I submit, is different from the position of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON]. The latter has made a strong argument in support of a proposition that the bill as reported by the conferees carries relief to joint-stock land banks; that the law creating Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks, while distinguishing between the two systems, creates duties and responsibilities upon the part of the Federal Government applicable to banks within both systems. If I understand his argument, it was to the effect that the benefits and advantages provided in this bill for Federal land

banks under the terms of this and preexisting laws were available to joint-stock land banks and their debtors. At any rate, if I understood his contention, it was that the moral obligations of the Government were the same with respect to both systems, and that if relief were granted to debtors of the Federal land banks, similar relief should be granted to joint-stock land banks and their debtors.

I shall not enter into a discussion of that question, although I frankly confess that I have entertained the view that the joint-stock land banks were private institutions, in contradistinction to public or quasi public institutions, and did not sustain the same relationship to the Federal Government as that borne by the Federal land banks. If the bill before us deals with both banking systems, that fact should be clearly stated; if the bill is intended to afford relief only to Federal land banks, then there should be no uncertainty in regard to the matter. I submit we can not afford to adopt the conference report or pass this important measure without being reasonably certain as to its meaning and its implications. If extensions are to be granted only to debtors of the Federal land banks, the measure before us should clearly and unmistakably state that fact. But if the Government owes a similar obligation to the joint-stock land banks and it is intended to grant the same relief to banks within that system and to their debtors, then the bill should, without any question or uncertainty, make the matter plain. We certainly should not invite controversy or litigation. The bill should be so clear and precise in its terms as to afford no ground for conjecture as to its meaning or litigation to secure an interpretation of its provisions. Suppose the measure becomes law, and joint-stock land banks, or their debtors, place upon it the interpretation contended for by the Senator from Arkansas, and thereupon apply to the proper officials to secure the benefits provided in the bill for delinquent debtors of Federal loan banks, and such relief is denied, then the courts may be appealed to and protracted litigation may result.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator, of course, understands that both of the banks were created under the same act, and they are both being conducted for the purpose of lending farmers money. Their situations are very largely the same, both being regulated by the same board and examined by the same board. Under those circumstances, does the Senator see any fair or just reason why they should not both be treated alike?

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me, I shall not pursue the matter suggested by the Senator, as it might involve considerable discussion and compel an examination of the acts of Congress under which the Federal land bank and the joint-stock land banks were created. Evidently the committees in the House and the Senate having charge of this proposed legislation had differentiated between these two systems and I had understood that the bill under consideration dealt only with Federal land banks; that it did not attempt to extend relief to the joint-stock land banks or their debtors; but the statements of the Senator from Arkansas, as well as those of the Senator from Oregon, have created some doubt in my mind as to whether this bill is limited solely and exclusively to the Federal land banks. My present concern arises out of the apparent conflict between Senators as to what the bill covers and as to the uncertainty of the interpretation which is and will be placed upon it.

In the consideration of the bill when it was before the Senate I acted upon the assumption that joint-stock land banks were not within the contemplation of the bill, and were not to receive any relief whatever under its provisions. If, as suggested by the Senator from Tennessee, and as indicated by the Senator from Arkansas, the two systems stand upon the same moral, if not legal, grounds, there might be reason for contending that the relief sought should be extended to both systems; and that instead of having two or more measures to deal with the question one bill only should be offered, one so comprehensive in its terms as to deal with both systems.

I confess that in the light of the conflicting views submitted by Senators, I am reluctant to vote for this conference report.

I am not satisfied with the explanation made by the able Senator from Oregon [Mr. STEIWER]; indeed, if I understood his statement, the issue became somewhat clouded and the uncertainty as to the interpretation to be placed upon the bill, if I may be permitted the expression, became more certain.

It occurs to me that we should defer action upon the report and afford further opportunity to examine it and to determine its meaning. It has just been submitted and I doubt whether a single Senator except members of the conference committee have had an opportunity to examine it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT ON THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution (S. Res. 144) submitted yesterday by Mr. BINGHAM.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is upon the motion of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] to refer the resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I do not think it necessary to take up the time of the Senate with further debate on the resolution. It certainly involves a matter which ought to be considered by a committee. I merely desire to express the hope that the motion of the Senator from Arkansas will prevail.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, may we have the resolution read?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 144), as follows:

Whereas several States have already taken appropriate action for the purpose of obtaining a referendum of their people upon the prohibition question; and

Whereas several periodicals and newspapers in the United States have conducted so-called "polls" on the prohibition question, the importance of which polls it is difficult to estimate: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate would welcome any action that the governors of the several States might take in recommending to their respective legislatures that such action be taken by the State as may be necessary to obtain the opinion of the people of the State with respect to (1) the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment and (2) the repeal or modification of the national prohibition act (commonly known as the Volstead Act); and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the governor and to the legislature of each of the several States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] to refer the resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, this is truly a remarkable resolution. I think it is the first one of its kind that ever appeared in the Senate of the United States. The resolution petitions the governors of the States to petition the legislatures of the States to ask the people of the States to petition the Senate of the United States. It is just like a dog chasing his own tail. The resolution ought to go to the Committee on the Judiciary, and the committee ought to kill it.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is the demand for the yeas and nays seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, may I ask if it is too late to suggest the absence of a quorum?

The VICE PRESIDENT. No answer having been made to the roll call, it is not too late to suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll for a quorum.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Jones	Schall
Austin	Cutting	Kean	Sheppard
Bailey	Dale	Kendrick	Shipstead
Bankhead	Dickinson	Keyes	Smith
Barbour	Dill	King	Smoot
Bingham	Fess	La Follette	Steiwer
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	George	McGill	Townsend
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Trammell
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Tydings
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Vandenberg
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Wagner
Capper	Hale	Neely	Walcott
Caraway	Harris	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Hayden	Nye	Watson
Coolidge	Howell	Oddie	White
Copeland	Hull	Pittman	
Costigan	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas to refer the resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate only briefly, and I hope I may be very temperate while I submit in all seriousness a joint resolution which I have in my hand proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in order that it may be substituted for the pending proposition.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will announce that the motion to refer the resolution would have to be withdrawn to enable the Senator to do that.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am addressing myself to that motion now.

In order that my joint resolution may be substituted for the resolution offered by the Senator from Connecticut, as I understand, it will be necessary temporarily for the Senator from Arkansas to withdraw his motion. Then I should like, if I might have that course pursued, to have my joint resolution adopted instead of the resolution of the Senator from Connecticut.

The joint resolution which I have in my hand proposes an amendment to the Constitution which, so far as I know, has not previously been presented to this body. It was submitted to me a few days ago and it reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be, and the same is hereby, proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the States:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. After the ratification of this article by conventions in three-fourths of the several States the eighteenth amendment to this Constitution and all laws enacted now or hereafter by Congress pursuant to said eighteenth amendment shall be inoperative in the States so ratifying this article, but said eighteenth amendment and said laws shall continue to be in full force and effect in the States which fail to ratify this article.

"SEC. 2. Any State in ratifying this article may elect to remain subject to said eighteenth amendment and said laws.

"SEC. 3. At any time after ratification of this article any State by a popular vote may elect to become subject to or to become exempt from the operation of said eighteenth amendment and said laws.

"SEC. 4. In all Territories or other places subject to its exclusive authority Congress shall have power to legislate concerning the matters mentioned in said eighteenth amendment as fully as before the ratification thereof."

If this amendment to the Constitution were adopted, in effect, it would do nothing more nor less than permit the States which favor the eighteenth amendment to keep it, to live under it just as they are under it to-day; but it would permit those States whose Representatives, in a perfectly constitutional way, elect to take themselves out from under it to have the kind of situation in reference to this problem that they may want. I call it the "home rule" amendment, for a short name, but really it might be called the "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you" amendment. It does not attempt to take the force and effect of the eighteenth amendment from any State of the Union; it permits every State in the United States that wants it to have the eighteenth amendment and all the laws passed in pursuance thereof; but it would permit the other States, which, it seems to me, are entitled to equal consideration, to have the kind of regulation of the liquor business the people of those States may express themselves as in favor of it. I therefore should like to have this proposed amendment, the machinery for which is provided in the Federal Constitution, substituted in place of the resolution of the Senator from Connecticut, because, without wishing to criticize his resolution, I may say that I agree with what the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] said a moment ago, namely, that a referendum binds nobody if it is a vague, detached proposition. It is simply an expression of people without any machinery to carry that expression into effect. I furthermore believe that referenda of that character have a tendency to weaken a democratic government rather than to strengthen it.

It strikes me when we have in the Constitution the machinery for the adoption of a new amendment or the repeal of an existing one that we should stick to the normal orderly processes of accomplishing the desired end.

Mr. President, if my proposed constitutional amendment were adopted by the Senate, every Senator who voted for it would know that if his State desired to remain dry and to live under the eighteenth amendment it would continue to do so. On the other hand, if the people of New York or of Illinois or other States did not want to remain under the eighteenth amendment they would have the right to set up their own form of liquor control in place of the eighteenth amendment. What could be fairer? If ours be a democracy and if it is a government of States, is it not normal and correct and logical that we return this question to the States, where the law will be respected and enforced according to the public sentiment back of it?

One of the difficulties with prohibition has been that in many sections of the country the majority of the people are in antagonism to it, and it is hard to obtain convictions where juries and elected officials are not in sympathy with the law. It is my sincere belief that were this proposed constitutional amendment adopted, more respect for law generally would ensue. It is also my belief that there would be more respect for the Federal Government than is now evidenced in many sections.

I do not want to enforce the views of the people of Maryland, for example, upon those of any other State. Whatever the people of any other State may want I would be the last one to take away from them. If the people of North Carolina, for example, want the eighteenth amendment, I have not the slightest quarrel in the world with them; they are entitled to it, and even to stricter laws than those now operating if the people wish such laws; but in other States there are those who do not want the eighteenth amendment or the Volstead Act.

Why have States at all? If the Congress is to take over their functions, why not wipe them all out and abolish the State legislatures? What reason is there for their existence if their local affairs are to be taken over and handled by the Federal Government? Is it not an anomally to continue our State governments if the Federal Constitution and the Federal Congress are to take sovereignty over their affairs? What is the use of having a State government in Wyoming or in Utah or in Maryland if local questions are to be taken from those governments and settled here in Washington?

My joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution simply provides that every State in the Union which wants the eighteenth amendment shall keep it, and every State in the Union which says, through the proper machinery, that it does not want the eighteenth amend-

ment shall have the right to settle this question as the people in the State want it settled.

I am in entire consonance with my friend from Illinois on the question of a referendum. We should have a referendum through constitutional processes; otherwise it would be too vague, not sufficiently binding, and in the last analysis nothing more than a reflection of a general sentiment without the machinery of conviction to put it into force and effect.

On the other hand, the joint resolution which I am offering follows the normal procedure for submission of constitutional amendments. A State could vote for this proposed amendment without affecting its right to remain under the eighteenth amendment. The State of Alabama could vote to adopt this amendment, which would give to Maryland, for instance, the right to settle its own affairs without in the least changing the effect of the eighteenth amendment upon Alabama. Every State that wants the eighteenth amendment could have it. There is no reason in the world why if the people of a majority of the States want the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act they should not have them, but I submit there is equally as much reason why this question should be returned to the States where those States that do not want to live under the eighteenth amendment may act accordingly.

So, if the Senator from Arkansas will withdraw his motion just long enough to have a vote upon the question of submitting or substituting the resolution which I hold in my hand for that of the Senator from Connecticut, I will then suggest, if I may, that the whole matter be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to have a hearing and file a report to the Senate in regard to it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland must fully understand that he is offering an amendment to the Federal Constitution as a substitute for a simple Senate resolution. I can not, therefore, make the arrangement he has suggested, and I insist on a vote on the motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the Senator's simple resolution is no simpler than the resolution that I hold in my hand. Moreover, there is constitutional authority for the resolution I hold in my hand, and there is no constitutional authority for taking a referendum.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator from Maryland knows that in his own right he can offer any proposal he desires at any time for an amendment to the Constitution. The Senate, in my judgment, would make itself ridiculous if it took a simple Senate resolution, welcoming any action by the governors of the States relating to the subject of prohibition, and undertook to substitute for it an amendment to the Federal Constitution. I do not think it is in order, and I suggest to the Senator from Maryland that he take his own course about his amendment. I am dealing with the resolution of the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President, I hold in my hand an amendment proposed by the Senator from Maryland. I see that this amendment has been introduced and was read twice, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary; so it is already in the hands of that committee.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is true.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I thank the Senator for that information.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is the reason why I should like to get a hearing, in the regular way, upon the resolution I have offered, which is in line with all constitutional amendments, rather than one saying to the governors of the States that the Senate would welcome referendums.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator must understand that this proceeding has no relation to hearings before a committee of the Senate. This is a resolution of the Senate, and the pending question is a motion to refer it.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, if I may have the right at least to hold a different opinion from my leader and distinguished friend and colleague, it seems to me that both these matters deal with the same subject. As long as the Senate is going to pass on the matter, and as long as one of these resolutions provides that the governors of the respective States in their own way may find out what the people of each State think about prohibition and tell the Congress, which is exceedingly vague and indefinite and general, I think we might as well have something here that at least follows the normal constitutional procedure for the ascertainment of information of that character.

Therefore if the Senator will withdraw his motion, I feel that I have a perfect right, unless the Chair rules otherwise, to ask that this resolution be substituted for that of the Senator from Connecticut.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator desires the opinion of the Chair, the Chair would hold that the Senator's joint resolution is not in order as an amendment to a simple Senate resolution. One legislates and the other does not. Therefore the joint resolution of the Senator from Maryland would not be in order, even if the demand for the yeas and nays were withdrawn.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. TYDINGS. Am I to understand the Chair's ruling to be that a joint resolution dealing with the same subject matter as a simple Senate resolution can not be offered as a substitute for a simple Senate resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. TYDINGS. Very well.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. NORRIS rose.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I wish to say that if the Senate is ready for a vote on the resolution I will waive the motion I have made and have a vote.

Mr. NORRIS. That is what I was going to suggest.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that a reading of this resolution will be sufficient for every Member of the Senate to be ready to vote on the resolution itself. I have not any particular objection to its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I have the honor to be chairman; but if we are going to burden the busy committees of the Senate with the consideration of such propositions as that contained in this resolution, we may take up all their valuable time.

The Judiciary Committee now has four or five subcommittees. Some days three or four of those subcommittees are working at the same time. The entire committee has been trying to meet every day, but can not do so because it would conflict with the meetings of its own subcommittees; and we have more work than we can attend to.

A Senator asks me to read this resolution. It is as follows:

Whereas several States have already taken appropriate action for the purpose of obtaining a referendum of their people upon the prohibition question; and

Whereas several periodicals and newspapers in the United States have conducted so-called polls on the prohibition question, the importance of which polls it is difficult to estimate: Therefore, be it

Resolved—

Remember, this is a Senate resolution. It is not a joint resolution, not a concurrent resolution, but a Senate resolution—

Resolved, That the Senate would welcome any action that the governors of the several States might take in recommending to their respective legislatures that such action be taken by the State as may be necessary to obtain the opinion of the people of the State with respect to (1) the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment, and (2) the repeal or modification of the national prohibition act (commonly known as the Volstead Act); and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the governor and the legislature of each of the several States.

Mr. President, it ought to be plain to everybody that we are dealing here with something over which we have abso-



lutely no authority, no jurisdiction; and we might just as well pass a resolution to say that the Senate would welcome——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. A few kind words from somebody.

Mr. NORRIS (continuing). Any information that the governors might send to us about baseball in their respective States. We can not act it if they do. We have not any authority to call a referendum; and for us to say to the governors of the States that we would be glad to have them recommend to their State legislatures that they hold a referendum, and so forth, it seems to me would make the Senate perfectly ridiculous.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. PITTMAN. The whole prohibition question came up from the States and from the congressional districts, and it will never be changed in any other way except as it arose.

There is no doubt whatever but that in most of the States of the Union at the next election this matter will be an issue as between certain candidates of the two parties. The election or defeat of a wet or a dry in a congressional district, or of a Senator in his State, will be a responsible referendum that can be understood. In my opinion, the referendum that is now proposed would be just as uncertain as the referendums are uncertain to which the Senator from Connecticut has referred; and I think it is a perfectly futile proposition. I think it is as futile as the proposed amendment offered by my friend from Maryland. None of them will accomplish anything whatever, and all of us know it.

When we come back here as a Congress after the next election the matter may have been a sufficient issue in a sufficient number of districts and States to have determined the complexion of the next Congress with regard to the question. If not, then we shall have to wait a longer time; but these proposals are perfectly futile.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, of course it is perfectly proper for any Member of the House or Senate to introduce an amendment to the Constitution. It is perfectly proper for the Senator from Maryland to introduce his proposed amendment to the Constitution in relation to prohibition or anything else, and it ought to be referred to the Judiciary Committee; and I conceive it to be the duty of the Judiciary Committee to hold hearings and take such action as is fair and reasonable in order that a definite conclusion may be reached.

There have already been introduced several proposed amendments to the Constitution. They have been referred to the Judiciary Committee; and, in accordance with the rules and regulations always followed by that committee, I have appointed a subcommittee of five to take them all up and give consideration to them. I understand that they have held hearings, and, within reasonable limits, will undoubtedly permit anybody on either side of the question to be heard; and the committee in due time will pass on the question when it is referred back to the committee. We have jurisdiction of them. That is part of our work, and that is the right way to go about the matter as far as Congress is concerned.

If any State wants a referendum on the subject, that is its duty. I would not interfere with the holding of such a referendum. If a State decides that it wants to hold a referendum, and the State laws provide for it, it can be held, but certainly it is outside of our province to say to a governor, "We wish you would recommend to your State that it have a referendum on prohibition." As I said before, I think it would make us ridiculous.

I should like to suggest to the Senator from Arkansas that he withdraw his amendment to refer this matter to the Judiciary Committee. While I have not been in the Chamber all of the time this afternoon, other Senators have, and they have listened to the debate that has gone on thus far on the resolution. When the time comes that it has been fully debated, if we can not reach a vote on it, we can make a motion to lay it on the table, which is not debatable, anyhow.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, in view of the suggestion made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] and numerous other Senators, as I have already announced my intention to do so, I now withdraw the motion to refer and suggest that we take a vote on the resolution.

Mr. FESS. I call for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator withdraws his motion, the order directing the yeas and nays on his motion will be rescinded.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Very well.

Mr. BRATTON. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question now is on agreeing to the resolution. The yeas and nays have been requested. Is the demand seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I am very glad indeed that the Senator from Arkansas has withdrawn his motion for reference to the committee, because, since this resolution is not legislation, it seemed to me that it was not necessary to refer it to the committee. I shall welcome a vote on it. The only object of introducing the resolution was to see whether, in the sense of the Senate, it was wise for the States to hold referendums.

Evidently, the suggestion made by the president of the Anti-Saloon League that he would like to see the States have referendums on the subject has not been kindly received by the eminent drys in this Chamber who have called this resolution ridiculous and all the other names they could think of, including saying that it had a resemblance to a dog chasing his tail around the room.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Connecticut when he became the spokesman and representative of the president of the Anti-Saloon League?

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, the Senator from Arkansas knows very well that the Anti-Saloon League has its spokesmen in this Chamber, even though they have not taken part in the debate to-day. They have been very active in running about the Chamber seeing to it that the dry votes were here to defeat any opportunity to ask the States for a referendum.

I stated in the beginning that the reason for offering the resolution was that apparently the head of the great dry organization was convinced that it was time to let the people have some voice in the matter. But apparently he is mistaken. I understand that a movement is on foot to excommunicate the good bishop, probably to remove him from the presidency of the Anti-Saloon League, because, forsooth, he has gone contrary to their wishes, and has suggested something which has met with the approval of my friend, Mr. Henry Curran, the president of the Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment, who thought that it was a sincere offer on the part of the president of the Anti-Saloon League, and I have no doubt that it was sincere, to promote State referendums.

Mr. President, I am sorry that my good friend the Senator from Nebraska and others have felt it necessary to refer to this as a ridiculous matter. I see nothing whatever ridiculous in it. If I had thought for a moment that it was beneath the dignity of the Senate to invite expressions of opinion from different States, I would not have introduced the resolution. The Constitution makes no provision for any kind of referendum. The method I have adopted was the only one I could think of for doing the thing informally.

Obviously the resolution is going to be voted down. But this question of prohibition is one which has come vividly to our notice during the past few weeks in the hearings on the so-called beer bills. We have had testimony before the committee which has astounded even those of us who were opposed to the eighteenth amendment and opposed to the Volstead Act. We have had a judge from a distinguished city, the city of Cleveland, Ohio, who for the past eight years, until just before he came to Congress, was a judge in the municipal court in Cleveland. He testified that the

number of cases of intoxication among young people was steadily increasing. He testified that last year there were thirty-two thousand and odd cases of intoxication brought before the police court in Cleveland and that the average age of persons arrested and tried by his court for intoxication was 25. In other words, Mr. President, 16,000 persons who were not more than 12 or 13 years old when prohibition was passed were arrested in the city of Cleveland for drunkenness. Such a situation and a statement on the part of a reliable judge that cases of intoxication on the part of young people are steadily increasing needs some attention on the part of this body.

Mr. President, if it were possible to get the Members of this body to vote for a resolution repealing the eighteenth amendment and returning the power to the States, providing, as I have done in the resolution which I have introduced, that the question in the States should be decided by conventions or by a vote of the people, I would welcome it and would withdraw this resolution in a moment. But everyone within the sound of my voice knows that that is not possible, although there are some distinguished drys here like the Senator from Idaho, who have suggested that they were entirely willing to vote in order to give the people a chance to express their opinion. I am not sure whether even the Senator from Idaho would vote for a frank out-and-out repeal of the eighteenth amendment, to be submitted to the people in convention. I doubt whether he would do so. I know of no other method of getting a referendum than the one herein proposed.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, does the Senator refer to me?

Mr. BINGHAM. I was referring to the Senator. Is not the Senator one of the leading drys?

Mr. BORAH. I do not know whether I am a leading dry or not; but I understood the Senator to say that I had taken a certain position.

Mr. BINGHAM. I read in the newspapers that the Senator had taken a position, and I would be glad if he would state it.

Mr. BORAH. What did the Senator say the position was I had taken?

Mr. BINGHAM. I said I would be glad to have the Senator state whatever position he may have taken on the subject of the referendum.

Mr. BORAH. I have said over and over again that I thought a referendum under our Constitution was without authority and would be without any particular importance if it were taken. I said, secondly, that I would not vote to submit any constitutional amendment until I personally felt convinced that it was a wise thing to do; that I would not vote other people's views when I voted to submit a constitutional amendment. In other words, in voting to submit an amendment to the Constitution I must vote in accordance with my conviction and not in accordance with some other person's views and as a mere formality.

Mr. BINGHAM. That is what I thought the opinion of the Senator from Idaho was, although I had seen something to the contrary. I am glad to have that on record. It only goes to substantiate the opinion which I expressed, that there is no way of letting the people of the United States express their views on this very important matter under the Constitution, except through conventions, and that we can not have those conventions until two-thirds of the Members of this body and two-thirds of the Members of the other House have voted for something resembling a repeal of the eighteenth amendment, which will come in the course of time, and I hope to live to see it. It may come within a few years. But, Mr. President, it is not likely to happen in the near future, as everyone knows.

Mr. President, we have had testimony before the committee, to which I have referred, from distinguished members of the American Federation of Labor and from distinguished representatives of American universities, calling attention to the fact that the morals of our young people were being seriously affected by this question, and that the longer it was left undecided, the longer it was left without change, the more serious the result would be.

It seems to me that the time has come for a change. I see no possible objection to inviting the governors of the States to ask their legislatures for a referendum. It would help clear the atmosphere.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] has stated that the elections next fall will decide this question, that the people would be elected by their communities according to whether they were wet or whether they were dry. The Senator from Nevada knows, just as well as everyone else here knows, that both political parties, with all their beliefs, their standards, and the planks in their platforms, are not very seriously divided on this question. The author of the eighteenth amendment sits on the other side of the aisle. The author of the so-called 5-and-10 law, which, to my mind, was one of the most severe, tyrannical laws ever enacted, sits on this side of the aisle, and is a colleague of mine in the Republican Party. Those who promote a change and who believe in repeal of the eighteenth amendment sit on both sides of the aisle.

This is not a question which can readily be decided by the political parties, because there are some States, notably those south of Mason and Dixon's line, where a Senator or a Representative is elected because he belongs to a certain political party. There are other States where he is elected because he belongs to another political party, and not because he is wet or dry.

I know that the Anti-Saloon League and the other organizations which met here the other day have issued an ultimatum that they will not support any person running for Congress who does not agree with them in maintaining the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. They have injected that into politics. They propose to defeat anyone whom they label as wet. That is their privilege, but it does seem to me that it is unfortunate that we can not in some way decide this matter without involving both the great political parties.

The parties themselves are divided on this matter. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the North the Democratic Party is largely wet and that in the South it is dry. The Republican Party in the Northeast is largely wet; in the Middle West it is largely dry. Those are matters of common knowledge. It is an honest effort to secure some means whereby a referendum may be held on this matter that will take it out of politics that I have introduced this resolution.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, the Senate is well informed as to my views on the question of prohibition. I am opposed to prohibition as a matter of principle. I think it is wrong. I think any legislation which undertakes to regulate the purely personal habits of individuals is wrong. That sort of legislation is incapable of enforcement. That type of legislation has never been enforced in any country in any time.

It must be perfectly obvious to anyone that the reason why prohibition is not enforcible in America is because it is a piece of legislation directed entirely toward the personal habits of individuals—habits which they ought to regulate in their own lives in their own way.

This resolution may mean very little; I concede that. The Senator from Connecticut makes no pretense that it means any modification of the prohibition laws. But it is a courteous suggestion to the several governors of the United States which might induce them to call referenda in their respective States. The States alone have that power. I appreciate that, perhaps, some of the States may not have the power. In many of the States the power is granted by constitutional provision. In other States it has been construed that the right is possessed by the legislatures of the States to refer a proposal to the people without any direct constitutional provision. So this is a suggestion to the governors.

Mr. President, it seems to me that we who claim to represent the people ought to have the opportunity to hear from the people upon an important question of this kind. The voice of the people is important. In this case it would

indicate how the citizens of the respective States look upon prohibition. Thus there would be a tendency toward recognition of the fact that they have some voice in deciding what kind of laws shall control their lives.

Under our Federal Constitution there is no legal or valid way by which we can submit a constitutional amendment to a direct vote of the people. That is recognized, and, therefore, while this resolution may not mean much, it certainly is a courteous suggestion to the governors of the respective States. They might take a referendum, and thus the country be advised as to what position the people take upon this controversial question.

Mr. President, I would have had no objection to sending the resolution to the Judiciary Committee if there were any necessity therefor. The Judiciary Committee has before it, as the chairman has stated, a number of proposed constitutional amendments and a number of bills on this subject. I have the honor to be the chairman of the subcommittee before which many of those proposed amendments will come, and to which whatever bills have been referred to the Judiciary Committee for the amendment of the Volstead Act will be sent.

I have introduced a bill myself providing for an elastic system for the control of this problem of intoxicating liquors. I am not going into a discussion of that proposition this afternoon, but if that bill were to be passed by the Congress, then the people of the respective States would have the opportunity to initiate and pass such legislation as they choose, setting up a system similar to the Canadian system or the Swedish system.

We ought to recognize the fact now that every country in the world that has ever adopted prohibition, either by constitutional provision or by law, has repudiated its position and thus repudiated prohibition. America alone is the single country in the whole world to adhere to a prohibition law, the only country in the world that has not seen the light of day. America alone, on this proposition, is still living in the Dark Ages, and I think it is about time that the Congress and the legislatures begin to consider the question seriously before there is an entire breakdown of moral stamina in our country, where everybody must recognize that the prohibition law has not been enforced. It ought to be obvious to anyone that the prohibition law can not be enforced. We may employ all the prohibition agents we desire, we may use the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard, and yet, Mr. President, the law contains its own weakness and defeats itself and can not be enforced.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BLAINE. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator said a moment ago, and that is what prompted me to interrupt him, that we are living in the Dark Ages. I suppose the Senator wants the resolution passed in order to demonstrate to the world that we are living in the Dark Ages?

Mr. BLAINE. On the prohibition question, we are living in the Dark Ages, and I am quite willing to have some light thrown upon the situation, quite willing that the light of the people, by way of referendum, may be cast upon the Congress of the United States so it will appear clearly to the Members of Congress, as the fact is, that we have prohibition only in theory, that we have prohibition only in pretense. We have no prohibition, as a matter of fact. I think the people of the United States, through the respective States, might well be invited to express their opinions upon the question, and the light that comes from the people may guide along the right path for the solution of this problem.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, in view of Nero's mental deficiencies and moral infirmities, his fiddling while Rome burned was innocent pastime compared to our folly in debating incessantly and interminably the question of intoxicating liquor for people to drink while 20,000,000 destitute Americans are begging for something to eat. Every community, every county, and every city in the land is crowded with unemployed men and women who are idle through no fault of their own. Myriads of these unfortunate ones are homeless, hungry, ragged, and cold. They are pleading for jobs, not jugs; for work, not wine; for bread, not booze.

The press, the pulpit, and the people have long entreated those in authority to solve the perplexing industrial and economic problems which for more than two years have overwhelmed the country. Within the last 40 days two vast armies of the unemployed have besieged this Capitol and petitioned this Congress to provide work for the idle, food for the hungry, and relief for the distressed, who are as numerous as the sands of the sea. Every day, every hour some new sign of impending disaster appears. And in these alarming circumstances we endlessly discuss liquor and prohibition and complacently forget that calamity's sword is, by a hair, suspended above our heads.

Let me read to the Senate a wise and timely article which appeared on the 13th day of this month in the Christian Century, one of the world's greatest, best, and most inspiring journals of religion and humanity—a publication that has "never sold the truth to serve the hour."

The article is as follows:

A joint statement on unemployment was issued to-day by the social service commission of the Federal Council of Churches, the department of social action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the social justice commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Not since their joint action in seeking to end the 12-hour day in the steel industry has a statement of such importance been issued by these three national religious bodies. The statement follows:

"The commission on the church and social service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the social justice commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis heartily commend the movement for relief of the victims of unemployment and feel assured that all faiths may be counted upon for generous support of unemployment relief this winter as in the past, but at the same time they express their conviction that relief is not enough. The very assistance of church forces in immediate relief measures makes increasingly imperative their moral duty to challenge the social injustices which have made relief necessary. We must recognize that the community relief plans as at present proposed, or even supplementary Federal appropriations which it seems to us will be needed to meet the problem of unemployment, are in effect nothing but a temporary dole—a palliative, not a solution. Such relief is in fact grossly inadequate to prevent tragic demoralization of individual and family life.

"Employment is the only cure for unemployment. Yet the bald fact remains that regardless of whatever improvement may occur in general business conditions we are entering the third winter of severe unemployment without seeing put into actual operation any statesmanlike or constructive program to provide work for any but a small minority of the idle.

"FEDERAL RELIEF SOUGHT

"We believe that immediate and adequate appropriations should be made available by national as well as local governments for such needed and useful public works as road construction, development of parks, elimination of grade crossings, flood-control projects, reforestation, and the clearing of slum areas in our cities. If such a governmental program be undertaken now we will face the months that lie ahead with prospects of work for a large number of the unemployed and consequently increased purchasing power which will stimulate all business. The economic wisdom of this proposal has been attested by leading economists.

"We note with satisfaction the tendency to institute a shorter work day and week without reduction in wages in the effort to solve the problem of technological unemployment.

"Society's responsibility for the preservation of human values in industrial life makes the principle of social insurance, particularly insurance against unemployment and want in old age, an indispensable part of sound social policy and the most self-respecting form of relief. We protest against the misleading use of the word 'dole' to describe systems of unemployment insurance.

"REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

"We affirm our belief in the necessity of a more equitable distribution of wealth and income which would increase purchasing power and tend to balance production and consumption. We therefore particularly deplore indiscriminate wage cuts at this time as socially unjust and tending to intensify bitterness and industrial unrest, and still further to lower the purchasing power of the masses.

"We hold that it is now time that the engineering principle of planning which has been so successfully introduced into individual factories should be extended to the control of entire industries and of industry in general. The suggestions made by Mr. Gerard Swope are a welcome indication of the awareness of some of our industrial leaders of the necessity for some kind of eco-

nomic planning. Participation of labor through representatives of their own choosing and an equitable distribution of wealth and income should be incorporated in any form of national planning and control.

"The principle of cooperative planning must be extended also to world economic relations, including balances of production, consumption, and exchange, access to raw materials, questions of tariffs, movement of gold, intergovernmental war debts, and the economic waste of armaments.

"Unemployment is so devastating in its physical, mental, and moral consequences that the present conditions constitute, to our mind, a national and international emergency which calls for courageous social action and the adoption of heroic measures adequate to the gravity of the situation."

Mr. President, let us with praiseworthy promptitude and eagerness devote ourselves to the ennobling task outlined in the foregoing by the great Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious organizations. Let us not pause to slumber or sleep until we shall have done our whole duty; until we shall have made it possible for all the deserving homeless to be sheltered, for all the deserving naked to be clothed, and for all the deserving hungry to be fed. In the meantime, in Heaven's name, let the questions of prohibition and liquor stand adjourned.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM]. The yeas and nays having been ordered, the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BANKHEAD (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS]. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

Mr. JONES (when his name was called). The senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] is necessarily absent. I promised to pair with him during his absence. I understand, however, that he would vote as I shall vote, and therefore I feel at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. LOGAN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], who is absent. Therefore I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

Mr. MORRISON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. HATFIELD], but a special pair has been arranged for him, and I, therefore, am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. MOSES (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD]. I have a telegram from him saying that if present he would vote "yea." If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay." Therefore I withhold my vote.

Mr. PITTMAN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] on this question. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED]. That Senator is absent. I transfer my pair with him to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] and let my vote stand.

Mr. WATSON (when the name of Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana was called). My colleague [Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana] is detained from the Senate by illness. If present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. HARRISON (when Mr. STEPHENS's name was called). My colleague [Mr. STEPHENS] is necessarily absent. He has a special pair on this vote with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. HEBERT]. If the Senator from Rhode Island were present, he would vote "yea" and my colleague would vote "nay."

Mr. TYDINGS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. METCALF], who is necessarily absent on business. I understand, however, that he has made a special pair on this particular vote with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. HATFIELD]. If the Senator from Rhode Island were present, he would vote "yea" and the Senator from West Virginia, if present, would vote "nay." Therefore I am permitted to vote, and I vote "yea."

Mr. WAGNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. PATTERSON]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES], which will permit me to vote, and I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KING. I have a pair upon this vote and all matters relating to this resolution with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SCHALL]. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BAILEY. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE]. I am not advised as to how he would vote. I transfer that pair to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES] and vote "nay."

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] has voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That Senator has not voted.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. I have a pair with the junior Senator from Montana. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. FESS. I wish to announce the following general pair, but am not advised as to how either of the Senators would vote on this question.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY].

Mr. LOGAN. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. BARKLEY], who is unavoidably absent, would, if present, vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 15, nays 55, as follows:

YEAS—15

Barbour	Coolidge	La Follette	Wagner
Bingham	Copeland	Lewis	Walcott
Blaine	Glenn	Oddie	Walsh, Mass.
Bulkley	Kean	Tydings	

NAYS—55

Ashurst	Dale	Howell	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Dickinson	Hull	Sheppard
Bailey	Dill	Johnson	Shipstead
Black	Fess	Jones	Smith
Borah	Fletcher	Kendrick	Smoot
Bratton	Frazier	Keyes	Steiwer
Brookhart	George	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Glass	McKellar	Townsend
Capper	Goldsborough	McNary	Trammell
Caraway	Gore	Morrison	Vandenberg
Carey	Hale	Neely	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Harris	Norbeck	Watson
Costigan	Harrison	Norris	White
Couzens	Hayden	Nye	

NOT VOTING—25

Bankhead	Hatfield	Patterson	Swanson
Barkley	Hawes	Pittman	Thomas, Idaho
Broussard	Hebert	Reed	Waterman
Byrnes	King	Robinson, Ind.	Wheeler
Cutting	Logan	Schall	
Davis	Metcalf	Shortridge	
Hastings	Moses	Stephens	

So Mr. BINGHAM's resolution (S. Res. 144) was rejected.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting several nominations and a treaty, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

ARRANGEMENTS FOR CELEBRATION OF BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mr. McNARY obtained the floor.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. McNARY. I yield.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, earlier in the day the Senate adopted House Concurrent Resolution No. 12 making arrangements for the celebration of the two hundredth birthday of George Washington. There was an error in the House measure. I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to in order that the error may be corrected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the action of the Senate in agreeing to the concurrent resolution is reconsidered.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. What is the measure, may I ask?

Mr. FESS. It is a House concurrent resolution providing arrangements for the celebration of the two hundredth birthday of George Washington. Two items were left out of the concurrent resolution by mistake.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution is before the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. FESS. I move the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 5, after the word "Armies," it is proposed to insert "the Chief of Staff of the Army."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FESS. I offer another amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 5, after the word "operations," it is proposed to strike out the word "and."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FESS. I offer another amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 6, after the words "Marine Corps," it is proposed to insert "and the Commandant of the Coast Guard."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

ALABAMA CONTESTED-ELECTION EXPENSES

Mr. FESS. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, at the request of the chairman of that committee, I report back favorably Senate Resolution 139.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be reported.

The CHIEF CLERK. Senate Resolution 139, submitted by Mr. HASTINGS on the 15th instant, providing a further increase in the limit of expenditures in the matter of the so-called Heflin-Bankhead senatorial contest in the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEORGE. Let the resolution be read for the information of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, authorized by resolution of February 28, 1931, to hear and determine the pending contest between John H. Bankhead and J. Thomas Heflin involving the right to membership in the United States Senate as a Senator from the State of Alabama, hereby is authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate $5,000 in addition to the amount heretofore authorized for such purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. TYDINGS and Mr. GEORGE addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Ohio has the floor. Does he yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. FESS. I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. I should like to ask the Senator from Ohio a question. I understand that, as a result of the initial investigation in Alabama, there are very few ballots that have been questioned. Is that correct?

Mr. FESS. I do not have information as to that.

Mr. TYDINGS. Who can answer that question?

Mr. FESS. If the Senator will permit, let me state that the witnesses on the part of former Senator Heflin were heard, and their expenses were paid; but up to date there has not been sufficient money with which to pay witnesses on the part of Senator BANKHEAD, and the resolution seeks to make provision for that.

Mr. TYDINGS. May I ask the Senator another question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Ohio yield further to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. FESS. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. As I understand, the purpose of the resolution is to pay for witnesses who have already been before the committee?

Mr. FESS. That is correct.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have no objection to it, but I do think that we ought not to appropriate any more money until some sort of a prima facie case has been made out.

Mr. FESS. The resolution is limited to the payment of witnesses.

Mr. TYDINGS. How much has been spent?

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I asked that the resolution be read, and rose for the purpose of explaining that this appropriation was found to be necessary in order to enable Senator BANKHEAD to have paid the witnesses summoned by him before the commissioner in Alabama. The former appropriation having been exhausted with the examination of the witnesses summoned by Senator Heflin, the sum provided, or practically all of it, at least, is necessary to cover the expenses of the hearing already had.

Mr. FESS. That is correct.

Mr. GEORGE. And it is not the purpose of the committee to hear further evidence in Alabama, certainly not at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none, and, without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

PYRAMID LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION, NEV.

Mr. FESS. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report back favorably Senate Resolution 142.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the resolution be read.

The CHIEF CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 142) submitted by Mr. ODDIE on the 19th instant, authorizing an investigation of the situation on the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation in Nevada.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, this resolution was referred first to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, was reported by that committee, and then was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. JONES. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. Let the resolution be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to investigate the situation on the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation with a view to determining particularly (1) the status of entries made on lands therein by certain settlers, which lands have been occupied and improved by such settlers and their transferees for a period of at least 21 years prior to June 7, 1924; (2) the advisability of requiring early payment thereon by such settlers under the provisions of the act entitled "An act for the relief of settlers and town-site occupants of certain lands in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev.," approved June 7, 1924, in view of all the equities of the claimants, the amounts involved, and present economic conditions; (3) the fairness of the valuation placed on such lands by appraisal pursuant to the provisions of such act of June 7, 1924; and (4) the extent to which any general inequitable conditions may exist with relation to such land entries. The committee shall report to the Senate as soon as practicable the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations, if any, for necessary legislation for the relief of such settlers.

For the purposes of this resolution the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places in the District of Columbia or elsewhere during the sessions and recesses of the Senate in the Seventy-second Congress until the final report is submitted, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require

by subpœna or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed $1,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby requested to suspend, pending the deliberations and final report to the committee, and the final disposition by the Seventy-second Congress of such legislation as the committee may recommend, the requirements of any regulations prescribed by him governing payments on lands entered upon as hereinbefore referred to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Nevada or the Senator from North Dakota, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, if this resolution ought not to go to the Committee on Indian Affairs? As I understand—I know nothing about it except from the reading—it attempts to extinguish the title of Indians to the lands in question.

Mr. ODDIE. Mr. President, I think I can answer the Senator's suggestion. The resolution authorizes the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or a subcommittee thereof, to investigate certain questions concerning Indian lands and involving white settlers within the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation. An appraisement was made of the lands several years ago. It is believed there were errors in the appraisement. If this resolution shall not be adopted, numbers of old settlers, the best farmers we have, will be thrown off the lands by the 1st of February. They and their ancestors have been on these lands for over 60 years. The resolution also requests a postponement of action——

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I did not yield for the purpose of legislation or discussion; and, in view of the situation, I must go forward with my motion to adjourn.

I move that the Senate adjourn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution goes to the calendar; and the question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, January 22, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 21, 1932

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER (UNCLASSIFIED), VICE CONSUL OF CAREER, AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Livingston Satterthwaite, of Pennsylvania, to be a Foreign Service officer, unclassified, a vice consul of career, and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America.

MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

Thad H. Brown, of Ohio, to be a member of the Federal Radio Commission for the remainder of the term expiring February 23, 1932, vice Ira E. Robinson, resigned.

Thad H. Brown, of Ohio, to be a member of the Federal Radio Commission for a term of six years from February 24, 1932.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named doctors to be assistant dental surgeons in the grade of assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath:

Oscar Mikkelsen.
Mark E. Bowers.
Franklin R. Frampton.

The above-named officers have passed the examination required by law and the regulations of the service.

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

TO ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

Maj. George Morris Peabody, jr., Cavalry (detailed in Adjutant General's Department), with rank from May 18, 1929.

TO FINANCE DEPARTMENT

First Lieut. Frederick Eugene Coyne, jr., Field Artillery, with rank from July 1, 1920.

PROMOTION IN THE REGULAR ARMY

To be colonel

Lieut. Col. Guy Kent, Cavalry, from January 13, 1932.

To be lieutenant colonel

Maj. Gilbert Marshall, Coast Artillery Corps, from January 13, 1932.

To be major

Capt. Cyril Bassich, Field Artillery, from January 13, 1932.

To be captain

First Lieut. Max Frank Schneider, Air Corps, from January 13, 1932.

To be first lieutenants

Second Lieut. Edwin James Van Horne, Infantry, from January 12, 1932.

Second Lieut. Robert Charles Ross, Field Artillery, from January 13, 1932.

Second Lieut. Harry Purnell Storke, Field Artillery, from January 16, 1932.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, as our Heavenly Father Thou seest how strong we are toward the things of the flesh and how feeble we are toward the things of the Spirit. On life's restless sea at times we seem like little children with tired hands at the oar. O Lord our God, in the holy sanctuary of Thy infinite nature there is strength for the weak and love for the unlovely; Thou art so patient with us. We would live above human infirmity, and we pray Thou wouldst bring us each day under the shadow of Thy holy presence, as we have our nights and our days, our winters and our summers of experiences. Not until the last tear is shed, not until the last pulse of love has throbbed, not until the new heaven and the new earth appear will Thy mercy die away. In the adorable name of Jesus. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 259. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Public Service Coordinated Transport, of Newark, N. J.;

S. 315. An act for the relief of Lemuel Simpson;

S. 402. An act for the relief of Nelson King;

S. 476. An act for the relief of certain purchasers of lots in Harding Townsite, Fla.;

S. 477. An act for the relief of Walter J. Bryson Paving Co.;

S. 478. An act for the relief of Cicero A. Hilliard;

S. 542. An act for the relief of Denton L. Sims;

S. 573. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington;

S. 621. An act to repeal section 7 of the postal act approved May 29, 1928;

S. 659. An act for the relief of William J. Ryan, chaplain, United States Army;

S. 718. An act authorizing a survey of Coquille River, Oreg.;

S. 719. An act authorizing a survey of Columbia River from Tongue Point to the sea;

S. 721. An act authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of Alsea Bay, in the State of Oregon;

S. 723. An act authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of the Yamhill River, Oreg.;

S. 726. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Sunset Investment Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a dam to retain tidal waters in Inner Depoe Bay, Lincoln County, Oreg.;

S. 727. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Haynes Slough drainage district to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Haynes Slough, Coos Bay, Coos County, Oreg.;

S. 728. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Beaver Slough drainage district to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Beaver Slough, Coquille River, Coos County, Oreg.;

S. 729. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Larson Slough drainage district to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Larson Slough, Coos Bay, Coos County, Oreg.;

S. 730. An act to provide for preliminary examination and survey to be made of the Willamette River and its tributaries, Oreg., with a view to providing a navigable channel from Eugene to Springfield;

S. 1293. An act for the relief of Harold S. Shepardson;

S. 1302. An act to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of William W. Danenhower;

S. 1440. An act for the relief of August R. Lundstrom;

S. 1694. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to exchange obsolete, surplus, deteriorated, or unserviceable supplies or equipment for new supplies or equipment of the same general character;

S. 1891. An act for the relief of John F. Walker;

S. 2278. An act authorizing the Secretary of War to reduce the penalty of the bond of the Brazos River Harbor navigation district, of Brazoria County, Tex., furnished as surety for its doing certain work on the improvement of Freeport Harbor, Tex.;

S. 2378. An act to regulate the conduct and administration of military arsenals, Air Corps depots, and other War Department activities and property, and for other purposes;

S. 2406. An act for the relief of Harvey K. Meyer, and for other purposes;

S. 2408. An act to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington for lighthouse purposes";

S. 2531. An act for the relief of the Union Shipping & Trading Co. (Ltd.);

S. 2535. An act for the relief of Amos D. Carver, S. E. Turner, Clifford N. Carver, Scott Blanchard, P. B. Blanchard, James B. Parse, A. N. Blanchard, and W. A. Blanchard;

S. 2553. An act to reserve certain land on the public domain in Utah for addition to the Skull Valley Indian Reservation; and

S. 2822. An act for the relief of Anna Marie Sanford, widow of William Richard Sanford, deceased.

REDUCTION OF FEDERAL SALARIES

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a speech I made on Saturday, January 16, 1932, at the Hotel Willard.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech made by me before a committee of Federal employees on January 16, 1932:

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and the members of your committee for giving me the opportunity of appearing here to-day and registering my protest against any attempt to reduce the salaries of Federal employees, as I always felt and still believe that the Federal employees as a whole are underpaid.

I believe at this time it would be a big mistake for the Federal Government to attempt to reduce the salaries of its employees.

Yesterday the House of Representatives passed what is called the reconstruction bill to appropriate $2,000,000,000 to be used to protect the banks and the business interests of our country. The main object of this bill, as I understand it, is to give the people throughout the country confidence in the security of our banks and business institutions. If that is true, then any attempt of the Federal Government to cut down the salaries of its employees and take that amount of money out of circulation and reducing the purchasing power of its employees naturally would have a bad effect on the country and would not be in line with the object of the reconstruction bill.

I feel, however, that if there is any man or woman holding public office, either elective or appointive, who feels they are not entitled to the amount of money received, or that they are not earning that amount, in justice to their conscience and the Government they should return to the Government the amount of money that they feel they are not entitled to, but, on the other hand, I do not believe it is fair that they should try to compel others who believe they are earning the amount they receive from the Government to be deprived of any part of their salary.

In a bill that I recently introduced in Congress to cut down the hours of Federal employees I specifically stated in that bill that there should be no reduction of salaries, and I want to say to your committee to-day that my honest belief is that the only permanent solution of the unemployment question is less hours of work throughout the United States. For the past 25 or 30 years we have had great inventions, mass production, and efficiency which cut down on the number of people employed throughout the country. Seventy-five per cent of the working people of our country can produce more than we can consume or find a market for. Therefore it is very plain that we must reduce the hours if we are going to make places for the other 25 per cent.

I want to assure your committee as a Representative from the great State of New York that I will work against and vote against any attempt to reduce the salaries of Federal employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks and include therein a petition signed by about two score men and women who reside in Central City, Nebr., urging enforcement of the prohibition amendment; opposing modification, resubmission, or repeal; and requesting publication of their petition in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACTS

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes, and I ask unanimous consent that the statement may be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that the statement may be read in lieu of the report. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, and 30, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 16: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: On page 3, of the Senate engrossed amendments, line 14, insert before the word "Farm" the word "Federal"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment, insert:

"SEC. 5. Section 13 of the Federal farm loan act, as amended (U. S. C., title 12, ch. 7, sec. 781), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph to read as follows:

"'Tenth. When in the judgment of the directors conditions justify it, to extend, in whole or in part, any obligation that may be or become unpaid under the terms of any mortgage, and to accept payment of any such obligation during a period of five years or less from the date of such extension in such amounts as may be agreed upon at the date of making such extension. The sum of $25,000,000 of the amount authorized to be appropriated under section 5 of this act, as amended, shall be used exclusively for the purpose of supplying any bank with funds to use in its operations in place of any amounts of which such bank may be deprived by reason of extensions made as provided in this paragraph,'" and a period; and on page 2, lines 10 and 11 of the House bill, strike out "$100,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$125,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

H. B. STEAGALL,
C. H. BRAND,
W. F. STEVENSON,
L. T. MCFADDEN,
JAMES G. STRONG,
Managers on the part of the House.

PETER NORBECK,
FREDERICK STEIWER,
ROBERT D. CAREY,
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The following amendments make clerical changes and the House recedes: 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30.

On amendment No. 1: This amendment was made in order to remove any doubt as to the applicability of certain provisions of existing law to the Federal land-bank stock for which the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to subscribe under the House bill. Without the amendment the sixth paragraph of section 5 of the Federal farm loan act might be interpreted to require 25 per cent of all amounts received by any such bank from stock subscriptions by the Secretary of the Treasury to be applied to the retirement of its original capital stock. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 2: This amendment is formal only and was made necessary by amendment No. 1. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 3: This amendment provides that the Federal land-bank stock subscribed for by the Secretary of the Treasury shall be nonvoting; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 7: The House bill provided that the Federal Farm Loan Board might require the Federal land-bank stock subscribed for by the Secretary of the Treasury to be paid off and retired "out of available resources of the bank." Under this provision, if a question were raised as to the availability of the bank's resources for such purposes it would have to be determined ultimately by the courts. The Senate amendment in effect provides that the Federal Farm Loan Board is to determine if the bank has resources available for paying off and retiring such stock. Under the amendment the findings of the board would undoubtedly be upheld unless they were arbitrary or unreasonable. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 10: This amendment provides that the provisions of the House bill relating to the reserve requirements of Federal land banks shall become effective on July 1, 1932; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 11: This amendment was made necessary by amendment No. 10; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 15: This amendment is a clarifying amendment, and the policy is the same as in the House bill; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 16: This amendment in effect provides that dividends declared by joint-stock land banks shall be subject to the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 18: This amendment provides that the effective date of the provisions of the bill relating to the reserve requirements of national farm loan associations shall be July 1, 1932; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 21 and 22: The House bill provided that 20 per cent of the net earnings of every national farm loan association should be semiannually carried to reserve account until the reserve account should be equal to the outstanding capital stock of the association. The Senate amendments provide that 10 per cent of the net earnings of every such association shall semiannually be carried to reserve account until the account is equal to the 25 per cent of the outstanding capital stock of the association; and the House recedes.

On amendments Nos. 23 and 27: These amendments were made necessary by amendments Nos. 22 and 21, respectively; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 28: The House bill provided by an amendment to section 25 of the Federal farm loan act, as amended (relating to defaulted loans), that Federal land banks were authorized, when in the judgment of their directors conditions justified it, to extend for five years or less the time for the payment by borrowers of their unpaid installments upon mortgages held by the banks. The repayment of the extended installments was to be made in equal amounts in addition to the regular installments to become due during the period of extension. The Senate amendment transfers the substance of the provisions of the House bill to section 13 of such act (relating to the powers of Federal land banks). It also provides that the power of extension is to apply to all unpaid obligations of the borrowers from the banks under the terms of a mortgage instead of installments, but that the power is not to be exercised without the consent of the farm loan association through which the loan was made. Repayment is to be made in such amounts as may be agreed upon at the time of making the extension. The amendment also provides for an additional stock issue of $25,000,000 to be subscribed for by the Secretary of the Treasury and to be used exclusively for supplying the banks with funds to use in place of the amounts of which they are deprived by reason of such extensions. It is further provided that this is not to be construed as a limitation upon the use by the bank of funds otherwise available, and certain factors are specified which the directors of the banks must consider in making the extensions.

The House recedes with an amendment which leaves the text as a part of section 13 of the Federal farm loan act, as amended, but which eliminates the language of the Senate amendment (1) requiring the consent of the farm loan associations before extensions are made, (2) relating to the use by the banks of funds otherwise available, and (3) specifying the factors to be considered by the directors of the banks in making extensions. Also by increasing by $25,000,000 the amount authorized to be appropriated under section 2 of the bill for the stock subscription, the language of the Senate amendment relating to the additional stock issue becomes unnecessary, and consequently it is merely stated that the $25,000,000 shall be used exclusively in connection with such extensions.

H. B. STEAGALL,
C. H. BRAND,
W. F. STEVENSON,
L. T. MCFADDEN,
JAMES G. STRONG,
Managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, before the conference report is agreed to, it would be informative to the House, I am sure, if the gentleman from Alabama would explain wherein the agreement reached by the conferees goes beyond that which the House agreed to in so far as loans to farmers who are in default on their mortgages are concerned.

Mr. STEAGALL. It was my purpose to undertake to inform the House of the action of the conference committee. The House bill provided that when, in the judgment of the directors of a bank, conditions justified it, they were authorized to extend in whole or in part any installment or installments upon any mortgage that might be due and unpaid or become due and unpaid, and to accept payments for such installment or installments as were in arrears over a period of five years or less, to be spread out in equal amounts and paid along with other regular installments on the mortgages to become due. That was the language of the bill as it passed the House.

The Senate changed that language with reference to extensions so as to eliminate the requirement that installments be paid in equal amounts, but followed the language of the House bill providing that installments should be extended over a period of five years or less and provided that installments should be paid in such amounts as might be agreed upon by the borrowers and the banks. The Senate added the sum of $25,000,000 to the appropriation carried in the House bill. As Members of the House will remember, the House bill carried an appropriation of $100,000,000. The Senate added $25,000,000 and inserted a direction that the additional $25,000,000 should be used exclusively to replace funds of which the banks should be deprived by reason of extensions granted as provided in the bill. The conferees have accepted these changes made by the Senate in that connection. The bill now carries an appropriation of $125,000,000, with the proviso that $25,000,000 of that amount shall be used exclusively in connection with the granting of extensions by the banks.

Mr. STAFFORD. Those extensions, I believe, under the agreement reached by the conferees, must be subject to the approval of the local district bank.

Mr. STEAGALL. It is done by the district bank, and the Senate bill had a provision requiring national farm-loan associations to approve or consent to any extension that might be made for a borrower, but the conferees struck that provision from the bill.

The reason for that provision was, as the gentleman well understands, the Federal land bank system is a cooperative system in which each bank is responsible for the bonds of every other bank and loans are made through associations that guarantee each particular loan. So that, in practical effect, each borrower sustains a contractual relation with every other borrower in the system, and the suggestion was made that contractual rights should be specifically preserved by providing that no extensions should be made without the approval or consent of national farm associations.

It is a well-established principle of law that a surety has a right to expect the payee of an obligation to proceed upon maturity to make his money out of the principal, and that if he fails to do so, or agrees to defer payment, without the consent of the surety the surety is absolved from liability on the obligation. This is a principle of common law that is of universal application. Most of the States have statutory regulations supplementary of the common law; some of them, perhaps, exclusive of the common law. In the State of Alabama I think it is supplementary of the common law.

So it was thought by some that specific direction should be written into the law governing the actions of the banks in this connection in making extensions to borrowers so as to avoid possible litigation that might result from any interference with contractual rights.

The provision was stricken out in conference because we thought it was a matter of detail that should be regulated by each bank, with reference to the particular statutory regulations that might obtain in each particular district or State where the question of extensions would have to be dealt with. So we left it out.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand the agreement reached, it provides that those who are in default on their mortgages may have an extension for no longer period than five years.

Mr. STEAGALL. No. That is not the provision of the law. I will explain the situation at that point. The Federal farm loan act does not contain any machinery adequate to clothe officials of a bank with common-sense discretion in connection with cases where it may be found desirable to extend the payments due on mortgages. Under the law at this time when a mortgage falls due one of two courses is open. One is to foreclose and the other is to carry the mortgage to the suspense account where it is useless or innocuous. The law rather contemplated a system that would work automatically. With the safeguards thrown around loans in the matter of appraisals and the cooperative safeguards attached to the transaction, it was contemplated that the law would work automatically; that when installments on mortgages became due, they would be paid or the situation would be such as to make it necessary and proper for the banks to foreclose.

But we have found in the practical operation of the banks that cases arise where such is not true. Due to the unusual conditions in which we are involved now there are many cases where the banks can not foreclose mortgages without the loss of the homes of borrowers, and often losses to the banks, that could be avoided if the officials were clothed with proper authority to administer the banks in a common-sense way, like other business institutions are administered, by granting extensions to debtors when peculiar circumstances make it desirable for both sides to the transaction to do so.

So I attempted in the House bill which I introduced to set up the necessary machinery by which the banks could deal with each particular transaction in a common-sense way, and where a bank finds it is about to destroy a borrower and meantime suffer unnecessary loss upon a mortgage, which perhaps could be collected in full in normal times, to give authority to extend and to handle such a situation in a common-sense way to the best interest of the bank and the borrower.

Now, just at this point, that the gentlemen may get clearly what we are proposing: The law contemplates that the bonds issued by the banks, upon which funds are obtained out of which to make loans to borrowers, shall be secured by mortgages held by the banks, and if mortgages become delinquent, of course, the banks are at once involved in difficulties in the bond market unless they pay the obligations on their bonds promptly or substitute mortgages upon which all installments have been paid. But this situation might arise, and it has arisen in actual practice: There might be a borrower who had paid installments on his loan for 10 or 15 years. It might be as solvent and safe a mortgage as could be found in the vaults of the bank, and yet if that borrower, due to droughts or floods or storms or to this unhappy depression in which we find ourselves, finds himself temporarily unable to meet his installments on his loan, the bank under the present law, and the existing embarrassment that exists with some of the banks, foreclosure would follow. This would be true even though the mortgage might be as solvent as any the bank holds. But under the provisions of the bill passed by the House, which is retained in the bill reported by the conference committee, the banks would be given authority and equipped with necessary funds to do what every other bank does—take such a case and deal with it on its merits and, if desirable, grant the borrower an extension and renew the installments and spread them out over five years and let them be absorbed over a period of five years along with other annual installments. When this has been done the mortgage is up to date and in proper shape and the bank may treat it as valid and set it up as security for bonds.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am sure the information the gentleman has given is most informative.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a few questions.

Mr. STEAGALL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONES. If I understand, it was the purpose of the bill as it passed the House, and also the purpose of the amendment worked out in conference, that $25,000,000 should be available for taking care of worthy cases of delinquent installments to the banks.

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes. I think I can make the matter entirely clear.

Mr. HASTINGS. That is principal and interest.

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes. Any installment due involves principal and interest. I think I can make the matter clear. The bill carries authorization for an appropriation of $125,000,000, with the proviso that $25,000,000 of that amount shall be used exclusively in connection with the extension of loans.

Let me say this, that what we are attempting to do with reference to extension is to set up the proper machinery to enable the banks to take mortgages that are regarded as solvent and renew them and carry them as security for bonds issued by the banks.

As a practical proposition there is not so much to the matter of additional funds for use in connection with extensions as seems to be supposed. What the banks need is the money with which to pay obligations on their bonds and to keep on hand a sufficient amount of valid mortgage security to guarantee payment of their obligations on their bonds.

So that there is not much practical need for any money for use in granting extensions. We are not trying to provide a method of paying installments of farmers' debts due the banks but to set up a workable plan by which renewals may be had to obviate the necessity of foreclosures. When extension is granted we obviate the necessity of payment. The whole purpose of extension is to avoid payment. You do not need any money to go to a bank and state that you are not in a position to pay, but will pay next year if your request for postponement is granted.

So reference to figures involved in the extension of loans does not mean so much as some seem to have thought. The practical result will be accomplished when we set up the machinery by which the banks may extend mortgages.

Nowhere is it provided in this legislation, either by the House or the Senate, that specific blanket instructions shall be given the banks to extend mortgages without regard to the merits of the case. We can not under the Constitution pass legislation to set aside contracts. All talk of a general moratorium is useless. No such law would stand up if tested in the courts.

Mr. JONES. The gentleman from Alabama has made it perfectly clear on that point. As I understand, there is only fifteen or sixteen million dollars of delinquents as a total for the whole country. And this covers all of the 12 land banks.

Mr. STEAGALL. That is the total amount, and not more than half of that amount is under foreclosure, according to the figures of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Mr. JONES. So $25,000,000 set apart will enable the banks to deal with all the worthy cases in handling matters of that kind?

Mr. STEAGALL. Absolutely; but, as I have just explained, they do not have to have much money for the reason that where the paper is extended it does not require payment.

Mr. JONES. The reason I wanted to make that clear was to get the gentleman to express just as clearly as he can the intent of the committee and the Congress.

Mr. STEAGALL. There will be cases, no doubt, where a farmer might not be able to meet his tax assessments, or something of that kind, and there may be other occasional uses for it, but in the main we have accomplished what we desire when we afford the funds to pay the obligations on the mortgages and set up the machinery to extend or renew payments.

Mr. JONES. I want to read to the gentleman from a statement sent out by one of the former directors of the Houston Land Bank, who is now secretary and treasurer of one of the associations, addressed to the borrowers of the National Federated Loan Association, for the purpose of having the gentleman make clear the real intention under this bill. He said:

AMARILLO, TEX., *January 14, 1932.*

To borrowers through Amarillo National Farm Loan Association:

* * * * * * *

If such a bill becomes a law and $25,000,000 is placed in such a fund, you will realize its relative insignificance when you consider that the interest and amortization on the $1,700,000,000 loaned through the 12 Federal land banks will aggregate about $100,000,000, or four times the appropriation; therefore any benefits that might be derived would be small and of questionable value. This fund could only be administered in the form of loans based on acceptable security and through the Federal land bank. To illustrate: If you have a loan of $5,000 and your interest and amortization is $162.50 semiannually, you would give 10 notes to the bank of $32.50 each, plus interest. This will be added to your semiannual installments and you will pay $195 semiannually for the next five years instead of $162.50.

We think the relief offered in the bill is a camouflage, complicates our loans, and gives no material relief. We recommend that our borrowers pay promptly, as heretofore, their interest and amortization payments when due and avoid consequent embarrassment of automatically maturing our loans by not complying with our contracts.

With approval of the board.

That is dated January 14. I read that for the purpose of enabling the gentleman to make it clear that it is the real intention of the committee and the Congress to make it possible in worthy cases that the payment of these installments be extended and that these homes be saved.

Mr. STEAGALL. The Congress has gone as far as any lawyer in either House thinks we have a right to go under the law in directing the Federal Farm Loan Board and the Federal land banks to cease the senseless foreclosures of mortgages against their borrowers, which involve the borrowers in the loss of their homes and involve the banks in the loss of collections that they could make if they were administered in a common-sense way like every other institution in the world. [Applause.]

Mr. JONES. I thank the gentleman for that statement. The gentleman clearly states the intention of Congress and the sentiment of Congress and the intention of this law. I hope it will be administered in accordance with his statement and in accordance with the intention of the Congress, and not through some hard-boiled method of trying to foreclose on these borrowers. The times are not normal. Many good men are unable to make their payments; men who have heretofore kept up their installments; men who are making every effort to comply with their obligations. These men should not have their homes taken away in this period of stress and their life savings thus destroyed.

Mr. STEAGALL. Let me say in addition that I have been assured from sources that I am sure neither the gentleman nor I would question that these indirect instructions of Congress, this declaration of the purpose of Congress, expressed along with the legislation which gives the banks the necessary funds and the necessary machinery to carry it out, will be observed in good faith, and that the banks throughout the country will be instructed forthwith, after the passage of this law, to proceed to administer their collections in accordance with the expressed purpose of Congress.

Mr. JONES. I thank the gentleman for his very clear explanation.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. STEAGALL. Certainly.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I think it is well for the House to understand just what is being done here. When you strip all of the unnecessary language out of this bill it simply means that you are authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe for $125,000,000 of the stock of the Federal land-bank system, to be distributed among the 12 banks. You are also authorizing the management of these banks to extend the time for payment of interest and amortization payments of borrowers for a period of five years, when they can make a case to the officers of these 12

Federal land banks, and there is available for that purpose not only the $125,000,000 that you are authorizing here, but the entire assets of the Federal farm-loan system are available for that purpose. You are not allocating a certain sum of $25,000,000 here for the purpose of paying interest and amortization payments for those borrowers who are unable to pay.

The law you are passing here says that out of the $25,000,000 these extensions must be made, up to that amount, but there is no limitation in this bill so far as I can see, but all of the assets of the Federal farm loan system are available to extend the loans of those borrowers who show to the Federal farm loan management that they are unable to make their maturing interest and amortization payments.

Mr. STEAGALL. Oh, the gentleman is in error in two statements.

Mr. McFADDEN. Let me quote the law in that respect.

Mr. STEAGALL. Let me quote the law, because the gentleman has misquoted it. I will clear the matter for the gentleman at both points. One is that there is no requirement in this law that the funds provided in this bill shall be distributed equally among the banks. Some of the banks do not need any aid. It is contemplated that the funds will be drawn upon when the Federal Farm Loan Board finds it is necessary to deal with any situation that may arise in any particular bank; and there is no requirement that the funds shall be distributed equally.

Mr. McFADDEN. I agree with the gentleman there.

Mr. STEAGALL. The gentleman is also in error when he says that the $25,000,000 must be used in granting extensions. The bill does not so provide. It merely provides that $25,000,000 of the funds shall be held exclusively for that purpose, and it is not contemplated by anyone that they will ever need to use all of it, and there is no requirement in the law that they shall use all of it, and there is nothing in the law that attempts to say to the officials of banks that they must grant anybody an extension, unless upon the consideration of the merits of a particular case they find it is proper to do so.

Mr. McFADDEN. The gentleman has restated what I said, that the $25,000,000 was a direct notice to the board that they were to extend loans, but the gentleman stated this did not require money to extend these loans. He is correct in this; the banks need no money to extend these loans. The banks can extend loans to the people without the payment of money, and that is what they will do. The Treasury is subscribing $25,000,000 to the banks to strengthen the banks. They will buy stock for that.

As regards the provision as to the use of the entire assets of the Federal farm-loan system, I direct the gentleman's attention to page 7 of the bill, the Senate bill, to the provision for extensions contained herein, and I quote that it is not intended and shall not be construed to limit the use or application of any of the funds of the banks otherwise available for the purpose of making extensions hereafter authorized. I say to the gentleman from Texas——

Mr. STEAGALL. Pardon me; but the gentleman has read something that is not in the law.

Mr. McFADDEN. I am reading from the bill that is now under consideration.

Mr. STEAGALL. The gentleman is reading from the Senate bill, and that bill was amended by the conference committee. The provision was stricken out.

Mr. McFADDEN. I call attention to the fact that for some years past there has been a controversy as to whether the bonds of the Federal farm-loan system are instrumentalities of the United States Government.

The passage of this bill is notice to the investors and to the public that in an emergency the United States is taking charge of the situation and subscribing $125,000,000 to the Federal farm-loan system. It is notice to those people who hold bonds that the United States proposes to say that these bonds of the Federal farm-loan system are at all times safe. Some years ago, when this act was under consideration, I made the statement that eventually all of these bonds issued by the Federal farm-loan system would become the obligations of the United States Government. I think that situation is here at the present time. The passage of this act is virtually assurance of this.

Mr. STEAGALL. The gentleman is aware of the fact that the United States Government is doing many things now that represent a departure from past policies. Why not apply the new policy to aid the farmers of the country?

Mr. McFADDEN. Yes; I am aware of that. That is the reason I am saying what I have just said.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is nothing in the conference report that changes the attitude of the National Government toward the bonds.

Mr. STEAGALL. That is entirely correct.

Mr. McFADDEN. But $125,000,000 is subscribed by the United States Government for the stock of the banks and the banks are authorized to extend all payments that are now or that may become due on farmers' mortgages—to extend them for five years.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is no different than a stranger subscribing.

Mr. BROWNING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. BROWNING. In many instances, for reasons well known to all of us, those who are delinquent are not able to pay their taxes. Are the banks authorized by this bill to use the $25,000,000 in the payment of taxes and also in extending the loan?

Mr. STEAGALL. They are; and I can clearly see how we may find use for the $25,000,000 to take care of such difficulties as these. But, as I have already stated, when a mortgage is extended there is no need for payment, but there could arise a situation such as that to which the gentleman refers, and it was contemplated that the provisions of the bill would take care of that sort of situation.

Mr. BROWNING. Is it the intention of the Congress, as the gentleman understands it, that it shall be used in that way?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes; and it clearly so provides.

Mr. RAGON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. RAGON. As I understand it, this $25,000,000, except for the payment of taxes, will not be used?

Mr. STEAGALL. I would not care to make that broad statement. I think the gentleman has gathered from what I have already stated what my views are at that point.

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. STEVENSON. I think I see the difficulty which is bothering the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. RAGON]. It is not expected that the bank will allow interest to default that is coming due on the bonds which are secured by mortgages that are extended. If an installment is extended, that coupon has to be taken care of, and the $25,000,000 will have to do it.

Mr. RAGON. That is exactly what I was driving at. Will that $25,000,000 be used for that purpose?

Mr. STEVENSON. For such purposes as are necessary arising out of the extension. The language was made much broader than it was.

Mr. RAGON. As I gathered from the statement made by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STEAGALL], the only purpose of this $25,000,000 would serve would be to pay taxes?

Mr. STEAGALL. Not necessarily.

Mr. RAGON. If it is as the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON] states, it seems to me it serves the purpose that all want to serve.

Mr. STEAGALL. Here is a situation that should be realized: When a mortgage is extended, that is brought down to date within the meaning of the Federal farm loan act, the banks are permitted to carry that mortgage as valid security against their bonds and there is no necessity for payment where the loan is extended. The very purpose of extension, as I have attempted to explain, is to avoid

payment. If a paper is extended which is not regarded as solvent or fit to set up as security for bonds, it would be necessary to pay installments due on such a mortgage.

Mr. RAGON. That is true.

Mr. STEAGALL. But if there is an extension granted in a case where the mortgage is not regarded as proper to be set up as security for bonds, the bank would have this fund available to use in supplying any loss by reason of carrying that paper.

Mr. RAGON. From these bonds that are outstanding.

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes.

Mr. YON. In the case of default payments, every case will have to be handled individually?

Mr. STEAGALL. That is true, of course.

Mr. BRIGGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes.

Mr. BRIGGS. I want to say that since this legislation has been before the Congress I have already seen quite a change in the demeanor of the management of some of the Federal land banks. In one region, where there had been a suggestion from some of the officials with reference to making foreclosures, their attitude has now completely changed. As I understand, the chairman of the committee is in agreement with the course that they shall be lenient in such matters.

Mr. STEAGALL. I feel the land-bank officials so understand, and I have good reason to believe that policy will be adopted in the future.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Does this bill and this authorization carry any provision which would enable the Federal land banks to take care of foreclosures that have already taken place, where they have bid the property in and now hold it?

Mr. STEAGALL. That will be a matter of detail to be worked out by each bank. It will depend upon the statutory regulations in each State and the status of each particular case at the time they attempt to deal with it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall not yield further. I desire to briefly add to my statement. I think my friends in the House will agree that during the present session, without wasting time in needless talk or political discussion, I have devoted my time with at least reasonable diligence to the work before the committee on which I have the honor to serve and to the tasks that have been assigned to me as a Member of the House. [Applause.]

As a rule I am not very jealous of any credit that anybody may attempt to take for any slight service I may have been able to render as a Member of this House; but I want to say in connection with the passage of this bill that I have some pride of authorship. I worked throughout the entire former session of Congress to secure favorable action on this legislation by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House. I introduced a bill substantially the same, and extended hearings were held on it. I have the hearings here now and the RECORD to show that that bill was defeated by the Secretary of the Treasury and by members of the Federal Farm Loan Board, who insisted that there was no need for the legislation and that my effort in behalf of it was hurting the banks by injuring their standing in the bond market and by arousing discontent among their borrowers. That is the history of this legislation down to the time that there was a conference held in Washington last October. At that time the administration committed itself in favor of the legislation. I regret, however, that the entire administration strenuously opposed every effort to incorporate in the legislation any provision for the extension of loans to relieve borrowers in their present distress. I thank the administration for its limited and belated efforts.

I thank my friends on both sides of the House for their cooperation in passing the bill. I hope it will not be considered immodest of me to state here that the people of the country may know the true history of this legislation and let the House know that some of us who are members of their Banking and Currency Committee tried to do this a year ago, and it would have been done if we could have had our way. [Applause.] If it had been done it would have saved the homes of thousands of farmers in the United States who, during the year that has elapsed, have been turned out of doors to tramp down the public highways in search of shelter for their families. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the adoption of the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

THE NEEDS OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an address which I delivered on Saturday, January 16, before the National Republican Club of New York City, in a nonpartisan discussion of the needs of our national defense.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech he made on the 16th of January. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, was that the National Democratic Club?

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. This was a nonpartisan discussion of the needs of our national defense before the National Republican Club of New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following address which I delivered on Saturday, January 16, before the National Republican Club of New York City, in a nonpartisan discussion of the subject, The Needs of Our National Defense:

The World War brought home to millions of us how great is the blessing of peace. It caused many to believe it the greatest of all blessings. But such a belief was far from that of our forefathers, who settled this continent, established our Government, and made it great. In all ages men have been willing to sacrifice peace for the sake of their ideals, their rights, and their liberties. Our Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the World War itself are but a few of the many manifestations of this fact.

In this great country of ours we possess the blessing of liberty together with the blessing of peace, and it is the devout hope and aim of all true men and women to maintain and preserve them both. But how can these twin blessings of peace and liberty be preserved? Is it by sinking our ships and beating our guns into plowshares or by maintaining an armed force of sufficient strength to support our policies and our commerce and to guard our continental and overseas possessions?

North America is like a great island, with the Atlantic separating us from Europe and Africa, and the Pacific separating us from Asia and Australia. Our commerce with those countries and with South America must be carried on by ships that traverse those oceans. In addition, we have a great sea-borne trade between our Pacific and Atlantic coasts that flows through the Panama Canal.

Some would have us believe that we are a nation that is entirely self-contained and self-sustaining. But such is far from the facts, for we are dependent upon our sea-borne trade for such vital imports as rubber, manganese, quinine, coffee, tea, silk, mica, tin, shellac, and numerous other materials. Think for an instant of what would happen if we had no rubber for the automobile industry in this country. Consider what would happen if we were deprived of manganese, so vital to the manufacture of steel, or of mica and shellac, so necessary to the manufacture of electrical machinery.

Not alone are free seas necessary to enable us to import our necessities, but they are vital to our prosperity, for without the ability to export our surplus farm products, our surplus manufactured articles, and our surplus cotton and wheat, an economic situation would quickly be brought about which would make our present depression seem an era of prosperity.

The plea has been made that Great Britain must control the seas to insure her food supplies. It is true she must have free intercourse with Europe across a narrow, almost an inland, sea. But she has no more need to dominate the other seas than have we. The free movement of her trade across those oceans is vital to her prosperity exactly as the free movement of our trade across those oceans is vital to our prosperity. To yield control of the seas to Great Britain is to sacrifice the great commercial future of our country. We are willing she should share equally with

us the responsibility of maintaining the freedom of the seas, but I sincerely hope we will never again be willing for her to dominate them.

During the past century Great Britain was the dominating financial power of the world, but that distinction has now passed to our country and we are to-day the financial center of the earth. To have a navy only equal to that of Great Britain is indeed a friendly concession on our part rather than an achievement.

Our position among the nations of the world was clearly enunciated by President Coolidge when, in addressing the Seventieth Congress, he said:

"We have a foreign commerce and ocean lines of trade unsurpassed by any other country. We have outlying territory in the two great oceans and long stretches of seacoast studded with the richest cities in the world. We are responsible for the protection of a large population and the greatest treasure ever bestowed upon any people."

The question of disarmament thus comes to this: "Are the people of this country willing to depend for their safety, their liberty, and their material blessings upon such sense of justice as might animate nations that are relatively poor and that envy our wealth and prosperity?" If there are those who would place their trust in others rather than in their own people they would do well to recall the admonition of President Roosevelt, who said, "There is no surer way of courting national disaster than to be opulent, aggressive, and unarmed."

I believe that no people in the world have a more generous and noble character than the people of the United States. So long as we remain strong our actions in world affairs will be directed by our own people If we become weak, our actions will be controlled by a less generous and less noble people.

No Government which fails to provide for its own preservation against the assaults of every probable foe is entitled to the support of its people. The primary duty of government is self-preservation, and no logic can justify it in stripping itself of its means of defense and relying for its preservation upon the mercy, the pity, or the love of other nations.

In the peaceful and quiet year of 1913 who would have dared to predict that within five years we would be sending millions of men to Europe to engage in battle against Germany? Even after Europe had entered the war millions of our citizens believed it a fantastic dream to think that the United States should be drawn into that war. The political complexion of the world can change in a very brief period of time, but it takes years to build ships and to train officers and men to man them efficiently. You may remember that after we entered the World War we laid down some 171 destroyers before the armistice, but when the armistice was signed we had completed only 36 and gotten to the war zone only 27. In the future, if we should unhappily be forced to engage in war, we may not be so fortunate as to have allied with us navies, such as those of Great Britain and France, to hold our enemies in check for 12 months while we slowly make those preparations that we should have made before the declaration of war.

The pacifist and internationalist will tell you that military and naval strength cause war. Such a statement is about as logical as one which declares that crime can be abolished by destroying our police forces; that disease can be eradicated by abolishing our hospitals and our doctors; that fires can be eliminated by abandoning our fire departments. The lack of an armed force never kept from war a people who devoutly believed in their cause. The citizens of the Thirteen Colonies had no real military or naval organization, yet they waged war upon England. The people of the South had no military or naval organization, yet so devoutly did they believe in their cause that they unhesitatingly accepted the risks and sacrifices which war entails.

In this country the Army and Navy have practically nothing to do with shaping our national policies. These services are the servants and not the masters of the civil government. The right to declare war rests solely with the Congress of the United States, and that Congress is composed of the representatives of the people. Military and naval strength is called upon after the people and the statesmen have declared war. Then, their every effort is directed toward the reestablishment of peace under the conditions that are demanded by the people and the statesmen. No American need fear that the United States will ever become militaristic. It is the voice of the people that will ever rule this country of ours, and it is the voice of the people that will determine the strength of our Army and of our Navy.

Unreadiness for war only accentuates the sufferings and multiplies the losses of those engaged. Our pension roll and our hospitalization program bear silent witness to this, and that in spite of the fact that we were given almost a year to prepare our Army for the ordeal of battle.

No country has a moral right to demand that her soldiers and sailors go into battle with strength and equipment inferior to those of her opponents. Yet unless we prepare adequately in time of peace, that is the inevitable result when war comes. Once war has been declared, it will be too late to prepare, and all the wealth of Crœsus would not be able to furnish ships and guns and proper training to be effective in sufficient time.

Our men are entitled to an even chance, even if it costs us some money. Battle is a gruesome contest upon which the fate of the Nation may depend. Is this, the richest country in the world, willing to send its Navy out to meet that of an enemy with ships that are old, slow, obsolete, and of inferior strength in order to save a few dollars? I do not believe it.

In war the stake is the welfare or even the very life of the Nation. And on the day of battle we want not merely a 50-50 chance of success but such strength as will insure victory to us.

The London naval treaty extended the agreements made at Washington in 1922, so that now tonnage or armament limitations have been applied to all types of ships. That treaty was negotiated by civilians; not a single naval officer being a delegate. It established limits within which each nation can build without a threat to any other nation. The ratios agreed to presumably afforded a reasonable degree of security to each nation and curtailed the possibility of offensive action by any of the contracting powers against another. Such a condition will hold if the ratios are maintained, but any radical change from the established ratios in the actual maintained naval strength will tend to destroy the very security set up by the treaty.

Human beings have progressed far up the ladder of human development, but still they are frail and are animated by the passions of fear, anger, hate, and jealousy. They have far to go before these are banished. Nations are composed of individuals. Self-preservation and self-interest still dominate the policy of nations.

It is my belief that peace can best be assured and the interests of the United States most securely preserved by this country building up to the limits of the London treaty and by maintaining our naval strength at that level until some further limitation agreement is reached between the great maritime powers. Of all the countries in the world, the United States can the most easily afford to maintain its Navy at the treaty strength. No country requires the safety that a navy alone can give more than does the United States with her vast commerce, frontiers on both the Atlantic and Pacific, and outlying possessions lying thousands of miles from the North American Continent.

Since no man can foresee the future clearly, it must be evident that a nation that requires a military or naval force requires one adequate to function efficiently in the hour of need. The defense of the country must not be based upon the fluctuations of the stock or commodity market. A country does not need a navy of one strength when she is prosperous and a navy of another size when there is an economic depression. At all times we need a navy that is strong enough to defend our possessions and to support our policies, policies framed by statesmen to assure the safety of our country and development of our commerce. For the protection of our commerce our Navy was first established. With the greatly increased value of that commerce, which totals over $8,000,000,000 annually, and with the keen rivalry for world markets, it is but reasonable that we should provide for its insurance in the form of an adequate Navy, and by adequate I mean one that we can rely upon for victory beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Our Army and Navy should be at all times administered with economy, but to reduce the number of our men and to decommission our ships to a point where our national safety may be threatened is false economy. To maintain a navy which is not strong enough to win in battle is the worst form of extravagance. It lulls the people into a false sense of security that may have the most disastrous consequences.

When economy was advanced as a reason for reducing the English Navy some hundred and fifty years ago, Edmund Burke replied in these words:

"But in a scheme for making this nation 'happy at home and respected abroad, formidable in war and flourishing in peace,' it is surely a little unfortunate for us that he has picked out the navy as the very first object of his economical experiments. Of all the public service, that of the navy is the one in which tampering may be of the greatest danger, * * * and of which any failure draws after it the longest and heaviest train of consequences."

In the House of Representatives in 1810 John Randolph, of Virginia, urged the reduction of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. "Who," he asked, "were we to fight, and where?" The answer was not long in coming. Within four years the very floor on which he then stood was consumed by flames when an English force captured the city of Washington and burned the Capitol.

Wars have an unfortunate habit of springing up suddenly and of spreading to nations not originally concerned. In 1914 an affair between Austria and a small Balkan country involved nearly all of Europe and eventually the United States. To preserve our rights upon the sea and to save democracy in Europe we entered that struggle and contributed our ships, our men, and our treasure without stint.

To-day there is armed conflict in Manchuria. We devoutly desire to keep that conflict localized, but whether or not that is possible remains to be seen.

Pacifists and politicians tell us of the "crushing burden of armaments." Many take such phrases to heart and believe them. But let us see just what our Navy costs. The Federal appropriations for the fiscal year 1931 totaled about four and one-half billion dollars. The naval appropriation was $390,000,000, or only 8½ per cent of the total. The Army appropriation was about 10¼ per cent. The combined Army and Navy appropriations were less than 20 per cent of the total Federal appropriations. Certainly there is no crushing burden there, especially when the fact is considered that one of the foremost duties of the Federal Government as prescribed by the Constitution is "to provide for the common defense."

The national income of the United States has been estimated at over $89,000,000,000 annually. Our Navy costs but forty-three hundredths of 1 per cent, less than 1 cent per capita per day.

A very considerable part of the Federal expenditures goes toward pensions, the hospitalization of veterans, the bonus, etc. This should not be regarded as a charge against preparedness. It is the price we are paying for our unpreparedness in 1917–18. Had we been strong then, Germany would never have forced us into the war. Because we were weak Germany felt we could not bring our potential strength to bear in time to affect the result.

Our national indebtedness, the loss of thousands of the flower of our youth, the continuing cost of our pensions and hospitalization programs are the penalties we have had to pay and must continue to pay.

Unless we maintain our Navy at treaty strength we will start the same vicious circle over again, and before we have ceased paying for our shortsightedness in not preparing properly before the World War we will find new burdens plied upon us on account of our lack of foresight to-day.

From my remarks you know I am no pacifist nor believer that Utopia can be achieved by disarmament. Rather do I believe that peace and safety for our country can best be achieved by keeping a moderate and efficient standing Army and by building our Navy up to the strength allowed under the Washington and London treaties. Having done that, we should refrain from giving unwanted and unwelcome advice to all the other nations of the earth. We should ever remember the words of Washington: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7912, with Mr. MCCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I will state for the benefit of those who are to speak on this side in general debate that it is going to be impossible for me to extend their time even one minute. General debate closes to-day, and we have more than enough applications already to take up all the time.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will join with the gentlemen on this side in an agreement that there will be no extensions of time granted for men who are recognized for a specific time in general debate.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to my colleague the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HART]. [Applause.]

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Subcommittee on Agriculture, I feel that I would be doing less than my duty if I did not call your attention to the activities and appropriations for one of the bureaus in the Department of Agriculture, namely, the extension service. The grand total for this bureau, under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, is $13,076,911. These appropriations have been made pursuant to special acts of Congress, and have grown by leaps and bounds since 1914. One of these acts was introduced and bears the name of my distinguished friend from Michigan, Hon. JOHN C. KETCHAM, and appropriates an additional $1,480,000 for advice to farmers. This additional appropriation was made on May 22, 1928. This money is spent in cooperation with agricultural colleges, farm organizations, and other agencies in the supposed assistance to the farmer.

The larger portion of these appropriations is used for the employment of county agents. These are the gentlemen who a few years ago were supposed to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before. But this part of the work is not mentioned these days, because the farmer is already overproducing and has surplus crops which are weighing his market down to the point where he is nearing bankruptcy.

I object to the large appropriations in this bill, especially under extension service and agricultural economics, because in many of its phases it is Federal paternalism and some of the activities border on socialism.

Secondly, I object because it is building up an expensive and dangerous bureaucratic government.

Thirdly, I object because these appropriations are used to instill in the minds, not only of our farm population but in the minds of our city population as well, and I want to say here that the propaganda has been more successful in the cities than on the farms, the false proposition that cooperative marketing is the solution of the farm problem. Cooperative marketing as taught by the Department of Agriculture is but a "red herring" across the trail to confuse the minds of the farmers, while the manufacturer with a controlling production and an unfair tariff raises the farmer's costs and at the same time destroys the purchasing power of his customers abroad, bringing about retaliatory tariffs and regulation of imports in foreign countries by various devices which amount to an embargo against our farm surpluses.

The Farm Board and its operations were but an attempt, not by natural law but by strange and artificial means, to correct an inequality between the farmer and industry, brought about by monopoly and an unjust tariff. That it proved a complete failure is not open to argument. The record of this, our second "noble experiment," should make us hesitate to appropriate over $13,000,000 in the pending bill for the handmaiden of the Farm Board under the names of "extension service" and "agricultural economics."

In addition to this $13,000,000, of which I have just spoken, there is carried in appropriations for several other bureaus, made supposedly to assist the farmer, namely, the Bureau of Animal Industry, the Bureau of Dairy Industry, the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, the Bureau of Agricultural Engineering, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Bureau of Home Economics, a total of practically $20,000,000 of free advice to the farmer. When you take into consideration the condition in which the farmer finds himself to-day, is it not pertinent to ask whether this advice has been of any assistance to him or is to-day of much value? And, when we are facing a deficit of something like $2,000,000,000, I suggest that we might here pause and ask ourselves, and ask the farmers of the United States, if they want $20,000,000 spent for advice to them. The reaction from my State is that they do not want this appropriation.

I want to read to you a quotation from the Grand Rapids Press, of January 14, 1932, in connection with my efforts to reduce appropriations for the Extension Service; this will explain my receiving a lot of letters with reference to the Extension Service. Later I will read to you some of these letters.

Not one Democrat or Republican on the committee is supporting Mr. HART in his "Treasury watchdog" rôle. Specifically he proposed to attempt to cut from the bill $13,470,000 for distribution to the States for agricultural-extension work; another item of $234,000 for home economics, which "presumes to tell the farmers how to hang lace curtains"; $525,000 for the bureau of agricultural engineering, "which instructs the farmer how to build a woodshed or cistern"; and $1,406,000 for the market-news service, "which gives the farmer market news that is out of date by the time it reaches him."

I quote from farmers' letters:

SARANAC, MICH., *January 14, 1932.*

DEAR MR. HART: You are 100 per cent right. Go to it. One of your many bone-dry Republican farmer supporters.

The Members will note that even a bone-dry Republican will support me to get rid of taxes.

LAKEVIEW, MICH., *January 15, 1932.*

In regard to that $20,000,000 appropriation I am very much opposed to it. It would do our State no good whatever, as we could not raise over 30 cents for our share to match it. With potatoes selling at 18 cents, oats at 20, and wheat at 46, wool at 13, hogs at 3 cents, beef at 2½ on foot, eggs at 15 cents per dozen, it looks to me as though the farmer knew too darn much about raising crops, and outside advice would be superfluous.

SAGINAW, MICH., *January 16, 1932.*

Your figures as to the cost of this "assistance" are amazing. We agree with your conclusions that the appropriations necessary to cover these costs are practically thrown away.

MARTIN, MICH., *December 31, 1931.*

I just could not resist the urge to write you commending you on the stand you take on this fool extension service. It is an insult to our intelligence and a rank imposition on every taxpayer in the country. It is of no earthly value to anyone but those interested in building up a political machine to perpetuate themselves in office.

As I have said, it was originally the purpose of this extension service, through its county agents, to stimulate production. I presume this had its greatest impetus during the war, but it has continued and continues to grow. Now the county agents are working along various lines. They are working now in connection with the Federal Farm Board projects, organizing the farmers into cooperatives and telling them how to market their produce. It does not seem to make any difference to these men engaged in this so-called service that they have never had any experience in marketing themselves. Notwithstanding this inexperience, they organize farm groups in various cooperative ventures, and in a few short years the farmer has had the experience and has lost his money; and a few job seekers have had good jobs while they lasted, and already have started to reorganize in new fields.

Within a radius of 40 miles of my home I can point to losses of over a million dollars of farmers' money through these ill-advised ventures, organized by the county agents, which are supported by the appropriations in this bill.

There are a great many Members in the House who have no farmers in their districts, and a great many Members who live in agricultural districts but whose contacts are generally not so much with the farmers as with the farm leaders. Therefore, it is easy to get a false impression of what the demand of the average farmer is. Besides being one of the largest farmers in my district, I have had 30 years' experience in marketing and processing the various kinds of farm produce. I am in close contact with the farmers in my district and know what they think of this so-called extension service.

In addition to the amounts which we appropriate here, the States and counties are required to appropriate practically a similar amount. Under these various bureaus the total appropriation carried in this bill for free advice is about $20,000,000. When this appropriation is equaled by the States and other subdivisions it will amount to about $40,000,000.

One of the arguments used by the bureau heads was that the farmers of the States evidently wanted it or their legislatures would not have appropriated it. The State legislatures are subjected to more intensive propaganda than are Members of Congress, and it is very difficult at times to tell what the farmers want, and what those want who farm the farmers.

It is through this Extension Service and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics that the orderly marketing scheme was built up, and the propaganda spread by them finally led to the passage of the farm marketing act. You can not separate this extension service, so called, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics from the activities of the Federal Farm Board. They work hand in hand. They are continually spreading propaganda to the growers of the Nation that the men who deal with the farmers in the marketing and purchasing of farm produce are dishonest, or are taking an undue toll from the farmer. This propaganda is what leads the farmers to invest in cooperative marketing. To the uninitiated, cooperative marketing is looked upon as a solution to the farmers' troubles, but in reality it only increases their troubles and hazards. There is not a cooperative marketing concern in the United States that a Member of this Congress would invest his money in and expect a fair return from it. There is not a cooperative marketing concern that a Member of this House would invest one dollar in and feel that his investment was safe. Yet we have the spectacle of this Congress appropriating money and sending out agents who are engaged in the organization of these unsound and uneconomic schemes. The farm leaders are for them because it makes fat jobs for them, running and managing these cooperatives.

Now I do not want you to misunderstand me. I am not opposed to the farmers organizing cooperatives if they so desire. If I were a farmer in a district where I did not have a proper outlet for my produce, if there were no competitive market, I might be induced to invest something in a concern to provide a market for my goods. But what I am objecting to is turning loose a horde of agents throughout the United States, selling cooperative marketing as a panacea for the farmers' ills, and for the Congress of the United States to appropriate some $20,000,000, a large part of which is used for this purpose.

If the heads of these farm organizations and these farm cooperatives are as sincerely interested in the farmer as their line of propaganda would indicate, I might make some suggestion to them along the line of an old Lincoln story. During the Civil War a company of gentlemen from New York called on President Lincoln, demanding that he place a battleship in the harbor of New York, as they were afraid their city would be bombarded by a Confederate gunboat. They explained to the President that they represented some one hundred millions of dollars' worth of property that was in danger. The President, after listening to them, admitted that he was Commander in Chief and could order the Army or Navy where he saw fit within reason, but at that time he did not know just where his gunboats were located, but presumed they were doing service. He suggested to the gentlemen from New York that, if they represented as many millions as they stated and were as frightened as they said they were, as the Government was hard pressed and greenbacks worth only 40 cents on the dollar, they might furnish the money out of these millions to build a battleship, and he would see that they were protected.

Now, I suggest that these leaders of the cooperative movement, Mr. Creekmore, of the Cotton Corporation, who is drawing $75,000 a year, and Mr. Milnor, of the Farmers' National Grain Corporation, who is drawing $50,000 a year, reduce their salaries to what they were capable of earning before and turn in the difference to assist the farmers.

I want to call attention of the committee particularly to the appropriation as covered on page 15, line 23, for a million dollars, which is to be handled under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture. This gives the Secretary of Agriculture an opportunity to continue to extend this so-called service and build up the bureau.

Later I shall offer an amendment to strike this million out, and at least attempt to stop the extension of this so-called extension work.

In the past 15 years more laws of a socialistic and paternalistic nature have been placed upon the statute books of the United States than during the remainder of the life of this country. I am amazed to know how our conservative party on the left has appropriated money to put the Government into business. Where they have not put it into business they have appropriated money to send agents out to interfere and organize groups and put them into business. The final culmination was the passage of the farm marketing act, appropriating one-half billion dollars, putting the Government into every kind of business from the manufacturing of cheese and canning of cherries to the exporting of cotton.

I am equally amazed at Members of my own party. I want to call their attention to how far they have drifted from the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, who said that "Government that governs least governs best."

In this bill we are appropriating money for the purpose of telling the farmer how to cut his wood for the winter on through all his various work on the farm up to instructing him how to sell all his farm produce, and even how he should invest his money. This is paternalism gone mad.

The impression that I get from the farmers in my district is that they want to be left alone. They want no interference nor instructions from the Government as to the operation of their farming. They want no advice that they do not seek. Gratuitous advice has never been acceptable. It is like the little boy, Buster Brown, in the comic sheet,

sailing his boat on the pond, who said to his friend, "I am going to name my boat 'Advice' so no one will take it."

The theory that government is all wise and that bureaus know more than the common people is not a new idea. It is hundreds of years old. I want to read to you what Thomas Macaulay wrote in criticizing Southey, a contemporary writer, in the Edinburgh Review of January, 1830:

It is not by the intermeddling of Mr. Southey's idol, the omniscient and omnipotent state, but by the prudence and energy of the people that England has hitherto been carried forward in civilization; and it is to the same prudence and the same energy that we now look with comfort and good hope. Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the nation by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties, by leaving capital to find its most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment, by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the state. Let the government do this—the people will assuredly do the rest.

Before closing my remarks I wish to quote from Thomas Jefferson for the benefit of my Democratic friends:

It is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers but by their distribution that good government is effected. Were not this country already divided into States, that distribution must be made that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly and what it can so much better do than a distant authority. Every State is again divided into counties, each to take care of what lies within its local bounds; each county again into townships or wards, to manager minuter details; and every ward into farms, to be governed each by its individual proprietor. Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread.

I submit that the truth of this Jefferson quotation is now borne home to us; our people are crying for bread.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. MAY. The gentleman has stated in the very beginning of his speech that this appropriation is in the nature of an appropriation to foster paternalism in government.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. MAY. If the $20,000,000 which the gentleman says is included in this appropriation for farm extension work and farm economic work is paternalism, what does the gentleman call the $500,000,000 that has been appropriated to the Farm Board for stabilizing agricultural products and to engage in the purchase and sale of such commodities?

Mr. HART. I would say that is also paternalism; but we have a very sick patient, and I think that is a shot in the arm.

Mr. MAY. Does not the gentleman think it would be wise for the Congress to cut out a major portion of the Farm Bureau appropriation and leave in the bill this appropriation to the people who get right next to the farmer down on the farm and in the country where these county agents go?

Mr. HART. I would say, as an experienced farmer, we would be better off if they cut it all out.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. MAY. I want to say to the gentleman that I am thoroughly in accord with his views on the question of the Government keeping out of business in competition with the private citizen, but I would like to observe and ask if he does not agree with me that about the most beneficial service that the farmer is getting from this appropriation is the work done by the county agent in the local communities in connection with the State agricultural departments.

Mr. HART. Up in my part of the country they spend most of the time organizing the farmer in selling schemes, and I know it has been very disastrous to my farmers, because I own some property that they formerly owned. I bought for $12,000 a piece of property where they lost $100,000 in three or four years.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, in view of the shortness of time and the impossibility of obtaining an extension of time, I decline to yield for interruptions.

Mr. Chairman, on the 8th of January, in some remarks I made, I asked our Democratic friends to name a specific rate in the tariff law which appeared to them to be too high. I have asked this question many times, and until the following day, January 9, it never was answered, either on this floor or where I have spoken in public.

Mr. JONES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I declined to yield at the very start and asked the Chairman to please protect my time.

Mr. JONES. I would like to name one.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. LOZIER] on the following day did specify certain rates, mostly in connection with schedule 1, the chemical schedule, and I shall address myself first to that particular schedule.

Of course, this is the most complicated schedule, probably, in the tariff bill, and I think the gentleman has missed his mark in attacking this particular schedule. It is a matter of record that a very distinguished member of his party some time ago made a very exhaustive study of the chemical schedule and replied to every possible argument in relation to the rates contained therein.

Among other things he said:

I am opposed to making any changes which will disturb the progress of this important industry and I am opposed to the passage of legislation which will compel American consumers of medicines and dyes to pay the prices exacted by a foreign cartel, a foreign monopoly, and I am opposed to the United States disarming itself of the weapons which all military men say will be necessary in the future.

In addition to that the former President of the United States, Mr. Wilson, established the chemical industry as a war measure, and since then the industry has thrived and prospered in the State of Missouri under the tariff law of 1922.

I am going to call attention to some of the flagrant errors the gentleman makes on page 1651 of the RECORD in reply to my direct question. I want to quote a few lines from the gentleman's remarks, as follows:

I would begin with the chemical schedule, the rates of which are disgracefully excessive. They deal with drugs and chemicals with which the people are not familiar and have no way of knowing how high these duties are. These rates shelter and enrich the chemical monopoly that lays heavy burdens on the sick, lame, halt, and blind, and has brought the retail druggist to his knees. This is probably the most indefensible of the 15 schedules.

Mr. Chairman, if the chemical schedule is the most indefensible of the 15 in the Smoot-Hawley law, certainly the Smoot-Hawley law is good legislation. [Applause.] There is nothing in the chemical schedule that will support the gentleman's remarks.

In the interests of accuracy I would like to state certain facts about the chemical schedule in the Hawley-Smoot law. In a report of the Tariff Commission comparing the rates in the acts of 1930 and 1922 the commission shows that the ad valorem rate in the 1930 law for Schedule I is 31.4 per cent, against 29.22 per cent in the 1922 law (based on imports for consumption during the calendar year 1928).

But, Mr. Chairman, this is only part of the story. If the items relating to agriculture were left at the rates contained in the act of 1922 you would find that the chemical schedule in the act of 1930 was lower than in the act of 1922. The figures supplied me by the Tariff Commission at the time the tariff bill was reported show a decrease to 28.29 per cent for the act of 1930 from 29.22 per cent for the act of 1922. In other words, the chemical schedule is reduced about 1 per cent and the increase in Schedule I is due to the increase in products related to agriculture.

An official report of the Tariff Commission shows that the act of 1930 increased 47 items and decreased 66 items in Schedule I. Furthermore, 26 items were transferred from the dutiable list to the free list in the Hawley-Smoot Act, and 14 were transferred from the free list to the dutiable list. On 325 items no change was made.

I wish to refer first to a list of items on page 112 of the Tariff Commission's report, Comparison of Rates of Duty in the Tariff Act of 1930 and in the Tariff Act of 1922. In this you will find, first, a list of increases in the chemical



schedule comprising 44 items and 3 basket provisions. The following table contains some of the items relating to agriculture on which duties were increased in the act of 1930:

Casein, casein glue, vegetable glue, pectin, glue, juice of lemons, limes, oranges, or other citrous fruits, unfit for beverage purposes; linseed oil, olive oil, wood tar and pitch of wood, and tar oil from wood; palm-kernel oil, sesame oil, soybean oil, potato starch, rice starch, corn starch, wheat starch, starches not specifically provided for, dextrine, spirits of turpentine, turpentine gum, rosin.

In the agricultural schedule the rates on 250 items were increased and no change was made on 209 items, with decreases in only 29 items. The agricultural schedule leads all schedules in the number of increases, and despite the distorted and unfair attacks on the Hawley-Smoot law during the last year the fact remains that that law represents very largely an upward revision of agricultural rates, and it is unnecessary for me to point out the tremendous value of these rates in preventing a wholesale dumping of farm commodities from world's markets into this country.

On pages 113 and 114 of the above-mentioned report you will find a list of 66 items in Schedule I on which the rates were decreased in the act of 1930 from the rates in the act of 1922. This includes the transfer of 26 items to the free list.

An examination of the official report on this schedule clearly shows that the Hawley-Smoot law involved a downward revision of the chemical rates from the act of 1922, and it is also clear that there was a very definite upward revision on the rates covering products related to the farm in Schedule I of the act of 1930. Over 20 per cent of the duties collected on the chemical schedule come from olive oil alone.

Mr. LOZIER states, referring to the rates in the chemical schedule, that "these rates shelter and enrich the chemical monopoly that lays heavy burdens on the sick, lame, halt, and blind, and has brought the retail druggist to his knees." Let me say right here that well over 90 per cent of all chemicals manufactured or imported are used in industry and agriculture, while the quantity going into drugs is very small.

Speaking of medicine, there is one medicine that is very largely used, particularly by our Military and Naval Establishments, which in the pre-war days cost $3.50 per ampule. Now it is sold, and I am told by physicians that the quality is better, for 16 cents an ampule as against the $3.50 price we were formerly compelled to pay to the foreign monopoly in Germany.

What are the real facts on this question? The Department of Labor reports monthly the index number of wholesale prices of various commodities, including chemicals, and also drugs. The latest report of the Department of Labor shows that the price index for chemicals and drugs (enumerating a long list) was 74.7 for November, 1931, on a base of 1926 equals 100. In 1913 the price was 80.2 (base 1926 equals 100), which clearly shows that the price of chemicals and drugs is lower than the pre-war price of 1913. Taking up separately the index price of drugs and pharmaceuticals, the November, 1931, index number was 60.7 (1926 base equals 100), and the 1913 price index for drugs was 56.6. In other words, drugs to-day are only slightly above the pre-war 1913 price.

It must be borne in mind that the price to the retail druggist shows a considerable spread from the price paid by the actual manufacturer of drugs. The distribution costs between the chemical factory and the retail store are outside of the control of the manufacturer.

Mr. LOZIER speaks of a monopoly. I can not understand such a reference, as the chemical industry to-day is a highly competitive industry with hundreds of firms competing for the business. No single firm in this country, by any stretch of the imagination, can be said to monopolize the chemical business of this country. It is a great surprise to me that the Congressman from one of the leading chemical States should attack the chemical industry. The recent development of the State of Missouri as the chemical center of the West is an outstanding evidence of progress in our industrial life. The Bureau of the Census shows that back in 1925 the production of chemicals by 20 establishments in the State of Missouri was slightly less than $13,000,000, which does not include the production of druggists' preparations by 26 firms valued at $3,203,875.

With the protection fostered by Republican tariff laws two firms, the Monsanto Chemical Works, of St. Louis, and the Mallinckrodt Chemical Works, have been able to expand their activities and reduce the prices of products to the American consumer which were formerly under foreign monopoly. This wonderful expansion has taken place very largely since the war when we were dependent for most of our medicinals on the German cartel and other foreign countries.

Large quantities of barytes mined in Missouri form a raw material for a variety of barium chemicals. Does the distinguished Representative from Missouri contend that barytes ore should be placed on the free list and that the protection on barium chemicals should be removed, throwing the business in the hands of the foreign producers and laying off American workmen?

I am sure that if you will carefully examine the facts you will find that the chemical schedule in the act of 1930 has been reduced below that of 1922; that added protection was given agricultural products; and that, incidentally, the price index of chemicals to-day is below the pre-war 1913 figure.

I personally have been deeply impressed with the astounding progress of the American chemical industry in the last 20 years. I can not conceive of any development of greater importance than an active chemical industry continuing its large program of research, all looking toward the discovery of new products and new medicinals in the interests of every citizen of this country.

When the British embargo shut off necessary German chemicals, dyes, and medicinals, we were compelled to create our own production of these essential products or go without them. The development of the industry has continued since the war era, and our prices show a consistent record of decline, year by year.

As you all know, the chemical industry has been demonstrated as a key industry in time of national emergency for explosives and for essential supplies of the military forces as well as the peace-time population.

America to-day is sponsoring one of the most ambitious programs of research ever undertaken by any nation of the world. The results of this program forecast discoveries of the most vital importance for the welfare of the American people, and I, for one, do not want this country placed in the position which confronted us at the outbreak of the Great War.

If what I have said does not answer the gentleman's statement in regard to the chemical schedule, I will be glad to go into more extensive details.

I want to refer to items in other schedules which the gentleman says are taxed excessively by the 1930 act. The gentleman has selected in several instances the highest rate and made it appear as being applicable to a whole group.

He instances table, toilet, and kitchen ware and mentions an 88 per cent duty. As a matter of fact, the actual or computed ad valorem rate is 62.26 per cent on plain and 59.14 per cent on decorated ware, based upon a compilation of the Tariff Commission using the imports of 1928 as the basis. What the gentleman actually did was to pick out the items under "All other articles composed wholly or in chief value of such ware," that is, earthenware, stoneware, and crockery, upon which the computed ad valorem duty is 88.43 per cent. The rate happens to be 45 per cent plus 10 cents per dozen on plain and 50 per cent plus 10 cents per dozen on decorated ware. He selected the plain items which comprise the smallest portion of imports, that is, in a total importation of more than 6,200,000 dozen articles valued at more than $7,190,000 in 1928, only 54,289 dozen came in under this high rate, the value of which was $12,500.

The foregoing refers to paragraph 211 of the 1930 act, the ad valorem rates in which are the same as in the 1922

act. The 1930 act added only the 10 cents per dozen. The average ad valorem rate for the entire paragraph is only 58.31 per cent, according to the Tariff Commission's figures.

All this goes to show that the gentleman from Missouri simply picks out a little item that carries out his own theory and idea. I regret that it seems to show a very narrow comprehension on his part of the broad subject of the tariff.

The gentleman declares that the rate on "bolts, nuts, washers, horseshoe nails, wire nails, spikes, brads, staples, and rivets" is 30 per cent.

Let us examine this statement.

Bolts, nuts, and washers appear in paragraph 330 of the 1930 act at rates of 1 cent, six-tenths of 1 cent, and 35 per cent ad valorem, respectively. The Tariff Commission report shows that the computed ad valorems on the first two items are 21.40 per cent and 7.32 per cent, respectively, and that the average for the entire paragraph—three items—is only 18.60 per cent.

Horseshoe nails are in paragraph 331 and take a rate of 1½ cents per pound, but the computed ad valorem rate is only 9.78 per cent. In the same paragraph are spikes, tacks, brads, and staples, at varying rates of duty from six-tenths of 1 cent per pound to 15 per cent ad valorem, and the computed ad valorems range from 2.33 per cent to 15 per cent, or an average of 14.19 per cent.

Rivets appear in paragraph 332 and take a rate of 30 per cent for lathed, machined, and so forth, rivets, and 1 cent per pound in the case of all others. The computed ad valorems are 30 and 26.67 per cent, respectively, or an average of 29.03 per cent.

So that only in the case of highly finished rivets is the gentleman correct. All of these rates are the same as those contained in the 1922 act.

The gentleman refers to the rate on forgings as 33 per cent. The rate selected is that on forgings containing more than six-tenths of 1 per cent of alloying metals and represents about 1¼ per cent of the total imports by volume.

In the case of hooks and eyes, the computed ad valorem is not 57 per cent, as the gentleman would have you believe, but 37.12 per cent, according to the document from which he took his figures.

The term "woven wire," to which the gentleman refers as carrying a rate of 50 per cent, does not appear in the tariff law. Woven-wire cloth, however, is dutiable at 25, 40, and 50 per cent, respectively, according to the number of wires to the lineal inch. The last two rates were increased from 35 and 45 per cent, respectively, by the Smoot-Hawley Act. But the 50 per cent rate, which the gentleman would have the country believe applies to the entire quantity imported applies only to the highest bracket, the finest and most costly wire cloth made.

In respect to the paragraph on knives, only one increase in rate was made by the 1930 law. This was in the first bracket, and it increased the specific rate from 1 to 1½ cents each without changing the ad valorem duty. There are 15 brackets in this paragraph, and the balance of the rates remained unchanged. The gentleman from Missouri selected the bracket under which 198 knives were imported in 1928, valued at $12 (foreign value), and gave the computed ad valorem of 236 per cent. He picked out the second bracket, under which 311,736 knives were imported, and gave the computed ad valorem of 172.76 per cent. He picked out the third paragraph, under which 101,736 knives were imported, and gave you 167 per cent. He picked out the seventh bracket, under which 2,854 knives were imported, and gave the rate as 146 per cent. Finally he took the eighth bracket, under which 8,959 knives came in, and gave the rate of 138 per cent.

In other words, the gentleman selected rates on importations of 425,483 knives, whereas the total importations amounted to 4,556,000 knives, at an average ad valorem rate far less than any of those mentioned by the gentleman.

So we can analyze every item that the gentleman uses in response to the question which I asked as to specific items which were too high.

Again let me call the attention of the other side to the manner in which the Smoot-Hawley law can be definitely revised, if they have the nerve to undertake it. They have not tried to secure a congressional revision by applying to the Committee on Ways and Means for a change of rates, and they have not, so far as I know, except in the case of my colleague from Massachusetts [Mr. CONNERY], applied to the Tariff Commission.

I pass now to another critic of the tariff act in the person of the distinguished floor leader of the majority. In the course of the debate on the Democratic policy committee bill the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] used these words:

> This bill—what is it? A new departure in the method of approaching the tariff question. We do not deny it, but it is the only method that is now possible. Lower this tariff drastically? You will not do it and we do not dare to do it, with conditions as they are, except in the manner provided in this bill. We don't want the markets of America flooded with the product of cheap labor in other countries.

I quote these words of the majority leader in substantiation of the contention that the present tariff law is just and proper. Nothing more could be said in defense and support of the Smoot-Hawley Act than the words I have quoted from the distinguished gentleman from Illinois.

I am delighted to have the distinguished majority leader admit that the Democratic Party, even under the guidance of its new policy committee, does not dare to lower the rates in the tariff law, and to have him further admit that if these rates were lowered the markets of America would be flooded with the products of cheap labor of other countries.

Again, we hear a good deal about retaliatory tariffs set up by other countries. I call particular attention to the very able speech made by our esteemed colleague, Mr. COOPER of Ohio, wherein he referred on December 11 to the situation so far as Canada is concerned. It appears on page 383 of the RECORD, and I shall use some references to that in the extension of my remarks, and here I want to express what I know is the feeling of the entire membership of this House—sympathy for our colleague, Mr. COOPER, in the great affliction that came to him yesterday.

During the course of the debate on the Democratic policy committee bill amending section 336 of the tariff act of 1930, considerable reference was made to the business relations with other countries, particularly Canada, as affected by the tariff. It has been flaunted that Canada, as well as many other countries, through spite and hard feeling, has made use of the tariff against the United States. I desire to call attention to a very able speech made on December 11 by our colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. COOPER. An extract from his speech so completely answers this line of criticism that I can do no better than to incorporate in my remarks this extract, which is as follows:

> The question which I shall speak about now is, Has our present tariff policy, adopted in 1930, caused foreign countries to retaliate against us and have our imports and exports fallen off?
>
> The facts are, and the record will show, that long before our present tariff policy became effective foreign countries, under the pressure of domestic needs, increased their tariffs and adopted other methods of discrimination against imports from the United States. When the present tariff law was passed, Canada already had in effect a law which was collecting, in customs duties, a larger percentage of the value of American imports than is collected by the United States from Canadian products under our present tariff law.
>
> Two years ago the voters of Canada elected into power the Conservative Party. A short time after the party assumed power Premier Bennett presented to the Parliament a measure for a revision of their tariff laws upward. This measure was presented before our present tariff law became effective. At the time he made a statement carried in the press, which I now read.
>
> This is a news dispatch from the city of Ottawa, Canada, dated September 18. It says:
>
> "For the second time within six months Canada has made a complete change in her tariff policy. The Conservatives adopted 'Canada First' as their slogan and insisted that while they were anxious to help the mother country, their first concern was to build up Canadian Industry."
>
> Does that look like a matter of retaliation against the United States? Then the Premier said this:
>
> "We have very definite assurances from those who are charged with producing in this country that as a result of the action we

are taking to-day they will increase the number of men and women in their employ."

A little later on he made this statement:

"He declared it was right and proper to glorify international relations and to be interested in the welfare of other countries, but insisted that his job was to take care of Canada. 'This Government,' said the Premier, 'owes primarily a duty to the Canadian people and not to some other people, for the simple and obvious reason that the electors of Canada and not the electors of other countries have selected a government to govern Canada. Legislation must be initiated first of all in regard to Canada, with regard to its growth and development and employment, and happiness and prosperity of its people.'"

Oh, I wish that we had some American statesmen who would stand on the floor of this Congress and be as much interested in the welfare of America as Premier Bennett has been in the interest and welfare of the Canadian people.

Again, we have the report made by the Secretary of Commerce in answer to the resolution of another body in relation to American branch factories abroad. What could be plainer than the reason for setting up branch factories in other countries? The answer comes when you consider the Ford tractor as made and set up in Ireland and brought into this country without duty being placed upon it, because it is agricultural machinery. Of course, it can be made there more cheaply, the same as chemicals can be made more cheaply in Germany, on account of the wage scales of those two countries. That answers that question thoroughly, and in the few moments I have left I call attention to two further items. One has to do with the sort of objections raised in other countries to our schedules. That feeling I investigated. Messages have been returned by the commercial representatives of this country abroad that the feeling against this country on account of the tariff is not a substantial one. It is an exaggerated Democratic hope rather than a reality, and I shall place references to that in the RECORD. That accounts for the attack on our tariff laws.

The following are copies of cablegrams exchanged by Commissioner Eble, of the Division of Customs, Treasury Department, with certain departmental representatives abroad:

JANUARY 9, 1932.

Cablegram sent to the following offices:
London, Paris, Berlin, Milan.

Since passage of 1930 tariff various statements have appeared in United States press emanating from European sources alleging that feeling of intense hostility toward United States exists in all European countries because of existing rates of duty. You are directed to cable report giving your observations on this subject. Department would like to know if there is any truth in these newspaper statements and, if true, whether or not they are exaggerated and to what extent. Expedite reply.

EBLE.

Copy of reply received from Berlin, Germany, January 13, 1932:

Referring to your telegram of the 9th of this month, strong feeling in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary present tariff rates excessive. Complaints made export business either impossible or unprofitable with present duties. Feeling can not be characterized as hostile. Press comment not directed against United States but includes other high-tariff countries. Reporting.

MAY.

(The customs agency district, of which Berlin is the headquarters, comprises the countries of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, and Sweden.)

Copy of reply received from London, England, January 12, 1932:

Referring to your telegram of 9th of this month, no hostility toward America recent articles and editorials local press. Few letters from readers to editor advocate reprisal. At present buy British campaign in progress. When visiting manufacturers, London staff hears many complaints of reduced business because of high American import duty such complaints usually coupled with phrase, "We can not pay war debts if we can not export to America." Have not seen statements in American press.

CLARK.

(The customs agency district of which London is the headquarters comprises the British Isles.)

Copy of reply received from Paris, France, January 12, 1932:

Referring to your telegram 11th of this month relative to hostility against United States because of tariff, no important newspaper campaign but hostility intense occasionally in individual cases in France and Belgium because ruined market. Local excessive tariff increase absorbing attention. Our tariff now less severe in comparison.

BUTLER.

(Customs agency district of which Paris is the headquarters comprises the countries of Belgium, France, Portugal, and Spain.)

Copy of reply received from Milan, Italy, January 12, 1932:

Referring to your telegram 9th of this month. At passage 1930 tariff act some speculative press comments as to effect new rates which soon subsided. Public opinion and press Italy and Switzerland consider Europe in midst of tariff war, citing ad valorem rates Great Britain and France specially; general ad valorem rates Italy; application of contingents by France and Holland against Germany; nonrenewal commercial treaty between Switzerland and Germany; import restrictions by France and Poland; proposed revision Swiss tariff on ad valorem basis; recent French proposal to levy additional duty goods from country with depreciated currency; Turkish embargo coffee imports, etc. Attention public opinion almost entirely centered on European tariff changes and commenting present British ad valorem tariff. Italian officials quoted as regarding tariff a matter of domestic concern for each country and the liberty each country to redress its balance of trade in such manner as it deems advisable. There appears from my observations to be no truth that a feeling intense hostility exists against United States because of existing rate duty. Italian press distinctly friendly to United States.

BRUMER.

(The customs agency district, of which Milan is the headquarters, comprises the countries of Italy and Switzerland.)

Copy of reply received from Berlin, Germany, January 11, 1932:

Referring to your telegram of the 9th of this month, general feeling in Germany present tariff deplorably high, especially in view of financial obligations. Criticism does not single out United States but includes other countries as well. Complaint in isolated cases but general feeling can not be characterized as hostile. In Scandinavia and Baltic countries criticism more marked. Feeling in Holland tariff is high, but few specific complaints or criticisms reported. Information based on press comment and personal impressions officers this district.

MAY.

(The customs agency district, of which Berlin is the headquarters, comprises the countries of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, and Sweden.)

I read now an item from yesterday's Washington paper, an Associated Press dispatch from Geneva:

LEAGUE GROUP SUGGESTS THAT UNITED STATES LOWER TARIFF

GENEVA, January 19.—In a report to the league council, issued to-night, the League of Nations economic committee cited tariffs as an obstacle to the payment of international debts and suggested that if the United States wants to collect war debts it would be an excellent idea to lower the protective tariff.

Such nationalist measures as tariffs merely prolong and aggravate the present economic crisis, the group of experts reported, adding: "Either the creditor countries must lower their barriers against imports from the debtor countries, or the prospects for recovering their debts will be reduced."

The advice we get comes from those not interested in America or in America's interests, but those interested in the affairs and interests of foreign countries. It is exactly as the Canadian Premier said in his address when their tariff bill was under consideration. We must look after our home interests first. This whole effort to embitter the American people against the present rates in the tariff bill is not of good sound American origin or American judgment. I commend most strongly to the further consideration of the majority, the statement that I have quoted from their leader.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a table issued by the Tariff Commission relative to the increases in the various schedules in the 1930 act.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. TREADWAY. So many exaggerated statements have been made regarding the alleged number of increases in the 1930 tariff law over those in the 1922 act that I append herewith a table prepared by the United States Tariff Commission showing the number of items in which no change was made, the number increased, and the number decreased.

Number of dutiable items in the tariff act of 1922 and in the act of 1930

	Number of items and basket clauses in the dutiable list		Changes in rates of duty in the act of 1930 compared with the act of 1922			Transfers to free list [2]	Transfers from free list [3]
	Act of 1922	Act of 1930 [1]	No change	Increase	Decrease		
Schedule 1:							
Items named	497	502	422	44	62	26	14
Basket clauses	38	54	47	3	4		
Total	535	556	469	47	66	26	14
Schedule 2:							
Items named	283	305	183	121	3	2	7
Basket clauses	13	13	12	1			
Total	296	318	195	122	3	2	7
Schedule 3:							4
Items named	607	703	546	95	66	4	
Basket clauses	46	63	50	10	3		
Total	653	766	596	105	69	4	4
Schedule 4:							
Items named	63	54	34	17	14	14	4
Basket clauses	4	1	1				
Total	67	55	35	17	14	14	4
Schedule 5:							
Items named	37	38	24	14			
Basket clauses	1	1	1				
Total	38	39	25	14			
Schedule 6:							
Items named	13	13	11	2			
Basket clauses	1	1	1				
Total	14	14	12	2			
Schedule 7:							
Items named	320	416	186	226	29	25	14
Basket clauses	42	47	23	24			
Total	362	463	209	250	29	25	14
Schedule 8:							
Items named	37	39	35	4			
Basket clauses	2	2	2				
Total	39	41	37	4			
Schedule 9:							
Items named	87	99	60	35	4		1
Basket clauses	4	7	4	2	1		
Total	91	106	64	37	5		1
Schedule 10:							
Items named	81	80	50	30			
Basket clauses	6	9	6	3			
Total	87	89	56	33			
Schedule 11:							
Items named	58	67	8	55	4		
Basket clauses	7	11	1	7	3		
Total	65	78	9	62	7		
Schedule 12:							
Items named	30	32	23	5	4		
Basket clauses	6	6	3	3			
Total	36	38	26	8	4		
Schedule 13:							
Items named	8	32	21	10	1		
Basket clauses	5	4	1	2	1		
Total	13	36	22	12	2		
Schedule 14:							
Items named	116	122	107	14	1		
Basket clauses	18	19	15	4			
Total	134	141	122	18	1		
Schedule 15:							
Items named	391	455	274	150	35	4	7
Basket clauses	19	26	20	6			
Total	410	481	294	156	35	4	7
Summary of schedules 1 to 15:							
Items named	2,628	2,954	1,984	822	223	75	50
Basket clauses	212	264	187	65	12		
Total	2,840	3,221	2,171	890	235	75	50

[1] Transfers to free list not included in totals hereunder.
[2] Included in number of decreases.
[3] Included in number of increases.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, the action just now of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] and of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON] yesterday, who have made tariff speeches, exemplifies just what they are able to do on the floor for home consumption when they do not yield to questions. Both of them refused to yield. Neither of them can ever explain to the people of the United States, when they represent a high protective tariff party, when the independent oil companies all over the United States have been clamoring for several years for a just tariff on crude petroleum, why the influence of Mr. Secretary Andrew W. Mellon, protecting the Dutch Shell and Mellon's big Gulf Co. with their refineries in Venezuela, shipping petroleum and its products in their tankers daily to our ports, has been sufficient to keep any protection whatever from being placed on petroleum. All of us know that Andy Mellon and his Republican administration have kept the Republicans in Congress from placing a tariff on oil. But for the opposition of the Republican administration, Congress last year would have voted a tariff of $1 per barrel on crude petroleum.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BLANTON. In just a moment I will gladly yield. With such protection, with a dollar a barrel on petroleum, which would be reasonable under the circumstances, it would put back to work to-morrow in gainful occupations 100,000 idle men in Texas and Oklahoma alone, whose families are now suffering.

Now I yield to the gentleman from New York, who in the last Congress was the influential chairman of the Rules Committee.

Mr. SNELL. That same influence which the gentleman is talking about has no influence with the present Ways and Means Committee, has it?

Mr. BLANTON. We Democrats in the House can not pass a tariff law and get it signed, with only five majority in the House, and a Republican Senate and a Republican Secretary of the Treasury engaged in that foreign business, and a Republican President in the White House who would promptly veto the bill. It would require a two-thirds vote in both the House and the Senate to pass it over a veto.

I regret that I can not yield further, as my time is very limited, and I must discuss another matter of very grave importance.

Mr. SNELL. Then, the gentleman refuses to yield further?

Mr. BLANTON. I regret that I can not yield further. My time is limited.

Mr. Chairman, what I say on the floor is always impersonal. If I criticize conditions or officials it is an impersonal criticism. I have the highest regard for our friend from New York [Mr. SNELL]. The President in the White House is my President, regardless of his politics, as long as he is there; but he is subject to criticism, and I will criticize him whenever I deem it necessary.

The distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] is one of my friends. I have the highest regard for him. He is the best fighter I ever saw in my life when he is in the minority, but he is one of the poorest Representatives I ever saw in my life when he is in the majority. To be of value to the whole people he must be kept in the minority. Some of the greatest fights I ever saw him make here were years ago when he was in the minority. He was active then, fighting for things that would benefit the whole people. As soon as he got in the majority he stopped, and for the last 10 years, when his Republican Party and President were in complete control of the Government, he has drifted with the tide, and has permitted many things to transpire, against which I have been making an uncompromising fight. What I say is wholly impersonal, for I have high regard and personal affection for the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD]. As a hunting companion in camp, he has no equal. He is a splendid gentleman personally, and is most likable. But he is a partisan Republican, and has drifted with his party

and administration for 10 years through unprecedented extravagances.

His Republican Postmaster General Brown has been clamoring for Congress to increase first-class postage from 2 cents to 3 cents per ounce. That would affect every poor person in the United States. It would increase the cost of mailing every letter one-half. The Postmaster General could not make this proposal unless it were authorized by the Republican administration. The Postmaster General is a Cabinet officer. The Cabinet promulgates the policies of the administration. The Cabinet must give its O. K. before Cabinet officers put policies into execution. The Post Office Department knows that our Government is handling the big publications like the Saturday Evening Post at a tremendous annual loss, and instead of making the big multimillionaire publishers pay the expense of handling their publications, it is proposing to saddle this loss on the poor people of the United States. It proposes to make them pay the deficit.

Mr. Postmaster General Brown may as well understand right now as at any other time that the Democrats of this Nation are not going to permit him to saddle this burden upon the poor people. We are not going to allow him to raise the postage above 2 cents per ounce.

The Republican administration, through financial spokesmen, are proposing to place a tax on bank checks. This proposal would put another burden upon the poor people of the country. In normal times they keep what little money they possess in banks and check it out in small amounts of $1, $2, $3, and $5 in paying their bills, and with this proposal they would have to place a stamp tax on each small check. I am not in favor of it. I am going to make an uncompromising fight against it. It is my belief that our Democratic leader [Mr. RAINEY] is against this proposal, and I believe that Democrats will defeat it whenever it comes to a showdown.

The Republican administration, through financial spokesmen, are proposing to place a tax on all automobiles. This would pass another burden upon poor people. Automobiles are no longer a luxury. They are a necessity. Every farmer must have a Ford or a Chevrolet to carry to market his milk, butter, eggs, poultry, garden truck, and other farm products, and he and his family are entitled to enjoy the privilege and pleasure of riding in cars, the same as any other class, and they should not have an added tax to further burden them when they buy a Ford.

Certain commodities used generally are denominated luxuries, and it is intended by the Republican administration to place a sales tax upon them, the unwarranted intimation being launched that the rich should bear such luxury taxes. Such taxes would deprive all poor people of the use of many things they have the inherent right to use. The rich can always buy anything, put the tax as high as you will, but the poor can afford to buy only such articles as their limited means will justify. Such taxes will place beyond the reach of the poor many articles that are now necessities. I am uncompromisingly against all such proposals. We Democrats must fight against and defeat them all.

We must place the surtax high enough to reach a goodly portion of the million-dollar incomes, and we must repeal the laws that now permit our numerous multimillionaires to invest their swollen fortunes in tax-exempt securities and evade all financial obligations to our Government, and we must pass gift, estate, and inheritance tax laws that will stop the handing down from generation to generation $500,000,000 estates that have paid little to our Government for years of safe protection. We can then raise enough revenue to balance the Budget without putting the burden of financing the Government upon the shoulders of the poor people.

Ever since the war I have been making an uncompromising fight to get off of the pay rolls of the Government the useless, surplus employees and send them home. At one time we had gotten rid of over 40,000. But each year bureaus and independent offices of the Government have been increasing their personnel until we now have far more than are busy in every department. They are idle in many departments. We could easily dispense with 10 per cent of the present personnel without it being noticed in any department. We have entirely too many assistants, first assistants, and second assistants. The ones at the top don't have anything to do, yet draw tremendous salaries.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] and myself a few days ago joined hands on the proposition that we would fight against any effort to reduce proper salaries. Because we did that the press has heralded broadcast that we were fighting against all decreases. Just the opposite is the fact, speaking for myself, and I don't think that it has ever been in the mind of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] not to fight against improper salaries. I have been making a fight for years against paying the salaries of $10,000, $12,000, $15,000, $20,000, $25,000, $35,000, $40,000, and $50,000 that some Government officials have been drawing. And, if we could get these big salaries that are never earned, properly reduced, I would be willing to reduce my own salary 15 per cent, but I want to begin at the top with the reducing and come down, and not let the little fellows have their needed income taken away. The gentleman from New York and I have stood for the underdog ever since we have been in Congress. We have stood for the poor devil who is fighting daily his hard fight with his back to the wall to make ends meet and to provide sustenance under the proper standards of living in the United States for his wife and children. That is what I had in mind when I told the gentleman that I would agree with him that I never would agree to reduce a proper salary. I will always be fighting with the gentleman against that.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] said in his speech Tuesday that he would try to get a rule to reduce the salaries of all Government employees placed as a rider on the agricultural appropriation bill, and further stated that the President was in favor of it. The President, who gets a salary of $75,000 a year that we can not touch. He knows the Constitution will not let us reduce it; and the judges of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice drawing a salary of $20,500 and the Associate Justices each drawing salaries of $20,000 a year. We can not touch their salaries by legislation, and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] knows that.

Mr. GUYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I regret that I can not yield, because I only have a few minutes and I must discuss a few facts now of interest.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] knows that all during the last Congress he had his Republican Party in control of every department of Government, the legislative and the executive, and his Republican Party had a majority of 100 Members on this floor. The gentleman had a Republican Rules Committee responsive to the will of the Republican triumvirate here that was in charge of things. He and his administration could have gotten any rule he wanted. The gentleman could have passed any kind of measure he and his administration desired. Any kind of a resolution could have been passed to amend the Constitution that the gentleman desired, but not a move did the gentleman make. Why did not he then pass a law reducing all salaries? Why did not he pass a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to authorize Congress to reduce and tax the salaries of the President and the judges of the Supreme Court?

Mr. McGUGIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I regret that I can not yield. I only have a few minutes. If I had time, I would yield for questions as I always do, but I do not have time.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] did not make a move to reduce the salaries of Government employees in the last Congress, when the gentleman had control of everything.

Then was his time to act. Then he should have reduced. The gentleman from Indiana did not ask for any rule to reduce salaries and neither did my friend from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] in the last Congress, when the Republican Party had a majority of a hundred in this House. Can they

explain why they did not do it then? But now the gentleman from Indiana and also the gentleman from Nebraska want to do it. The way for the gentlemen to do that is in a proper and orderly way. The gentlemen know that under their Republican administration, which has been in power for the last 10 years, numerous large salaries have been paid to scores of officials that are shocking; salaries that are unreasonably and inexcusably large, because they are un-American; salaries in the Shipping Board, salaries in the Emergency Fleet Corporation, salaries to special attorneys in the Department of Justice, to special attorneys in all departments—this eternal building up of high-salaried attorneys in every department of the Government. And think of the amazing salaries paid by the Federal Reserve Board—$25,000, $35,000, and $50,000. They are not earned. They must be reduced. I will help the gentleman reduce them.

And each bureau and department is getting its own law force of high-salaried attorneys. The legal advice in all those departments should be furnished by the Department of Justice, yet every department is surrounded with high-priced attorneys at the expense of the people, and not a move has been made to reduce that personnel or to reduce their unwarranted salaries, but when we Democrats get a bare majority of five in the House, then comes all of this clamor.

If the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD], the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MCGUGIN], the active baby Member here, but who is a live wire just the same, and the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] will first bring in a resolution to amend the Constitution and permit this Congress to begin with the President and slice 10 per cent off his salary and slice 10 per cent off the salary of the Supreme Court Justices and slice 10 per cent off the big $25,000 and $50,000 and $75,000 salaries that are paid in some of the departments of the Government, I will agree to slice 15 per cent off of my salary, and I think every other Member of Congress would agree to do the same thing, but we want those gentlemen to begin at the top and come down. I am not in favor of taking one penny away from a salary that is $3,000 or less. Not a penny. It requires that for these officials of the Government to live here in Washington and support their families and furnish doctors' and dentists' care and schools for their children, and have a chance to live. I will never agree to it. I want to begin at the top and slice them right.

We Members of Congress have to pay an income tax to the Government. Why should not the President of the United States pay an income tax on his $75,000 salary? Why should not the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States pay an income tax on his $20,500 salary? Why should not the other eight Associate Justices pay an income tax on their salary of $20,000 each of them draws? They all should pay. And I will join the gentleman in getting the Constitution amended so that we can make them pay an income tax, and so their salaries may be affected whenever Congress sees fit to decrease salaries generally.

Why has the President waited to this late day to become excited all of a sudden about economy? Why did he not start his economy program last year? Then, he was building his new $17,500,000 Department of Commerce Building on land that is worth, with the value of the buildings torn down and destroyed, about $30,000,000 more. The expenditures in the Department of Commerce in 1922 were $21,688,015, while in 1930 same had increased to $54,299,106. Who other than Mr. Hoover is responsible for this tremendous increase? The expenses of the Executive proper in 1922 were $218,690, while in 1930 same had increased to $690,263. Who other than President Hoover is responsible for this increase?

Just before this session met, we were advised that there was a deficit in the Treasury of $1,200,000,000. Since then one big appropriation after another has been made, all recommended by the President. In vacation he granted a moratorium to Europe that cost the people of the United States $250,000,000, and Congress, notwithstanding my opposing vote, approved it. Then he had Congress appropriate in a deficiency bill nearly a hundred and fifty million. Then Congress was forced to appropriate $125,000,000 to aid Federal land banks. Then the President had Congress provide for his supercorporation loading the Government with an additional $2,000,000,000 obligation. Who other than President Hoover has been responsible for all of the above? He must answer to the people for the present extravagences.

Let me ask again why was there not a move last year by the President for economy before we Democrats got into power? Let me call your attention to what are in the estimates for the White House for this coming fiscal year. Here is the salary of the President, $75,000. He is also allowed $25,000 extra for traveling expenses and official entertainment. All of these big receptions to which he invites us and to which he invites Army officers, Naval officers, officers of the General Staff, the Diplomatic Corps, and this, that, and the other, we are paying for with the people's money. He is just giving these public receptions at the expense of the people. It is ridiculous in this time of want. I have an invitation to his reception and I am going to it, because I am a friend of the President; personally, I am his friend, but I criticize him when he needs it.

I go to his receptions. I shake hands with him, smile at him, and wish him Godspeed, just like you do. But, listen: I go because all of the invitations are out and the money is to be spent anyway. If he would stop it, I would not go. If he would stop giving them, you would not go and it would save money.

Now, listen: He has one secretary at $10,000; two more secretaries at $20,000, $10,000, each. That makes three. He has for his office 37 employees at $126,000. In the White House he has 60 employees additional, at an expense of $142,000 a year. He not only has a chief cook, but he has three assistant cooks, making four. He has a valet; he has 2 butlers, 2 footmen, and, my God, he has 48 policemen. [Laughter.] He has 48 policemen paid for by the Government to protect the White House in peace times.

In addition to his own salary of $75,000, and his $25,000 additional allowance, and his three secretaries at $10,000 each, here is the way the President estimates the expenses for his office in his budget:

Office of the President

	Estimated, 1933		Estimated, 1932		Actual, 1931	
PERSONAL SERVICES, DEPARTMENTAL	Total No.	Av. salary	Total No.	Av. salary	Total No.	Av. salary
Clerical, administrative, and fiscal service:						
Grade 16, in excess of $9,000	3	$10,000	3	$10,000	3	$10,000
Secretary.						
Grade 14, $6,500-$7,500; average, $7,000	2	7,000	2	7,000	2	7,000
Executive officer.						
Grade 13, $5,600-$6,400; average, $6,000	1	5,600	1	5,600	1	5,600
Chief administrative officer.						
Grade 11, $3,800-$4,600; average, $4,200	1	4,000	1	4,000	1	4,000
Senior administrative officer.						
Grade 10, $3,500-$4,100; average, $3,800	1	4,000	1	4,000	1	4,000
Senior administrative officer.						
Grade 9, $3,200-$3,800, average, $3,500	3	3,333	3	3,333	3	3,333
Administrative officer.						
Grade 8, $2,900-$3,500, average, $3,200	5	3,100	5	3,100	5	3,100
Administrative assistant.						
Grade 7, $2,600-$3,200, average, $2,900	6	2,817	6	2,817	6	2,817
Junior administrative assistant.						
Grade 6, $2,300-$2,900, average, $2,600	3	2,500	3	2,500	3	2,500
Principal clerk.						
Grade 5, $2,000-$2,600, average, $2,300	1	2,000	1	2,000	1	2,000
Clerk.						
Grade 4, $1,800-$2,100, average, $1,980	1	1,920	1	1,920	1	1,920
Clerk.						
Grade 3, $1,620-$1,980, average, $1,800	1	1,800	1	1,860	1	1,860
Agistant clerk.						
Custodial service:						
Grade 6, $1,680-$2,040; average, $1,860	1	1,860	1	1,800	1	1,800
Supervisor.						
Grade 5, $1,500-$1,860; average, $1,680	2	1,560	2	1,560	2	1,560
Messenger and doorkeeper.						
Grade 4, $1,320-$1,680; average, $1,500	3	1,420	3	1,420	3	1,420
Messenger.						
Grade 3, $1,200-$1,500; average, $1,350	1	1,380	1	1,380	1	1,380
Messenger.						

Office of the President—Continued

	Estimated, 1933		Estimated, 1932		Actual, 1931	
PERSONAL SERVICES, DEPARTMENTAL—continued	Total No.	Av. salary	Total No.	Av. salary	Total No.	Av. salary
Custodial service—Continued.						
Grade 2, $1,080–$1,380; average, $1,230. Laborer.	2	$1,170	2	$1,170	2	$1,200
Total number of positions	37		37		37	
Total personal services		126,180		126,180		126,242
Deduct savings						5,213
Net personal services		126,180		126,180		121,029
Unobligated balance						+5,091
Total estimate or appropriation		126,180		126,180		126,120

And for the contingent expenses of his office the President estimates same in his Budget as follows:

	Estimated, 1933	Estimated, 1932	Actual, 1931
PERSONAL SERVICES			
01 Personal services	$15,200	$15,200	$15,666
OTHER EXPENDITURES			
Supplies and materials	9,000	9,000	8,847
Communication service	13,600	13,600	13,573
Special and miscellaneous expenses	700	700	655
Equipment	5,000	5,000	4,750
Total other expenditures	28,300	28,300	27,825
Total	43,500	43,500	43,491
Unobligated balance			+9
Total estimate or appropriation	43,500	43,500	43,500

Then he asks for $2,700 for his printing and binding, and then for "Maintenance of the Executive Mansion and Grounds" he asks for—

	Estimated, 1933		Estimated, 1932		Actual, 1931	
PERSONAL SERVICES, FIELD	Total No.	Av. salary	Total No.	Av. salary	Total No.	Av. salary
Salary range, $2,600–$3,200; average, $2,900	2	$2,800	2	$2,800	2	$2,900
Manager	1	3,000	1	3,000	1	3,000
Assistant director of gardens	1	2,600	1	2,600	1	2,800
Salary range, $2,300–$2,900; average, $2,600	4	2,400	4	2,400	4	2,400
Foreman mechanic.						
Salary range, $1,800–$2,300; average, $2,057	1	1,920	1	1,920	1	1,920
Chief cook.						
Salary range, $1,680–$2,040; average, $1,860	5	1,728	5	1,728	4	1,725
Valet	1	1,800	1	1,800	1	1,800
Clerk	1	1,740	1	1,740		
Painter	1	1,740	1	1,740	1	1,740
Gardener	1	1,680	1	1,680	1	1,680
Plumber	1	1,680	1	1,680	1	1,680
Salary range, $1,440–$1,800; average, $1,620	9	1,507	9	1,507	9	1,507
Gardener	5	1,524	5	1,524	5	1,524
Mechanic	1	1,500	1	1,500	1	1,500
Laborer	2	1,500	2	1,500	2	1,500
Butler	1	1,440	1	1,440	1	1,440
Salary range, $1,320–$1,680; average, $1,500	9	1,340	9	1,340	10	1,344
Laborer	5	1,356	5	1,356	6	1,360
Footman	2	1,320	2	1,320	2	1,320
Cook	1	1,320	1	1,320	1	1,320
House cleaner	1	1,320	1	1,320	1	1,320
Salary range, $1,200–$1,500; average, $1,350	13	1,235	13	1,235	12	1,235
Doorman	1	1,260	1	1,260	1	1,260
Footman	1	1,260	1	1,260	1	1,260
Steward's helper	1	1,260	1	1,260	1	1,260
Laborer	4	1,240	4	1,240	3	1,240
House cleaner	2	1,230	2	1,230	2	1,230
Pantryman	2	1,230	2	1,230	2	1,230
Butler	1	1,200	1	1,200	1	1,200
Cook	1	1,200	1	1,200	1	1,200
Salary range, $1,020–$1,380; average, $1,200	17	1,041	17	1,041	18	1,040
Laborer	1	1,140	1	1,140	1	1,140
Pantryman	3	1,080	3	1,080	3	1,080
House cleaner	4	1,080	4	1,080	4	1,080
Cook	1	1,080	1	1,080	1	1,080
Kitchen maid	1	1,080	1	1,080	1	1,080
Chambermaid	1	1,080	1	1,080	1	1,080
Handyman	1	1,080	1	1,080	1	1,080
Maid	5	936	5	936	5	936

The President asks for supplies and materials $16,248; equipment, $5,982; special and miscellaneous current expenses, $3,606; heat, light, power, repairs, and so forth, totaling $42,460, which for maintenance aggregated $142,000.

The President should do as our distinguished Speaker has done. He should say, "I am going to cut loose from all of this kowtowing and mimicking royalty. If I can do on a chief cook and one assistant cook I am going to do it. If I can do on one butler and one footman, I am going to cut the others off the pay roll. If, instead of having 60 employees in the White House I can do on 20, I will discharge the other 40." If he can dress himself without a valet he ought to dispense with the valet.

We ought to begin this economy at the top. Our Speaker began at the top and saved $5,000 by furnishing his own transportation to the Capitol. Do you not admire him for it? [Applause.] Everybody in the United States admires him for it. He has set an example, and all of us ought to set an example.

Do you know what was in the mind of Mr. WOOD when he read that letter from former Governor Goodrich, of Indiana? What was Governor Goodrich objecting to? He said "the postal employees get a half holiday on Saturday," and he objected to that. Why should they not get a half holiday on Saturday? He wrote that in his letter. Then my colleague, Mr. GRISWOLD, asked Mr. WOOD this question:

Is he the owner of various utilities in Indiana, is he not?

And Mr. WOOD said:

He may be.

Of course, former Governor Goodrich is the owner of utilities. He had in his mind that if he could get Congress to take away from these postal employees this Saturday half-holiday and take off 10 per cent of their $2,100 salaries, he could then reduce the salaries of every employee in his various utilities. I am surprised that our friend WILL WOOD would advocate proposals of Goodrich in a letter like that on the floor of the House. I wish he were more like my friend from Fort Wayne [Mr. HOGG]. I know there are 36,000 men on the pay rolls of industries in Fort Wayne, his home city. Is he in favor of reducing their salaries? No, no. He wants to give them a living wage, according to American standards, and when officials in another city in his district tried to get him to indorse that proposition, I wish you would find out what he told them. I am for economy in Government. And I want to cut all parasites off of the pay roll. And I want to reduce the unconscionable big salaries that are now paid to the higher-ups, but I am against decreasing the salaries of the employees who are struggling to exist on what they now receive.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I yield one minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I want to take this minute to say to the gentleman from Texas that last session, when the gentleman from Indiana did have a majority of 100 on this side of the aisle, he did attempt to reduce wages, and we licked him on the first appropriation bill, as we will lick any attempt that is made to reduce a living wage and bring down the American standard of wages during this session. [Applause.]

This attempt to reduce Government wages is the result of an insidious and organized attempt to tear down the standard of living throughout the country.

I want to say to the gentleman from Indiana—although I can not speak with authority as to the White House—that I do not believe his statement that the President is in favor of a reduction in salaries is spoken with authority. I believe that statement is about as accurate as his statement that fresh eggs are available in Washington at 16 cents a dozen. If I find any eggs at 16 cents a dozen, I will ask the gentleman from Indiana to eat those eggs. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE]. [Applause.]

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, one of the questions confronting this Congress is what should be done concerning

the Federal Farm Board and the agricultural marketing act. It is not my purpose at this time to discuss the general activities of the board or to make any suggestions either as to the amendment or repeal of the marketing act. I do not believe that Congress or the country at this time has sufficient information on this subject to serve as a guide as to what should be done. I believe that in order to obtain the necessary information a thorough investigation should be made of the board and its activities since its organization. For that purpose I have introduced a resolution authorizing and directing an investigation of the board by the House Committee on Agriculture. At some later date I would like to discuss some of the matters which I believe should be gone into in the course of such an investigation. At the present time, however, I do not care to discuss the general activities of the board, but do want to say something regarding the wheat situation and the activities of the board in connection therewith and to call attention to a bill which I have introduced which I believe will do much to relieve the present unduly depressed condition of the wheat market.

Before going into the present wheat situation I want to discuss as briefly as I can the stabilization activities of the board, which led up to its possession on July 1, 1931, of 257,000,000 bushels of wheat and the steps which have been taken since that time to dispose of part of these stocks. These activities may for convenience in discussing them be divided into three parts.

The first is the period from October 26, 1929, when the board began its stabilization activities by making loans to cooperative organizations, to the beginning of the 1930 marketing season. The board initiated this stabilization period by offering on October 26 to make loans to grain cooperatives at the rate of $1.18 per bushel for No. 1 hard winter wheat at Chicago, and corresponding amounts on other official grades. Prices continued to decline, however, and it soon became apparent that the board would have to take over all wheat upon which loans were made. Therefore in February, the Wheat Stabilization Corporation was organized, and before operations were concluded the board had purchased 65,000,000 bushels of wheat at an average price of about $1.10 per bushel. It is difficult to understand why the board ever began this stabilization operation. It appears to have been brought about, however, by the fact that the board blundered terribly in its understanding at the time of the world wheat situation. During this period it not only made immense purchases of wheat at considerably more than it was worth but during all of this time it was giving the farmers what later turned out to be most unsound advice as to holding for higher prices. On August 5, 1929, Chairman Legge gave the press a statement in which he said, "The Federal Farm Board believes that based on known world supply the present prevailing prices for wheat are too low." At this time September futures in Chicago were $1.38⅜ and No. 2 hard winter wheat was bringing $1.20 at Kansas City. On the strength of this prediction many farmers decided to hold their wheat, and later sold it at a tremendous loss. On November 7 Chairman Legge said, "Anyone who does not have to is foolish to sell wheat or cotton now." Prices, however, continued to decline notwithstanding the board's support of the market. On March 7, Chairman Legge said that the bottom in prices had been reached and improvement was in sight. The cash price of No. 2 hard wheat at Kansas City at that time was $1.01. On May 1 the cash price for No. 2 hard wheat at Kansas City was 94 cents and on June 24 it was 80 cents.

However, it finally became apparent to the board that it had made a tremendous mistake in its estimate of the situation with reference to the 1929 crop, and it abruptly dropped its policy of urging farmers to hold their wheat for higher prices and began a campaign throughout the hard winter wheat belt urging a reduction of acreage for 1930. This was moving too fast for the bewildered farmers, who were not able to understand why the board should make predictions of higher prices and urge farmers to hold their wheat throughout the entire marketing season and then in a few weeks come out with the announcement that in order to prevent a collapse of prices it was necessary to make a drastic cut in acreage. The farmers evidently decided that the board might be just as mistaken in advocating acreage reduction as it had been in prophesying better prices, and therefore little attention was given to the board's recommendation. In fact, owing partly to favorable seeding conditions, the acreage planted in the hard winter wheat section in the fall of 1930 was greater than ever before.

During the harvesting and marketing season of 1930 prices continued to decline and the board began what we might call the second phase of its stabilization operations. On November 17, 1930, it announced a formal program of stabilization, although previous to that time some purchases had been made. By taking all the wheat which was offered, the stabilization corporation stopped the decline in domestic prices, notwithstanding that world prices were constantly going down, with the result that from the middle of November to the end of May domestic prices were from 30 to 35 cents higher than they would have been if based on the world market. While the first stabilization operation was undoubtedly a mistake and apparently based upon misinformation and poor judgment, yet it would seem as if the second operation was abundantly justified and that it had a tremendous effect for good while it was maintained.

This brings us to the third stage of the board's operations, namely, that having to do with the disposition of the stabilization stocks. In this it seems to me the board has made a great mistake, and the policy which it has adopted has very largely nullified all the good which came from the second phase of the stabilization operations. By refusing to hold its stocks off the market during the present marketing season the board has permitted them to depress the domestic and world prices until producers have, during the course of the season, received as low as 23 cents per bushel at country marketing points, and although some advances have been made there has never been a time during the present marketing season when wheat was bringing anything like the cost of production. Owing to the tremendous amount of wheat held by the board it became a matter of interest early last spring as to what should be done with its stocks, and in response to numerous inquiries the board announced on March 23 that no purchases would be authorized to be made from the 1931 crop and that sales of stabilization stocks would be made in such a way as to impose a minimum of burden on domestic and world prices. This vague and indefinite statement, taken in connection with the board's past uncertain policies, was construed by those interested in buying and selling grain as meaning absolutely nothing, and the board was implored many times before the market season opened, by producers and dealers, to make a more definite statement and to agree to keep the stabilization stocks entirely out of competition with the 1931 crop. By May it was apparent that the winter wheat crop would be one of the largest this country had ever produced and that if it must be marketed in competition with the stabilization wheat the demoralization of prices would be complete. Producers and their representatives continued to importune the board to make some definite and understandable announcement as to whether it would compete with them in marketing this crop, but the board's only reply was to call attention to its statement of March 23. As harvest progressed, however, prices kept declining, and finally on June 30 a supplemental statement was issued by the board in which it refused to take the stabilization stocks off the market but did agree to limit its sales for one year from July 1, 1931, to a cumulative maximum of 5,000,000 bushels per month, such limitation, however, not to apply to sales to foreign governments or their agencies.

It was further stated that it was not the purpose of the Stabilization Corporation to make any immediate sales even of those limited amounts at the then existing range of prices. The latter statement, however, was immediately violated, because the board sold in July, 1931, 20,706,000 bushels on the domestic market and 775,000 bushels on the export market. In August its sales were 9,210,000 bushels on the domestic market and 2,585,000 bushels for export, with additional sales in September and October to bring the total

sales on the domestic market to 42,779,000 bushels and 15,032,000 bushels on the export market. Offsetting these sales, the board purchased in July 8,264,000 bushels of cash grain and 8,342,000 of futures, with continued purchases in the cash and futures markets, to bring the total up to approximately 37,000,000 bushels, leaving net sales of approximately 20,000,000 bushels, all of which has been in competition with the American farmer and at or below the prices which were prevailing at the time the board's statement of June 30 was made. The immediate effect of this uncertain and evasive announcement was a further decline in prices and a complete loss of confidence in the board by those wheat growers who still hoped that the board might be of some help to them. The above sales, of course, do not include sales to foreign governments totaling 47,500,000 bushels.

What I have said concerning the board's operations in wheat is not intended to be a complete picture by any means. I have not the time here to go into details which would still further emphasize the futile, vacillating, and uncertain policies of the board which have resulted in increasing the extent of the disaster which has occurred to wheat prices. Furthermore, I did not obtain the floor at this time for the purpose of holding a post-mortem. The important question to be considered now is what, if anything, can be done to handle the remainder of the board's stocks so as to result in as little injury as possible to the producer. The only purpose in pointing out the mistakes which the board has made was to emphasize that its present policy may be just as unsound as some of those adopted previously.

I believe that the most salutary step which could be taken on behalf of wheat prices and, in fact, all commodity prices, at this time, would be to take all the Farm Board's stocks off the market until December 1, 1933. If that could be done those stocks would not compete with that part of the 1931 crop still in the farmers' hands nor with the crop for 1932. There may be some who think that the board should get rid of its wheat just as soon as possible. If there are such let me point out that under the present policy it would take the board three years at the rate of 5,000,000 bushels per month to dispose of the 185,000,000 bushels of cash wheat and futures which it now holds. Certainly this is not a satisfactory disposition of the problem. Nor do I agree that it would help the situation either now or in the long run to sell all of this wheat at the present time, even if it could be done.

In the first place, any stabilization operation contemplates that the stocks purchased shall be held over a period of low prices until better returns can be obtained. Certainly, it was never contemplated in any rational program of stabilization that wheat would be purchased at a fixed price and then when purchases were stopped and the market thereby demoralized that the stabilization holdings would be dumped to further accelerate the downward trend of prices. Not only is such a procedure destructive of the interest of the farmer but it is entirely unsound from the standpoint of securing the best price for the board's holdings. All of the wheat purchased after November, 1930, was bought at a price lower than the actual cost of production. It is certain that this price will be reached or exceeded within a reasonable time in the future because farmers will not long continue to produce wheat at a loss. In the second place, it must be remembered that while there is a world surplus of wheat, it is not that surplus alone which is causing the unprecedented low prices. It is a combination of overproduction and a general low level of commodity prices together with the uncertainty which exists as to what final disposition will be made of the Farm Board's stocks. Remove any of these conditions and there should be an increase in wheat prices.

If this wheat could be held until December 1, 1933, the factor of uncertainty, as far as the disposition of these stocks next year is concerned, would be out of the way. Likewise this amount of wheat will be subtracted from the world's available supply for next year. It is the almost universal opinion of financiers and economists that we are about to see at least a moderate increase in commodity prices. Certainly, this increase should be accelerated by the moves which are now being made by the Government and business interests for the expansion of credit. If this takes place, then there can be no doubt but what the Farm Board's stocks can be sold later at a higher price than now, even if we assume that world stocks will be as large then as at the present time. Every indication, however, is that the world surplus will be reduced by that time. As a matter of fact, the statistical position of wheat is much better to-day than at any time since 1928. Consumption has increased and appears to be catching up wit'ı production. The steady increase in world acreage which began in 1921 appears to be arrested, the 1931 acreage being 244,000,000 acres, in contrast with 256,000,000 acres in 1930. Likewise, the 1931 crop is slightly over 100,000,000 bushels less than that for 1930. The low price which has prevailed for the past year has resulted in the consumption of much wheat as food for livestock, and it has displaced the cheaper grains in other ways in both this country and Europe. The European rye crop this year shows a decrease of 152,000,000 bushels, as compared with last year, and the potato crop was 164,000,000 bushels less than in 1930. In some places the corn crop was also short, particularly in Italy; all of which indicates an increased demand from importing countries.

While it is too early to say what the acreage for the coming year will be throughout the world, the report of the Department of Agriculture for December shows that the winter-wheat acreage in the United States is 10 per cent less than last year and the smallest since 1917; furthermore, that the condition on December 1 was only 79.4 per cent of normal and, with the exception of 1917 and 1921, is the lowest December condition in more than 40 years. There is every reason to expect that owing to the present low prices there will be a further reduction in world acreage, especially in the exporting countries. Furthermore, drought conditions in Canada and in the spring-wheat sections of the Northwest, while somewhat relieved in recent months, are still sufficiently serious to indicate that crops in those sections next year will not be excessive.

One of the most important effects which would follow an announcement that the stabilization holdings would not be sold until 1933 would be psychological. As long as the Farm Board is on the market and selling some wheat the situation is exactly as it was when Russia was dumping wheat last year. Every wheat buyer in the world knew that in order to meet its pressing obligations the Russian Government had to sell wheat. They knew that if they waited long enough they could buy it at their own price, which they subsequently did to the demoralization of prices over the entire world. To-day the European wheat buyers take the same position regarding the stabilization stocks. They think that the board is going to have to sell, and, consequently, they are only buying from hand to mouth and are using the Farm Board's stocks as an argument for low prices. The minute these stocks are taken off the market, and the buyers realize that they are not going to be available this year or next, they will take a different view of the situation, and we will see an improvement in European demand for American wheat.

It is important that something be done now to increase wheat prices. Not only because probably 30 per cent of this year's crop is still in the hands of the farmers but because wheat is a barometer of commodity prices. Nothing would give a greater impetus to an increase in prices generally than to have a rising wheat market at the present time. Not only would the increased value be important but the confidence which would be instilled in the business community, not only in the agricultural sections but throughout the entire country, would be the greatest stimulus which could be given toward starting business conditions back to normal.

The Farm Board has given no good reason for following its present uncertain sales policy. It has adopted exactly the opposite plan as to cotton, having agreed to hold all stabilization cotton off the market until after next July 1 and to finance the large holdings of the American Cotton

Cooperative Association until July, 1933. House bill 5613, which I have introduced, would prevent the board from making further sales of stabilization wheat until December 1, 1933, unless in the meantime the price should reach $1.25 per bushel, Chicago basis. It is my intention to ask for early hearings on it by the House Committee on Agriculture, and I hope that it will receive the support of everyone who is interested in a higher level of commodity prices. [Applause.]

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. What is the extent of the investigation which the gentleman seeks by his resolution?

Mr. HOPE. The resolution calls for a general investigation of all the activities of the board, including the affairs of the Wheat Stabilization Corporation, the Cotton Stabilization Corporation, and all transactions between the board and the various marketing organizations to which it has loaned funds.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. LOZIER].

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Chairman, on January 9, in course of debate, in answer to the challenge of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. STRONG], that the Democrats name specific duties in the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, which we contended were too high and should be reduced, I proceeded to enumerate probably 100 or 200 duties which I denounced as unconscionably excessive and said should be reduced.

The gentleman from Massachusetts has this morning attempted to answer my contention. The gentleman is always an interesting speaker, but he, like—

> Gratiano speaks on infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice. His reasons are his two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff: you shall seek all day ere you find them; and when you have them, they are not worth the search.

The gentleman cradles himself in a wilderness of illusions. Intoxicated by his devotion to party fetishism and influenced by a justifiable appreciation of his own charming personality, or, perchance, by the splendor of his intellectual endowments, he always manages to adroitly lead himself through a wilderness of error to indefensible and not infrequently ridiculous positions. As a rule his arguments are as mischievous as they are illogical and unsound. In speaking, the gentleman always begins by being partisan and ends by being amusing.

The great Richelieu, when dying, when called upon to answer the ritual inquiry as to whether or not he forgave his enemies, replied: "I have no enemies save those of the State."

For the gentleman from Massachusetts I and his other colleagues have an unfeigned affection. While we recognize and admire his splendid qualities of heart and mind, nevertheless we are not blind to his somewhat exaggerated political and economic idiosyncracies.

We know the gentleman so well that his best friends, of whom I am one, wholeheartedly believe that when the time comes for him to pay the debt which all the sons and daughters of Adam owe to nature—which I trust may be long delayed—like Richelieu, he will say, "I have no enemies except those of the Republican Party." [Laughter.]

I am not criticizing the gentleman for steadfastly adhering to the gospel of greed, special privilege, and governmental favoritism. He can not help it. Born and bred in "holier-than-thou" self-satisfied New England, it is not strange that he devoutly believes that in governmental affairs

> They should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

Is the gentleman trying to be as sectional as the immortal Daniel Webster, whose provincialism prevented him from reaching the Presidency? But Webster, with all his deep-seated provincialism, held his great mind in the attitude of reception. Otherwise he would not have changed from an ardent free trader to an uncompromising protectionist, or from a bold secessionist to an advocate of almost unlimited nationalism. And may I suggest to the gentleman from Massachusetts that if he really wants to see the light and feed his thinking faculties on worthwhile economic truths and sound political philosophy, that he read the great speech of Daniel Webster in Congress, in which he, with unanswerable logic, advocated free trade and mercilessly exposed the fallacies of the so-called protective theory.

When the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill was pending, with an eloquence that would strike fire from flint, crumble the granite cliffs of New England, melt the Phidian statue of the Olympian Jove, or straighten the leaning tower of Pisa, the gentleman from Massachusetts boldly asserted that after the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill became a law a wave of prosperity would inundate every nook and corner of this Nation from the restless Atlantic to the placid and sun-kissed Pacific, from the northern lakes to the land of the laurel and the magnolia, from the Canadian frontier to where flows the sluggish Rio Grande, and that our storehouses, banks, and trust companies would not be able to hold the wealth which would come to the American people as the result of the enactment of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill.

It would be embarrassing, perhaps cruel, to remind the gentleman from Massachusetts how inaccurately he forecast the results that would flow from the enactment of that legislation. To paraphrase the language of Dante, the Republican Party was abundant in promises and meager in fulfillment.

The gentleman from Massachusetts well knows that in enacting the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill his party repudiated the campaign pledges of President Hoover; that his party refused to heed the message of President Hoover, who very frankly and seriously admonished them that there should be no general revision of the tariff; that the Nation at that time was prosperous and the tariff structure satisfactory; and that revision should be confined to a comparatively few articles largely to equalize agriculture with industry.

But the Republican Party in the House and Senate, disdaining their party pledges, violating the campaign promises of the President, eager to reward big business and the special interests for campaign contributions, proceeded to enact a tariff law which is a stench in the nostrils of the American people; a tariff bill which the President himself condemned but lacked the courage to veto; a tariff bill condemned in unmeasured terms by more than 1,000 economists, men who are well versed in the philosophy of government and in the subject of taxation, and who issued a pronunciamento calling attention to the evil results that would flow from the enactment of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill.

But the forces of greed and special interests aligned themselves behind this tariff measure, and those who long have been beneficiaries of legislative favoritism and who habitually use the agencies and instrumentalities of the Government to accomplish their selfish, sinister, and sordid purposes, took possession of the Republican Party, and a Republican Congress proceeded to enact the Hawley-Smoot bill, which carries the highest schedules in the history of American taxation.

Republicans said it was a good bill and would bring prosperity. If what we have had since this tariff bill was enacted is prosperity, I pray Almighty God that He may never afflict us with adversity or hard times.

Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, who won a questionable victory over the Romans, when he saw his slain soldiers and tattered survivors, exclaimed, "We have such another victory, we are undone." I say to my Republican colleagues in this House and to the Republican Party in the Nation that if you do not revise downward the present tariff schedules, and if you ever enact another tariff measure along the lines of the Hawley-Smoot bill, most certainly the Republican Party will be undone. [Applause.]

As God sometimes outshoots Satan with his own bow, so the American people in the 1932 election will chastise the Republican Party with the cat-o-nine-tails it prepared to use on the Democrats.

When the present tariff bill was being considered in the House I repeatedly called attention to the fact that the bill, if enacted, would result in other nations resorting to retaliatory tariff legislation. I admonished you that this country had no monopoly on the enactment of high tariff laws; that other nations could make tariff laws as easily as Uncle Sam, and that Canada and England and some other European nations need not even convene their parliaments, but by orders in council could immediately promulgate and put into operation laws that would increase the tariff on articles imported from the United States, thereby closing their markets to the products of our mills, factories, and farms, and that by imposing unreasonably high duties we were not only imposing unbearable burdens on our own people, but we were provoking a spirit of hostility among the people of other nations, which would cause them not to buy our commodities, and inevitably destroy the amicable commercial relations which heretofore have existed between us and sister nations.

Every thoughtful student of public affairs knows that foreign markets are absolutely essential to the well-being of our agricultural and industrial life. President Coolidge, in one of his messages, stated that less than 10 per cent of our productivity is sold abroad. I call attention to the fact that France and Germany sell approximately 40 per cent of their productivity abroad. As a result of those sales, France and Germany have in the past, and will in the future, levy tribute upon foreign nations, drawing from the four corners of the world wealth and treasure.

If we cling to our present high tariff policy, other nations will capture the markets which came to us during and after the World War. They will supply commodities from their mills, factories, and farms that are now being furnished by the mills, factories, and farms in the United States. The enactment of the Hawley-Smoot tariff and the policy of economic isolation, which the Republican Party has fastened upon this Nation, will ultimately result in a boycott by all the nations of the earth on the commodities which come from our farms, mills, and factories.

No nation can live in economic isolation. The American farmer has stirred the soil into generous productivity, until long since we passed the point where the American people can consume anything like the major portion of our domestic agricultural products. We must have foreign markets for our surplus farm commodities.

In like manner, in our industrial activities, we long since passed the point where domestic consumption can absorb anything like the output of our mills and factories.

We have in America to-day an industrial system which for efficiency is unrivaled, which with the mills working 6 hours a day and 9 months in the year can produce 40 or 50 per cent more commodities than can be consumed in our domestic markets. If the policy of the Republican Party is to be maintained, and we are denied access to foreign markets, it means that there must be a slowing down of agricultural production and a slowing down of industrial production, because production has already outrun consumption, and each year our domestic market will consume a smaller proportion of the products of our farms, mills, and factories.

American industrialism can not maintain itself, it can not continue to grow, it can not prosper, unless we find a market for our surplus factory commodities. During the period of agricultural, industrial, and commercial expansions; during the period when we were developing our rich natural resources, and before our productivity had reached the present enormous proportions, we had an abnormal domestic demand which absorbed the output from our farms, mills, and factories; and under those unusual conditions we did not feel the effect of this short-sighted tariff policy, but we have multiplied our mills and factories; we have developed their productive capacity to such an extent, that we long since passed the point where American factories can prosper if they depended solely upon the domestic market for a sale of their commodities.

President Coolidge was right when he said that less than 10 per cent of our commodities are sold abroad, but he forgot to say that frequently that 10 per cent marks the difference between a profit and a loss. There are thousands of manufacturing industries in the United States that would take a loss each year if it were not for this 10 per cent additional sales in foreign markets. This extra 10 per cent may enable them to balance their budgets and show a profit on the year's business. When we enlarge our foreign markets we increase the price of farm commodities. In the past commercial isolation was possible, but a great and productive people like the Americans must have foreign markets to absorb our rapidly growing surplus commodities. Otherwise we will be compelled to tear down many of our factories and materially reduce production in practically all lines of industry.

So I say to my Republican brethren, we have reached the saturation point in both agricultural and industrial commodities. Unless we find and hold foreign markets we will be compelled to dismantle one-third or more of our factories, reduce the number of employees, cut pay rolls, forego further expansion, and very materially reduce the output from our farms, mills, and factories. Without foreign markets our industrial system is already overexpanded and our productivity far in excess of our domestic needs. An abandonment of our fight for foreign markets means the end of our industrial and agricultural supremacy, if not the ultimate destruction of the industrial structure which we have been 150 years in building.

But the erudite gentleman from Massachusetts asks why the Democrats do not proceed forthwith to repeal the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill. Does he seek to create the impression that the Democratic Party is in power and in a position to repeal or revise the present tariff law? He knows such is not the case. The Democrats have a bare majority in the House. The Republicans have a majority in the Senate and a Republican is in the White House. What chance would there be for the Democrats to put through a tariff bill that could become a law? It would be impossible for the Democrats to correct the inequalities and crimes of the Hawley-Smoot Act, because the Republicans in the Senate and in the White House could and would block our efforts to give the people relief from existing excessive rates.

The gentleman from Massachusetts says if we are dissatisfied with the rates in the present tariff law, we can ask the Tariff Commission to have hearings and revise the rates. The gentleman well knows that would be an impractical method and accomplish nothing. But after the 1932 elections we will have a Democratic House and Senate and a Democratic President, after which the Democrats will proceed to revise the tariff, not by reckless and ill-considered slashes, but by a reasonable and eminently fair formula, which, without depriving the manufacturer of that to which he is justly entitled, will nevertheless reduce our tariff system to a scientific and equitable basis and substantially reduce the burden which the present law imposes on the American people.

The gentleman from Massachusetts defends the schedules of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill. In so doing he displays more courage than discretion, because very few persons who value the respect of the masses, have the temerity to speak in defense of that late lamented child of the Republican party. Time will not permit me to review the rates carried by the present tariff law, but I call your attention to the rates quoted by me in my remarks on January 9, to which speech the gentleman from Massachusetts has to-day directed his reply. No useful purpose will be served by repeating these rates at this time, but those who care to look them up will find that they are accurate, and conclusively demonstrate that the rates carried by the Hawley-Smoot bill are unconscionable.

Suffice it to say, that practically every article the average man buys, practically everything a person touches from the time he gets up in the morning until he retires at night is excessively taxed. Everything in bedroom, living room, parlor, kitchen, dining room, and pantry has been bought at an enhanced price by reason of the high tariff laws, which lay heavy burdens on the many in order that the

favored few may enjoy unearned bounties and bleed wayfaring men of their substance. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. WILLIAMSON].

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, yesterday we all listened to a very interesting discussion which took place between the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] and the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS]. That discussion centered largely around the action taken by the Committee on Appropriations in requesting and instructing its subcommittees to refrain from increasing any item sent down by the Budget. That instruction means nothing more nor less, if it is to be followed throughout the session, than to require the members of subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations to stick their heads in the sand so far as consideration of any individual items are concerned. If subcommittees are not to be permitted to exercise independent judgment, what is the use of lengthy hearings and expensive printed volumes of testimony. I can not conceive of such a policy being maintained throughout the session. The remarks made by the able gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] and the strictures he made were fully justified by the facts of the case. I do not think anyone in this Chamber desires to increase total appropriations. On the contrary, I think that every Member of this House is in a frame of mind to reduce appropriations all along the line, but it is not good sense, it is not practical, it is not fair, it is not just to the people of the country to lay down the rule that the Committee on Appropriations, merely because an item may have been rejected by some bureau in the departments, is thereby precluded from investigating the item and including it if it clearly appears that it should be.

This House has a right to the judgment of the committee upon any items investigated. To deny it is to deny to the House the only reason for creating committees.

To say that no subcommittee may consider an item on its merits and transmit its honest judgment to the full committee, even though it may recommend an appropriation, which was denied by the Budget, is so foreign to anything that we have heretofore recognized as the function of committees and so subversive of all that is intelligent and fair that I hope that this bill will end it.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. Under that policy, why the necessity for an Appropriations Committee?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. There is no need for an Appropriations Committee as far as any possible increase of individual items is concerned, if we are going to follow that policy. It is intolerable and degrading. Members of Congress have a right to appear even before the Committee on Appropriations, and their statements with reference to possible increases or decreases are entitled to respectful consideration upon the merits.

A great deal was said yesterday with reference to following the recommendations of the President, by the distinguished chairman of the committee, for whom I have a great deal of respect as a man of ability and character. He is a splendid Member of this House, but has gotten off on the wrong foot. Over and over again he repeated that all the Appropriations Committee was doing was to follow the recommendations of the President. Now, he knows and you know we are not following out the recommendation of the President in refusing to act favorably upon any item that has not received the approval of the Budget. It was never intended that the Budget should supersede the Committee on Appropriations or the Congress. It was created as an instrument, not as a boss.

Every one of the items that have been eliminated from this bill consists of activities out in the field among the farmers. Every one of these items was cut out by bureau heads in the department and not by the Budget. The eliminations were not even brought to the attention of the Budget in some instances. The bureau heads did it to save their own swivel-chair jobs and their personnel here in Washington. They were not paying any attention to the interests of the American people. It is difficult to find a single instance where they recommended a diminution of the appropriation for the activities in the departments here in Washington. There were some small cuts, amounting to about three-tenths of 1 per cent, and these I am informed were made by the subcommittee in most cases. Bureau heads who appeared before the subcommittee clung to the appropriations of last year, like barnacles to a ship.

I interrupted the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] yesterday and called his attention to the fact that such cuts as were made in this bill were made in the field and not in the departments here in Washington. The gentleman from Tennessee denied that such a state of fact existed. I propose, before I finish to-day, to show that the statement which I then made was substantially correct. I do not have time to go through all the items in the bill and do not intend to do so, but what I said with reference to the items that I mentioned stand out like tree trunks on every page of the bill from beginning to end.

Now, let us turn to the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, for illustration, and see what we find—

For necessary expenses for general administrative purposes, including the salary of chief of bureau and other personal services in the District of Columbia, $184,025.

That is a reduction of eight-tenths of 1 per cent in the activities in Washington. Let us take the very next item that has to do with the inspection and quarantine of livestock and see what the situation is. The reduction here is $58,690, a reduction of 7.3 per cent, or a reduction ten times as great as was made in the bureau here in Washington. If they had made a little more reduction in the bureau in Washington, they might have done somewhat more for the inspection of livestock throughout the country.

Now, let us turn to page 24 and see what we find. Here we have an item covering the matter of investigation of diseases and tuberculosis, and so forth, in livestock. The reduction here is $444,023, a reduction of 7 per cent plus, as against a reduction of eight-tenths of 1 per cent in the department in Washington.

On page 25, the next page, we find the same kind of a reduction, "For all necessary expenses for the eradication of southern cattle ticks." What was the reduction in that item? Fifty-six thousand dollars, or 7.3 per cent.

Turning to page 26, there is an item dealing with animal husbandry which provides:

For all necessary expenses for investigations and experiments in animal husbandry.

The American people are vitally interested in this. The reduction here is $50,000, or 7.4 per cent.

Turning to the next page, under the head, "Diseases of animals," and investigations and experiments in that connection, we find a reduction of $37,000, or 8 per cent plus, or ten times as much as we find in the salary schedule in the District of Columbia.

A little farther down the page in connection with the investigation of the disease of hog cholera and related swine diseases we find a reduction of a little better than 7 per cent.

On page 31 we find the Bureau of Dairy Industry. This is an industry in which the people of this country are intensely interested. It is headed up here in Washington by Dr. O. E. Reed. Reed sat and quibbled with the committee to protect the salary of himself and his employees and to maintain his full personnel, and insisted that the item for personnel in the District of Columbia could not be cut one penny. The subcommittee finally cut it. How much? The magnificent sum of $200, a cut of less than three-tenths of 1 per cent. It was under this same general head where the subcommittee allowed a sum—against the recommendation of this same man Reed, who was trying to protect his own swivel-chair job—sufficient to maintain the dairy station at Ardmore, S. Dak., so that the work might be continued in

my district. That station has done wonderful work. It has done work that is appreciated by the farmers.

It has aided materially in improving the herds of dairy cattle in that territory, and encouraged the production of better beef cattle. Bulls are loaned and records kept. This is a very important feature of the work done at Ardmore. Yet this item goes out of the bill in toto, under the mandate of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, which compelled the subcommittee to reverse itself. Here was an item in which the people of western South Dakota, northern Nebraska, and eastern Wyoming were vitally interested, but it had to go, while the personnel here in Washington that means little to the people who pay the taxes was left intact.

Now I go over a little farther and I find another on page 33, for barberry eradication. This was cut 50 per cent against the protest of many States. If you will turn to page 36 of the bill, you will find "Dry-land agriculture." Dry-land agriculture is a matter in which the entire Middle West is very much interested. The farmers have been struggling upon the western plains for 40 years against adverse conditions and insufficient rainfall. To aid them Congress placed in that territory, at Ardmore, a dry-land experiment station in 1911. As a result of the work of that station and the experiments there conducted, the production of barley in western South Dakota, northern Nebraska, and eastern Wyoming has been greatly increased during recent years. The station has also pointed the way for increased production of many other crops in that semiarid region. This item too was cut out by the Bureau of Plant Industry to save a little money—something like $19,000. A little saving in overhead here in Washington would have saved that station.

I want you to notice the cut here for dry-land agriculture from $345,740 for the fiscal year 1932 to $242,260 for 1933. Compare this cut of 29.8 per cent with the cut on page 32 of the bill "For necessary expenses for general administrative purposes, including the salary of the chief of the bureau and other personal services in the District of Columbia," amounting to fourteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent.

What is the sense of picking on Ardmore anyway? Why not make the cut apply all along the line?

I went before the subcommittee on this item and received a very courteous hearing, and I want to thank its able chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] now for the consideration shown and the action taken in the first instance in adding a sufficient amount to care for Ardmore. I presented all the facts and the item was restored, but under the instructions of the whole committee, by reason of an arbitrary rule which will not permit an increase in any single item it went out of the bill. That action was taken by men who had not given the slightest attention to the merits of the items affected. I must confess such action does not appeal to me as either just or an exhibition of good sense. It means the closing up of the work at the Ardmore station.

Comparisons may be odious, but under the circumstances I can not but reflect that on the very next page, following the one where the heart was cut out of dry-land agriculture, we find an item having to do with the upkeep and improvement of the gardens and grounds of the Agricultural Department in Washington, D. C. Ninety-seven thousand eight hundred and twenty dollars is allowed, a reduction of $300 from last year—truly a magnificent saving of three-tenths of 1 per cent!

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Budget did not propose that we take anything away from that.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I understand they did not take a penny away, but what little was taken away was by the action of your subcommittee. Your subcommittee is to be commended for that.

Your grounds here in Washington are not doing the people of the country very much good, and they would not look greatly worse if you spent $20,000 less on them than is provided for in this bill. By spending that much less you could maintain the Ardmore station.

Right above that you have another item relating to forest pathology, in which the entire country is interested. A good part of that work is in the field, and there again you have a reduction of 7 per cent.

Now, then, we could go on to the end in connection with various items in this bill and we would find exactly the same situation. But why pursue it farther?

Mr. Chairman, at the appropriate time I shall offer two amendments to this bill, one to restore the dairy activities at the Ardmore station and one to restore the activities with relation to dry-land farming, both of which activities are of the greatest possible value to our people, the people of Nebraska and of Wyoming. The total cost of the two is in the neighborhood of $25,000. This amount is reduced somewhat by sale of products from the farm. The testimony shows sales amounting to $3,500 for 1931. I shall submit an amendment immediately following them in which there will be a sufficient saving here in Washington to cover the operation of the station for the next fiscal year.

I want to call your attention to a few things in connection with the Ardmore station. I have no hesitation in saying that Doctor Reed in the testimony which he gave either deliberately or unintentionally attempted to deceive the subcommittee. I do not think he succeeded, but the record shows that he set up a set of facts, or what purported to be a set of facts, which can not be substantiated. The station at Ardmore has 240 acres of land, valued at $4,800. It has 1,100 acres under lease, making in all 1,350 acres. It has an investment in structures amounting to $33,310. It has an investment in plows, tractors, threshers, and scientific instruments amounting to $19,296. The Bureau of Animal Industry has a barn there worth $5,000, making a total investment of $62,406.

Now, is the bureau down here going to leave those buildings out there without any protection? Is it going to abandon the farm and let the buildings rot, burn up, be destroyed, or have the windows all knocked out? Manifestly that can not be done. The bureau has got to have somebody in charge of the farm, and it can not maintain a man there for less than $2,500 to $3,000; and if the buildings are to be kept in repair, it will probably run a great deal more than that.

Now, then, Mr. Reed contended that the Bureau of Dairy Industry could save $7,000 by closing the station at Ardmore. What are the facts? Upon his own testimony it would cost at least in the neighborhood of $2,000 to move the cattle from there to Mandan, N. Dak. Later he qualified this and contended that the moving and "keep" for the next year would amount to only $2,250. Mandan, N. Dak., is just 500 miles nearer the North Pole than is Ardmore. They already have a dairy herd at Mandan, so they do not need this addition, and it is going to cost just as much, notwithstanding Reed's testimony, to maintain their cows at Mandan as it is going to cost at Ardmore.

Later I shall insert in the RECORD a statement by Dr. William M. Taylor showing the production at the two stations. From that table you will find that the average production at Ardmore, so far as forage is concerned, is greater than at the Mandan station. You will also find that the rainfall at the Ardmore station is approximately 1 inch more than it is at the Mandan station, on the average over a long period of years. The average rainfall at Ardmore is 16.69 inches, while at Mandan it is 15.88 inches. Is it to be supposed that a lesser rainfall and colder climate improves production? Reed was just talking through his hat, that is all.

Now, then, I do not think it is good policy, I do not think it is fair to the people who are struggling to make a living out on the prairies to take a going station in splendid condition, that is doing excellent work, and eliminate it entirely in order to save a few positions here in the city of Washington. We can make the reductions here. It will not hurt anybody; it will not demoralize or injure the service, and we can maintain throughout the country a service that brings something of the benefits of government home to the people who pay the taxes.

There are a number of other institutions and experiment stations that are eliminated by this bill. They cost little in proportion to services rendered and should be retained instead of some of the activities here in Washington which can well be spared.

I assert now that if you close the station at Ardmore that, in the next fiscal year, you are going to spend more money in transferring those cattle to Mandan and maintaining them there than you are going to save by closing the Ardmore station. There is going to be a loss in dollars and cents and not a gain as was contended by Doctor Reed.

Where is the doctor going to keep the cattle that are now at the Ardmore station? Out in snowdrifts at the Mandan station? We will have to keep them there or do some building. The capacity of that station is already taxed with the dairy herd it now has. It can not care for the stock, some 46 head of purebred dairy cows, now at Ardmore. What is he going to do with the 50 odd head of beef cattle? Butcher them?

You can not shove 100 head of cattle now at Ardmore to Mandan and keep them there without building the necessary barns, and your barns alone will cost you more than to maintain these cattle at Ardmore, where they ought to stay.

Now, as to plant industry. The bureau has maintained a most valuable experiment station at Ardmore. The station has conducted experiments which have demonstrated the best kinds of grains to use and the most satisfactory tillage. I have already called your attention to the increased yield of barley in that territory.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. How are they using that barley?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I may say to the gentleman, who is very much interested in beer, that in South Dakota we feed all our barley and do not ship any of it out of the State. We feed it to our hogs and dairy cows. I want to assure the gentleman that we are dry and do not manufacture beer. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an excerpt from a letter of the superintendent of the Ardmore Station, and also a brief excerpt from a letter of William A. Taylor, chief of bureau, showing the production at Ardmore and Mandan.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. CONDON). The gentleman from South Dakota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

When I discovered that the Budget apparently had in mind the elimination of the Ardmore station I wired O. R. Matthews, the superintendent of the station, for a statement as to the number of livestock upon the station and a brief outline of its activities. This statement is succinct and to the point and I, therefore, desire to read to the committee the portion responsive to my inquiries:

"The purebred dairy herd at the station consists of 46 head. All of them are registered Holsteins. The swine herd is purebred Duroc Jerseys, and consist of 20 brood sows and two boars. In addition there are 39 Hereford steers that are the property of the United States and 16 head loaned to this station by the University of Nebraska, on experiment.

"The station is under the management of the Bureau of Plant Industry. The work of the Bureau of Plant Industry consists of the following lines: 1. Experiments in crop rotations and methods of cultivation. This is the most important line of work carried on by the station. Results secured of crop yields under many different cultural processes and crop sequences are under way, and the average results over a long period of years are a true indication of the agricultural possibilities of the section. Results from this work are cumulative and increase in value each year.

"2. Variety tests of grain crops and forage crops are conducted each year. These results are applicable to much of western South Dakota, Wyoming, and northwestern Nebraska.

"3. Shelter-belt experiments and demonstrations have been under way since 1914. The shelter belts on the station attract much attention and many requests for information regarding hardiness of different varieties of trees and methods of handling shelter belts are received. The growing of a shelter belt is one of the great factors in establishing permanent farm homes on the plains. Inquiries regarding these experiments are received from a large area.

"4. Orchard and garden experiments to show the hardiness and yielding ability of the different fruits and vegetables have been under way for a number of years and are attracting much interest. The climatic and soil conditions are very severe on trees, and varieties found hardy and productive at this station will no doubt be successful over a large area."

The work of the Bureau of Animal Industry at this station is as follows:

"Beef-cattle experiments:

"1. Wintering stocker steers on home-grown feeds.

"2. Grazing experiments to determine the best methods of pasture management and the carrying capacity of the native grasses.

"3. Feeding a grain supplement to steers on pasture. This experiment was started in 1931, and gives promise of furnishing a valuable outlet for surplus feed grains.

"4. Fattening experiments with barley to determine whether it can be best fed as a supplement on pasture or as a fattening feed at the end of the pasture season.

"Experiments with hogs:

"1. Raising pigs to feeder size on pasture with a limited grain ration. The pigs are shipped to the Kansas Agricultural College for finishing in competition with pigs from other sections. This experiment gives valuable information on kinds of pastures and pasture management for hogs.

"2. Raising pigs on self-feeder to determine the relative profit of fattening pigs locally, and raising to feeder size for shipping to other sections for finishing."

All of the experiments of the Bureau of Animal Industry deal with the utilization of home-grown feeds and indicate how crop raising and animal husbandry may be best combined to establish a sound mixed farming practice.

The work of the Bureau of Dairy Industry is as follows:

"1. Breeding project with cooperators and with station herd. Purebred bulls are loaned to farmers who will keep records and take proper care of the bulls. The herds of cooperators are being built up to a much higher plane of production by using well-bred bulls on their dairy herds.

"2. Feeding and growth experiments. These deal with work in calf raising to determine the relative expense of raising calves under different methods of feeding, and in utilization of home-grown feeds by producing cows.

"3. Dairy management and husbandry tests. The Ardmore field station serves as a clearing house for information for a large section of western South Dakota as well as portions of Nebraska and Wyoming. Requests for information on crop varieties, cultural practices, pasture management, and other information are received from a wide area. I believe that the great increase in the barley acreage in this immediate section is due to a large extent to the establishment of the fact through experiments at the field station, that certain varieties of barley are much more productive than other grains. Increased growth of barley has led to increased use of this crop in animal production. I feel certain that the citizens of this community and the surrounding territory will be glad to voice their faith in the station and its work if they have an opportunity to do so."

JANUARY 20, 1932.

Hon. WILLIAM WILLIAMSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMSON: Reference is made to your telegram of January 18 to O. R. Mathews, superintendent in charge of the United States dry land field station, Ardmore, S. Dak., in which request is made for data on comparative feed costs and production at Ardmore and Mandan.

As to costs of feed, if costs of purchased feed is meant, very little information is available, as very little feed is purchased. It is probable, however, that freight rates may be somewhat favorable to Mandan for Government shipments on account of being located on a land-grant railroad.

The comparative costs of producing feed crops at Ardmore and at Mandan depend very largely on the yields per acre. The table given below shows the average acre yields at Ardmore and at Mandan for the five years from 1926 to 1930. In this table the yield of alfalfa on the upland is given for Mandan, because the acreage of bottom land that can be used for that crop is limited.

Station	Alfalfa	Corn silage	Sorgo fodder	Oats	Barley
Ardmore	1,425	5,134	3,332	30.7	40.9
Mandan	2,059	4,868	----------	33.4	19.1

These results show Mandan to have the higher yields of alfalfa hay and oats and Ardmore to have the higher yields of corn silage and barley. Ardmore, in addition, has good yields of sorgo fodder, which is not an important crop at Mandan.

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours,

WM. A. TAYLOR, *Chief of Bureau.*

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KLEBERG].

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Chairman, I take occasion at this particular moment to pay my respects to the entire membership of the committee, collectively and individually. My purpose in addressing you this afternoon has to do primarily with one of the fundamental rights among men. I refer to the right to acquire and own and use, in a manner injurious to no one, property, real property, or land. I mention this in connection with the appropriation bill now before you, and call your attention to the fact that the right to peaceful possession of such property, secured to us by government, under present conditions is really in serious danger.

Referring to the industry to which I, as an individual, happen to belong, the livestock industry, I call your attention to some figures. The entire area of the country is one billion, nine hundred and three million and odd acres, and of this entire area one billion, one hundred and thirty-two million and odd acres consists of range and pasture lands.

The only means, despite our present age of science, by which the surface production of this enormous area can be converted into wealth, is through the utilization of livestock of different kinds. The only means by which taxes can be paid for the support of Government by this enormous acreage is through the utilization of livestock.

We come now to the question, viewing the matter entirely from a business angle, of just how much burden in the form of taxes the production of livestock can afford.

In my section of the country, in Texas, on the ranch where I lived, it requires an average of around 22 acres to the animal; and under present prices we find it exceedingly difficult to show a profit on range lands through the utilization and sale of livestock.

Certain areas of this country can only produce wealth from the surface production through certain definitely selected forms of livestock. Other areas can produce from many different forms of livestock.

But be this as it may, the question of taxes, as a business proposition concerning the security of man's property, under government, happens to be one of the reasons we entered society, if not the main one. The right to acquire and own happens to be a natural one, provided the ownership and use of the property, as said before, harms no one.

The very Government to which we owe our allegiance and under which, we, among the blessed of the citizenship in this great country, are allowed to exercise the privilege of maintaining, at least in no small part, is definitely confronting us with the direct possibility of losing this property through inability to pay taxes thereon.

Addressing myself directly to the agricultural appropriation bill, it seems to me that it should be a natural conclusion to the people of this country that the limiting and curtailment of appropriations should properly be the first step toward relief in tax matters, and relieving us from the burden of excessive taxation.

I pause here to call your attention to a thought which may be pertinent. Conditions in local, national, and world affairs and matters are constantly changing. Taking present conditions as emblematic of the fact that conditions have definitely changed since, we might say, 1928—when we compare the revenue derived from our businesses and the taxes we paid, and the revenue we derive now from our businesses and the taxes we pay now, it must be admitted that conditions have changed decidedly.

But it also happens that under present conditions we are prone to become demoralized in every way, to the extent of ignoring or forgetting for the time being certain basic and fundamental facts and principles which do not change.

I suggest to you that in the present frame of mind of this country, reflected, if you please, in the requests that we all as Members of this great deliberative body receive from our country at home—we, too, are placed in the position where it is more and more necessary to preserve these great fundamental rights inviolate than possibly at any other time in the history of the activity of this body.

I beg you at this time, my colleagues, speaking to both sides of the dividing aisle, to not be too insistent, too meticulous in your remarks concerning this appropriation bill for agriculture.

It is more than probable that at a time like this certain items stricken from these appropriations would meet the disapproval of certain individual Members of this body. It is more than probable that even the views of the members of your committee at the time the bill was drafted might not represent their views two days after the bill was drafted, or a day after the bill is passed.

But at the same time, under present conditions—to quote a trite expression with one change—we should not sit by and whittle while the country burns, continuing, if you please, the extravagance in Government operations and Government maintenance that has developed for a long time until we now have a gigantic, top-heavy, unwieldy burden to bear. Until we begin to knock off certain things for the sake of the people in this country and restore to them some belief, at least, in the continuity and security of their property, and their right to enjoy it peacefully, and to use it productively and beneficially, we will continue to be demoralized.

Now, in all probability every man on both sides of this aisle, every member of this committee, would be delighted if by their individual action it should result that in a small part it had restored the confidence of the people of this country in their ability to maintain and continue the spirit of this Government of ours. [Applause.]

I do not question in my mind that until the job is started somewhere, at some particular place, by some act in the form of definitely cutting off Government expenditures, and continuing it down the line, that we in this country have no hope of keeping off the increasing demand, the excessive demand on us as private citizens in our homes and walks of our daily life.

We have a real problem, one that should be accepted as the first initial step concerning, at least, the desire for economy in this particular bill.

When I, as a member of three of the great livestock organizations in this country, suggest, speaking for agriculture, that I personally will accept this first cut as the proposed start for the maintenance of this Government at this time, even though in many instances to me personally it involves the swallowing of a more or less bitter pill. [Applause.]

I say to you again that we have a situation in the minds of the people of this country, aside from their fear concerning the security of their property rights—we have a fear in the minds of the people of the country, a real fear, concerning the possible limitation or lack of limitation, which this Government of ours may indulge for purposes without the proper realm of government, according to my individual views.

Just the other day—and I refer to the occasion when this great body passed out and over to the Senate the Reconstruction Finance Corporation measure—as an individual I cast a vote in this House that was opposed to every principle concerning government that I believe in except one. That vote violated every one but one principle, and because of that one I voted for the measure. Under normal conditions I would not favor a measure such as the creation of an enterprise by our Government that involved finally, if you take past history as a criterion in five years' period, the ownership by the Government of a large proportion of the stock of the railroads in this country and of lands under mortgage. Referring back again to the principle, I refer to the principle involved in the law of necessity, where one sees that certain action is necessary in his or her mind to prevent a great catastrophe. I think that this intelligent group will not require a minute explanation of just what I mean, but suffice it to say that the publicity and information concerning the hope held out to the people of this country that their deposits, their earnings, dwindling down day by day

under present conditions, might to a large extent be saved to them was what induced me to vote for the measure. Understand, I lay no claim to the fact that any of this publicity told any of those nerve-racked depositors, fellow citizens of ours, just how it was going to save them, but the publicity and the dissemination of the information concerning this gigantic corporation and the hope held out to them was of such a nature that had this measure failed of passage in this House I am confident that the faith on which the banking institutions the world over depend for their continuity would have crumbled and that immediately there would have been such a chain of bank failures over this country as this or no other nation ever knew before. For that reason I voted for that bill.

I use that bill merely to call your attention to the abortive mental effect of present conditions. I do not know whether, if we were to go back to our original form of government suddenly overnight and abide strictly by those principles embodied in the Constitution, the result would not be almost as serious as in the picture I painted to you concerning the failure to pass this particular Reconstruction Finance Corporation measure. But I do know that unless we start somewhere, somehow, at once, and that each day this Congress should continue whittling down little by little the burden of Government maintenance, the burden of Government interference in business and in society and the expenses of maintaining those interfering agencies, and continue on that track regardless of where you start, and keep it up right on down the line for a number of years, this and the following Houses of Representatives will not bring back the confidence in this Government of ours that the people of our country once enjoyed not so many years ago. In my humble opinion there never has been such dissatisfaction on the part of the citizenship of our land with their Government as that which exists to-day, never in its entire history.

We have at present in the list of appropriations which will come before this House for final passage measures involving the expenditures of the moneys of the individual citizens from the Treasury of the United States, putting this Government of theirs which they support and maintain into direct competitive lines of industry with those same citizens that pay to support it.

I bespeak the hope that this entire group of distinguished citizens will dedicate themselves from this time out continuously—not occasionally during this session, but continuously—looking forward to each and every opportunity of passing measures which will restore the confidence of the people in the Government and reduce on each occasion the expense of maintaining it—not through the niggardly practice of cutting salaries, if you please, as a wholesale proposition, but through applying business brains to the idea of expending only such money as pays a reasonable return to the people of the country, either in service, protection, or in some other way where you can show values received for moneys spent.

I referred in the first few minutes of my remarks to the livestock industry. I refer again to agriculture generally, and specifically to another branch of agricultural production, and I call this to your attention briefly. Doubtless it may have been mentioned to a few individuals among you, but certainly not to all of you, that this Government of ours has conducted quite a bit of research for the benefit of those engaged in agriculture in different lines. I refer here to a letter from the United States Department of Agriculture concerning a request sent to that department for some figures concerning the appropriation for the development of new uses, through laboratory research, to which wood and its products could be put, referring specifically to the Forest Products Laboratory of the Forest Service at Madison, Wis.

I find that in agricultural appropriations here for the fiscal year 1932 the allotment for the Forest Products Laboratory of the Forest Service at Madison, Wis., was $531,580; the total appropriations for forest-products investigations, $641,300. In addition to the money appropriated for research in forest products, a total of $900,000 was appropriated in 1931 and 1932 for the construction of a new forest-products laboratory at Madison, Wis. In connection with that a moment ago I referred to the total land area of the country. I have the exact figures here. It amounts to 1,903,216,640 acres. The total number of acres in grazing and pasture lands amounts to 1,132,000,000; nontaxable lands in the United States as of June 30, 1931, show a total of 385,706,030 acres, and this does not include military reservations, Indian reservations, or Alaska; publicly-owned pasture and range lands, including State lands, public domain, Indian reservations, national forests, 337,000,000 acres. You will find here when you take the range lands privately owned, amounting to 718,000,000 acres, that 29 per cent, approximately, of the pasture and range lands in the United States is publicly owned.

You will find that those owning 63 per cent of pasture and range lands are supported, by their pro rata part, by the other 29 per cent. Eight per cent of this is not included in the figures given you, because it has to do with temporary crop lands.

I called your attention to these figures for the purpose of suggesting by comparison the probable value of the investment by this Government in a laboratory for scientific investigation having to do with an increase in the utilization of cotton. I do not know whether it is proper at this time to discuss this, but I would like to call your attention to just a few figures.

In Texas we have an area of between sixteen and seventeen million acres devoted to cotton raising. Every acre of that cotton land pays taxes. There is here a little in excess of $1,500,000 invested in a laboratory for research concerning wood products. A large portion of the land upon which these wood products are produced happens to be public land, land that pays no taxes, but land that does pay grazing fees, forestry fees, and things like that. At this time, however, I would no more suggest to this committee the expenditure of one additional dime on constructive research for the development of a wider field for the uses of cotton than I would stand before this committee and take back what I have already said to them. I do not believe this is the time to discuss additional appropriations, however meritorious they may be, except for comparison.

In conclusion, my friends, I do believe that if the Appropriations Committee finishes this particular job, the time will be here and we will have had an opportunity to study at length the more advantageous expenditure of public moneys than that which has been indulged in in the past. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY] one minute.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I have asked this time for the purpose of asking unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by publishing at this point a story written by the talented representative of the H. C. Ogden papers, which circulate throughout the State of West Virginia, an article written in a very kind and pleasing way on the splendid Speaker of this House. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

FRIENDS BOOST GARNER AS BEST DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL BET—BALLYHOO DEVELOPS AS CURTAIN RINGS DOWN ON FIRST ACT OF CONGRESSIONAL PLAY—TEXAN IS COLORFUL FIGURE WITH PLENTY OF NECESSARY AMERICAN BACKGROUND

By Charles Brooks Smith

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 27.—The intermission at the theater of Congress affords critics and customers an opportunity to mingle and discuss informally the merits of the piece so far as she has been played. All the comments are not hackneyed bromides. Here and there a bright wisecrack sparks. Now and then something not unnew, such as the boop-boop-a-dooping of JOHN NANCE GARNER for the Democratic presidential nomination.

It is seriously considered at this hubnub of political handicappers and soothsayers. And well it may be. The little Texan's background is filled with sympathetic drama so dear to the hearts



of American voters who, not regretting at all that it was left out of their own lives, dearly love it in the lives of their presidential heroes.

The drama of simplicity is not so available in these times as it was in earlier eras. Still, it is surprising how successful the voters have been in quite recent years at finding it. There was Harding, who tooted the tuba in the village band; who "picked type lice" as the lowly printer's devil; who went barnstorming to ever so many Ohio hamlets.

There was Coolidge and the little old farmhouse way up in Vermont, the hardships and the self-sacrifice, enough material in the life of that family for a 5-foot shelf of printed plays of the Way Down East savor.

Americans prefer their Presidents to come to them from out a boyhood past reeking of the soil; the smell of wood-ash smoke in their homespun garments; the song of the soil ended, but the barnyard melody lingering on.

Little JACK GARNER has all of this, as dear to the heart as the old oaken, moss-covered bucket. If it wasn't exactly a log cabin lean-to adhering to the architectural streamlines of that which cradled the infant Lincoln, it came close to it, considering the differences in times. Thence on, Jack's young life ran true to the best traditional form. It was no bed of roses. There was no silver spoon upon which this baby could cut his teeth.

THE OLD HOKUM BUCKET

We do like our hokum. Upon it great industries have been built. For every Frankenstein which has come out of Hollywood 1,000 scenarios, singing the sagas of the triumph of the ancient virtues, have issued from the same source to gather in the sheaves of gold and silver at box offices. For every Desire Under the Elms that played a season, there has been a John Golden play which ran on like Tennyson's brook.

Not to say—or even so much as hint—that JOHN GARNER's play on the stage of life is hokum. It is true and realistic. It is the story of a boy's triumph over poverty, lack of educational opportunities, over grudging soil, to rise to manhood and to win its battles until he planted his banner at last on the heights of the second most powerful office in the system of government. And there the play may not end. They are talking—and seriously talking, as we have heretofore remarked—of another act possibly, with the supreme climax which so few plays of this kind contained since George Washington acted the first one.

SLOGANS

None of the other probabilities in JACK GARNER's party can show such a wealth of colorful stuff. Not Roosevelt, Ritchie, and Baker. Not Al Smith or Alfalfa Bill Murray. The Sidewalks of New York and a bleak brick tenement as a birthplace were tried out but failed to have the country-wide heart-throb appeal of the log cabin and the barefoot boy in plowed furrows. As for Alfalfa Bill, there is more suspicion that he is playing a part, ably assisted by imaginative reporters—a sort of a Tom Mix or Buck Jones on the screen of the political movies.

For these it appears probable that vote-catching slogans would have to be fabricated. For them something as good, if not better, than "Hee haw, we're coming back" would have to be produced. And it would seem that something much better than this one could could be without causing brain fag. We get this notion from the quite general condemnation of this pick, which is being indignantly voiced.

But for GARNER—his life is replete with the material out of which slogans for presidential campaigns spring spontaneously and full panoplied. No counterfeit coinage would have to be minted for him. "Get Hoover's goat with GARNER's angora" springs hot off the typewriter keys, biff, bang, just like that. If we had time, we might be able to turn out better ones. Much of the appeal inherent in this one would, of course, be lost on those who do not know that on his ranch near Uvalde Mr. GARNER raises Angora goats. Come to think of it, maybe it's Angora cats—there are Angora cats, aren't there? In that case we offer, without giving it any thought at all, "Scratch Hoover, purr for GARNER."

TO BREAK A DEADLOCK

Moreover, Mr. GARNER is a trained public servant. He has been many years in Washington. He is personally popular. His unanimous election to the Speakership by his party proves it. His official record is "dry," but he is no extremist on this controversial question. He has not specialized on prohibition. He has devoted his study and activities to finance, tariff, foreign relations, and the fundamentals of government. Nor is he an extremist on the tariff. He has little use for the present law. The rates and not the principle are of profound concern to him. These opinions of his are being stressed by his friends to impress the eastern conservative wing of his party with the fact that he is not the type of southern statesman for which it has no use.

And as the East is split, Roosevelt against Smith et al., the wisdom of emphasizing the record and attitude of GARNER on some of the leading issues is apparent. As a "compromise" GARNER might be just the one along about the fifth day of balloting, when it may be convincing to one and all that Roosevelt can't muster the two-thirds.

"Keep an eye on GARNER" is advice which old-timers in the game are offering in the Capital to-day.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield six minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. LANKFORD].

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I want to speak of agriculture and unemployment. We have heard on the floor of this House a great deal about agriculture in all of its phases, and in our offices we have heard of every phase of human suffering brought on by unemployment. I am taking this opportunity to try to combine the two and to make a suggestion to which I would like to invite your attention for a few moments.

BACK TO THE SMALL FARM FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

The question has arisen many times, I am sure, during the last year in the minds of each one of us here to-day, "What will America do with her unemployed," the man who wants to work and can find no work to do? Of this much we are certain, that every honest and industrious American is entitled to at least an opportunity to provide a living for his family and himself and that America is going to afford him that opportunity, otherwise our civilization and our culture is a failure, and this I am sure, Mr. Chairman, no Member of this body will admit.

I very sincerely hope that the plan I wish to discuss briefly to-day may not be necessary through the instrumentality of Government aid. I have no intention of introducing a bill for this purpose at this session, for the reason that the Treasury is in no condition to stand an experiment of this kind unless it is absolutely essential, and for the further reason that I believe the plans recommended by President Hoover for our economic revival will be successful and will restore work for the unemployed, sales for farm products, and orders for the mills and factories.

We are, however, a comparatively young Nation; during the next 100 years our population will more than double and the mills and factories and industrial activities, with increasing efficiency and economy in man power, will take care of a proportionately smaller number of men and women than they do to-day. What then will the increasing millions do for food and shelter and clothing? Where can they go for the preservation of their existence save to the millions of undeveloped, uncultivated acres that Providence and the courage and wisdom of our fathers have given us—man's natural and happy home—the farm, the country, those untilled or abandoned acres.

My idea in giving expression to these thoughts to-day is not for the present emergency. It is too late to put this plan into operation to aid the present distress even if it is sound and beneficial. We have not reached the saturation point as yet, and with the return of confidence and economic recovery, hastened by the measures which this Congress is now engaged in enacting, we can, perhaps for a generation, continue along the path we have been traveling. But depressions, distress, suffering come too often. It is our duty and our obligation to correct these conditions if human wisdom can do it, and give to every American citizen his chance to work and live, to face the future with faith and courage, and hope in his heart.

With improved machinery becoming more efficient every day—one machine doing the work of 50 a generation ago—with women and even children in industry in numbers unthought of 25 years ago, we are fast approaching the saturation point. In the race between production and consumption modern machinery will eventually win the race for production, and there appears to me to be only two solutions, either reduce production, in which event you add still more to the unemployment, or keep up the production, and find other means of livelihood for the numbers who will be left out of the industrial picture.

In the cities to-day are countless men with families, men over 45 years of age, scrapped industrially by the cruel and inhuman principle of modern efficiency methods—indefensible methods, which even our Civil Service Commission adopts as a yardstick to gage an applicant for a position. These men have families—a wife and 2, 3, 4, 5 children. Where, please tell me, is the justice of refusing this man a job either in industry or in Government service so long as he is physically fit? But he is left out of the picture—the man who needs a job even more than the younger man—who has

more mouths to feed; yet a chance to work is denied him by industry and by his Government.

When the time comes under normal conditions that this man in the city and town can not be absorbed in industry or find work to do outside of it, what are you going to do with him? Leave him and his family a charge on the charity of his community? A breeder of unrest and discontent, a ready subject for communism and anarchy? When that time comes, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me the best solution of his problem is to put him on a small farm; to aid him if necessary to go to one or to get back to one, where he can retain his self-respect, provide food and shelter for his family, and live as men have lived since Adam, by the sweat of his brow from the fruit of the soil.

These men will have little or no money; they can not go to the small farm without some assistance, and what I would like for you to direct your thought to is how they can be assisted most effectively to take up the new life.

There may be other and better plans, but my thought is in this brief discussion that by equal State and Federal aid large tracts of land could be acquired in every State that wished to go into the plan, these tracts divided into 15 or 20 acre farms, a modest cottage and barn built for him, cows, pigs, and chickens supplied him, and provisions furnished from a central commissary, until he could produce his first crop; and the $2,500, or thereabouts, which would be the total cost for each family, would be repaid in very small installments to the State and Government without taxes until paid for. Many a man has raised a happy family on 20 acres and less; and with the assistance that could be given these small farmers by the Department of Agriculture and the county agents, no man with ordinary intelligence should want for any of the necessities of life.

Limit the applicants perhaps to men with families of five or over and select them after a careful investigation as to character and industry, and I believe you would develop a happy and contented, self-sustaining small-farmer population.

This is not a dole, but a loan from a State and Federal revolving fund; paternalistic perhaps, but many precedents can be found for this kind of aid, and, paternalistic or not, can we consider theories instead of facts if the time shall ever come that some steps must be taken to preserve the lives of our citizens?

These small farmers would add little or nothing to the agricultural products now on the market, for they would consume the greater part of what they raised, though they could sell enough to supply their modest needs and to meet the small installments for the purchase of their farms.

This plan may never have to be invoked—I sincerely hope it may never be necessary to adopt these measures, but while I have this opportunity I want to leave the thought with you and the country—as a possible means of relieving great human suffering and distress if no better plan can be devised. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANKFORD], or so much thereof as he may desire.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, there are more serious problems confronting us than ever before. The very life of the Nation is at stake. The very existence of the farmer, the laborer, and the American citizen is in most serious jeopardy. All my people are either farmers or dependent, either directly or indirectly, upon the farmer.

If this Nation is to endure, the independent home-owning, home-loving farmer must be saved from the wreckage of the present financial crisis. In saving the farmer, we go far toward saving the laboring man, the independent business man, and the average American citizen. Without the farmer, the independent citizen will disappear and all else will be chaos.

It is not enough that farm lands will be owned by great farm monopolies and cultivated as a part and parcel of a system of mass production. Our Nation needs the wonderful influence of the country home.

Our civilization, our religious and moral ideals, and our free institutions, will crumble into the bitter ashes of the past if the independent, home-loving, God-fearing, patriotic farmer with his honesty of purpose and simplicity of life, disappears from our national life.

Let me say just here that I quite agree with the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. LANKFORD], who has just made such a splendid and eloquent argument for the independent, home-owning farmer.

We shall not be able to get out of this depression and stay out, without a permanent system which will bring about a Nation filled with millions of independent, happy, contented, patriotic home owners.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I deem nothing, in a legislative way, of so much importance as measures saving the homes of the farmers for the farmers and saving the farmers for the Nation.

Thus it is at this session of Congress I am fighting for at least three cardinal legislative goals. Here they are. Let us stop the present orgy of loan foreclosures and, so far as possible, undo the injury brought about by foreclosures in the past; next let us relieve from all taxes small homes when owned by the head of a family and last, but not at all least, help the farmer get and keep a fair price for his product.

In the very near future it is my purpose to again discuss fully and in detail the last two propositions. For the present it is my purpose to make some observations concerning loan foreclosures and what, for the lack of a better name, I call legislative camouflage in some of the legislation written at this session of Congress. I am referring especially to the bills providing more money for Federal land banks and the so-called Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill. The big bankers and those who exploit the farmers, wanted each of these passed in the name of the farmer, charged up to the farmers' quota of anticipated legislation and camouflaged to look like farm relief bills but were determined that each of them should, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, be in the interest of their gang of bondholders and big bankers.

Some redeeming provisions were written into these bills, by Democratic members of the House Committee on Banking and Currency and other Democratic Members of the House and Senate. I voted for the Federal land bank bill but am criticizing it because I feel it is too indefinite in its provisions in reference to past, pending, and prospective foreclosures and I am criticizing it because it was passed in the name of the farmer when it is 99 per cent a bondholders' bill, which may or may not help the farmers.

It will be seen that in my fight in connection with each of these bills I am doing my best to stop, overcome, and relieve the effect of long-term loan foreclosures. I am making one of the fights of my life to accomplish this result at this session of Congress, and I believe I shall yet succeed.

I have said enough about the Federal land bank bill for the present. At every available opportunity and in every way possible I am urging my bill to take care of all foreclosures of all loans against farm lands of whatsoever nature and in this respect will be heard from daily, again and again, until this relief is given.

Now for a parting shot at the recently enacted reconstruction act. To my mind this bill in the name of the farmer and the common people provides for a great legislative vat of political soup to be fed to those who are starving and emaciated because of the present depression, but I protest that the arrangement for the soup eating is not fair, and that the wrong crowd are first to get all the help they wish before any other may approach the table.

Ah! Mr. Chairman, the big bankers and officials of trusts and monopolies who are gorged on the very lifeblood and flesh of men, women, and children, whose bloated bodies are bursting their own financial trousers and whose hands are dripping with innocent human blood are to be seated at the table first and to remain as long as they wish and return as often as they wish until their gluttonous appetites are appeased again and again before the farmer and the rest of

the common folks may humbly approach and lick up from the floor the drippings where the elect under this act will have held their bacchanalian feast and debauchery.

Oh! I deplore this continued furnishing of legislative pap, political dole, and depression-relief soup with legislative mandates that the rich and mighty shall be authorized to gulp it down with the free use of a dipper in both hands while the farmer is tied hand and foot with unreasonable and unnecessary red tape and restrictions, but graciously told that he may also eat this soup, but that his Government requires by the strictest of provisions that in his bountiful eating he must do his dipping of this wonderful governmental soup only with the aid and assistance of a needle.

Just here let me say, I realize full well that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation can, if it will, comply with every provision and regulation suggested by my amendments. But will this be done? This corporation, under the act as finally written, can stop and remedy the orgy of loan foreclosures just as I set out in detail in my amendment. But again I ask the question, Will this be done? I shall at once file a written request that it be done and that it be done now. Congress has not done its duty in connection with this bill. In spite of this I hope that the officials of this corporation may even yet be big enough and patriotic enough to do their full duty, and nothing but their duty, by all the people.

I am truly glad that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill was amended in the Senate so as to reduce the amount that could be loaned to one bank, trust company, or other financial institution to $100,000,000 instead of $200,000,000 as provided in the House bill.

What happened in connection with this item shows that it never pays to abandon a fight for the right. It will be remembered that in the House the LaGuardia amendment to accomplish this same result was defeated, as was the Lankford amendment to reduce still further the amount that could be loaned to any one concern.

Not only did those of us who favored the LaGuardia amendment win by the Senate inserting the provision for which we were contending but we were able to get the House to reverse itself before the bill went to conference and actually instruct the House conferees to recede from the House contention and concur in the Senate amendment.

It is interesting in this connection to check the RECORD and see just what happened. The first vote on the LaGuardia amendment was taken when the stampede to put this bill over without amendment was at its height. That vote was on a division called for by Mr. LAGUARDIA, where the Members were counted but no record made as to how each Member actually voted, and disclosed 66 votes for the LaGuardia amendment and 98 votes against. The next vote in the House on this identical proposition showed 183 votes in favor of the amendment and 157 votes against it. The last vote, being a record vote, was larger. It also was cast after the action of the Senate and after the Members had studied the matter more closely. It shows, among other things, that it is not best for legislation of this importance to be rushed through the House without full debate and the most careful consideration.

The bill was liberalized in several respects in the Senate. I am truly glad this was done. As I said a little while ago, the Senate, by general language, gave this corporation authority to do practically everything that many of us in the House were fighting for when we proposed the flood of amendments offered there.

The main gravamen which is urging me on, not only in my fight on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill but on other similar measures and in every way and by every means that I can devise, is to be found in the loan-foreclosure situation that is so evident on every hand throughout the Nation. This Congress must either enact some remedial legislation to help the farmers in this respect or break faith with the farmers of the Nation. Congress has done too much for others to now treat the farmers with silent contempt. It is not enough that some general provisions have been written in some bills that may or may not help only a few farmers of the Nation.

The Federal land bank bill just passed may help a few of the farmers that have borrowed money through that system. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill may help those that have borrowed through the intermediate credit banks and also furnish money to a few farmers for production purposes. The thing that I want though is relief against all farm foreclosures, either past, present, or prospective, regardless of whether the loan was obtained from the Federal land banks, the joint-stock land banks, long-term loan associations, life-insurance companies, or any other person, firm, or corporation. Of course, after this is accomplished we want some additional laws helping the farmers get and enjoy a fair price for their products.

The relief, in this respect, that I am asking for would not cost very much. I am not urging a moratorium which would leave those holding these loans without their interest and make the farmers' accumulated interest next year even more unbearable, but I am urging that the Government, through a proper agency, purchase the past-due interest coupons and notes which have caused foreclosures or that may cause foreclosures during the next three years, so that the farmers will be able to keep their homes during this crisis, and the loan concerns get their interest. This interest would be spread over a long period of time and could be easily paid by the farmer after we get out of this depression. It would cost only about one-fifteenth as much to handle the matter in this way as it would cost to purchase the loan contracts or indebtedness outright. My plan would let the loan concern carry the original indebtedness with the Government, only helping in the payment of interest where it is necessary to prevent foreclosure. It would also take care of cases where foreclosures have already taken place, and the lands could be returned to the farmers with the Government to take care of the delinquent interest and installments that caused the foreclosures.

In conclusion let me say that I shall not be willing for this relief for the farmers to be sidetracked for other legislation to be passed and then remain on the sidetrack until adjournment of Congress. The farmer is entitled to better treatment from this Congress and I feel sure he will receive it before adjournment.

We have put our hand to the plow in this matter of relief and we can not afford to look back. We must go on and give to the farmers the same relief that has been accorded to others. The Democratic Party is in power in the House. It has never failed the farmer and the common people of the Nation. It will not fail them now when they need help more than ever before. Our duty is clear. Our conscience will not let us do otherwise than perform that duty.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MCGUGIN].

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, I should like to make a few remarks along the line of the remarks which were made a few days since by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD], which pertained to the reducing of the public expenses, and, to bring it down to plain language, of course, meaning a reduction in public salaries.

I may say that at the right time and at the right moment the gentleman from Indiana will present his amendment to some appropriation bill for a reduction in public salaries on a scale something like this: A 5 per cent reduction in salaries from $2,000 to $5,000, inclusive; a 10 per cent reduction in salaries above $5,000 to $10,000, inclusive; and a 15 per cent reduction in salaries above $10,000.

I doubt very much if that reduction is sufficient to meet the wishes of the country. I may say to the gentlemen of the committee that some two weeks since I had occasion to discuss this question over a radio broadcast. At that broadcast it was specifically requested that any letters sent in be sent to another source, the American Taxpayers League, to be exact. I did not want the letters coming to my office because I had not the facilities to take care of them. Let me say to you that there have been over 1,000 letters received.

Not one single letter has come from one single source protesting against a cut in public salaries, except from some one

on the public pay roll. At least 10 to 1 of these letters have come from the taxpayers of this country.

It seems to me perfectly apparent that if private salaries and private businesses must take this cut, public salaries should do likewise. No one wants to do anyone an injustice, yet the fact remains that every dollar that is collected in taxes must be collected from productive industry in this country, whether that industry be manufacturing, agriculture, or what not, and the fact remains that the last bit of productive industry in this country—agricultural, industrial, and all of it—is to-day operating at a much depreciated income under a few years ago.

There is no way we are going to escape increasing the tax burden. I want to say this in all kindness. This Congress, of which you and I are Members, is not going to be able to escape the truthful charge that it has been the most extravagant, or at least the most expensive, Congress that has ever sat in peace times in this country. Already we have appropriated or voted upon the people of this country out of this year's expenses something like $600,000,000.

Mr. DIES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McGUGIN. I can not yield, because my time is so limited.

I understand that under the conference report on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill that $1,500,000,000 worth of bonds can even be issued in the form of currency, or in some other manner, by the Treasury Department; at any rate, the Treasury Department is going to put up the $500,000,000 for the stock and the other appropriation likewise. This in the face of the fact that we are already going behind $2,000,000,000 a year. In such a situation private industry, private business is going to pay the taxes.

The only way those who are living off of the taxpayers of this country or living off of the Government can bear their share of the responsibility is to accept a little less. Frankly, I think the time has about come to find out who is going to run this Government or run this country—the people who are living off of it or the people who are supporting it.

At this time I want to read one or two extracts from an editorial in the Chicago Tribune of this morning which, I think, presents the matter more explicitly and more clearly than I can. I quote from the Chicago Tribune:

> Only when governments—Federal, State, and local—have reduced their expenditures in accord with the capacity of taxpayers to pay can business enjoy a healthy revival. Only when governments, and especially the Federal Government, cease borrowing to meet deficits will the country feel that its currency is secure and invested funds will be safe from confiscation.

I skip and then quote:

> There has been and is a great deal of talk about economy. The President has given forth some resounding pronouncements on this subject. The Vice President has spoken to the same effect. Outstanding leaders of both parties in Congress have spoken about lavish expenditures and demanded retrenchment. If one gave full credit to official eloquence the prospect of immediate relief would seem bright. Back of every public expenditure is an incorrigible selfish interest. Every bureau has its powerful friend. Every Government activity and expenditure has its beneficiaries in and out of office who will exert every ounce of influence to perpetuate it. Many or most Congressmen and legislators have appointees in the public office. Every politician is aware that out of Government expenditures his organization is maintained, to say nothing of such private benefits as he may be deriving, directly or indirectly.

I skip and quote further:

> As we have said, it is now or never. If the habits of Government expenditures and the existing drain upon the productive resources of the people are not drastically checked while we are now in this crisis that they have precipitated, we can hardly hope to check them in the future. The result will be that the process of exhaustion will descend once more beneath the surface of affairs, but it will go forward to produce in due time a worse crisis than the present and one which we shall be less able to survive than we are the present.

I take it every Member of this body is having the same experience I am having. You are receiving letters from automobile people, tobacco people, theater people, and everyone else who is about to be singled out for the tax burden, protesting against such taxes. We can increase the income taxes, we can increase the inheritance tax, and we can add a gift tax. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] has submitted a bill, and I suppose no one here thinks we could ever hope to get a tax on excessive gifts or large estates any higher than he has suggested, and yet his own estimate is that it will only produce $750,000,000 a year. This means we are $1,250,000,000 short of balancing the Budget. This means we are going to have some more taxes of one kind or another.

In such a situation I submit we have no moral right to stand here in this Congress this year and increase the taxes upon the people of this country one cent unless we are not willing to reduce expenses, reduce the salaries of Members of Congress and of every public official. We have no right to increase taxes unless we are willing to take such a course, because we are only increasing the tax burden upon people who are already living upon decreased incomes.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. McGUGIN. I can not yield. I want to make one more statement and then if I have the time I shall yield to the gentleman.

We have just one alternative to dodge this situation, and that is issuing more bonds. Issuing bonds for our children to pay 20 years hence to meet our current expenses. I say to you, in all candor, that a generation that is willing to issue bonds for its children to pay, to cover current expenses, is as devoid of moral character as is a man who is willing to die, leaving his grocery bill for his children to pay.

We can not dodge this responsibility. I am through with my remarks, and if I have any more time I yield.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. I want to ask the gentleman how much this reduction of salaries would amount to?

Mr. McGUGIN. I do not know what it will amount to under the plan submitted by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD], but I have figured that under the plan I submitted it would amount to something like $225,000,000.

But the point is this: It does not make any difference about the amount, so long as we are making a fair reduction. We are in a situation where the obligation is upon us to economize, whether it saves but one dollar or a million dollars.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. It is a matter, then, of a gesture, and not the saving of money?

Mr. McGUGIN. No; it is a matter of saving all we can.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BOYLAN].

Mr. BOYLAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say in answer to the gentleman who has just preceded me that I have received many letters and petitions from chambers of commerce and civic organizations and prominent citizens throughout the State of New York protesting against the reduction of Federal salaries.

I was very much surprised the other day to hear my good friend, the gentleman from Indiana, the distinguished former chairman of the Appropriations Committee and chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, state that you could hire a common laborer on the Eastern Shore of Maryland for a dollar a day, including his dinner, and if he did not get the dinner you could get him for $1.15 a day.

My thoughts went back to the time before election when we were told about the vaunted prosperity that was coming to the people of this country if the Republican Party was successful; that they would have two chickens in every pot, two automobiles in the garage, and the missus would have a new vacuum cleaner, a new radio, and an electric sewing machine. I thought how many of these articles the family could purchase out of $1.15 a day wage. [Laughter.]

Then there was the slogan of our friends about the full dinner pail; how much can you put in a dinner pail, with even a small family—how much can you put in a dinner pail at $1.15 a day? [Laughter.] My friend makes a serious mistake in endeavoring even to think of reducing the salaries of the Federal employees. Why, economically it would be a mistake, because they number approximately 700,000 people in the United States. You would cut their buying power, and the effect of such a reduction in buying

power would tend to make the economic situation worse than it is at present.

Have you thought of this also, that the Federal employees as a whole are notoriously underpaid. In comparison with salaries for similar work in private life and in industry, you will find that the Federal employee is underpaid.

To hear gentlemen speak here, you would think the country was going to the very bow-wows; that we were never again to see prosperity; that all hope was lost, due to the fact that we had listened to the promulgation for four years of prosperity, which, although promised under Hoover, did not come; but it may dawn, perhaps, under another administration and bring peace and plenty to our people.

The American people are not a cheap people. The national sentiment is to be big, broad, and generous. America has fed the world, and surely even in the hour of depression we can feed our own people. Ours are upstanding, self-reliant people who want no charity but only the opportunity to work in order to provide for themselves and their families. Again, if the Government should reduce the salaries of its employees, its example would be immediately followed by practically every employer in the United States.

The advent of better times can not be brought about by a cheese-paring policy of cutting the salaries of our notoriously underpaid Government employees. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MEAD].

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Chairman, the proposal of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] to slash wages will no doubt bring down upon him the condemnation of President Hoover and the members of his Cabinet, who have on many occasions voiced the administration's position with regard to wage cuts; that is, unless they have, unlike the gentleman from Indiana, changed their attitude on this question. The gentleman's proposal will be unfair and destructive to every effort made by Congress in the past to equalize and standardize wages in various governmental activities. It will demoralize conditions in the Post Office Department, where men will be called upon to take a second and, in some instances, a third cut as a result of this unjustifiable proposal. Practically every group in the Postal Service has already suffered from the business depression, which is reflected in a greatly reduced volume of postal business.

POSTMASTERS

Already 4,681 postmasters' salaries have been reduced all the way from $100 to $1,200 a year. This total reduction amounts to $575,900, and further reductions are taking place every day.

There were 4,681 postmasters whose salaries were reduced from $100 a year to $1,200 a year each, the total reduction amounting to $575,900. In detail they were as follows:

3,905	at $100 each	$390,500
606	at $200 each	121,200
119	at $300 each	35,700
23	at $400 each	10,400
12	at $500 each	6,000
3	at $600 each	1,800
8	at $1,000 each	8,000
1	at $1,100	1,100
1	at $1,200	1,200
4,681	Total	575,900

SUPERVISORS

The salaries of the supervisory forces of the Post Office Department, like the postmasters dependent upon the receipts of the office, have been similarly reduced and in almost all instances the reductions have been larger than the reductions now proposed by the gentleman from Indiana.

CLERKS AND CARRIERS

As a result of the recent survey conducted by the Post Office Department the carrier and clerical forces have been greatly reduced, and in many instances where employees with a salary of $2,100 a year were employed the work is now being done by substitutes, whose rate of pay is 65 cents an hour. This is wage reduction that should satisfy Mr. WOOD. Another result brought about by reducing postal services has been to abolish as many as 5,000 regular postal positions. If we should reduce salaries of clerks and carriers by 5 per cent, the result would be that a man in the service 25 years would receive $1,995 annually, while those in the service but 4 years would receive $2,000 annually, provided the wage slash did not effect those whose salaries are less than $2,000. It would be grossly unfair to the older men in the service.

RURAL LETTER CARRIERS

During the past year 939 routes were consolidated or merged and 73 established, a net reduction of 866 rural routes. As a result of extensions in this service, service was extended to 107,895 families. Increase in frequency of delivery from triweekly to daily was authorized on 71 routes. By the establishment and extension of routes and the increase in the number of trips on others 469,552 individuals were benefited. As a result of the elimination of 866 rural routes this greater volume of work was handled with an approximate reduction in the cost of the service amounting to $866,000. This results in a loss both in the basic pay and the equipment allowance of the rural letter carrier. Rural carriers in many instances work more than eight hours a day to complete their trips.

As a result of the retrenchment policy already adopted by the department, together with the wage reductions resulting from decreased receipts, the Post Office Department employees have already suffered sufficient wage reductions, and any further legislation of this character would be unwarranted and demoralizing to the service.

The effects of wage cuts on letter carriers has been worked out for me by M. T. Finnan, secretary of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

The maximum salary paid letter carriers is $2,100 per annum. To reduce their wages 20 per cent would mean that he would receive $1,680 per annum. To reduce a letter carrier's salary from $2,100 by 15 per cent, would mean that he would receive a decrease of $315 per annum. An employee like the village carrier, whose maximum salary is $1,350, would receive a wage cut of $135. A 10 per cent cut of a $2,100 letter carrier would mean that he would receive $210 less salary.

The present move to cut postal workers' wages is utterly without the sanction of public support. The people are against the proposition, knowing full well that this recession in business is but a passing phase and that accelerated business, advancing prices, and declining dollar value will come again as they have come before.

The prompt restoration of national prosperity is now the chief concern of all the people. Approached from this standpoint alone, nothing could be more untimely or ill-starred than this proposed wage reduction. Aside from the baneful effect such an example would have on the public mind, it would inflict an added loss on purchasing power at a time when the balance between potential production and actual consumption is so grossly out of joint. Wage reductions prove a disappointment to their sponsors and operate against the very purpose they were intended to serve. With deflation carried to the point where a sharp business upturn in the early future is a practical certainty, these pending wage-cut proposals, coming from whatever source they may, should be dismissed as utterly unwise and unjust.

We are loathe to believe that Congress will give serious consideration to any proposition intended to lower postal wage or employment standards, but on the contrary believe they will reaffirm their purpose of keeping this great public-service institution as a leader in the vanguard of progress.

I heard gentlemen say we are not hearing from many people in favor of maintaining wages. Those gentlemen were not here very long. Let us go back just a short time and recall the White House conference of 1929, where the President wrung from our industrial leaders the promise of no wage cuts, and to refresh your minds let me read some headlines:

[New York Times, Friday, January 2, 1931]

A HAPPY NEW YEAR TO THE WORKERS

Another encouraging factor during these times is the example set by the greatest employers of this country in all lines of productive endeavor to maintain the wage rate.

It is most gratifying to record the pretty general acceptance of the program outlined in this respect at the President's conference with leaders of industry, finance, and labor held in the autumn of 1929.

DOAK.

[New York Times, Thursday, April 23, 1931]

WAGE CUT PROPOSAL ASSAILED BY DOAK

"If you haven't got foreign markets," Mr. Doak continued, "the only way to bring back prosperity is by increasing domestic consumption. How that can be done by reducing the present level of wages is too much for me."

[New York Times, Sunday, April 26, 1931]

KLEIN DENOUNCES WAGE-CUT EXCUSES

Plea that workers must bear share of deflation scored by commercial official. Cites profit and pay rise. Former ran far ahead during boom times. Lazy employers blamed for salary cuts.

In another statement Mr. Klein warned there would be hell to pay if wages were cut.

[New York Times, Tuesday, May 19, 1931]

WASHINGTON WARNS AGAINST WAGE CUTS

"Administration would hold such a movement a violation of confidence. Reductions would justify demands by labor for increases," says Doak.

Mr. Doak said that President Hoover had been assured by industry and labor at the White House conferences that existing scales would be maintained during the depression. Any departure from this program would be considered as a violation of the pledges given them.

[New York Times, Wednesday, July 29, 1931]

HOOVER'S STAND ON WAGES UNCHANGED—CUTS OPPOSED—STEEL KEEPS WAGE SCALE—CABINET BACKS PRESIDENT

"Administration has not shifted 'one damn bit,'" says Doak. No member of the administration has expressed the view, or has the view, that the policy of the administration in advocating maintenance of wages should be changed.

"It has not been changed," said Mr. Hoover's statement, reaffirming his opposition to wage reduction.

[New York Times, Tuesday, August 18, 1931]

JAHNCKE PREDICTS 5-DAY WEEK IS NEAR

"Wages will be kept high," says Assistant Secretary of the Navy in Wisconsin address.

"The shortening of hours and maintenance of American wage levels is for industry to take care of as a matter of self-preservation." The Assistant Secretary's most sublime contribution to the economic question was included in this utterance.

Obviously we can not abandon, if we would, the use of more efficient machinery. But there is one alternative, and that is to supply employment by reducing the hours of labor and shortening of the working week, while maintaining the present high wages.

[New York Times, Wednesday, September 23, 1931]

HOOVER IS SHOCKED AT STEEL WAGE CUT

President's associates recall promises of industrial heads two years ago. President's attitude unchanged. Doak, Lamont, and Klein voice regret.

He must be shocked again after what Mr. WOOD said.

[New York Times, Thursday, October 22, 1931]

DOAK CONDEMNS SLASHING OF WAGES

In an address to Massachusetts industrialists, he warns of cutthroat competition.

William N. Doak, Secretary of Labor, condemned cutthroat competition and promiscuous wage slashing in a speech to-day before the delegates to the annual convention of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts.

I wonder if Mr. Hoover was not shocked again when Mr. WOOD, chairman of the congressional campaign committee, informed the House of the astounding reversal of the President on this question. I doubt very much whether that is true.

Here is an interesting quotation from an editorial which appeared in the Topeka State Journal, dated Tuesday, January 19, 1932:

Federal money should not be wasted in the payment of extravagant salaries. Perhaps Senators and Representatives are paid more than they earn. If any of the economy-orating Congressmen believe they are paid too much, they can leave the money in the Federal Treasury. But the great mass of Government employees are not overpaid. Through the period of high wages they were notoriously underpaid. The recruiting of professional and scientific employees for the Government always has been difficult because other employers offered larger salaries.

Oh, it is not only the Taxpayers' League that is interested in wages. There is a great body of progressive men and women in America who want the American wage kept up to American standards. [Applause.] I remember in 1921, 1922, and 1923, when we had the same advocates of cheap wages come before us, when we had the same violent clash in the two schools of economic thought that we have to-day, to the credit of the Secretary of Commerce at that time, he joined with the industrial leaders who held that only with high wages would prosperity come back again to America, and as a result of the general acceptance of that economic philosophy prosperity did come back to America again, and only by that philosophy, only by the defeat of the stupid plan that advocates cheap wages will we again enjoy prosperity.

I happen to be a member of an important committee. We have worked diligently for years to classify and standardize the salaries of the employees in the Post Office Department, and suddenly this request to cut wages comes before us, without thought, consideration, or the attention such as we gave this serious question. What would happen? The personnel of the Post Office Department have already taken one, two, and in some cases three cuts in wages, and if this 5 per cent cut goes through, men who have been working for 25 years in the carrier and clerical forces will be paid $1,995 a year, while men who have had only four years of service will be receiving $2,000 a year—a rather unscientific approach to a very serious question.

As a result of a recent survey made by the department, 5,000 jobs have been abolished in the city carrier and clerical forces, and to-day we have thousands of substitutes filling regular jobs and instead of receiving $2,100 a year they are working for 65 cents an hour. The same can be said of every other class and group in this service. Ladies and gentlemen, we have given years of thought and consideration to these wage scales, and we do not feel kindly to proposals by men who come to Congress announcing beforehand they are going to cut the salaries of all Government employees; these matters should command more consideration. It is contrary to every good principle of government; it is contrary to the sound philosophy of the advanced economics of our day. The country disagreed with Mr. WOOD when he explained what he thought was a decent standard of American living. I would like to know if he had authority to speak for the President, and whether the President and his Cabinet have reversed their former position on wage levels. I believe we are on the wrong track. I do not believe that we can ever restore prosperity in America by reducing the American wage-earner's pay. I believe this attempt is unjust and unwarranted. It is a bad example. I hope when this matter comes before us in this bill that we will show the American people that our conception of an American wage is not that advanced by those who sponsor salary reduction. While the saving will only be a drop in the bucket, it will be a severe blow to the progressive forces of America, and it will have depressing and deadly effect here in the District of Columbia, where so many patriotic men and women working for this Government are now underpaid.

The workers in the Government service are leaders in charitable and social-service work; they stand by and support the Constitution and uphold the high ideals of the Republic; we should show our faith and loyalty in them, for they richly merit such consideration. Let us defeat this attempt to reduce their earning power and not make a pretense of poverty in the richest country on earth.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MEAD] has expired.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to insert a letter from Mr. Thomas F. Flaherty, the secretary-treasurer of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

LETTER TO HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD FROM THOMAS F. FLAHERTY, SECRETARY-TREASURER NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST-OFFICE CLERKS

JANUARY 21, 1932.

Hon. WILLIAM R. WOOD,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WOOD: In your House speech on January 19 you referred to all postal employees as enjoying highly desirable working conditions, including a 3-hour day for rural carriers.

In this connection may I respectfully call your attention to the fact that post-office clerks—and they comprise the largest group in the Postal Service—work eight hours daily, except Saturday, when the schedules are limited to four hours.

In addition, the majority of clerks, approximately 50,000 in all, must study distribution schemes at home after office hours. Furthermore, the largest amount of post-office clerical work is done at nights at high tension and under constant pressure for speed and increased output. All post-office work is performed under strict discipline with fixed penalties for even slight mistakes and derelictions. I wish you would take time to step into the Washington City post-office workrooms some night in order to get an accurate picture of mail distribution. I am confident such an investigation would cause you to modify your present misconception or this phase of postal work.

With regard to postal wages: The highest salary grade for the clerical group is $2,100. But this grade is reached only after an average of 10 years' work, including substitute employment, which is of uncertain duration and earning power. In fact, just now many thousands of postal substitutes are among the unemployed due to a falling off in postal receipts.

In considering post-office clerks' wages, please bear in mind that most of them are heads of families and have no income from any other source. To them, the service is a life work, occupying fully their entire time.

While it is true that postal clerks' wages have increased 75 per cent since 1913, it is equally true that their productivity has increased 100 per cent during the same period. To illustrate: The average clerk in 1913 handled mail producing $3,000 in revenue, while in 1930, he handled mail producing $12,000 in revenue. In 1921, it cost $1,182,178 to produce a million dollars in postal revenue. In 1930, this cost had been reduced to $1,139,458. The output per unit has increased more rapidly than production costs.

The present pay schedules were fixed by the salary act of February 28, 1925. For 12 years prior to the passage of this act all postal employees were inadequately paid, their pay being reduced by a steadily increasing living cost. The facts now show that postal workers, for the first time in 18 years, are securing in added purchasing power about $17 a month. It is manifestly unjust to take away this small temporary gain from a group that is earning it and has waited so long for it. This is especially true when you consider that postal employees—American citizens all—live in every community in this great land and spend their money through the channels of trade in their respective localities. A curtailment of their purchasing power would retard rather than accelerate a return to prosperity.

You are in error also in the statement that all Government employees receive 30 days' vacation and 30 days' sick leave. Postal employees are given but 15 days' vacation, which must be taken when the postmaster directs. Only 10 days' sick leave annually is granted, and a doctor or nurse is sent to check on every claim.

My hope is you will differentiate in the future between groups of Government employees and remove the impression that all of them enjoy the maximum employment benefits expressed by you in your speech.

Very sincerely yours,

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,
Secretary-Treasurer National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SPARKS].

Mr. SPARKS. Mr. Chairman, during the existence of the economic depression that has been and is slackening the wheels of progress we have been attracted to a greater degree than usual to a study of the fundamental principles of government and the governmental avenues through which our people may be relieved from such distressing conditions. Our thoughts are centered upon governmental activities, the relation of the individual to the government, and the influences of the individual upon government. The opinions of a substantial portion of the people are reflected generally by their representative in the legislative council of the Nation. This being true, such opinions and ideas should spring from a true American source unfettered by influences foreign to those ideals that have made our country the pride and admiration of all the world.

The attention of this Congress is directed to certain proposed constitutional amendments wherein aliens are to be barred from being counted in congressional apportionments, one amendment being House Joint Resolution 97, which I have introduced. The object of this proposed legislation is, in part, to preserve and protect the sacred right of citizenship by giving to our citizens the sole and exclusive rights of representation in the House of Representatives. While the alien can not vote, yet he is represented in the House of Representatives because he is counted and constitutes a part of the population necessary for a congressional district. Why should a comparatively small group of citizens in a district with a large number of aliens be given the special privilege of choosing a Representative in Congress when in other districts this choice is distributed among a much larger number? Such a condition is not a proper distribution of the rights and privileges of citizenship. Should aliens be counted in congressional apportionments? They come to this country because they believe that they can better their condition, and because they remain here is evidence that their belief is sustained. This being true, after they have had a reasonable time to become acquainted with our principles of government, and if they sustain a good character, it is then their duty, out of appreciation of their new-found privileges and liberties, to make a request to become a citizen of this country. A failure so to do demonstrates their lack of appreciation for their new rights and privileges and further demonstrates their unfitness to be represented in the Congress. If they insist upon enjoying the benefits under our Government, but deny its obligations, they should not be permitted to enjoy representation.

It is claimed, because of our beneficent laws which permit aliens to accumulate property within our borders, that it would be taxation without representation to bar them of the privilege of representation. The right to accumulate property is permitted them because of the generous provisions of our laws, and after they are permitted such privileges shall the alien be permitted to further insist that we are obligated to grant him still greater privileges in view of his attitude toward our Government in failing to demonstrate his appreciation for the privileges he enjoys by becoming a citizen of this country?

Shall we continue to have two kinds of representation in this country? One where the voters select their representative and another where such voters not only select their representative but also select such representative for the aliens. Citizens exercising such a right are given extraordinary privileges over those citizens who alone select their representatives because they have a greater proportionate share in the selection of their representatives. In the discussions of the Constitutional Convention, Delegate Patterson said:

> What is the true principle of representation? It is an expedient by which an assembly of certain individuals chosen by the people is substituted in place of the inconvenient meeting of the people themselves.

If that principle should be carried out, the aliens could not vote, and therefore would have no representation. The people of the United States are not obligated by any sense of fairness to grant to aliens indirect representation when such aliens choose to retain their allegiance to a foreign government in preference to our Government for reasons which are not disclosed. Is it because they do not desire to remain permanently in this country but plan to eventually return to their native land because of their preference for the government institutions, customs, and ideals of that country? Is it because they are not in sympathy with our principles of government in whole or in part? Is it because they do not wish to assist in maintaining our country's obligations? If the alien is actuated by any of the foregoing motives to refuse to become a citizen of this country, he should not be the subject of generosity on the part of our Government by giving him the right to be represented in the Congress of the United States.

Delegate Morris said in the Constitutional Convention, in discussing the rights of foreigners, "I would let them worship at the same altar, but I would not choose to make priests of them." Our country has been generous to the

oppressed of every land, we have welcomed them to our shores and to partake of the blessings and privileges under our form of government, but our generosity should not extend to granting them representation in the Congress if they fail or refuse to enlist in the support of that authority which makes possible the protection of their property and personal safety.

The 1930 census shows that there were in the United States during the year 4,514,151 aliens and 501,327 recorded as unknown. There were 1,267,026 who had applied for their first papers. It is reasonable to assume that a considerable number of the unknown were aliens and a considerable portion of those applying for their first papers would not be granted citizenship for various reasons, so at that time there would probably be at least 5,000,000 aliens in the United States. There were undoubtedly many who escaped registration in the census record because of their illegal entrance into the United States. Using the ratio of 280,000 people for a congressional district, it would constitute approximately 18 Congressmen for the alien population.

The State of New York recognizes the injustice of permitting aliens to be counted in congressional apportionments. There is a provision in their constitution as follows:

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several counties of the State, as nearly as may be, according to the number of their respective inhabitants, excluding aliens.

Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Tennessee, and to a modified extent California, have similar provisions excluding aliens in apportionment for the State legislature. Why should there be one rule as to the people who may be counted for the purposes of apportionments in the States and another for the Nation?

The claim has been made that, if our country continues to pursue a restrictive immigration policy, the alien matter will in the course of time be adjusted. This will not be true because there are many in the United States who are ineligible to citizenship and their children are and will be under the same disability.

If the principle contended for is just and right, it is immaterial whether there be a few or millions of aliens in this country counted in congressional apportionments. Opponents of this legislation contend that, if the purpose be to give citizens an equality in the selection of Representatives, it would be unjust to permit each State to have only two Senators, regardless of its population. The framers of our Federal Constitution recognized that the Senate should represent the sovereignty of the States and the House of Representatives the people. There were many expressions of fear in the Constitutional Convention that there might not be an intimate relationship between the States and the Federal Government, so a direct contact was made by making the Senate the agency of the State governments in our National Congress.

The objective of the proposed legislation is to preserve American ideals free from influences that are not in sympathy therewith, and to grant to the citizenship of the United States a just and proper recognition in safeguarding the liberties which we prize and cherish. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KARCH].

Mr. KARCH. Mr. Chairman and my colleagues of the committee, the proposal made in the House of Representatives by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] to cut the salaries of all Federal employees from the $2,000-a-year class upwards, the reduction to begin with a 5 per cent decrease in salaries ranging from $2,000 to $5,000 and 10 per cent in all salary brackets above $5,000, would, if passed, constitute a complete reversal of the administration policy.

During previous sessions of Congress hundreds of millions were voted for the construction of public buildings and for other purposes on the correct theory that our depression is due to reduced purchasing power, which, in turn, is due to unemployment and reduced incomes of wage earners and salaried workers. The policy under which those tremendous expenditures were authorized in the previous sessions of the Congress was to provide work, maintain salaries and wages, and thereby soften the blow of the depression.

The President of the United States has throughout the entire period of the depression so far advocated maintenance of wages and salaries, and he has urged supreme efforts to keep the greatest number of workers employed in order to keep the purchasing power of the Nation at the highest possible level, since 95 per cent of the market for American products is in the United States.

Now it is proposed, under the Wood cheeseparing plan, to lop from the salaries of Federal employees a sum estimated by Representative FITZPATRICK at between $80,000,000 and $100,000,000 per annum, which would mean that by just that sum the purchasing power in the United States would be reduced.

It is proposed in this advocacy of slashing Government salaries to take directly from the pocketbooks of 620,000 Federal employees scattered throughout the country that sum of money. There are 616,837 Federal workers in the civil-service list, of whom 71,693 are in Washington. These figures taken from the World Almanac of 1932 and furnished by the United States Civil Service Commission to that publication, do not include legislative or judicial services, nor the commissioned, warranted, or enlisted personnel of the military, naval, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard services, nor the government of the District of Columbia.

Neither are 33,077 clerks in fourth-class post offices, and 22,147 mail messengers included in these figures. Workmen at shipyards or in warehouses or employees on vessels are not included. Therefore the figure of 620,000 stated recently by Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Edwards, national chairman of the National Executive Committee of One Thousand Democratic and Progressive Women, is probably not far off. Of this number many receive less than $2,000 per year, and would not be affected by either the Wood or the Borah proposals.

Senator BORAH in his estimates on his proposed cuts on salaries ranging from $5,000 per year upward, with percentages of cuts from 6 per cent to 20 per cent, would reduce the purchasing power of this country by $200,000,000 to $225,000,000. "This amount would be saved to the taxpayers," he asserts.

If these estimates are correct, then the purchasing power of the United States would be reduced by that much because—and make no mistake about it—that money would not be spent, it would be hoarded. Those who pay taxes are saving every dollar it is not absolutely essential to spend, speaking, as a whole, because they do not know what the future holds and they are all saving every dollar possible.

There is not the slightest question but that "big business" and small businesses all over the United States would follow the lead of the Government and would slash wages and salaries. The movement to reduce wages and salaries, so long fought by Mr. Hoover himself, I warn you, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, would sweep this country like a forest fire in dry timber if the Government should do this pernicious thing.

I am against this proposed reduction, either under the Wood proposal or the Borah proposal. Not only would such a cut furnish the excuse longed for by industrialists and others to make sweeping reductions in all grades of pay but it would be a blow at the efficiency and the loyalty of workers of the Federal service, and the now badly shattered Army, Navy, Marine, and Coast Guard morale—the disastrous effects of which could not be calculated in dollars and cents.

The effects on the morale of the citizens of this country, when a general wage slash immediately followed the example to be set by this Government under these proposed acts, would be damaging beyond calculation. A wave of fear would sweep this country from its eastern border to its western shore, from its northernmost reaches to its most southerly limits that would result in an era of hoarding by wage earners and salaried people which would make the present hoarding, of which former President Coolidge and the bankers so loudly complain, seem like a minor incident.

The very mention of such a slash in Federal salaries undoubtedly has produced a bad effect and a wave of fear throughout the ranks of the 620,000 Federal employees.

The author of this pay-slash proposal [Mr. Wood] is quoted in the Washington Herald of to-day, January 21, as declaring that his method of restoring prosperity in this country would be to slash the wages and salaries of everybody. If that newspaper is true, then the gentleman would reverse the boasted policy of this administration and the accepted philosophy of all economists and statesmen in America over the years.

The gentleman's proposal has just one merit—his complete frankness of his purposes. If the slashing of all wages and salaries would restore prosperity to this country, then it would necessarily follow that to maintain such prosperity we should continue to hold living standards, wage and salary standards, at a low level. Such a theory is the theory of social, financial, and political serfdom for the American people. It is the theory of class rule—a theory utterly repugnant to every tenet of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution.

It was to throw off the yoke of such a policy that we fought the War of the Revolution. Such a policy as the gentleman is quoted as enunciating could have but one of two inevitable results. Either the people of this country would be reduced to a state of serfdom under a financial and political despotism or they would be forced to revolt. No man in this Chamber need pause a moment to wonder which result would follow adoption of such a policy.

Embark upon such a course of forcing down wages, salaries, living standards in this country so that a few rich may grow richer and wax more powerful, and you will have armed rebellion in this country just as surely as the sun rises.

The American people know too well the desperate plight of the low-wage, low-living-standard countries to-day to submit to such a policy for a moment.

These salary-slashing proposals are based largely upon the claim that the cost of living has been reduced. I see newspaper quotations stating that the gentleman from Indiana says the cost of living has been reduced 50 per cent since the depression began. That means, in other words, that the purchasing power of the dollar has risen that much, if the quotations be correct. But that figure is not correct, according to the figures given me by the Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, the cost of living has decreased throughout the United States 14.9 per cent from December, 1928, to December, 1931.

The cost of living in the National Capital, the same bureau states, has decreased in the same period 13.2 per cent, although that will be difficult for most persons living here to believe. Now, that means that the wage earner's dollar has gone up in purchasing power throughout the country in the period from December, 1928, to December, 1931, 17.5 per cent over the whole country. What about the wholesale prices, which represent, or should represent, the Government's dollar?

The wholesale-price index has decreased in the period mentioned 31.4 per cent. In other words, the Government is, or should be, getting 45.8 per cent more for its dollar spent to-day than it did in 1928. Therefore the Government has had the same advantage in the increased purchasing power of the dollar than the worker has, if the Government has not taken advantage of that situation, that is the Government's fault, so why try to take it out of the worker?

Since when has it been the policy of this Government to allow its workers barely a living wage? Since when has it become the policy of this Government that the men and women who serve it must not be allowed to save anything for a rainy day? Since when has it become the policy of this Government to take advantage of the increased purchasing power of its dollar and refuse to give its workers the same advantage?

We have the spectacle of the railroads asking for and receiving an increase in their freight rates. On top of that they are now negotiating with their employees for a 10 per cent reduction in wages. And added to that we have just passed a two-billion-dollar bankers-insurance-company-railroad balm bill.

And added to that, all of these, including the railroads, have had the same advantage in the increased purchasing power of their dollars that the Government worker has had. So why single the Federal employees or the Army or the Navy out to deprive them of the increased purchasing power of their dollars while we vote billions to aid the powerful banking, railroad, and insurance interests?

The price of metals used most extensively in telegraph and telephone business has gone down enormously, but nobody has suggested that the American Telegraph & Telephone Co. reduce its rates.

Let us look at metal prices for a moment:

Composite pig iron has gone down in price from $35.79 per ton in 1925 to $18.71 per ton in 1928, and on down to $6.38 in 1931.

Zinc has gone down from 8.74 cents per pound in 1925 to 6.20 cents per pound in 1928, and on down to 3.11 cents per pound in 1931.

Antimony has gone down from 22.56 cents per pound in 1925 to 9.81 cents per pound in 1928, and on down to 6.38 cents per pound in 1931.

Lead has gone down from 9.56 cents per pound in 1925 to 5.92 cents per pound in 1928, and on down to 3.63 cents per pound in 1931.

Copper went up from 14.59 cents per pound in 1925 to 16.13 in 1928, and then dropped down to 6.91 cents per pound in 1931.

Tin has gone down in price from 62 cents per pound in 1925 to 49.24 cents per pound in 1928, and on down to 21.90 cents per pound in 1931.

Now, aluminum, for some reason, has not gone down much. That is a strange fact. Its price in 1925 was 27.04 cents per pound. It ran along a remarkably even price level, the price in 1928 being 24.19 cents per pound, and the price in 1931 being 22.77 cents per pound. It behaved unlike any other metal in its price fluctuations. Some steadying influence or some powerful control held it on a very even price level throughout the years when the other metal prices were violently fluctuating.

We know, of course, that the prices of rubber and cotton have gone down tremendously from 1925 to 1928, and lower still in 1931.

In spite of this tremendous increase in the purchasing value of the telegraph dollar and the telephone dollar, nobody has urged that Mr. Gifford, president of the American Telegraph & Telephone Co. and chairman of Mr. Hoover's committee of millionaires who are encouraging the poor to help the poorer and are showing them how to do it; nobody has urged Mr. Gifford, I say, to plead with his directors to lower the cost of telegraph and telephone service. Why not a reduction in governmental telegraph, telephone, and cable rates before we talk about slashing Federal salaries? Much might in this way have been saved on trans-Atlantic telephone conversations last summer.

Recently a newspaper article dealing with the new Department of Commerce Building related that the new aquarium has terrazzo marble floors and walls; is air cooled, with hot and cold water tanks for the fish. I seem to remember more recently that there was complaint voiced because many of the workers were being put in the basements 10 feet below the surface of the earth in damp, illy ventilated surroundings in some of these new buildings—perhaps the new Commerce Building. Of course, fish may be more important than Federal workers—even though we can not cut the wages of the fish.

In that same article telling of the aquarium it was stated that the rug for Secretary Lamont's new office cost $2,800; that his wastebasket cost $32. If that is true, "waste" basket is a good name for it.

At a 5 per cent decrease in a $2,000-a-year salary it would take the decreases in the salaries of 28 Government workers to pay for that rug upon which the busy Commerce Secretary scuffs his feet while the important industrial heads who visit him drop their cigar ashes on it. Under the

Borah schedule of 6 per cent reduction on $5,000 salaries, it would take the combined reductions of 9.3 officials for one year to pay for that beautiful rug in that palatial office, to say nothing of the rest of the furniture.

And now that $32 wastebasket. It will take, under the proposed Wood plan, the reduction in pay of a $2,000 worker for 115 days to pay for just that wastebasket. In other words, it would take a 5 per cent reduction in the pay of 115 $2,000-a-year Government workers for one day to pay for that sumptuous wastebasket into which the Commerce Secretary may contemptuously toss the clipped criticisms of the administration. Perhaps it has to be a very large wastebasket.

And I believe if an investigation were made into the cost of rugs, desks, wastebaskets, chairs, smoking stands, pictures, and other furnishings which high officials of the Government find so necessary to their efficiency in these palatial new buildings, the cuts in the pay of thousands of Government workers would be found inadequate to cover the cost.

Now, let us have a few more statistics.

There is just being completed now from the new Arlington Bridge to Mount Vernon, where sleeps that noble man who urged us to beware of foreign entanglements and to regard always the welfare of our own people first, a beautiful, broad boulevard, 15.3 miles in length, 40 to 80 feet wide, lighted like a city avenue, over which may roll in luxury the Government clerks in their sumptuous limousines, purchased out of their surplus earnings after we have cut their salaries 5 per cent on $2,000, and after they have paid Washington rents, telephone charges, gas bills, electric bills, increased street-car fares, and so forth, and have then kept a family of three or four, and probably other unemployed relatives besides.

Those clerks should appreciate that boulevard as they roll over it, for it cost $7 an inch to build!

Seven dollars an inch, my friends.

Eighty-four dollars a foot—more than twice as much as two wastebaskets for Secretary Lamont would cost, if what the papers say is true.

Each mile of that highway cost $443,520 to build!

That means that each mile of that boulevard cost as much as could be saved by reducing the $2,000-a-year salaries of 4,435 Government clerks 5 per cent each for one year. The entire 15.3 miles of that highway cost as much as could be saved the Government by a 5 per cent reduction in the $2,000-a-year salaries of 67,858 Government clerks.

Under the Borah plan it would take a 6 per cent reduction on the $5,000-a-year salaries of 22,619 heads of bureaus to pay for that boulevard!

And yet we talk of slashing salaries of Federal employees in the face of expenditures like that!

Let us turn to another item of governmental waste for which the workers are not responsible.

Comptroller General McCarl, who, I understand, is not very popular in some Governmental circles, on the 8th day of this month in a report to this House, charged, among other things, that the United States Shipping Board in the sale of the United States Lines to the Chapman interests gave that company without charge $982,231 worth of supplies.

Then when that company gave up the lines to the new International Mercantile Marine-Roosevelt-Dollar-Dawson combine the Shipping Board further forgave $400,000 in accrued interest and then generously knocked off to the new purchasers $5,349,500 of the value of the lines, even under a greatly reduced price, and permitted the new company to pay nothing down for three years from date of purchase, with no interest for that term. Without counting the three years' interest on the new purchase price of approximately three and a half millions, the actual supplies given away to the Chapman Co., the interest written off, and the knock-down of price—these three items alone amount to $6,741,821.

Singularly like that boulevard cost, is it not? Now, it would take a 5 per cent reduction on the annual $2,000 salaries of 67,418 Government clerks to make up for that generous gesture of the Shipping Board to the big shipping combine; or, under the Borah plan, it would take a 6 per cent reduction in the $5,000-a-year salaries of 22,478 heads of departments to make good what the Shipping Board gave away in one deal. And that is but one of the items charged by the Comptroller General in his report.

Perhaps it was necessary to have that beautiful boulevard for the clerks to ride over on Sundays in their limousines, but heaven knows that the clerks are not going to get any free trips on those United States Lines ships.

Illustrations such as these of governmental waste on a vast scale could be multiplied ad infinitum and ad nauseum.

In the name of justice, in the name of the "American way" the President so proudly boasts of, let us put a stop to some of these millions of governmental waste, and to more millions of these tributes to special-privilege classes before we consider reducing the salaries of Federal employees one penny!

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KARCH. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. The gentleman said the reduction would be about $85,000,000.

Mr. KARCH. That is my information.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. The gentleman who spoke before said it will be $225,000,000.

Mr. McGUGIN. No. I said according to the figures of the plan which I had in mind, which was on another scale entirely.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Well, what I am trying to get at is how much we will save by this reduction. If the figure suggested by the gentleman from Kansas is right, then the figure suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KARCH] is wrong.

Mr. McGUGIN. No. I am talking about another plan entirely.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. That is just exactly what I want to bring before the House. If the gentleman has given the correct figure as $85,000,000, then we should go on that basis and not have somebody get up on the floor who does not know anything about it and say we are going to save $225,000,000. That is the reason I rose and asked these questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KARCH] has expired.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BALDRIGE].

Mr. BALDRIGE. Mr. Chairman, we are starting on the discussion of appropriation bills, and for the next three or four months this House will have the decision whether or not we are going to spend money or are going to save money. I feel that this crisis is one of the most serious which the country has ever had. With a deficit of $2,500,000,000 facing us, I think the question of economy in Government affairs is the most important issue that will come before us. I think the entire country is looking for drastic and courageous action by this body.

If you will bear with me, I will speak in generalities before I get down to specific details.

When our Federal Government was first formed, there were four particular reasons why we had a National Federal Government. The first was for national defense; the creation of an army and navy. The next was for the creation of a national currency system. The third was to be the arbitrator for interstate disputes; and the fourth was to create a national government to handle and deal with foreign affairs. Those were the only reasons why we were to have a National Federal Government. The purpose was to have a small, simple, economical machine. Now, let us see what has happened in the past 50 years. Commissions and bureaus and departments have been built up and built up until we are sure to fall by our own weight.

The expense of our Federal Government in 1913 was $749,000,000. In 1923 it was $3,697,000,000. In 1931 it was $4,220,000,000. Our national income, as compared with national expenditures, was as follows:

In 1913 our national income was $34,000,000,000. One-eleventh of that was spent for national expenditures.

In 1928 our national income was $81,000,000,000. One-seventh of that was spent for our national expense. Last year one-sixth of our national income was spent for our National Government. Fifty-five per cent of our expenditures are fixed. We can not possibly change them, because they are caused by past wars and preparation for future wars, but there is 45 per cent of our national expenditures that can be worked upon.

I know that figures are not particularly interesting, but I will only quote a few of them. Let me give you a few more figures, which are more specific about what we are particularly interested in now.

In the last 14 years we have increased our civil-service employees over 170,000. Since 1800 our population has grown twenty-five times. Our employees have grown more than four thousand five hundred times.

Last year alone we added 8,000 people to our pay roll. At present there are 609,000 civil-service employees, three times our combined Army and Navy. We hear a great deal about naval disarmement, but we hear nothing about civil disarmament, the important thing that should be looked at.

Here is an interesting thing. Senator Nelson, in 1902, when he was advocating the establishment of the Departments of Commerce and Labor, stated that if these two departments were established, it would only mean approximately 1,048 new employees, and yet in 1931 these two departments employed 29,000.

Let us get down to the Department of Agriculture, because that is what we are particularly talking about. For the first 39 years the Department of Agriculture handled its work well with 3,388 employees. Then in 1911 the number of employees in this department alone increased to over 12,000 persons; in 1921 it had increased to 18,000 persons, and last year the Department of Agriculture employed approximately 28,000 persons.

This is only typical of every department, and it must be stopped. Some of our leaders throw up their hands in dismay and say it can not be stopped; that the departmental octopus has completely engulfed us. That is not the answer. If the farmers of Nebraska had the say as to the Agricultural Department budget, Mr. Hyde would receive the shock of his life. He complains his department can not give service if his appropriation is cut down. He struck the nail right on the head. We do not want the service he insists upon giving us. The farmers wish to be left alone. They are sick and tired of paternalistic advice; yet the expensive Juggernaut rumbles on.

I wish I had the time to tell you more. How the shippers' problems are solved in any one of 15 separate divisions in 9 different departments. How the expense of the Bureau of Home Economics has increased three and a half times in the last 10 years. How the Interstate Commerce Commission wastes money in useless appraisals.

What is the answer to it all? Here are two plans which seem feasible to me. First, form an economy bloc. We have the farm bloc, the wet and dry blocs, the Army bloc; why not an economy bloc? A group of strong, courageous men who will plant the flag in the front-line trenches and say "no" to these excessive department-budget requests. We must perform a serious operation, but it is worth it if we save the patient.

Next, I would ask for a moratorium, or a 2-year delay, on most Government activities. I would not question their value or return for the money, but simply say, "We will take a 2-year vacation from that particular activity." As an example, let me call your attention to the $970,000 in the Budget for roads and forest trails in Alaska. To think that when the Government is gasping for air because of its deficit, the Budget Bureau puts in this item.

I was pleased to see that the committee took it out. The man who can lead this Congress along these two lines will be a national hero and a savior of the country. If a man's income is less than his expenses, he must cut down his expenses. Our Government should do likewise.

Treasury raiders outside the Budget must be stopped. This is just as important as Budget economy. I sincerely hope this session will practice strict economy so that our Budget may be balanced, not by higher taxes but by a sharp decrease in expenditures.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to my colleague [Mr. GLOVER].

Mr. GLOVER. Mr. Chairman, we have now before us House bill No. 7912, which is a bill making an appropriation for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

There has never been any money spent by any department of the Government of the United States which has brought back a more fruitful return than the money that has been spent on the Agricultural Department of our Government. It is indeed very interesting to follow the growth of this department of our Government since its beginning and up to the present time.

Agriculture is the basis of all our wealth. When agriculture fails everything else fails. The Agricultural Department of our Government in its careful research and study has been a great benefactor and agent in disseminating knowledge and information it has gathered in its study, and which has been so helpful to agriculture.

Through this department of our Government we have been taught to conserve and enrich our soil, and the yield of our land has been very much increased by reason of many suggestions that this department has offered. There is possibly not a post office in the United States Government where farming is carried on but what this Government has reached it with valuable literature on the subject of agriculture and horticulture.

Since I have been a Member of Congress I have adopted the plan of printing a short letter on the bulletin list which is furnished by this department and sending it to as many of my constituents as I can, and asking them to check such literature as they will be interested in, and I have sent them such literature as selected by them. There is hardly a day's mail that comes into my office but that we have a number of requests for this sort of bulletins that are printed by the Department of Agriculture.

There are hardly any agricultural products that the Government has not made a careful study of and has not the printed information to furnish to those who desire the benefits of their research and study. The Agriculture Yearbook, which treats on many of the products of agriculture, is highly prized by many farmers in my district.

We now have about 30,000,000 people on the farm interested in agriculture out of a population of more than 120,000,000 people. It is estimated that there are now 2,000,000,000 people living in the world, and if you will take the number of acres of land in the world, you will find that there are 15 acres and a fraction of land in the United States for each individual living.

There is no person who has the physical strength to work and the mind to work that can not take this much land per capita and make enough to sustain life. Of course, it would not be sensible for all persons to be engaged in any one business or enterprise. If everyone were engaged in agriculture, there would be no market for any products of agriculture, so it is necessary that we have our industries and business of every kind so as to employ all persons and to furnish a market for the products from the farm.

The great trouble now with agriculture is not the question of production but the question of marketing at a price that will justify the production. During last year we had the greatest drought in the United States that this country has ever known. There were 21 States affected by it. In my State, the good State of Arkansas, the conditions a short time ago were perilous on account of the drought; everything was burned up. The reverse of that condition was true during the last year. There never has been in the history of our State such a bountiful harvest of food and feed as was produced during the last year. There was not a plant or a fruit-bearing tree or vine but what seemingly did its very best to overcome the total failure of the year before.

We had a wonderful yield of cotton in my State last year, but the price now is about 5 cents per pound. No people on

the face of the earth ever worked more heroically than the people of my State last year, and if they could have only received a fair compensation for their labor and crop, they would have overcome their troubles in one year.

However, while the people have plenty to eat and plenty to feed their stock, on account of the low price of their moneyed crop, cotton, they are left in a perilous situation.

If cotton could only be restored to the price it should bring of not less than 12 or 15 cents per pound, there is enough cotton raised and stored in my State now to take them out of the distressful condition they are faced with by reason of the present price of cotton.

I ask you the question, Is there any reasonable justification for the low price cotton is quoted on the market to-day? The answer comes back from each of you. No; there is no reason for it. Every sensible man knows who has ever produced cotton that it means bankruptcy for any people to undertake to raise cotton at its present price.

I have recently made a careful study of the cotton situation, and I have compiled a table showing the price of cotton for 100 years beginning with 1829 and ending 1928. This table shows that the price of cotton now is at the lowest level that it has reached in any year during the 100 years from 1829 to 1928.

It is my privilege and pleasure now to be a member of the Committee on Agriculture, and we began Monday, last, a hearing on a number of bills pending before that committee. The question of short selling of cotton and the gambling in futures, as it is commonly described, is, in my opinion, our great evil.

We had with us Monday and Tuesday the heads of the New York Cotton Exchange and the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, who appeared to try to defeat legislation seeking to stop the abuse that has grown out of these exchanges.

It is very interesting to see the heads of these exchanges trying to justify the buying and selling of futures in cotton, when the parties trading on the market never intended to receive a bale of cotton, but are merely gambling on the market. They claim that this kind of practice aids agriculture. Just how the fictitious buying and selling of 100,000,000 bales of cotton that never were grown nor were intended to be grown, yet it is bought and sold each year, can aid agriculture is difficult to understand.

Things are either right or wrong. If it is right to gamble in futures, then it should not be disturbed; but if it is wrong, it should be abolished and forever prohibited.

I think it is a fundamentally sound doctrine that a wrong can not be regulated, but can be abated. It is my opinion that the gambling in futures on cotton has done more to give us an unstable market and has been more hurtful to the farmers growing cotton than any other one thing.

Supply and demand is the doctrine that should control and govern prices on any commodity. I believe that I can show from figures of our own making in the last few years on cotton that supply and demand have not been able to control or fix the price on cotton.

I want to give you some figures that are proof to you that the supply of cotton or the volume of the crop grown has had nothing to do with the fixing of the crop price. In 1914 we grew in the United States 16,135,000 bales of cotton which brought an average price of 8.75. In 1915 we had practically the same number of bales which brought 11.68 on an average during the year. In 1916, with practically the same crop, the price was 18.84 average during the year. In 1917, with practically the same crop, the average price was 28 cents per pound. In 1922 we had 9,760,000 bales, which brought an average price of 25.94. In 1923 we produced 10,140,000 bales of cotton that brought an average price of 30.40. In 1924 we produced 13,627,800 bales of cotton that brought an average price of 22.60. In 1925 we produced 16,103,000 bales of cotton that brought an average price of 18.20. In 1926 we produced a larger crop than we have this year, and in that year for the 17,977,000 bales of cotton raised we received an average price of 10,90. In 1927, the year following, we received an average price of 18 cents per pound for the 14,375,000 bales raised. In 1929 we had in round numbers a 13,000,000-bale crop that brought an average price of 15 cents per pound.

These figures show you that the supply or the amount of cotton grown does not fix and govern prices under the conditions that are prevailing, with our cotton exchanges being permitted to operate as they now are.

Each of these cotton exchanges mentioned—New York and New Orleans—have several hundred people as their stock members. Seats are sold at fabulous prices. Why all this if there is not a profit to be made by being on the inside of the ring and knowing just what is going to be the tendency of the market—up or down—as they want to play it?

The New York and New Orleans Cotton Exchanges remind me of the boys playing with a yo yo. It is going up and then down with nothing seemingly to cause it to go up or to go down. If these exchanges can not serve a more useful purpose than they are serving now, then they should be abolished and prohibited by law.

The dealing in spot cotton is as honorable a business as anyone can engage in, just as much so as it is to buy and sell goods, horses, cattle, or anything else that is legitimate trade. These exchanges have prevented the cotton buyers and dealers in cotton that we formerly had to carry on their legitimate business of buying and selling cotton. When this was done, the farmer knew when he took his cotton to town to sell that he got for it whatever a legitimate spot market said it was worth. But now the man who grows the cotton has no more to do with the fixing of the price than the man in the moon.

We have the price quoted on the exchange before the year ends as to what cotton was going to be worth the next year. Quoting June, July, August, September, October, November, and December, and not one of them knew that a seed of cotton would be planted, and yet they know just what the price is to be and fix it to suit themselves.

I have a bill now pending before the Agriculture Committee, which is House bill 5883, which if it could be passed and become a law would curb this practice. I want to quote you just a part of two sections of that bill:

SEC. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person to send or cause to be sent any message offering to make or enter into a contract for the purpose or sale for future delivery of cotton or grain without intending that such cotton or grain shall be actually delivered or received, or offering to make or enter into a contract whereby any party thereto or any party for whom or in whose behalf such contract is made requires the right or privilege to demand in the future the acceptance or delivery of cotton or grain without being thereby obligated to accept or to deliver such cotton or grain; and the transmission of any message relating to any such transaction is hereby declared to be an interference with commerce among the States and Territories and with foreign nations. Any person who shall be guilty of violating this section shall upon conviction thereof be fined in any sum not more than $10,000 nor less than $1,000 and shall be imprisoned for not less than six months nor more than five years, or both such fine and imprisonment, and the sending or causing to be sent of each such message shall constitute a separate offense.

Section 3 provides in part:

It shall be the duty of any person sending any message relating to a contract or to the making of a contract for future delivery of cotton or grain to furnish to the person transmitting such message an affidavit stating that he is the owner of such cotton or grain, and that he has the intention to deliver such cotton or grain; or that such cotton or grain is at the time in actual course of growth on land owned, controlled, or cultivated by him, and that he has the intention to deliver such cotton or grain.

This bill would not prevent the legitimate trading in cotton, but would stimulate it and would prevent the hurtful method of gambling in the future markets.

I was hopeful when the agriculture marketing act was passed that it would correct some of the evils that agriculture had to contend with. They have, I think, been helpful in some crops, but I am disappointed in the results they have accomplished so far. The purpose of that bill is fine. The first section of it declares the purpose of the act to be to put agriculture on the basis of equality with other industries. That is all that agriculture has ever de-

manded or will ever demand. It does not want any advantage over anyone else, but they do have a right to be placed on a basis of equality with other industries.

The man who owns his farm, the stock, and the necessary farm implements to work his land is entitled not only to the cost of production of that which he produces but he is also entitled to a reasonable profit on his investment and a reasonable price for the labor that is put into the producing of his crop.

If agriculture could be placed on this plane, the farmers would be happy and prosperous, and I shall never be satisfied until his business is placed upon that level.

If the stabilization feature provided for in the agriculture marketing act properly functioned, it would solve the cotton farmer's problem. The trouble with the cotton farmer when he goes to plant his crop now he does not know whether to expect 5 cents a pound or 20. He is absolutely at the mercy of those who fix the price for his commodity.

We are being asked now to pass many emergency measures. In 1919 after the war an emergency act was passed by Congress fixing the price of wheat at, as I now remember, $2.40 per bushel. Of course, we know that the reason for that act was that there was an emergency during the war and wheat growers were encouraged to grow their wheat in large quantities under a guaranty of price.

If there is such an emergency on now that the Government must come to the rescue, as it did by a bill recently passed by this Congress, of railroads, insurance companies, building and loan associations, and banks, then certainly when cotton is down to 5 cents per pound there is an equal emergency and they should be helped in the same manner.

If cotton could be stabilized at a fixed price of 12 or 15 cents per pound, the cotton farmer would come out of his trouble very quickly. It could be done and cost the Government nothing.

I have introduced in this Congress, and introduced in last Congress also, a bill to fix a loan price on cotton which would justify the production of it. The weakness of the agriculture act as it now stands is that there is no encouragement for the farmer to become a member of the cooperative organization. If a study could be made of the actual cost of the production of cotton and a stabilized price fixed on it equal to the cost of production, then the farmers could afford to raise cotton.

Prior to the war foreign countries grew about 7,500,000 bales of cotton. They are now growing around 12,000,000 bales of cotton. Many of these nations that are growing cotton and have increased their products in the last few years have done so by reason of the fact that they were forced, in order to have cotton for their home consumption, to grow cotton.

The cotton they produce is short lint, and they much prefer American cotton, as we grow a very much better grade than any of the other countries. What is the reason for their growing this short-lint cotton? The reason is this: Take China, for instance, with her 400,000,000 people, and India, with her great population, and any other large nation that can not have any reciprocal trade relations with us under the existing conditions. First of all, our high-tariff wall has cut them out of selling any of their products to us or buying any of our exports, such as cotton, which they would like to have in exchange for their trade.

There is another reason that has contributed to this condition. The United States is supposed to be on a gold-standard basis. The truth is that it is not on a gold-standard but on a paper basis. China, India, and about three-fifths of the population of the world are on a silver standard of money, and the silver in the silver dollar now under the gold standard fixed in the United States is worth a fraction over 25 cents for each dollar. In other words, if they buy cotton from America at 5 cents per pound, and have to pay for it in gold, it means 20 cents per pound they are, in fact, paying for it with their money.

What we should have is a fixed ratio of monetary value between gold and silver so that the world might trade with each other. The trouble now is that we have less per capita in circulation than we have ever had before. We have about $4,000,000,000 of gold in the United States Treasury. There are only about $12,000,000,000 of gold in the world. The last World Almanac gives the population of the world at 2,000,000,000; then if each nation were on this standard of money, there would only be $6 per capita for the world's business.

Our money circulation should be doubled, and if it were done, trade conditions would be very much better. The great trouble now is that 60 per cent of the money is in hiding in banks and bank vaults and other places.

The Secretary of the Treasury is advocating an increase of taxation, which in my opinion will be very hurtful and will cause money to continue to hide away. If a man knows that his business is going to be taxed too heavily, he is very slow to enter business. What we need is economy in Government and not increased taxation.

The bill passed last week for $2,000,000,000 and sponsored by the Secretary of the Treasury and the President will not solve the trouble. It starts at the top, and will never reach far enough down toward the bottom to help those that are really in need of help. It should have started at the other end of the line if it is to be beneficial.

The other body of this Congress has amended the House bill passed by striking out every word of it except the enacting clause and inserting the Senate bill in lieu of the House bill, and the two bills are now in conference. The Senate bill is a much better bill than the House bill. First of all, it limits the amount that one corporation could borrow to 5 per cent of the total capital stock of this two-billion institution. Not only that, it puts a rider on the bill for agriculture. Many of us tried to put a provision on the bill when it was in the House in order to take care of agriculture and to make loans to farmers to make and care for another crop. In the House an amendment of this kind to the bill was held by the Chairman presiding then as not being germane to the bill, and it was ruled out on a point of order.

The Senate bill carries that provision, and a rider to the bill, which is as follows:

SEC. 18a. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $50,000,000, which sum, or as much as may be necessary thereof, shall be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose of making loans and advances to farmers in the several States of the United States who, because of the failures of banking institutions and conditions resulting from crop failures or the general depression, are unable to obtain credit for crop-production purposes for the year 1932. Such advances or loans shall be made upon such terms as the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe. A first lien on all the crop growing, or to be planted and grown, shall in the discrimination of the Secretary of Agriculture be deemed sufficient security for such loans and advances. All such loans or advances shall be made through such agencies as the Secretary of Agriculture may designate and in such amounts as such agencies, with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, may determine.

This provision as a rider to the $2,000,000,000 bill will be worth more to the common people by far than the $2,000,000,000 when expended. We had a demonstration last year of how helpful this provision will be to agriculture. It deals directly with the farmer and furnishes him money at a much lower rate of interest than could be procured elsewhere—if it could be gotten at all—and I am heartily in favor of this provision which is placed as a rider on the $2,000,000,000 bill.

I hope and trust that something may be worked out during this session of Congress that will be helpful to agriculture and place it on the high plane that it deserves to be. [Applause.]

There are many other subjects of agriculture that I would like to discuss but I shall not trespass upon your time any further.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. EATON].

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, since I pointed out to this House on January 5, 1932, that the United States had, in fact, ceased to use silver dollars in its currency but had substituted paper dollar bills therefor to the extent of almost half a billion dollars, and told you that this was an

element in the present financial crisis which merited thought and answer, I have been deluged with letters, pamphlets, and newspaper clippings from all over the United States. I have been interviewed by many people, some of whom were Members of Congress and some not. I have listened to plan after plan to remonetize silver, to stabilize silver, to have international conferences, establish world-wide silver banks, and the like. Yesterday at a meeting of men interested in the silver problem I heard one man insisting that free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 was the only remedy that would do any good, and in illustrating his views he compared the present Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill and the recent farm loan board bill, and pointed out that each, in economic effect, was a mere inflation of currency of the United States, but carrying a burden that silver had never had, namely, an interest charge.

The obligation upon the currency of the United States is that it will be received in payment of debts, taxes, customs, and public dues. But it bears no interest while it is outstanding. It has what we call a sound-money base; for gold certificates, all gold in the Treasury; for silver certificates, all silver in the Treasury; for Federal reserve notes, 40 per cent gold in the Federal reserve banks, and eligible credit for the balance, and so forth.

The obligation created by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is that the United States will take out of circulation $500,000,000 in money right now, and before returning it will promise to pay somebody interest thereon until the borrowing is liquidated.

Right here I want to ask those who are to-day discussing fiat money this question, Why is it better to add an interest charge of, say, 4 to 5 per cent annually to the fiat promise of the United States to repay money than to issue the promise of the United States that it will collect enough taxes within a stated period to redeem a certain number of dollars upon which it pays no interest?

The $2,000,000,000 authorized by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill is practically 20 per cent of all the circulation of the United States in existence this very minute. It is practically 50 per cent of every single ounce of gold in possession of or accounted for by the United States. The initial amount in the bill is only half a billion dollars, so that makes the immediate stretch upon the currency of the United States to do one more duty immediately—right now—only 5 per cent, you see, and takes only the use of 12½ per cent of our hoard of gold.

But you say it is all to be repaid and immediately furnishes a relief to a limited amount of frozen assets to a limited class of financial institutions and railroads. True, but why can not that relief be furnished without carrying an interest charge? When the financing is completed and liquidation finished there will be either a profit or loss in the entire transaction. If a loss, who pays? The taxpayer.

Now, is not it better financing, is not it just as honest, are not public morals and public policy—yes, and financial policies—fully satisfied by issuing the promises of the Government without further agreeing to pay interest thereon?

Of course, the banks all say, "No." Why? They now have the gold, the silver, the subsidiary coins. They also have the promises to pay in all the world to a total of $750,000,000,000, it is said. The only metal monetary background for this stupendous amount is about $10,000,000,000 in gold and about 10,000,000,000 ounces of silver, whose market value to-day, if put on the market, is from two and one-half to three billion dollars in gold. But if it were put on the market, how much would it be worth per pound?

Let me ask you the same about gold. Suppose we demonetize gold to-day and put on the market half a billion ounces of gold, who would buy it, and at what price?

The bankers say the latter can not happen. But it is not a far cry to say that that is exactly what has happened to silver.

As a matter of fact, in our Temperate Zone country, silver is to-day used for pocket money only.

A business man presented a plan for taking the surplus silver off the market, by providing that war debts be made payable in silver. When reminded that out of the twenty-five or more billion dollars of war debts between all the countries, which when cleared would leave a balance payable to the United States of over $10,000,000,000, and asked what we would do with the silver which would all come to our coffers, he did not have an answer ready.

I gave you the first sentence of the answer a few days ago. It is, actual use of silver dollars in our currency. For if the United States is not going to actually use the silver in its currency, if the world has enough silver and does not want any more, the sooner it is realized by more people of this country and they accommodate themselves to it, the sooner will we have an upturn in our affairs.

About 7,000,000,000 ounces of silver were produced from 1493 to 1888 and about 7,290,000,000 ounces were produced from 1889 to 1927. The nations of the world are said to hold about 10,000,000,000 ounces of silver.

Production and consumption of silver during the past few years having practically balanced, the drop in the price of silver must be due to the fear for its future in connection with the great depreciation in commodity value.

You will remember that Gresham's law declares, in substance, that the cheaper silver dollars tend to drive the dearer golden dollars from circulation. Then if the gold dollars are not demanded their value declines until equal values are restored. But apparently this law does not govern now. The gold dollars being not demanded in fact, but being used as a basis for credit, the gold dollars continue in their hoard and the credits pyramid.

Upon September 20, 1931, the English pound sterling was worth $4.85; the Canadian dollar, 98 cents; the Mexican dollar, 32½ cents; the Japanese yen, 49 cents; and the French franc, which used to be worth 20 cents, almost 4 cents.

The next day, England having suspended certain payments in gold, the press reported "England has gone off the gold standard."

The following day the English pound and Canadian dollar began a decline, which continued to such an extent that on December 31, 1931, the pound was worth $3.37 and the Canadian dollar almost 84 cents. The Mexican dollar had increased to 39.6 cents, while the Japanese yen had declined to 34.6 cents and the French franc remained constant at about 4 cents.

Since September 21, 1931, 19 nations have either suspended gold payments or abandoned the gold standard. Twenty-three nations are now on an actual silver basis, the most recent addition to the group being Japan, which suspended the gold standard in December, 1931. In countries suspending the gold standard, commodity prices are said to have increased, while during the same period in the United States commodity prices have continued to decrease.

When prices are rising borrowers are benefited and lenders injured; when prices are falling the reverse is true.

One of the arguments submitted by the gold monometalists is that the people of the United States are too intelligent now to use silver. They can read and write, and therefore they can and do use the paper money. But those people in the Tropics, in China and India, and other Asiatic and African and South and Central American countries can not understand so well what is printed on the paper money, so they must have the silver.

Last year it took 625,560,000 new paper dollars to keep in circulation the $491,579,320 silver dollars and bullion in the vaults of the Treasury. The cost of each bill is seven-tenths of a cent. This means that in 1931 it cost the United States $4,378,920 in gold to continue hoarding its silver and let the people have paper to use instead of silver. Now that the smaller size of currency has been in use since July 1, 1929, we find out that $48,100,320 of the large-sized bills of all denominations have not yet been returned for redemption, either as mutilated currency or otherwise. But we have the exact amount of silver dollar bills now defined.

On November 30, 1931, there were exactly 446,312,093 silver dollar bills of the reduced size in circulation.

I am trying to point out that the battle is between those who now have possession of the gold, the notes, and the bonds, and those who have not. They have designated the amount of credit thereon, and with every turn of the financial wheel they exact and pyramid more interest.

I submit that, in so far as the United States Government is concerned, when we begin to get the interest charge cut down will be the first day for the beginning of the substantial upturn in business and commodity prices.

Most of what has been said and published as a means of overcoming the depression seems to suggest that the only way money can be put into circulation is to borrow and keep on borrowing. Nothing is said about payment. The only other subject is how to increase taxes. The trouble with us and with the whole world is that we want to keep on borrowing and merely continue the discussion of the date of our own payment.

We are not paying. We are not economizing. We are merely increasing our obligations and promising to pay more usury for the privilege.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JENKINS].

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, in spite of the world-wide economic depression the urge of people to move about is yet very noticeable. This urge has marked the activities of the human race from the beginning of history. Without doubt the greatest movement of people in the world's history was that movement into the United States for the 100 years following 1820. In that year the census records show that only approximately 4,000 aliens came into the United States. By 1850 this number had increased to about 400,000 per year, and by 1907, the high-water mark, the number had increased to 1,285,000. In 100 years our country grew from a small beginning to a position of power among the nations of the world. It grew from a nation of 4,000,000 to a nation of more than 100,000,000. This period saw the Indian pushed gradually westward until he read his doom in the setting sun. This period saw the development of the intangible yet potent something we call Americanism. Those were the days of the American pioneers. Only the word painter should ever try to describe the American pioneer. He will forever be the hero in the battle of the human race from the lowlands of oppression to the plains of liberty and freedom. When the last frontier gave way before the omnipotent tread of progress a heroic figure began to pass into history and to become the subject of song and essay. The rugged pioneer man and woman are gone, but their spirit marches on. Does it march with the same sure cadence that characterized it in those days? I am afraid not. I am afraid that the infiltration of so many different blood streams into the blood stream of our national life has taken something from our national spirit. Ours is the task and the privilege to keep the fountains of patriotism uncontaminated. If Americanism is a spirit, quench it not. If Americanism is a principle, let us exemplify it. If Americanism is a step in the progress of the human family in its advancement toward its ultimate destiny, let us make it a firm step from which there will be no retreat. Since Americanism is an inheritance from our forefathers, we must pass it along to our children without weakening it by the addition of too many people who do not agree with our principles of government.

There are yet a few people in America who can not bring themselves to a recognition of the fact that the restriction of immigration is a good, safe, and necessary national policy. Despite their lack of numbers they maintain a remarkable cohesiveness. Their representatives are in the National Congress. They are already at work in this session with their program of undermining the immigration wall. They seek to tear down a stone here and there and to penetrate the wall in many different ways. It is to attempt to advise the Members of the House of the status of pending immigration legislation that I arise at this time.

In the first place, let me call your attention to bills introduced that seek some modification of the restriction laws. I do not claim that the immigration laws are perfect and can not be improved upon, but I do claim that in these days of depression with many of our best men in all walks of life out of employment, we should be very loath to provide any new avenues by which aliens can find their way into our midst. In times of prosperity we can assimilate a surplus of people, but in periods of depression they add to our troubles. We need more employment for those already here.

One of the bills that seeks to open the gates is that bill which seeks to admit outside of quota regulations the fathers and mothers of American citizens. On the surface this would appear to be a harmless bill, and it is played up strongly by those who seek sympathy for their cause. A few years ago we heard a great clamor for a change of the law so as to "reunite separated families." This clamor was allayed by the enactment of legislation in 1928, which rearranged the quotas so that preference would be given to members of families. This law has functioned admirably, and practically all of the families that had separated themselves have become reunited. The same plea for "reuniting families" is advanced in favor of this fathers' and mothers' bill, but it is not shouted quite so loudly. The claim is made that in some countries the quotas are so congested as to render it impossible for fathers and mothers to be reached for 50 years. Ladies and gentlemen, this is all propaganda put out to gain sympathy. Figures just recently issued by the Department of State disclose the fact that the fathers and mothers, being in the first preference class, can come in without any wait from all but three of the countries of the world. That is, of course, if they can meet the general requirements of health and good character and all other similar requirements.

The following table shows the five countries in which there is any demand for relatives that is not being absorbed by the preferences allowed within the quotas. And in three of these all that have been found to be qualified have been admitted to date, but there are a few in each of these countries who have been rejected once but who are kept on the list in order to give them a chance to remove the objection if they can do it, but which no doubt will not be done in a great majority of the cases. A word of explanation of this table might be worth while. In the first column is the quota for each of the ccuntries referred to. The second column is the number that might be given preference as fathers and mothers or husbands. The third column shows the active demand, which includes those who have been accepted for visas and are waiting to come. The fourth column shows the inactive demand and includes those who have made application, have been rejected, but are kept on the list. The fifth column shows the time required for a new applicant to secure a visa if he is qualified. The sixth column shows the time that might elapse if all who have applied and been once rejected may yet clear their record. Their column is, of course, of no value except to show the most extreme date that the rankest propagandist may claim.

	Quota	50 per cent preference	Active register	Inactive register	Waiting time	Waiting time if all qualify
Bessarabia	100	50	----------	199	----------	4 years.
Greece	307	153	----------	607	----------	4¼ years.
Syria	123	62	----------	502	----------	8 years.
Rumania	295	147	515	641	3½ years	Do.
Turkey	226	113	354	1,506	3 years	16 years.

It is pertinent to state that the policy of the immigration officials of the Departments of State and Labor is to give preference within the quotas at all times to members of families. This policy shows results in the six months of the current fiscal year, when more than 63 per cent of all quota visas issued went to fathers, mothers, and husbands married after the limit date of May 31, 1928. These figures establish the fact that there is no basis for the assertion that there is any injustice being done to fathers and

mothers and that there is no dire necessity for the enactment of this bill.

Another bill that is being propaganded is a bill that seeks to change the law so that American women may marry alien husbands and immediately bring their newly acquired spouses in as nonquota immigrants. The present law provides that husbands married after June 1, 1928, must come within the quota but are permitted to come within first-preference classes. Quite a great deal of publicity has been given to this by an organization of "citizen wives" from New York. This organization numbers about 200. These wives are American citizens, but most of them were born abroad or are the children of alien parents naturalized and living here. These wives have, since the passage of the law of June, 1928, deliberately and with full knowledge of the law, married aliens whom they knew they could not bring in except under the law and within the quota. They immediately demand entrance for their husbands, and when they meet resistance while the departments have time to make investigations or when they are rejected by the departments, their cases are seized upon by propagandists and another plea for sympathy is sent out over the country, and the immigration laws are pictured as working terrible hardship in separating wives from their husbands. In practically every case of the great number that have come to my attention the woman left the United States for a visit in some central or southern European country, and while there she met and married within a few days a man that she is now seeking to have come in outside of all quotas.

In practically every instance these girls married men who have no permanent employment and who had scarcely any earning capacity. The immigration authorities have given this class of cases every possible attention so as to facilitate the entrance of the deserving applicants, but to do so within the quotas. There is no great hardship shown in these cases, and in each of such cases the initial step in bringing on the condition complained of was taken by this complainant and not by the United States or any of its officials. There is no reason why the bars should be laid down for them. Rather is this the time to further restrict immigration. All the other countries of the world are becoming more strict in their entrance requirements.

There is one complaint that those who are always seeking to throw down the bars are making that has some force. They are not alone in this complaint, however, and neither are they the pioneers in this complaint. In fact, the reason for this complaint has been heretofore shown to this House and by those who are seeking to keep up the bars of restriction. Complaint is made that the departments of the Government have been exceeding their authority and discretion in placing an unwarranted interpretation on the "liable to become a public charge" clause of the exclusion law. There is some justification in this complaint. Myself and others have pointed this out at different times on the floor of this House. This condition came as a result of the failure of Congress to enact legislation to further restrict immigration, especially through Mexico and Canada. This need became urgent with the progress of the depression, and in September, 1930, President Hoover issued an order to all consuls to exercise greater care in the admission of immigrants and to apply more strictly the "liable to become a public charge" clause of the exclusion laws. The department took the position that although an immigrant might in prosperous times meet all physical, moral, and financial requirements, still that person might be liable to become a public charge if he were to come to our country at a time in which many very splendid men and women are without work and with no prospects for work. The consuls followed the President's orders and they effected a tremendous reduction of about 90 per cent of all the immigration as it formerly flowed. In the last 18 months 300,000 were refused visas that otherwise would have been granted.

Under the present law the quotas of European countries total 153,000. By reason of the increased activities of the departments heretofore referred to the quota immigrants receiving visas during the first year ending June 30, 1931, was reduced to 48,528, a reduction of over 100,000. During the last fiscal year 46,000 visas were issued to nonquota immigrants. In the previous year 107,500 were issued. The phrase "liable to become a public charge" is elastic and relative in its meaning. It might mean one thing to-day and a different thing next week. Some consuls might give a different decision on one set of facts from another consul in a different place and circumstance. Many decisions were made that might have been inconsistent. Different standards were used by different consuls. Although put to a very difficult task the departments have so far acquitted themselves with much credit and have effected a tremendous reduction in immigration. The departments have been hard pressed in this task. They have been assuming a legislative function which is not rightfully theirs and which they do not desire. They should be relieved of this burden and should be supported by proper legislation reducing the quotas so that their work can be accomplished with more freedom and with more uniformity and with less liability of criticism.

In the last session of the Seventy-first Congress a measure introduced by myself seeking to accomplish this purpose was passed in the House. This measure failed of passage in the Senate because of a filibuster. A similar bill has been introduced by me in this session. This bill is designated as House Joint Resolution 216. It should become a law. This bill provides a 90 per cent reduction of all quotas already fixed and also provides a quota for Canada and Mexico and all the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The quotas fixed for Canada and Mexico and all the other countries of the Western Hemisphere are the same number that came from these respective countries during the normal year ending June, 1930. The bill provides for a 90 per cent reduction of these quotas also. The effect of this legislation is to put a quota on all the countries of the world except the countries of Asia. All these countries of Asia are restricted by total exclusion acts and agreements. This includes China, Japan, and India. The Philippines are not excluded and neither are the citizens of any of our island possessions, for they all live under the American flag.

President Hoover in his message to the present Congress said:

> I recommend that immigration restriction now in force under administrative action be placed upon a more definite basis by law.

This is an unequivocal indorsement of this bill heretofore referred to. This bill was approved by the State and Labor Departments when it was considered before the last session of Congress. The only change in this bill over the one that passed the House on a former occasion is that the reduction is provided permanently, while in the former bill the reduction was to apply for two years only.

With the whole world under a quota, with those quotas reduced to a reasonable minimum, with all reasonable preference given to members of families, thereby reuniting families effectively, and with departments thoroughly alive to their duties, it would seem to me that then we will meet about all the urgent needs for immigration legislation. My opposition to the less-important measures heretofore referred to is not so great as my desire to see this piece of major legislation enacted into law.

There are two other propositions that have been advanced from time to time. One is the proposition for registration of all aliens, and another is a question of selective immigration. Both of these plans have merit and both have objections. There are many respectable aliens within our borders who came here many years ago when immigration restriction was not enforced rigidly and whose children are now among our most important citizens and who would be greatly humiliated if called up to establish legal entry. If registration is ever provided for it would seem that it would be the part of wisdom to make registry voluntary and not compulsory. Selective immigration has been advocated for years. By this means the Department of Labor would be permitted to select the immigrants that should come in. The principal opposition to this measure is that selective



immigration will open the way to undue pressure being placed upon the Secretary of Labor. It will inevitably result in the admission of the fortunate and the exclusion of the unfortunate. The great American principle of "first come, first served" would apply most appropriately in immigration selection. Any other plan would tend to exclude the poor lad who might be longing for the opportunity to come to the land of his hope. Selective immigration will inevitably result in the selection of those who make themselves known and who press their cases. Our country came to its position of grandeur from the contribution of those who came across as immigrants to found a new nation. Preference should be given to near relatives and then after that this door should be thrown open so that the balance of the quotas should go to deserving people in the order in which they apply. Physical fitness, mental equipment, financial worth are not the best tests of one's fitness to become an American. All these are requisites, but the principal requisite is a proper spirit toward our ideals and toward our system of government. If these are lacking the immigrant will never become a real American. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BACHMANN].

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Chairman, thousands of our citizens are now becoming aware of the tactics communists are using against the Government of the United States. While many of our people seem indifferent to what is actually happening, and others rally at every opportunity in defense of the communists and their teachings, it is gratifying to know that there are many Americans who stand ready to combat this alien conspiracy and are anxious to assist in driving from our midst those aliens who would destroy our republican form of government.

Having had the privilege of serving as a member of the special committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate activities of the communists, of which my good friend and colleague, the Hon. HAMILTON FISH, Jr., was chairman, and whom I believe to be the best informed Member of the House of Representatives on communism, I am firmly convinced that this movement is far more extensively organized than is generally believed by the American people.

Communism can not be said to be a mere theory—it is an organized effort to overthrow organized governments. Its objectives are the abolition of government, ownership of private property, religion, and family relations.

The Communist Party in this country is an organization whose avowed belief and aim is the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

Communism in America is directly controlled by the Communist International in Russia through the Communist Party of the United States. From Moscow as a center the Communist International, which might be termed an international revolutionary party, seeks to spread the doctrine that the whole world is divided into two groups, that of capitalism and that of socialism. The Communist International aims to destroy capitalism.

There is a place in Russia for all communists. There they may do as they please. We do not object. It is their business. There they can communize to their hearts content. But when they plan to overthrow the Government of the United States and substitute therefor a soviet government, we will object. That is our business. We should not permit the Communist Party, or any other party organized by aliens and controlled by an alien government, to adopt and plan to bring into existence a soviet form of government in the United States.

No movement which strikes at the foundation of government, home, the family, and religion, should ever be permitted to flourish within the boundaries of the United States.

It should be clearly understood that I do not question the right of any American citizen to advocate a change in our present form of government so long as he follows the orderly and lawful methods contemplated by the Constitution. But I do strenuously object to alien revolutionists, whom we permit to come to this country, advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence and the substitution of a soviet form of government in its place.

The membership of the Communist Party of the United States is largely alien and overwhelmingly foreign born. It is conservatively believed that 90 per cent of all communists in this country are aliens and naturalized citizens. Very few native Americans, so far, have been active in the movement.

Officials of the Department of Labor told our committee there was nothing in our immigration laws excluding a communist as such. If an alien admits he is a communist, he may be admitted as an immigrant. The fact of an alien being a communist is not a bar to entry into the United States. I believe our immigration laws should be strengthened so that no communist or any other alien who believes in the principles of communism would be permitted to enter this country. I also believe that our deportation laws should be amended so as to provide for the immediate deportation of all aliens who are members of the Communist Party, or who are in any way connected with the spreading of communist propaganda.

I am ready to assist in helping all alien communists who do not like our form of government to return to the lands from whence they came. These alien revolutionists must sooner or later learn that they must refrain from seeking the overthrow of our Government or they will be deported. No alien or naturalized citizen can be a communist and at the same time be loyal to the Government of the United States and its flag.

During the last Congress I introduced a bill to provide for the exclusion and expulsion of all alien communists. The bill was reported favorably by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives but failed to pass because of the adjournment of Congress on March 4. At the beginning of the present Congress I reintroduced the same bill, which is known as H. R. 1967, and it is now pending before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. This bill, if enacted, will amend our present immigration law by adding the word "communist." It will strengthen our immigration and deportation laws by adding the alien communist who believes in and advocates subversive revolutionary doctrines to the enumerated classes of those who are now by law subject to exclusion or deportation. The bill, if enacted, will permit the Department of Labor to more readily deport all alien communists. Under the present law it is necessary for the Department of Labor to prove that the alien sought to be deported believes in, advises, advocates, or teaches, or is a member or affiliated with some organization, association, society, or group that believes in, advises, advocates, or teaches the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. In order for the Government to prove these facts it is also necessary to prove that the organization, association, society, or group has for its purpose the overthrow by force or violence the Government of the United States. In other words, the Government is required to prove all of these facts in every individual case, whereas if my bill is enacted communists will not be permitted to enter the United States and can readily be deported therefrom on proof of their membership in the Communist Party or on their admission that they are members of or affiliated with the Communist Party.

During the last 10 years it has become common knowledge that the Communist Party is an unlawful organization, having for its object an illegal purpose, and it has been so construed by some of the courts. I am one who believes that the sooner the Congress of the United States enacts legislation of this character, just so soon will we be able to rid this country of these alien revolutionary parasites, whose presence here can add nothing to the American Government, American institutions, or American citizenship. I also believe that if the industries of the United States would refuse to employ any man or woman who has not established to a satisfactory degree that he or she is not affiliated with or has any connection with the communist movement there would be fewer American citizens walking the streets

to-day in search of employment. These alien communists seek employment in our factories, mills, and mines only for the purpose of inciting riots and labor disturbances. They do not want work and they do not want anyone else to work.

I have no quarrel with those immigrants who seek the refuge of our shores to partake of our bounties, who obey the law, and who expect to become American citizens. But those aliens who come here with the avowed purpose of overthrowing our present form of government ought not and should not be encouraged and assisted in the accomplishment of their illegal purpose by any American citizen. To my mind, it is the duty of every patriotic American to assist in every way possible in protecting and preserving the American Government as contemplated by the Constitution, and when we give aid and comfort, under the guise of free speech and personal liberty, to these alien communists it only means we are attempting to tear down and destroy that Government which has protected and will continue to protect our American institutions.

While the Federal Government can materially assist in the eradication of this movement, nevertheless, much remains to be accomplished by the individual States.

It is very often claimed that the Communist Party is a political party and as such nominates and votes for candidates for office; that it has been on the ballot in many States. Therefore it is claimed to be a legal political party, seeking through orderly and proper methods to obtain control of the Government and the States by the use of the ballot. This is nothing more than camouflage and evasion. Its official literature and the utterances of its leaders all stress that fact that communists do not believe in the use of the ballot and that their aim can only be attained through violent, armed methods and revolution while organized into a special political party. No one who is familiar with and understands the communist movement can truthfully and honestly reach any conclusion other than their activity in nominating and voting for candidates for office is solely for propaganda and publicity purposes. The words "communist ticket" have no place on any election ballot in the United States of America. The character and reputation of those whose names appear on the ballot as candidates of the Communist Party are of themselves sufficient to challenge the patriotism and respect of American citizens charged with the duty of preparing the election ballot in the individual States.

In every instance in the past those candidates presented by the Communist Party were wholly unfit to perform the duties of the offices to which they aspired. Take, for example, W. Z. Foster, the communist candidate for President—in 1924, when he was on the ballot in 14 states as the communist candidate for President, he received 36,000 votes. In 1928, when he was on the ballot in 34 States, he received 48,770 votes, a gain of 20 States and over 12,000 votes in four years.

When Foster made his speech in May, 1928, accepting the nomination for President as the candidate of the Communist Party, he said, in part:

> Our party * * * creates no illusions amongst the workers that they can vote their way to emancipation. * * * The working class must shatter the capitalist state. It must build a new state, a new government, a workers' and farmers' government, the soviet government in the United States. When a communist heads a government of the United States—and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises—that government will not be a capitalistic government but a soviet government, and behind this government will stand the red army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus spoke the communist candidate for President of the United States, and over 48,000 American citizens, naturalized or native, voted for him in the election of 1928.

In 1930 the communist candidates for governors and United States Senators in less than half the States of the Union where they were on the ballot polled approximately 100,000 votes.

There is abundance of evidence and ample justification for every State to declare the Communist Party, or any like organization having for its purpose the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, to be illegal and therefore not entitled to a place on the ballot in any election conducted by the American people. In other words, any party seeking through revolutionary means to supplant the American flag with the red flag and to substitute a soviet government for the American Government has no place on any election ballot.

The individual States can also accomplish much in eradicating the communist movement in so far as it applies to the youth of our country. It is common knowledge that two communist-youth organizations, the Young Pioneers and the Young Communist League, are openly functioning in many of the States. It is also generally known that those organizations require their youthful members to pledge allegiance to the red flag; that these young people are being educated in the principles and tenets of communism; and they are being taught hatred and contempt for the American Government, American institutions, and all religion. They are taught to render no respect or allegiance to the American flag, the Stars and Stripes, and it is never displayed.

If we stand by and permit the youth of our country to grow up under communist teachings and antireligious instructions, we are sowing the seeds for chaos and ruin, and unconsciously aiding this enemy of civilization, which may mean within a few generations a revolution led by the proletariat and dominated and controlled by an alien government. The time to stop a movement of this kind is now. The children of America must grow to manhood and womanhood with an affectionate love for our American Government, its flag, institutions, and traditions.

These two communist-youth organizations can serve no other purpose than to teach the children to hate the Government of the United States. What a shameful thing to permit children whose patriotic fervor should be inspired by such great national heroes as Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, to be infested instead with hatred for their noble example and teachings, and inspired with an abiding faith in the red flag of communism and world revolution!

While the manifesto and program of the Communist Party are of such a character to easily lead a reasonable man to conclude that the purpose of the Communist Party and its two youthful organizations is to accomplish its end, namely, the capture and destruction, by force and violence, of the state as now constituted, I believe it to be within the province of the state, for its own defense and for its own protection, to enact whatever legislation may be necessary, making membership in any of these organizations unlawful.

I can readily agree with my colleague, Representative JOHN M. NELSON, a member of the investigating committee, when he said:

> America can have no more vicious or dangerous enemy than he who seeks to implant in the minds of impressionable youth the seeds of class hatred, anti-Americanism, and revolution.

While it is highly important that other legislation be enacted by the Congress, such as enlarging the powers of the Department of Justice, a bill for which purpose having been introduced by my colleague, Mr. FISH, to my mind, a legislative program pertaining to communist activities would not be complete without some legislation affecting the communist press.

The communists have control of and publish a large number of daily and weekly newspapers throughout the country. Most of these papers are printed in a foreign language. Many of them contain articles of a revolutionary nature, consisting of attacks on our Government and on every American institution or ideal associated with our form of government. Combined, these newspapers have a large circulation through the United States mail. Each day copies are delivered by United States mail carriers to subscribers throughout the country. How can we teach the large number of aliens who come to this country what the American Government and American institutions stand for when each day we permit United States mail carriers to deliver to them newspapers and periodicals containing revolutionary articles against the Government of the United States?

If I had my way, I would immediately stop all newspapers and publications of every kind and character advocating the

overthrow of our Government by force and violence and the erection of a soviet form of government in this country from being transmitted through the United States mails.

There is no question but that communism is on the increase in this country, and it is my conviction that so long as the Government permits these alien communists to practice their activities in the United States just so long will they continue to increase.

The necessity for a definite program to eliminate communism in this country is readily apparent. The strengthening of our immigration laws; enlarging the powers of the Department of Justice; and the strengthening of our postal and interstate commerce laws will do much toward restricting this communist movement, if not entirely eliminating it.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD on the necessity of a definite program to eliminate communism in the United States, and incorporate as a part of those remarks a list of all the organizations functioning in this country to assist in the communist movement, the names of those people in this country who are active in that movement, as well as the present headquarters of the communists of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BACHMANN]?

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I would like to say that the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BACHMANN] has rendered a great service to our country in his intensive and timely studies of this important subject. I do not believe there is a subject that is or should be more interesting to the American people than the subject upon which the gentleman has obtained this information, namely, communism. It seems as though during these unusually distressful times in our country the enemies of our Government would take advantage of the situation of discontent and unrest to propagate their system of so-called government. More of our people should awaken to the peril of communism. I am against their activities as such. I am sure we will all read the matter which the gentleman refers to with approval and interest.

Mr. BACHMANN. I thank the gentleman from Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

The advance of communism in the United States may be partially measured by the number of groups dominated and controlled or influenced by affiliation, representation, or association. A partial list of organizations in this category is as follows:

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, All-American Anti-Imperialist League, American-Lithuanian Workers Literature Association, American Russian Institute, American Youth Club, Amerika Magyar Mepszova (Inc.), Amkino (American branch of Sovkino), Amtorg Trading Corporation, Anti-Fascist League of North America, Anti-Horthy League, Association of New Revolutionary Emigrants from Cuba, Bezboshnik (Godless Society), Boston Blue Blouses, Building Maintenance Workers Union, Chinese Workers League, Communist League of Struggle, Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party (majority group), Communist Party (opposition), Construction Workers Union, Department Store Workers Union, Dreiser Committee on Coal, Educational Workers International Union, Finnish Women's Club (Chicago), Finnish Workers Clubs of New York, Food and Packing House Workers Industrial Union, Food Workers Industrial Union, Frederick Douglass Interradical Club of New York, Frederick Engels Club (Chicago), Freiheit Singing Society (Chicago), Freiheit Youth Club, Friends of the Soviet Union, Front Publishing Co. of New York, Furniture Workers Industrial League, German Workers Gymnastic Society of New Jersey, Harlem Tenants League, Hungarian Dramatic Club (New York), Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society (Note: Will soon consolidate with the International Workers Order), Hungarian Workers Club, Hungarian Workers Home Society, I. C. O. R. (Jewish Society), Institute of Adult Education, International Bureau of Revolutionary Writers, International Committee for Political Prisoners, International Labor Defense, International Pamphlets, International Publishers, International Workers Order, Intourist (Inc.), Iron and Bronze Workers Industrial Union, Italian Workers National Clubs, Jewelry Workers Industrial Union, Jewish Freiheit Singing Societies, Jewish Workers Clubs, John Reed Club of Chapel Hill, N. C., John Reed Club of Chicago, John Reed Club of Detroit, John Reed Club of New York, John Reed Club of Philadelphia, Jugoslav Workers Club, Labor Research Association, Labor Sports Union, Laundry Workers Union, League Against Imperialism, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Lithuanian Singing Society, Lithuanian Women's Organization, Lumber Workers Industrial Union, Marine Workers Industrial Union, Marxian School (Baltimore, Md.), Mechanical Dentists Industrial Union, Medical Workers Industrial Union, Metal Workers Industrial League, Miners Permanent Committee to Investigate, Mothers' League, National Auto Workers Union, National Council for the Protection of Foreign Born Workers, National Miners Union, National Railroad Workers Industrial League, National Textile Workers Union, National Unemployment Councils, Nature Friends (Inc.), Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union, New Drug Clerks Union, New Jersey American Steamship Co., Nonpartisan Jewish Workers Schools, Office Workers Union, Pacific Coast Workers School (Woodland, Wash.), Painters Industrial Union, Polish Workers Clubs, Porto Rican Anti-Imperialist Association, Printers Industrial League, Prisoners Aid Society, Proletarian Dramatic Association of America, Provisional Anti-War Youth Committee, Rebel Players (Los Angeles), Red Star Press (New York City), Repeal Committee (San Francisco), Rubber Workers Industrial Union, Russian Cooperative Association, Russian Mutual Aid Society, Russian Reconstruction Farms, Russian Women's Progressive Mutual Aid, Scandinavian Clubs, Share Croppers Union, Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union, Slovak Workers Society, South Side Social Radical Club (Chicago), Soviet Union Information Bureau, Stelton School (Stelton, N. J.), Students League of New York, Suit Case and Bag Workers Union, The Palm Group (Chicago), Tobacco Workers Industrial Union, Trade Union Unity League, Transportation Workers Industrial League, Ukrainian Women Toilers Association, Ukrainian Workers Clubs, Unemployment Insurance League (Detroit), United Councils of Working Class Women, United Farmers League, United Workers Cooperative Association, Workers Antireligious League, Workers Cultural Federation, Workers Defense Corps, Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, Workers International Relief, Workers Library Publishers, Workers Photo and Film League, Workers School, Workers Theater, Workers Training School, Workingmen's Sick Benefit and Educational Federation, Writers Protest Committee, Young Communist League, Young Defenders, Young Liberators, Young Pioneers, and Zara Educational Club (Youngstown, Ohio).

The 10 principal leaders in the American communist movement are:

Max Bedacht, Alex Bittleman, Earl Browder, J. L. Engdahl, James Ford, William Z. Foster, Sender Garlin, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, F. Stutzman, H. Williams.

Members, alternates, and candidates of the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America include the following:

B. D. Amis, Israel Amter, Phillip Aronberg, Rudolph Baker, John Ballam, Max Bedacht, Fred Beidenkapp, Herbert Benjamin, A. Bimba, Alexander Bittleman, Ella Reeves Bloor, Earl Browder, Anna Damon, Sam D'Arcy, C. Dirba, Robert Dunn, William Dunne, J. Louis Engdahl, J. N. Ford, William Z. Foster, Harry Gannes, Emil Gardos, Hugo Gellert, Harrison George, Ben Gold, ——— Gostrell, Gilbert Green, Abe Harfield, Clarence Hathaway, Leo Hoffbauer, Louis Hyman, Jack Johnstone, Doctor Markoff, Toney Minerich, George Mink, Robert Minor, Doctor Moshevitz, Sam Nessin, M. J. Olgin, N. Pasternak, William Patterson, Jack Perilla, Leon Platt, Juliet S. Poyntz, S. Rapport, John Schmies, V. Smith, Jack Stachel, ——— Sultan, Norman Tallentire, Alex Trachtenberg, Alfred Wagenknecht, ——— Weiner, William Weinstone, George Williams, H. Williams, John Williamson.

Principal communist functionaries operating throughout the United States:

William Albertson, Phil Amron, Israel Amter, Rudolph Baker, Rose Baron, Nathan Bass, Eugene Bechtold, D. E. Bentall, W. G. Binkley, Sylvia Blecker, Sidney Bloomfield, Ella Reeves Bloor, Frank Borich, P. Bozurich, Cyril Briggs (colored), Franklin P. Brill, Carl Brodsky, Joseph Brodsky, W. C. Browder, Phil Burd, Harry Canter, Paul Chapa or Chappa, Peter Chaunt, Paul Cline, J. Cogan or Coogan, Mike Conroy, Jennie Cooper, Rose Cornblath, Joe Dallet, Mike Daniels, Sam Darcy, Sam Don, D. E. Early, H. T. Estas, May Fields, Frank Fisher, Dominick Flaiani, Clemens Forsen, Phil Frankfield, John Fromhals, B. Gannett, Sender Garlin, William Gebert, Si Gerson, L. Gibarth, Olga Gold, Manuel Gomez, Gussie Gordon, David Gorman, Rebecca Grecht, Sarah Gross, Charles Guynn, Carl Hacker, Gertrude Haessler, Otto Hall (colored), Sam Hammersmark, R. Harju, Sol Harper (colored), Ike Hawkins (colored), D. H. Heino, Frank Henderson, Sam Herman, Mary Himoff, Cecil Hope, Robert Hudson, Otto Huiswood (colored), Paul Jackson, Allan Johnson, Tom Johnson, Nat Kaplan, John Kasper, Nels Kjar, T. J. Kurowski, Mrs. Yetta Land, Ludwig Landy, Carlos Lazana, Emanuel Levine, Dora Liftschits, Dave Mates, Y. Mattis, J. McDonald, Richard P. Moore (colored), Tom Myerscough, Herbert Newton alias Gilmer Brady (colored), M. Obermeir, Myra Page, Leon Plott, Joe Potash, George Powers, Harry Powers, Morris Powers, George Primoff, H. Puro, Barbara Rand, Doctor Rasnick, Harry Raymond, Karl Reeves alias Carl Price, William Reis, William Reynolds, S. Riven, Steve Rubicki, A. Rudish, Max Salzman, R. Salzman, Alberto Sanchez, Henry Sazer, William Schneiderman, Marcel Sherer, Joe Shifman, Harriet Silverman, Robert Silvert, Beatrice Siskind, George Siskind, Frank Spector, Leo Stark, Yetta Stromberg, Richard Sullivan, L. Talmie, Pat Toohey, Joe Tashinsky, Mike Tomash, Allan Taub, Sadie Van Veen, William Weiner, F. E. A. Welsh (colored), J. L. Whidden, Anita Whitney, Ed Williams (colored), Harold Williams (colored), Robert Wood, Rose Wortis, Willis Wright, Charles Zack, Robert Zelms.

A few of the communist meeting places and headquarters in various cities are as follows:

Akron, Ohio, 9 West Portges Street; Albany, N. Y., 97½ Hamilton Street; Allentown, Pa., 337 Hamilton Street; Baltimore, Md., 622 West Baltimore Street; Birmingham, Ala., 1524½ North Second Street, 2117½ North Second Street; Boston, Mass., 113 Dudley Street, 184 Marginal Street; Buffalo, N. Y., 86 Clinton Street; Central Falls, R. I., 150 Main Street; Charlotte, N. C., 1304 East Belmont Street; Chattanooga, Tenn., 16½ Main Street; Chicago, Ill., 409 South Halstead Street (Greek headquarters), 1413 West Eighteenth Street, 23 South Lincoln Street, 3335 South State Street (negro headquarters); Cleveland, Ohio, 2046 East Fourth Street; Dayton, Ohio, 108½ East Jefferson Street; Denver, Colo., 1643 Lawrence Street, 1948 Larimore Avenue; Duluth, Minn., 635 West Superior Street; Elizabeth, N. J., 397 De Hart Place; Erie, Pa., 254 East Third Street; Galveston, Tex., 608 Twenty-fourth Street; Gary, Ind., 240 West Fifteenth Avenue; Grand Rapids, Mich., 336 Bond Street; Houston, Tex., 908 Woco Street; Hoboken, N. J., 511 First Street; Indianapolis, Ind., 932½ South Mendean Street; Jersey City, N. J., 337 Henderson Street; Kansas City, Mo., 104 East Eighth Street; Lawrence, Mass., 188 Essex Street; Linden, N. J., Ferna and St. George Streets; Los Angeles, Calif., 2700 Brooklyn Avenue, 341 Wall Street; McKeesport, Pa., 1122 Walnut Street, 1734 Locust Street; Milwaukee, Wis., 551 National Avenue, 1207 North Sixth Street; New Brunswick, N. J., 11 Plum Street; New York City, 35 East Twelfth Street, with 62 branch quarters throughout the city; Omaha, Nebr., 117½ North Sixteenth Street; Passaic N. J., 25 Dayton Avenue; Paterson, N. J., 205 Paterson Street, 50 Ellison Street, 74 Market Street; Perth Amboy, N. J., 308 Elm Street; Philadelphia, Pa., 2802 Kensington Avenue, 929 Arch Street, 39 North Tenth Street; Pittsburgh, Pa., 2157 Center Avenue, 805 James Street; Portland, Oreg., 312 Worcester Building; Providence, R. I., 1775 Westminster Street; Richmond, Va., 1707 East Main Street; Rockford, Ill., 431 West State Street; San Antonio, Tex., 404½ Nebraska Street; San Francisco, Calif., 160 Stewart Street, 14 South Turk Street; Seattle, Wash., 201 Occidental Avenue; Sioux City, Iowa, 508½ Fifth Street; South Bend, Ind., 1216 West Colfax Street; Syracuse, N. Y., Townsend and East Jefferson Streets; Toledo, Ohio, 1217 Delance Street; Trenton, N. J., 20 Second Street; Troy, N. J., 273½ River Street.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CAMPBELL]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, it has not been my habit in the past of taking up much of the time of this body in making speeches, but I feel that the time has come when I should bring to the attention of this Congress and the people some of my views in relation to the affairs of the Nation.

It seems to be without question, as voiced here by many of the speakers of influence in this assembly, that this Nation is in the midst of a crisis such as it has never seen before. I know you men and women here, serving your respective districts, are worried and fearful of the eventual outcome, provided that something is not done.

Radical measures have been proposed in this Congress; radical measures have been passed at this early date in the House and in the Senate and are ready to be approved by the President. If any candidate in 1928 had been running on a platform which advocated the moratorium of foreign debts, or who had advocated the Government support for a $2,000,000,000 loan to the railroads, to the banks, and to the farmers, that candidate would have been easily defeated; but we have sat here watching the trend of events, we have found these propositions submitted to us by a message from our Republican President, to be advocated, espoused, and brought out in the House of Representatives under the name of the Democratic chairman of the committee; but, Mr. Chairman, are these measures of such a nature they will bring back to us the happiness which goes with prosperity which we once enjoyed? Are these measures such as they will permeate out through the whole country until new financial life, confidence, and vigor will be restored? I do not want to be pessimistic, I want to be optimistic. I feel in voting for these measures that they are an assistance, but I do not believe, without additional legislation, that we have found a permanent cure. The whole world is sick in a financial way. Foreign trade has diminished, millions of men walk the street crying for work that they may obtain food. Charity has been taxed to its utmost, farmers are being foreclosed, and families ejected from the homestead, to see their earnings of years going to the mortgagee, who is generally represented by the insurance companies and the loan companies.

Mr. Chairman, is this great civilization to take the backward step? Has the progress of the world been so fast that it has run away with civilization? Have we so mechanized our industries to such an extent that there are too many men for the production of the things of life? Will the time come when it will only be the survival of the fittest? God forbid.

Let me repeat here the piece of fiction that was recited last year by the gentleman from Arkansas, I think it was Mr. PARKS who told of the American soldier dying on the field of battle in a foreign land, and as the red blood ebbed from his side and stained the green grass around him an angel from heaven came to take his spirit to the wonderful land above, and as she approached the earth she saw in his hand a flag, and addressing the youth she said, "What country does that flag represent? I know the emblem of Russia, of England, of France, and of many other countries, but I have never seen that flag before"; and the dying soldier, raising the flag, said, "This is the flag of liberty, of Christianity, of individual opportunity. This flag has never been trampled in the dust or bowed to a foreign foe. This flag represents the country which will live on and on as long as this world shall last."

Mr. Chairman, this story affected me. Of all things in this world for which men die it is their country and their flag. The flag is the representative of the people who live under that flag. It has been the emblem of opportunity, of individuality, of the right to be well born and to receive the benefits of a Nation like ours; but my mind went back to ancient history and I wondered if at one time in the old days of the zenith of the Roman Empire if a dying soldier with a Roman flag in his hand could not have said the same thing and believed what he said was true, but greed and selfishness and dissipation and the love of pleasure followed that great era of Roman prosperity and weakened the national structure and Rome fell, and when we stop to think of the selfishness and the greed that was evidenced by the stock-market boom, together with the exposé within the last few days in relation to foreign loans, especially in Peru, I wonder if our structure is not weakening.

In these legislative halls we should learn these lessons of the past and try to avoid the pitfalls which have ruined other national lives. I am afraid that in the matter of our present legislation we are starting at the top in place of building a good strong foundation.

Out in my country matters are in a deplorable state. The operation of farms, in which I am fairly extensively engaged, have been running at a decided loss. In my county, which had 13 good, substantial banks in 1922 and 1923, there remain of these original institutions only two. The question of the future financing of the farmers of my district will be within the next year a very serious problem. The new banks which have been established are closely guarding their funds. I am not criticizing them for treading as a new child treads when it first starts to walk; they have seen the trials and the disasters which have come to the older institutions. Corn, hogs, and even cattle are now selling far below the cost of production. No industry could survive under these conditions, and if this Nation is ever to prosper the backbone of the Nation—namely, agriculture—must be placed on its feet.

The ultraconservative thinker says that the depression must take its course. The laws of supply and demand must govern, and yet those same men run wildly to support those measures, radical though they may be, which give relief to the larger institutions. Times call for decided action, the time calls for a radical treatment. This advanced civilization must survive, and its survival depends upon you and me.

The records show that over a billion dollars have gone out of circulation, hidden away in the gardens, the cupboards, and the private boxes of the banks, taking from the great credit of our country over a billion dollars of circulating medium. The question comes to us how can this be replaced.

I have heretofore been a bitter opponent of the Federal reserve system. Since coming to Washington this time I have tried to make an exhaustive study of that measure.

I believe now that if I had been in Congress at the time this bill was presented to the House I would have voted for the measure. It was established for the purpose of creating an elastic currency. The ideas of its authors were that in hard times the notes, securities of the member banks could be rediscounted to the Federal reserve banks; that from these rediscounts should be issued new money; that this new money should be based on 40 per cent of gold and 60 per cent credit; that in the good times these debts in the member banks, which were rediscounted, would be paid, the currency would be retracted, but my friends, the policy of the board resulted in an action upside down. The war came on, thousands were borrowed for Liberty bonds for the purpose of operations to carry on the war, farmers bought new improvements in the latest and modern patterns at high prices in order to save the labor which was occasioned by the boys going to war, business was expanded on a monstrous scale in the days of prosperity; then came the depression and the policy of withdrawing the money of the country which should have covered a period of years and which was adopted, however, in a short and strenuous manner. This ruined the efficiency of the Federal reserve system; banks no longer dealt with borrowers after going through the deflation and witnessing the autocratic power of the board of directors of the Federal reserve system. Now, to-day, immediate aid is needed throughout the whole country for the financing of legitimate enterprises; the banks are afraid to make rediscounts. New money is needed and can be produced if we only have the nerve to do so. The Federal reserve bank to-day, as I understand, lacks millions of dollars of issuing currency as provided in the act, on the basis of 60 per cent and 40 per cent gold. Amendments should be made to the act in order to purchase the bonds to be issued to cover the deficiency in the Treasury and issue money on the same, without having fiat money. We have to-day the silver certificates, which are backed by 30 cents worth of silver and 70 cents worth of confidence in our Nation. I claim we can still maintain the gold standard and create more money to go into circulation.

I desire to bring these matters to the attention of the House of Representatives, which is now controlled by the Democrats. Last year, when the Republicans were in control, the members of the opposite party cried loud and long that something should be done; speeches after speeches were made recommending drastic reforms; now that they are in power the country is looking toward them.

This session of Congress must present and pass a bill providing for the stabilization of agriculture. "Oh," you say, "we gave you the Farm Board." I ask you in return who gave us the Farm Board? I know of no farm organization that was clamoring for the farm bill. I believe that we could have had the same kind of a measure under the Coolidge administration. Many middle western Representatives, representing farming districts, pointed out to this House the defects in the measure. I told this House at that time that they were trying to shovel wheat with a tablespoon and pitch hay with a table fork. The farmers wanted a measure whereby they could get the cost of production at least for those products which were sold within the confines of our own country. It was only fair and only square, and I want to say to you men of the East and the industrial centers, you never will rise from the depression in which you now find yourselves unless you develop that great buying power of the thirty millions of people who live on the farms. You can talk about your foreign trade and how much we have lost; it is only a dribble beside what you are losing day in and day out by the curtailed buying power of the American farmer, for there is where to start the foundation.

It seems like some of the eastern Representatives have seen the light and are joining with those of the Middle Western States in order to bring this about.

This, in my mind, calls for an emergency act, as it did during the war.

I would like to know the character of the measure that will be brought out by the Democratic committee under the leadership of the chairman, Mr. JONES, of Texas, in relation to amendments to the farm marketing act. I would like to know what action has been taken, if any, in relation to the Burtness and Ramseyer bills in regard to the stabilization of the currency in the Banking Committee, controlled by the Democrats. The responsibility lies over on their side, and if they bring out those measures I am sure they will be backed by a great number of Republicans. This is no time for party politics or party advantage. Our country comes before any party, and sad, indeed, will be the day when party leaders do not realize that fact. This playing for party advantage has no place in my make-up. If a measure is presented here, either a Democratic or Republican authorship, which I believe is right, I shall support either with the same vigor. It might be well at this time for every Representative to reread the Farewell Address of Washington on the question of party and party alignment. It inspires any man to independent action and freedom from party control. I hope that the Democratic majority will be democratic enough to get away from the old binding-caucus system which they have used in the past, and which was exemplified by the first rule that was brought out in this Congress on the adoption of the rules of this House, where the will of the majority was choked by a unanimous vote on the previous question on the Democratic side. I believe that this Congress should get away from such practices, to be free, independent Representatives. It was, indeed, a disappointment to me when several days were used here in debating the President's message, and, although it embodied many fine suggestions, not one Democrat raised his voice in praise of the message, although in a few weeks those measures were brought out under a Democratic name in this House, supported by the Democratic leadership. It is true that the message did not, as far as I am concerned, go far enough. It ought to have declared an emergency in agriculture, to outline a plan for the stabilization of the industry.

I realize that we can not all think alike. I suppose that environment plays a part; I suppose that men who have never seen the bread lines and people evicted from their homes can not realize the awfulness of the situation. Some people were born with golden spoons in their mouths; their vacations have been spent in Europe, traveling among the rich and the wealthy, associating night after night and day after day with those who have never come in contact with poverty and want. I do not know if they are to be blamed for a failure to see the position of the common people. If any one of them could have been with me last summer as I spent days, as well as nights, in the homes of honest, hard-working, loyal farmers, who, through no fault of their own, are being deprived of their property, who are in the middle span of life with little hopes for the future, whose enjoyment of the things of life which an American citizen should have they are soon to be deprived, then, sir, he, like I, would feel that something which might be termed radical must be done.

As I have said before, there is a large deficit in the United States Treasury. Many of my constituents have written to me to assist in cutting the cost of Government; they have suggested the abolishment of some bureaus, the reduction of the forces, as well as cutting the pay of the Government employees. It is true that certain bureaus have branched out in unnecessary lines of work. In the time of postal deficits bulletins of every nature and kind are being franked all over the country. One constituent called my attention to the fact that one department was sending out pamphlets stating that fuel wood is in greatest demand in the winter, and that it saves buying its equivalent in other fuels; bulletins are issued giving the survey of the condensed-milk industry, and thousands of other of like kinds. Some have gone into the advertising business, furnishing plans for buildings of every kind. I do believe that a lot of this work should be curtailed with a great saving to the country.

I introduced an amendment on the floor of the House this week providing for the cutting of expenses but to no avail. I believe, however, that there will be a concentrated action on some of the larger appropriation bills. In regard to the pay of employees, I wish to say that I do not favor a

reduction of those who only get a living wage. I believe in the American standard of living. I would support a graduated scale increasing the reduction as the salary increases. I know that I need the money as well as anyone, but I am willing that my own salary should be reduced for the sake of reducing the cost of Government. This bill, no doubt, will be voted on this week or the first of next week.

I have recently listened to the evidence introduced in the Ways and Means Committee on the question of taxation. I am opposed to the sales tax, which goes into every home, and to the check and note stamp tax. I feel that during times like these the rich should assume the greater portion of the taxation, those who are able to pay. There are in this country close to 500 men who have incomes of over a million dollars a year; there are some 20 men who have incomes of over five million a year. The records show that these were largely accumulated during the war period, and the prosperous industrial period following the war.

In making this statement to a certain Congressman, he asked me the question, "Where do you find these millionaires that these times have affected them as well as the men of little means?" It is true that it has affected them to a certain extent, but I still believe that Henry Ford and his son, Edsel are still operating at a profit, that J. P. Morgan is not busted, that Andrew Mellon's tax could be increased without jeopardizing his health in the way of living, that John J. Raskob can continue to loan his money to the Democratic Party and pay a high income tax, and I could go down the list and give the names of many of such men who are well known to the general public.

Surely these men can far better assume heavy taxes than to have the same fall upon the poorer people, the consumer and the wage earner and the farmers.

Government appropriations are largely derived from the income tax, inheritance tax, tariff, and the tobacco tax; however, this does not call for excessive expenditures. Part of that tax is bound to drift back to the consumer, but I do believe when men receive incomes of over a million a year that in times like these they must be heavily taxed.

Now, on the question of employment there has been a call by a good many people for the strict reduction of all Government employees. We must look at this in a broad light. With millions of men out of employment, the discharge of further employees only serves to increase the number. Private charity is working desperately to feed the poor and the hungry; committees have come here from large cities, saying that it was impossible to take care of all of these by virtue of charity. You and I are not going to let the American citizens, men, women, and children, starve in a country filled with food and clothing and the richest in all the world. If there was a method to provide employment, I would far rather see men working on Government buildings, reforestation, rivers, and the like, earning their bread and butter, in place of being the objects of charity. If you crowd your poorhouses, it only means additional taxes on the owners of the home and the property. This is one of the serious problems confronting us, and it is one of the problems yet to be solved.

I wish to quote again what the President of the United States said when he was Secretary of Commerce:

> There is no economic failure so terrible in its import as that of a country possessing a surplus of every necessity of life in which numbers, willing and anxious to work, are deprived of these necessities. It simply can not be if our moral and economic system is to survive.
>
> What our people wish is the opportunity to earn their daily bread, and surely in a country with its warehouses bursting with surpluses of food, of clothing, with its mines capable of indefinite production of fuel, with sufficient housing for comfort and health, we possess the intelligence to find solution. Without it our whole system is open to serious charges of failure.

I call your attention to the last paragraph, where he says, "Without it our whole system is open to serious charges of failure." I do not believe that the American people are going to fail. I have faith in my country and in my countrymen.

This session has brought about many good reforms. I believe that the $2,000,000,000 corporation, with General Dawes at its head, will be a great help to the country at large. I think the conference to-day have agreed upon the amendment in relation to assistance to closed banks and the furnishing of money to those which are in financial straits, due to the fact that although their paper is good it is not collectible at this time, or there would be occasioned undue hardship by virtue of such collections.

The bill that passed to assist the Federal land banks should help some, and I am to-day introducing a bill, at the suggestion of one of my constituents, relative to the payment of the indebtedness of joint-stock land banks by the delivery of bonds of the bank. This ought to help the bondholders, as well as the men who owe the loans.

I know that many people say that you can not bring back prosperity by legislation. I would say, in answer to that, legislation is the only thing that can bring back prosperity, and I feel that it will be eventually done, but it must be done at once.

So in closing I appeal to both my Republican and Democratic friends here in this House to forget party politics and for all of us to put our shoulders to the wheel and wrest this Nation out of the morass of its troubles and sorrows. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, that concludes general debate on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the bill for amendment.

The Clerk read the first paragraph of the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. McCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6172) entitled "An act to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 12. Concurrent resolution relative to the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill and joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1280. An act for the relief of National Ben Franklin Fire Insurance Co.; and

S. J. Res. 48. Joint resolution to authorize the acceptance on behalf of the United States of the bequest of the late William F. Edgar, of Los Angeles County, State of California, for the benefit of the museum and library connected with the office of the Surgeon General of the United States Army.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I present a conference report on the bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. LAMBETH, for Friday and Saturday, January 22 and 23, on account of very important business.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by incorporating a

speech made by former Senator James A. Reed at Springfield, Mo., on January 8.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to say to my friend from Missouri that he will find that the speech of Senator Reed at the Jackson Day dinner was put in yesterday's RECORD on the Senate side, and I do not think the gentleman would want it in the RECORD twice.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of that fact.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri can determine that for himself.

Mr. BLANTON. As the speech was printed yesterday in the Senate proceedings and appears at page 2317, inserted by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], I imagine the gentleman from Missouri would not desire to have it printed again in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

HAVE FAITH IN AMERICA

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by incorporating therein a speech made by Representative HAMILTON FISH, Jr., on Sunday, January 17, in New York City, on the subject "Have Faith in America."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, the speech of Representative HAMILTON FISH, Jr. at the anticommunist mass meeting, grand ballroom, Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, N. Y., Sunday January 17, 1932, at 10.15 p. m. is as follows:

(Over station WEAF, National Broadcasting System)

Fellow Americans, at the outset of my remarks I desire to take the opportunity to read a letter which I have just received from Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor:

JANUARY 15, 1932.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH, Jr.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Please convey my best wishes to the mass meeting on the 17th, and state for me that the American Federation of Labor stands ready to combat the spread of communism in the United States by every legitimate means at its disposal.

There must be no compromise with the revolutionary activities of the communists directed from Moscow against our civil liberties, freedom of speech and of the press, and our republican form of government.

There is no room in the United States for any dictatorship, whether by the right or the left.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM GREEN.

There are not many in this vast audience who have had any contact whatever with communists, and know little or nothing about them except what they have read in the newspapers. For the past 14 years the American Federation of Labor has been fighting against the spread of communism in this country, and has succeeded finally in keeping the communists out of their own ranks.

If the communists had succeeded in taking over control of the American Federation of Labor, which they almost did in Los Angeles and Chicago, communism would be to-day a very serious menace to our industries throughout the United States, and even to our republican form of government.

I believe in giving credit where credit is due. The American Federation of Labor, which has been fighting communism in the front-line trenches for these many years past, has done more than any other organization to prevent its spread in the industrial life of our country, and for that reason is entitled to the commendation of all loyal American citizens.

It is an honor and a pleasure to attend this splendid mass meeting and join with you in your efforts to combat communist propaganda and its vicious activities, and at the same time uphold those American ideals and principles of government handed down to us by our forefathers who sacrificed everything to make the United States a free and independent nation.

I believe the best way to combat the spread of communism in this country is by explaining to the American people the principles and purposes of the communists in the United States, because I am confident that once they know the facts that communism can not make much headway among our free people.

However, on this the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, which the American people will celebrate throughout the year, it seems to me to be highly proper to reaffirm our faith in our free institutions and uphold our republican form of government from the attacks of communists, facists, and all those misguided people advocating some foreign form of dictatorship in the United States.

You have heard Representative ESLICK, of Tennessee, that able and courageous representative of the democracy of the South, demand protection for free American labor from the products of forced labor in Soviet Russia, including wheat, oil, lumber, and cotton, which has already practically destroyed the world markets for our most important exports and helped to cause a serious depression in the price of these vital commodities.

Lenin was right when he said that American capitalists will commit suicide for temporary profit. That is exactly what some of our capitalists have done by extending loans and credit to Soviet Russia to obtain tractors, combines, sawmill machinery, and oil equipment to help destroy our foreign markets in our most valuable exports, and build up the 5-year plan, aimed to ruin our own economic system. I predict, if the Soviet Government remains in power a few more years, that it will mean an annual loss to American producers of wheat, oil, lumber, and cotton of a billion dollars, which will affect the standard of wages and of living of all the American people.

You have heard my distinguished and able colleague in Congress, Representative CARL BACHMANN, explain the need for rigid legislation to exclude and deport alien communists from the United States. If the alien communists in the United States, who have come here of their own free will and accord to enjoy the equal opportunities and protection of our laws, do not like our country and its free institutions, let them go back to their native lands, where they can enjoy the low standard of wages, lack of freedom of speech, and oppressive laws which they are accustomed to. If they will not depart or cease their revolutionary propaganda, then it is the duty of Congress, and that is exactly what Representative BACHMANN'S bill proposes, to deport these alien communists. They do not fear our police, our courts, or our jails, but they do fear deportation, and that is the most effective weapon against the kind of warfare the communists are waging against the Government of the United States.

The committee appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate communist activities in the United States, of which I had the honor to be the chairman, reached the conclusion, after extensive study, that there were between five and six hundred thousand communists in the United States, of which two-thirds were aliens. The communists admit openly that they take their orders direct from Moscow, and are apparently proud of it. In other words, the Communist Party is not in reality an American political party but a section of the Communist International at Moscow, aimed at the heart of our Government and at the life, liberty, and happiness of our people.

It openly advocates replacing the American flag by the red flag, and the overthrow of our republican form of government by force and violence. The Communist Party, or movement, in the United States is largely an alien conspiracy in our midst, having certain definite aims and purposes which can be defined as destruction of all religious beliefs, of private property, and inheritance, of promoting class hatred and spreading revolutionary propaganda through the Communist International to incite strikes, riots, sabotage, and industrial unrest, and, lastly, to bring about a class or civil war, aimed to overthrow our republican form of government by force and violence and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat or soviet form of government, with the world capital at Moscow.

The Federal Government, through the Department of Justice, should be given power to investigate and keep in contact with the revolutionary activities of the communists, as a precautionary measure to guard against this alien conspiracy of hate and destruction that permeates all sections of our country, and is well organized and supported by iron discipline.

I have introduced a bill (H. R. 5659) authorizing the Department of Justice to investigate revolutionary propaganda and communist activities in the United States. I am convinced that this authority should rest with the Department of Justice, which should act as a clearing house for all communist information and of all groups and individuals that urge the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

It is often overlooked that the Federal Constitution guarantees to every State a republican form of government. My bill does not restore the espionage act, permitting raids or arrests by the Department of Justice agents, but merely empowers the Bureau of Investigation to investigate and keep in constant touch with the propaganda and activities of the communists in the United States, and to cooperate with various Government, State, and municipal authorities and be in a position to receive and give information to American citizens, groups, or organizations interested in this work.

No executive department of the Government now has any power to investigate or even receive information concerning the activities of the enemies of our Government from within, aimed to destroy our homes, our religion, our livelihood, and our Government.

The bill which I have introduced might be well amended and strengthened, but it should be enacted into law at an early date, and to do so will require the active and earnest support of all patriotic and civic organizations.

Although I am no alarmist and do not anticipate any revolution in this country this year or next year from communist sources, I do believe that their seditious activities and those of all our enemies from within are more serious to the welfare of our people and the maintenance of our republican form of government than that of all our possible enemies from without, against whom we appropriate for naval and military defense over $500,000,000 a year.

The American people are not looking for false remedies in the midst of their troubles; even in the midst of the worst depression in the history of our country, with over 5,000,000 unemployed, and other millions on part time, the American people have faith in our own institutions and do not propose to substitute socialism or communism, both of which are of foreign growth, for free Ameri-

can individualism that has led the world in the well-being, prosperity, high standards of wages and living of the working class, and has made the American worker a home and garage owner and a capitalist.

We are still the richest nation on earth and have an overabundance of foodstuffs, oil, coal, and lumber. We do not propose to permit any American citizen to starve or freeze during this period of world-wide depression. Every citizen has a clear-cut duty to give according to his means and to give until it hurts, if necessary, to relieve distress and starvation among our own people.

We must destroy the fear of insecurity by serving notice definitely and conclusively, no matter what the cost may be, that an ample supply of foodstuffs will be furnished all unemployed American wage earners and their families in this emergency. I am opposed to the unemployment or financial dole, which tends to destroy individual incentive, which has been the main cause of the wonderful development of the United States, but if private charity is not enough to feed our people it is clearly the duty of the Federal Government to furnish as much of the wheat it owns under the Farm Board as may be required, to be processed into flour and distributed by the American Red Cross. Failure of the Federal Government in this crisis not to exert its utmost efforts to relieve the suffering and misery would be a fatal indictment against the administration at Washington and even against our republican form of government.

I am exceedingly proud of the American people; in their affliction they have steadfastly refused to join in any riots and revolutionary propaganda or activities. Their hearts and minds are loyal to our free institutions, to our Government, and to the American flag. I am hopeful that when we emerge from this depression, as emerge we will within the next year, that it will be to greater opportunities and a better division of wealth for the great mass of our American people and to a brighter and happier future. Out of our great affliction must come benefits to the American people, and prosperity when restored must be passed around to a greater degree. The common people, the folks back home, the millions of American wage earners must reap the rewards of loyalty, faith, and patriotism in the new economic and social order that will come out of our afflictions. Our industrial capitalism must clean its own house and divest itself of some of its manifestations of greed and avarice.

International bankers must not be allowed, for sake of greed and profits, to invest billions of the savings of hard working, industrious American citizens in worthless foreign securities, without some protection. I refuse to indict all international bankers, as there are old and well-established banking houses, such as J. P. Morgan & Co., with experience and traditions, but there should be a law against banks forming their own security affiliates and floating all kinds of securities, and particularly international bonds, instead of confining their activities to legitimate banking business.

The American people are only in the morning of their glorious destiny. We are endowed with every natural resource to make for a greater and richer Nation. We should meet this depression and the threat of communism with the resolve to unite all of our efforts to restore prosperity in the United States, and make our people the most contented and the most enlightened on the face of the earth.

Let us have faith in America, and in the capacity, intelligence, and patriotism of our people and our Government to solve all our economic problems as they have in the past, for the best interests and welfare of the American people. Let us have faith in ourselves and in our democratic institutions. For the past 50 years our wage earners have been the best paid, the best housed, the best fed, the best clothed, and the most contented in the world. The Congress and the various State legislatures for many years have been correcting abuses that have crept in our economic system by enactment of laws governing the conditions and hours of labor, passing employers' liability laws and now providing old-age pensions. Civilization is confronted with the solution of economic problems far more serious than at any time since we obtained our independence as a Nation. I whole-heartedly commend the declaration of the Pope in behalf of social and industrial justice and in favor of a more equitable distribution of wealth. It is our manifest duty to see that industrial justice and human rights prevail in these United States. If our country is worth dying for in time of war, it must be worth living for in time of peace.

When the Declaration of Independence was written by Thomas Jefferson there were few, if any, republics in the world. Rule by the divine right of kings was the accepted form of government. A representative system of government, based on the consent of the governed, was a new departure and regarded as revolutionary. Even when Lincoln made his immortal Gettysburg speech, that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth, there were still few republics in the world. Since then monarchies have been toppling over right and left, and republics have come into being based on our principles of government.

Nevertheless, communists, socialists, pink intellectuals, radical college professors, and a smattering of Protestant ministers have combined to denounce our economic system as being antiquated and loaded down with abuses and evils, and that our Government is corrupt and democracy a failure. These visionaries, without any experience in business or government, find everything wrong in America and everything beautiful in Soviet Russia, or in some form of temporary foreign dictatorship.

Let us rededicate ourselves to the proposition that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth. Let us reaffirm our belief in our republican form of government, because it is the soundest, fairest, most honorable, and best form of government ever devised by the mind of man. Let us cherish it and defend it against all of our enemies both from within and without and serve notice that we do not propose to substitute communism, socialism, or fascism for our republican form of government—which is the best on earth.

(Speech of Representative HAMILTON FISH Jr., over Columbia Broadcasting System, at New York, immediately following previous speech and from same location)

You have just heard from my distinguished colleagues in Congress, and other well-known speakers, on the dangers of communism in the United States and the best methods of combating its spread among the American people. I shall not take up in these few minutes a further discussion of the aims and purposes of the communists but will take this opportunity to present an economic plan for the purpose of passing prosperity around among the great mass of American people when we emerge, as emerge we will, within the next year, from the present deplorable depression.

The plan I propose is to provide for a square deal for American labor, organized and unorganized, and give the millions of American wage earners a bigger share in the profits of their labor and thereby destroy any possible appeal of communist and socialist propaganda in the United States or even argument for Government ownership.

Lincoln was right when he enunciated that doctrine that "Labor is prior to capital." In our present great affliction there are 5,000,000 unemployed and many more millions on part time. Billions of the savings of our thrifty working people have been literally swallowed up in foreign bonds and bad investments, on the advice of international bankers.

Yet, in spite of this affliction, which has brought poverty, hardships, and misery to millions of Americans, there still remain loyalty and faith in the hearts and minds of our people toward our free institutions, Government, and the American flag. They have not joined in with the communists or other ultraradicals to tear down our economic structure and republican form of government. The Nation owes them an eternal debt of gratitude for their deep-rooted faith in our institutions, which are being attacked on all sides.

In the days of prosperity the workingman gets higher wages, but the cost of living goes up at the same time, so he is unable to put much aside for the proverbial "rainy day." I am opposed to communism, socialism, Fascism, and government ownership, but am convinced that the American people, under the continuation of our existing economic system are entitled to greater rewards and a bigger share in the fruits of their labor; at present too much goes to the stockholders of our large corporations, often to increase already swollen fortunes.

My plan is to license, through the Department of Commerce, all corporations having a million dollars paid-up capital and doing interstate business, and not permit the payment of dividends in excess of 10 per cent to the stockholders in any one year, and that all payments beyond 10 per cent must be divided among the employees according to their compensation and the stockholders. Payments for sickness, injury, unemployment, life, and old-age funds might well be deducted from the share set aside for the employees. In addition no bonus shall be permitted to any executive officers.

My proposal might require a constitutional amendment; but if it is fair, right, and just, then it should be adopted.

It may sound at first to be radical, but it has the approval of many fair-minded conservatives, who have conceded its merits and believe that it is worth careful consideration.

This proposal is an answer to communism and the 5-year program of Government ownership in Soviet Russia; it seeks to preserve that individual incentive under our economic system that has made for the wonderful development of our country, and at the same time bring about a fairer and more equitable distribution of wealth and eliminate the seeds of class hatred and revolution that spring up as a result of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few.

This plan can probably be put into effect by State enactment on the same principle as the workmen's compensation act. It might prove desirable if some State government in an industrial State should try this experiment out first.

It would be helpful if the radio audience would send me any suggestions that they may have toward shaping this new economic policy, aimed to pass prosperity around among the American people.

I am submitting this proposal in good faith and ask for serious consideration of it on its merits or demerits. If it develops that it is unsound, demagogic, un-American, or against the public welfare, I shall not urge further consideration. We must remember, however, that capitalism is now being confronted with a real test of its benefits and virtues and we who uphold it can not afford to hide our heads any longer in the sands of depression and not try before it is too late to restore confidence in it by abolishing some of its well-known evils and abuses.

THE TARIFF

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, on January 9 I extended some remarks concerning the tariff question, which was before the House at that time. There were some data which I had asked the Department of Commerce to furnish and which I intended to include in those remarks. Since then I have received that information, and I ask unanimous consent to extend further my remarks by inserting a letter which I received from the Acting Chief of the Division of Economic Research on the ratio of domestic and foreign commerce.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to extend further his remarks as indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE,
Washington, January 12, 1932.

Hon. JESSE P. WOLCOTT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In accordance with your request, I am submitting herewith a brief statement relating to the quantity and value comparisons for the export trade of the United States during the fiscal year 1930–31 compared with the fiscal year 1929–30.

"The value of United States exports in the fiscal year 1930–31 declined by 34 per cent from the fiscal year 1929–30, but when allowance is made for price changes the quantity decline is estimated to have amounted to 22 per cent. This decline appears to have been not much greater than the decline in our domestic trade, as reflected by the Federal Reserve Board's index of manufacturing production, which fell off 21 per cent in this period. The index of industrial production as a whole declined 20 per cent, while freight car loadings declined 18 per cent.

"During the period from July to December, 1931, the value of exports declined (with December estimated) 37 per cent from July to December, 1930, but when allowance is made for price changes the quantity of exports is estimated to have declined 17 per cent. This compares with a decline of 20 per cent in freight car loadings during the same period, and of 14 per cent in industrial production."

Cordially yours,

J. FREDERIC DEWHURST,
Acting Chief Division of Economic Research.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BRAND of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a brief petition to Congress with reference to the prohibition question.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that those petitions have uniformly been objected to, I shall have to object to this request.

BANKING SYSTEMS AND CREDITS

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and the remarks of Governor Murray before the Ways and Means Committee on banking systems and credits.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his own remarks and the remarks of Governor Murray, of Oklahoma, before the Ways and Means Committee. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by myself and Gov. William H. Murray, of Oklahoma, before the Ways and Means Committee of the House.

The statements are as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. TOM D. M'KEOWN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in going over the present situation with a view to arriving at some means that would be quick and effective, and, at the same time, not dangerous inflation policy, I consulted with Governor Murray last fall and he called my attention to a bill that he had introduced in the Sixty-fourth Congress, which bill has for its purpose the restoration in this country of what is known as the Scottish banking system.

The bill H. R. 4614 is as follows:

"A bill to amend the act of February 8, 1875, entitled 'An act levying a tax of 10 per cent per annum on every person, firm, association, other than national bank associations, and every corporation, State bank, or State banking association on the amount of their own notes used for circulation and paid out by them'

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the act of February 8, 1875, entitled 'An act levying a tax of 10 per cent per annum on every person, firm, association, other than national bank associations, and every corporation, State bank, or State banking association on the amount of their own notes used for circulation and paid out by them,' be, and the same is hereby, amended to read, as follows:

"'That every person, firm, association, other than national bank associations, and every corporation, State bank, or State banking association shall pay a tax of 10 per cent per annum on the amount of their own notes used for circulation and paid out by them: *Provided*, That any State by legislative enactment may authorize any person, firm, association, or any corporation, State bank, or State banking association, to issue such notes for circulation: *Provided further*, That such notes do not exceed the capital stock of such person, firm, association, corporation, State bank, or State banking association, and that all the assets of such person, firm, association, corporation, State bank, or State banking association shall be liable for the redemption of such notes issued for circulation: *Provided further*, That an amount of gold shall be held in reserve for the redemption of such notes equal to $1 for every $3 of such notes so issued; or any State by legislative enactment may authorize such notes for circulation by any person, firm, association, corporation, State bank, or State banking association, upon State, county, township, or municipal bonds or bonds lawfully issued by legally organized drainage or irrigation districts, or associations, not to exceed 75 per cent of the par value of such bonds: *Provided further*, That 15 per cent in gold of the face value of such notes for circulation shall be held and maintained in reserve at all times for the redemption of such notes; or any State by legislative enactment may authorize such notes for circulation by any person, firm, association, corporation, State bank, or State banking association upon any staple product of the farm, field, or mine when the same shall have been fully insured against fire or deterioration in value or loss: *Provided further*, That there is held and maintained in reserve at all times 15 per cent in gold of the face value of such notes for redemption of the same, and that such notes as herein authorized shall be exempt from all taxes and penalties otherwise prescribed by the act of February 8, 1875.'"

Mr. McKEOWN. Prior to 1875, the date of the passage of this tax which we seek to repeal, there were in this country a number of what we might term Scottish banks. The difference between the Scottish banking system and the existing system, as I understand it—it will be explained by the governor—is that the Scottish banking system does not require somebody to get in debt in order to issue money.

The Federal reserve bank system, as you know, now issues its currency upon obligations, very necessary in the commercial life of the Nation.

Now, Governor Murray has made a long and careful study of this situation, and I introduced into this Congress the identical resolution introduced by him in the Sixty-fourth Congress, with the hope that we could bring it to the attention of this great committee, whose every endeavor at this time is to help in every way possible, just as every Congressman is trying to do, to restore the confidence of the people in the banking institutions and to restore easier currency, safe currency, to be circulated as a circulating medium in this country.

Now it gives me very great pleasure to introduce to you Gov. William H. Murray, of Oklahoma.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY, GOVERNOR OF OKLAHOMA

Governor MURRAY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to sit down.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all right, Governor.

Governor MURRAY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, it is well to begin with fundamentals. To get at credits, money, and banking we must begin at the making of the Constitution of the United States. All of our authority is derived from that instrument.

It will be recalled that in the Constitution of the United States there are certain powers expressly and exclusively delegated to the Federal Government, and that certain powers are prohibited to be exercised by the Federal Government. Then there are others prohibited against the States, and still others against both the Federal Government and the States.

It will be observed that the Constitution says that "Congress shall have power to coin money." Note that it uses the word "coin" and not "issue," as many seem to think. The word "coin" has a specific meaning.

Then it provides that "no State can emit bills of credit, or make anything in payment of debts, except gold and silver." We might stop here and ask a question: Since "coin" is not denied the States, and since the States had the original power, and since the adoption of the Constitutional Convention as recommended at a meeting of merchants at Annapolis prior thereto, grew out of the issue of bills of credit, or paper money, by the States, could not the States coin silver and gold bullion, just so they do not duplicate or counterfeit the Federal coin, and make it under the Constitution legal tender?

I ask that question as suggestive, in view of the fact that they (the States) are not denied anything except to issue bills of credit.

Also, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution there was in vogue the Scotch banking system. It is clear this system was indirectly approved by the makers of the United States Constitution. Later on there was adopted the central system of England, which was called the "United States Bank," later destroyed by Andrew Jackson.

Since the organization of the Government, down to 1875, there were Scotch banks, particularly in the Southern States, and, in fact, in many portions of the country. Since February 8, 1875, none of these banks have existed. From the time of Andrew Jackson down to the Civil War and the enactment of the banking law which the regional reserve act repealed, we had exclusively the Scotch system.

I recite that because—it is nothing new—there are two banking systems in the world; the Scotch bank, which is nearly 300 years old, and the Central Bank of England. Each has its peculiar merits. Each is in vogue in the British Empire.

The Central Bank of England is essentially the regional reserve, with but two exceptions—they have 1 bank, and we have 12. That is immaterial. The whole banking power is in the board. But the material portion is that England does not allow a banker on the board one-third being producers, one-third manufacturers, and one-third importers and exporters, while we for the most part have speculators and international bankers, who too often dictate peace and war.

The principle of the control of credits and money should not be left to the speculators in money, because the speculators dealing with stocks that go up and down and produce loss or profit, never produce anything of wealth or value for the country. The control of credits and banking should be in the hands of the users of money who either produce or develop. In my opinion, one-fourth ought to be producers, one-fourth manufacturers, one-fourth representatives of transportation, and one-fourth marketing, or importers or exporters. It is true that our law provided that the board shall "fairly represent the industrial, agricultural, and financial interests" of the country, but that does not so exist.

Now, briefly, let me analyze the difference. The Central Bank of England issues its notes upon some indebtedness, just as our regional reserve—upon "commercial paper."

As you know, you get a rediscount upon some note given to some bank, that we call a "commercial note," and, therefore, the borrowing is based on the principle that there must be a debt created before there can issue a bank note.

There have always existed two views as to what should be the basis of credit, bank credit; one to base it upon debt, public or private, and that is particularly true of the regional reserve, following the principle of the Central Bank of England, and the other to base it upon some product possessing value. If you will pardon me, I shall give you a personal example.

In 1918 I had sold some property to pay my debts. Then, desiring to pay cash—and I am using this merely to illustrate what I mean—I went to the bank and asked to borrow $5,000. I was told, "We can let you have it provided you will give us a commercial note."

The banker gave me a slip to fill out, which recited that the applicant for the loan owned 1,400 acres of land, 1,100 acres in cultivation, well improved, with 30 tenant houses, and owned a small house in town with a block of land, and certain machinery and stock. The only debt would be this loan of $5,000.

The loan was made, and that money, as will readily be seen, was circulated in the community. The Farmers National Bank of Tishomingo rediscounted the note at the regional reserve at Dallas for $3,000, and that also was loaned in the community. That made $8,000 by reason of that loan. There were possibly 50 men in that county of 20,000 people who could make a like commercial note. Multiplying 8,000 by 50 would make 400,000; and by multiplying 400,000 by every group of 20,000 people in the South and West, you have approximately the amount of circulation existing then that does not exist to-day, because, beginning about the spring of 1920, such loans were denied by the banking board. They sought to make loans and rediscounts only on pure commercial paper, and that will give you an idea of the difference of the circulation in the South and West then and the circulation to-day.

That control of credit, taking even away from the local bank and the directors of the local bank the authority to judge of the policy of the loan, is, in my opinion, the cause of the present economic difficulty. When the bank in my State would ask, "Upon what shall we loan?" the bank examiner would reply, "On stocks," on the stock exchange, which meant pure speculation, when, as a matter of truth, credit should be extended to the producer, manufacturer, and all those who produce and develop, and no effort should be made to promote speculation until these classes that produce and develop are supplied.

Now, the Central Bank of England has this virtue—it lends itself to branch banking, it lends itself to quick movements of money. It is ideal for commercial business; is particularly beneficial when you develop a foreign trade, now so necessary to our economic well-being.

We had no branch banks abroad until we adopted the regional reserve. In Buenos Aires there is a branch bank known as the First National Bank of Boston, larger than the mother bank. They own the largest building now in South America, a real skyscraper, and that arrangement has facilitated the export and import business with Argentina. From that standpoint it is very beneficial, but it centralizes credits and control of money.

On the other hand, the Scotch system is decentralizing; it never requires a prior indebtedness, public or private, and in order to issue a bank note, instead of basing its bills of credit, or bank notes, upon some other man's indebtedness, it is based upon some product of value.

To illustrate, one of the banks of the South, prior to the Civil War, for the purpose of facilitating the movement of cotton, provided that any man who had a warehouse receipt for cotton stored and insured could go to the bank and have it discounted to the amount of 75 per cent of the value of the product. That money which was loaned to him was secured by the product, the cotton, plus the stock, plus a gold reserve. The regional reserve acts on the principle of having security of a commercial note, some other man's indebtedness, plus the stock, plus a gold reserve.

Under that Scotch system, again, the law provides that all loans bear a regular rate of interest, but for the purpose of marketing a crop of cotton the rate should not exceed 4 per cent for short loans and 3 per cent per annum. That enabled the marketing of the crop through the year, and consequently secured a better price and prevented dumping on the market, and that note could be had by the farmer who grew the cotton, by a merchant who owned it, or by the man who bought and sold cotton if he desired. It required no intervention of a third bank or a third party for such credit. Hence bank failures seldom occurred.

England has the Central Bank to tie up products to the mother country in the various provinces and colonies, but each and all of them have the Scotch system as a butting system; otherwise they would be drained dry just as this law will drain our agricultural and producing sections dry, even though administered as it was intended to be administered. It can readily be seen that where there is an excess of commercial paper there is an abundance of Federal reserve notes. Where they are scarce they do not get the regional reserve circulation; and in the South and West they are nil.

Permit me to go back and give a bit of history.

Under the Hamilton fiscal policy, which, of course, was sound, the difference and disagreement growing up between him and Madison and Albert Gallatin was in the use of that fiscal system. Hamilton using it for the speculative world just as it is used now. Months before it was announced to the world it was tipped off to the speculators, who went into the West and bought up the scrip of the Revolutionary soldiers at from 10 to 15 cents on the dollar. Even a Congressman sent two shiploads of men to buy the scrip, and then, as it was announced to the world, Hamilton had raised it to par. When the division came as to the use of the system for the holder of the scrip, the speculators, 29 Members who had voted for the speculative side out of 64 Members of Congress, were in the deal. Jefferson called them the "corrupt squadron," and they all grew rich out of this speculation at the expense of the people and the Revolutionary soldiers who had won our independence.

Then followed the United States Bank, and that was destroyed, as you know, by Jackson, the Scotch system being still in existence, continuing on to the Civil War. During the Civil War bonds were issued to carry on the war. It will be recalled that these bonds were hammered down with a discount of 47 per cent. When the speculators had bought the bonds at a discount of 47 per cent, they then beseeched Congress to restore the credit, and, of course, there is no wrong in that; so, in order to bring about the credit of the country and the bonds to par, they created a banking system, the one repealed by the regional reserve, which provided, I believe, originally, that 15 per cent of the bank stock must be invested in United States bonds. To compensate the banker an amount of 85 per cent of the par value of the bonds might be issued in bank notes. That was done to give a market for those bonds. The holders of the bonds, the speculators, offered them at par and the banks were obliged to buy them.

There were existing throughout the country the Scotch banks. The people said, "No; we do not want a money based upon a bond that we have seen discounted at 47 per cent," and they held onto the Scotch charters. Then on February 8, 1875, Congress put this 10 per cent tax on the Scotch banks, and drove them out of existence.

At that time there was a Mississippi bank, a Georgia bank, a Missouri bank, the Ohio bank, the Suffolk bank, which were noted Scotch banks of great capital. Many hundreds of others existed in the country; but these were the notable Scotch banks, and they were driven out of existence. Consequently that forced the organization of national banks, and as the bonds began to be paid the base upon which all the banks had to operate—that is, on public debt—grew so narrow that in 1889—and I recall this distinctly—a bank organized in Freestone County, Tex., was obliged to pay $2,800 premium on the bonds to organize a $25,000 bank, notwithstanding the profit of 47 per cent.

It will readily be seen that no bank could have been organized if the country had been out of debt, founded as they were directly upon public debt, just as the regional reserve is founded upon private debt—as though debt is a virtue instead of a curse, both public and private.

So we come down to Cleveland's time. They caught an empty Treasury, made a raid on the gold reserve, threatened the credit of the country, and endangered foreign commerce. It will be recalled that, according to the newspapers at the time, Mr. Cleveland, feeling the great responsibility, turned to Congressman Otis, of Alabama, and said, "Otis, the banks have got the country by the breeches; what will we do?"

The suggestion came, if I remember correctly, from Mr. Morgan, "Issue bonds and buy the gold to restore the reserve." That was done. We have no criticism of that, because the Government ordered it to maintain its credit.

I remember one thing, however, that I wish to call attention to, and that is, that when Mr. Morgan's house had written in $1,000,000 of commission, Mr. Cleveland asked, "What is that for?" "For the sale of the bonds; that has been the custom."

Mr. Cleveland replied, "The Government will sell its own bonds; wipe the million out." And that has been the policy ever since. The next trouble for lack of currency came when the Vreeland-Aldrich law was passed, somewhat wildcat currency plan, but made safe because greatly limited.

Now, the question, and a proper one, will naturally rise in the minds of business men, "What about this bank currency, this Scotch system; is it wildcat?" I challenge any man to show that a Scotch bank note ever dragged. In the midst of the Confederacy, when the Confederate note was practically worthless, the notes of the Scotch banks in the South brought dollar for dollar in gold coin, and when the bonds were down 47 per cent, and the greenbacks, still the Scotch note in the North was worth dollar for dollar in gold coin. They went out of existence redeeming their paper. That ought to be sufficient, because that is the greatest possible test of solvency.

Now, when you found a bank note upon a public debt it may not be the measure of the demand for commerce. When you base it upon a private debt, as under the regional reserve, you still do not reach it. Some suggest to put it on land. That, to say nothing about its not being liquid, again is not the proper basis.

It is clear that the Constitution intended that the Government should coin sufficient gold and silver to take care of the general normal business and commerce of the country. When the cotton farmer or wheat, or corn, or wool, desires to market his crop, that creates a demand for extra currency. I submit it is wisest to base the currency upon the thing that calls for the increase, and then it automatically does not rise above the necessity, nor will it fall below it. When the necessity is removed, the currency is retired. That is true of cotton, of wheat, of tobacco, and of corn, and of wool and of many other products. When the necessity arises, there may be issued 75 per cent (not to exceed that) provided there are enough banks with bank stock requiring an amount not to exceed the stock, provided there is a gold reserve, and we have much more gold reserve in the country than we need. There could be issued, in the case of cotton in the South or wheat and corn in the North, an amount equivalent to 75 per cent of the value amount of that product that called for the increase, and that would be sufficient to provide the credit, in either case, and to market the crop, and they could market it as the public demanded the product, and not be required to dump it at once.

That I regard as sound from that standpoint; and again the warehouse receipt in the case of cotton, or in the case of corn or wheat, represents the value of some product in exchange for the value of some other product, whereas under this regional reserve it represents nothing but a promise to pay; it represents a double indebtedness, a debt based upon some other man's debt, and I regard any debt as somewhat of an evil. As sound economics, no man ought to borrow for current expenses. Unless it is for the purpose of development, or making an earning or profit out of the money, all borrowing of such money is not good economic sense, either for private or public purposes.

On the other hand, the Government, if it must get all of its interest from taxes, certainly can not benefit the public by increasing the public debt, which means an increase of taxes. That idea of bringing the bankers of the country and all those that control credit in direct league with public or private debt is certainly an erroneous policy; whereas a currency based upon some product represents value in exchange for some other value, and I submit that the plan under which the source of all value is production is certainly sounder than the other plan, in addition to the certainty of there being issued sufficient currency to meet the requirement for the moment.

I will give another illustration. I took occasion to dig out from the records of the Government the amount of cotton produced every year from 1790 to 1875—the 85 years of the life of Scotch bank and the export and the average price. During those 85 years, when there were Scotch banks in existence, cotton never sold for as low as 10 cents, except 13 years. In the panic of 1873 it sold for more than 15 cents; in 1874 and in the spring of 1875, for more than 15 cents. When the Scotch bank was driven out of existence it went down, in the fall of 1875, to 11 cents, and in 1876 to 10 cents, and there were 13 years together since that time that cotton sold for less than 10 cents without a break, but more than half the time as low as 10 cents during the 37 years from 1875 to 1913, inclusive, whereas prior to that time, for 85 years, it never sold for as low as 10 cents except 13 years. That was due to the fact that the section was not depending upon any control foreign to its interest. The same would be true of wheat or corn. They are independent of Wall Street for currency.

Recently the Governor of Iowa had corn stored, and warehouse receipts were issued and insured. He sought to have the regional reserve recognize that as a basis of currency, but he could not do it; it was not "commercial paper," but that would be right under the principle of the Scotch bank. That is the reason why the producers of the country have been suffering and will continue to do so till this thing is changed.

In all of the changes in banks and currency there has been that contest between the interests of the producer and manufacturer and the interests of the speculator. Now, I know that there are gentlemen who believe that this trouble will wear out, but those gentlemen have a different guess coming. Until the lever of error that produced our bankrupt condition is reversed, this will continue to grow worse. Next winter will be worse than this, and by the following winter the biggest banks in the country will be breaking.

You can not destroy the farmer without destroying the little towns; you can not destroy the little towns without destroying the big ones; you can not break the little banks without breaking the big ones.

I was astonished to read a week ago in one of my home papers a statement coming from a prominent banker in Chicago. In speaking of "frozen assets," he made this startling statement, that "as a natural consequence, when the banks fail the merchants and farmers are going to fail." Why, I expected him in the next breath to say that the thermometer produced the weather. When the regional banks fail it is because the farmers and merchants have failed.

I submit that the limitation upon credit should not be made upon occupation, as it has been for more than 10 years. Every man who desires to use credit for the purpose of development, manufacture, or production should be entitled to credit to the extent of his solvency.

When the banks of my State and the West were told that they could not loan money upon this piece of paper or that, but that they could lend upon stocks, that pyramided stocks; they went up and up, and I submit to you, as sensible gentlemen, that they did not put a cent of additional value in the country, and then when it reached a pyramid it fell by its own weight, by the very law of economics, of balances. Nor do speculators employ idle men, and hence men become idle.

Now, in my opinion Congress should not repeal or destroy or injure the regional reserve, but it should take away the power of an international banker to sit on the board and to determine the policy of money and credits. Then, repeal this 10 per cent tax, as found in House bill 4614 by TOM D. MCKEOWN. That would permit a butting system against the central system, and it would afford the producers of the country an opportunity to have credit independently of any one group of men.

Just recently, in my State, a very wealthy man, possessing $30,000 of United States bonds, went to a bank and wanted to borrow $25,000 upon this $30,000. He was told he could get the money provided he could get an "outlet." He asked, "What is this new term in banking; what do you mean by an outlet?" He was told that it means that some bigger bank will take up that note, and then some still larger bank will take up that note, and finally it reaches the forces in New York, or Wall Street, as we term it. Then he asked how long that would take, and was told that it would take until the final effort was made to ascertain what they will do; that they must have a "complete outlet." Thus we are chained to that New York group.

I submit, gentlemen, that such a policy is dangerous to the country. When I was in Congress, and we had the bill up, I got a number of gentlemen who believed as I did, particularly on the board, and we went to President Wilson, and I said:

"Mr. Wilson, do you realize the power of this board?"

He threw out his hands in a sweep and said:

"I know that the whole weal and woe of this country is in the hands of that board."

"Well, Mr. President, don't you think it had better be hedged?"

"Yes; but I can not conceive that a President could ever be elected who would so far forget himself as to appoint a board that would do violence to the country.

"But," I said, "Mr. President, if he is ignorant of the condition, he might unwittingly do the injury."

"I know that, but I am sure that no man can ever be President that will forget himself."

My reply was this, that it would force the international bankers and the big bankers into politics, that in my opinion the bankers ought to stay out of the governing business and the Government ought to stay out of the banking business, and that sooner or later they will be in league with various party committees and various candidates, and a direct trade will be made whereby they will control the banking board and when they do, it is good-by to the peace and prosperity of the citizen. Mr. Wilson judged all by his own pure motive.

We certainly want that which is best for the country. You can not cause the farmer to fail to make a profit, or the merchant, or any other class, without injuring all, and to me this is the first step. Some say coinage of silver, very good, but I submit that so long as the money and credits of the country are controlled by one group, you will have such conditions as you have now, and I do not care how much money you have; it will make no difference; you may increase it a hundredfold, but, after all, it gets back to those who control the credits of the country. When you break that chain on credit, you will then have won 50 per cent of the battle.

The American people, the little business man and the farmer and the man of small enterprise, I might compare to a mule—the very emblem of strength. The farmer ties his neck to a post with a chain, and he can not do a thing but kick. That is the situation of the American people, not only the business men but the farmers, and of even the little banks all over the country. The proposition of a few million dollars to relieve this or that is nothing more than slackening the chain a few inches. The truth is that to give full strength both to the mule and to the interests of the country is needed to break the chain, and if you will pass

this repeal act you will give an opportunity to break forever the chain that binds the little man to a coterie of men who are purely speculators and not producers of wealth.

I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, we thank you very much for your attendance here.

Governor MURRAY. It is my obligation to the committee; thank you.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS. From the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 6172. An act to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, January 22, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Friday, January 22, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

Commodity short selling.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

(10.30 a. m.)

All bills pertaining to the prevailing rate of wages.

COMMITTEE ON ROADS

(10 a. m.)

National aid to roads of $125,000,000 per annum (H. R. 4716); also authorization for forest roads.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

(10.30 a. m.)

California and Washington projects; Porto Rico.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

(10 a. m.)

Provision for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation (H. R. 4743).

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m. and 2 p. m.)

Miscellaneous taxes.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Section 15a–7116 and 7117, interstate commerce act.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

(10.30 a. m.)

Construction of post office, Jackson, Miss. (H. R. 6739); extension of time limit for construction of memorial building, Parramore Post, No. 57, American Legion (H. R. 4515); construction of public buildings, Hibbing, Minn. (H. R. 375); authorization for negotiation regarding south boundary line of post office, Plattsburg, N. Y. (H. R. 7899); amendment of act of August 25, 1919, for relief of contractors on post offices (H. R. 793).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

399. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of bill for the relief of the Playa de Flor Land & Improvement Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

400. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an estimate of appropriation for the Treasury Department for $500,000,000 for the fiscal year 1932 and to remain available until expended, for subscription to capital stock, Reconstruction Finance Corporation (H. Doc. No. 232); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. DAVIS: Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries. H. R. 7716. A bill to amend the radio act of 1927, approved February 23, 1927, as amended (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 47, ch. 4), and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 221). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mrs. NORTON of New Jersey: Committee on the District of Columbia. S. 2077. An act to relieve the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of certain ministerial duties; without amendment (Rept. No. 222). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MAAS: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 6310. A bill to amend section 1709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the act of March 3, 1911 (36 Stat. 1083), and section 304 of the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (42 Stat. 24); without amendment (Rept. No. 223). Referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 615. A bill for the relief of C. B. Bellows; without amendment (Rept. No. 198). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 618. A bill for the relief of Phyllis Pratt and Harold Louis Pratt, a minor; without amendment (Rept. No. 199). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 691. A bill for the relief of the Western Electric Co. (Inc.); without amendment (Rept. No. 200). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 872. A bill for the relief of the estate of White B. Miller; without amendment (Rept. No. 201.) Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 941. A bill for the relief of Roland Zolesky; without amendment (Rept. No. 202). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 946. A bill for the relief of the George C. Mansfield Co., and George D. Mansfield; with amendment (Rept. No. 203). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1228. A bill to adjudicate the claim of Knud O. Flakne, a homestead settler on the drained Mud Lake bottom, in the State of Minnesota; without amendment (Rept. No. 204). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1323. A bill for the relief of the United States Bank of St. Louis, Mo.; without amendment (Rept. No. 205). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1381. A bill for the relief of Joe Petran; without amendment (Rept. No. 206). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1768. A bill for the relief of Alvina Hollis; with amendment (Rept. No. 207). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1770. A bill for the relief of Senelma Wirkkula, also known as Selma Wirkkula; with amendment (Rept. No. 208). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2594. A bill for the relief of the State National Bank of Wills Point, Tex.;

without amendment (Rept. No. 209). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2608. A bill for the relief of J. W. Anderson; without amendment (Rept. No. 210). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2705. A bill for the relief of Emmett W. Southwick; without amendment (Rept. No. 211). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2878. A bill for the relief of William S. Steward; without amendment (Rept. No. 212). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3691. A bill for the relief of J. P. Moynihan; without amendment (Rept. No. 213). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3779. A bill for the relief of Amos D. Carver, S. E. Turner, Clifford N. Carver, Scott Blanchard, P. B. Blanchard, James B. Parse, A. N. Blanchard, and W. A. Blanchard; without amendment (Rept. No. 214). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3909. A bill for the relief of Helen Patricia Sullivan; without amendment (Rept. No. 215). Referred to the Committee of the Whole

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3987. A bill for the relief of R. K. Stiles & Co.; without amendment (Rept. No. 216). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3994. A bill for the relief of Arthur A. Burn, sr., and J. K. Ryland; without amendment (Rept. No. 217). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4160. A bill for the relief of Raymond D. Woods; without amendment (Rept. No. 218). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4287. A bill for the relief of R. W. Selvidge; without amendment (Rept. No. 219). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4453. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Mirabelli; without amendment (Rpt. No. 220). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 996. A bill for the relief of Mildred B. Crawford; with amendment (Rept. No. 224). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4391. A bill for the relief of C. M. Williamson, Mrs. C. E. Liljenquist, administratrix, Lottie Redman, and H. N. Smith; with amendment (Rept. No. 226). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PEAVEY: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 1296. A bill for the relief of Capt. W. B. Finney; without amendment (Rept. No. 226). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PEAVEY: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 1996. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Thomas G. Wright; without amendment (Rept. No. 227). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. ALLGOOD: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 2572. A bill for the relief of Maj. Lester L. Lampert; without amendment (Rept. No. 228). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 3033. A bill for the relief of Ida E. Godfrey and others; without amendment (Rept. No. 229). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PEAVEY: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 3265. A bill for the relief of W. J. Shirley; without amendment (Rept. No. 230). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 3566. A bill for the relief of Oscar C. Olson; without amendment (Rept. No. 231). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 3568. A bill for the relief of Guy Gooden; without amendment (Rept. No. 232). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 3580. A bill for the relief of Clara E. Wight; without amendment (Rept. No. 233). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. KNUTSON: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 3703. A bill granting compensation to Harriet M. MacDonald; without amendment (Rept. No. 234). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. KNUTSON: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 4039. A bill for the relief of Herman H. Bradford; without amendment (Rept. No. 235). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 4199. A bill for the relief of Meta De Rene McLoskey; without amendment (Rept. No. 236). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 4355. A bill for the relief of the Joliet National Bank, Commercial Trust & Savings Bank, and H. William, John J., Edward F., and Ellen C. Sharpe, of Joliet, Ill.; without amendment (Rept. No. 237). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARE: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 4407. A bill for the relief of the Concrete Steel Co.; without amendment (Rept. No. 238). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. ALLGOOD: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 4811. A bill for the relief of Kenneth A. Rotharmel; without amendment (Rept. No. 239). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARE: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 4854. A bill for the relief of George B. Marx; without amendment (Rept. No. 240). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 5185. A bill for the relief of Stanley A. Jerman, receiver for A. J. Peters Co. (Inc.); without amendment (Rept. No. 241). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 5738. A bill for the relief of Stanton & Jones; without amendment (Rept. No. 242). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6151) granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Branstetter, and the same was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HORR: A bill (H. R. 8157) to provide a Siberian expedition campaign medal; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8158) placing assayers under the civil service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: A bill (H. R. 8159), to provide for an addition to the existing veterans' hospital at Fort Harrison, Mont.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. SWING: A bill (H. R. 8160) to place any commissioned officer below the grade of captain in the United States Navy and brigadier general in the United States Marine Corps who served during the war with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, or the Boxer rebellion and the World War

when entitled to retirement, on the retired list of the Navy and Marine Corps in the manner described by law, with the rank of one grade above that held by him at time of such retirement; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8161) granting pensions to the officers and soldiers who served in the State troops of the various States in the late Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BUCKBEE: A bill (H. R. 8162) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across the Fox River at Oswego, in Kendall County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8163) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across the Pecatonica River at Harrison, in Winnebago County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 8164) for the rehabilitation of the Stanfield project, Oregon; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. ARENTZ: A bill (H. R. 8165) to provide that labor and tax laws of Nevada and Arizona shall apply to construction and reserved areas at Boulder Dam, that State officials be admitted to such areas, and that citizens shall be able to vote in such areas; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. GASQUE: A bill (H. R. 8166) to provide for dividing the State of South Carolina into three judicial districts, for the appointment of a district judge, district attorney, and marshal for the eastern district of South Carolina, for the holding of the terms of courts in said districts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARE: A bill (H. R. 8167) to authorize payment of farm-loan mortgages with bonds issued by the mortgagee banks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8168) providing for the presentation of service medals to the officers and enlisted men who were in the United States military service on the frontier during any Indian War or campaign from 1817 to 1898; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 8169) relating to certain lands and other property of the Seminole Indians in Oklahoma, and for other purposes; to the Commitee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 8170) to amend section 14 of an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, as amended (U. S. C. title 11, sec. 32; Supp. V, title 11, sec. 32); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLADAY: A bill (H. R. 8171) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across the Kankakee River at Momence, in Kankakee County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 8172) to amend section 12 of the Federal farm loan act, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. COOPER of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8173) to provide for the renewal of 5-year level premium term Government insurance policies for an additional 5-year period without medical examination; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. DICKSTEIN: A bill (H. R. 8174) to exempt from the quota fathers and mothers over 60 years of age of United States citizens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LEWIS: A bill (H. R. 8175) to amend paragraph (4) of section 15 of the interstate commerce act, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SCHNEIDER: A bill (H. R. 8176) to amend the national prohibition act as amended and supplemented in respect of the definition of intoxicating liquor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 8177) providing for the completion of fence construction, repairs, and improvement of refuge areas in the Wichita National Forest and game preserve in the State of Oklahoma, and authorizing appropriations therefor; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HOWARD (by departmental request): A bill (H. R. 8178) to transfer certain jurisdiction from the War Department in the management of Indian country; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: A bill (H. R. 8179) to provide for a public building at Mobridge, S. Dak.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. VESTAL: Resolution (H. Res. 119) to investigate the question of proprietary rights of persons in original thoughts, conceptions, and ideas leading to invention and discovery; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BYRNS: Resolution (H. Res. 120) to provide for the consideration of certain provisions in connection with H. R. 7912, the agricultural appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1933; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. LEAVITT: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 229) referring to timber contracts on national forests; to the Committee on Agriculture.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 8180) authorizing the President to transfer and appoint Lieut. Morris Smellow, United States Navy, to the grade of passed assistant paymaster, with the rank of lieutenant, in the Supply Corps of the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BEERS: A bill (H. R. 8181) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Hunt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8182) for the relief of Lula Scott; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8183) for the relief of Ralph W. Pennington; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BULWINKLE: A bill (H. R. 8184) granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Stewart; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8185) granting an increase of pension to William E. Norton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8186) granting a pension to John North Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CURRY: A bill (H. R. 8187) providing for the examination and survey of Southampton Bay, Calif.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. DOUGLASS of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 8188) for the relief of Joseph Calarese; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ESTEP: A bill (H. R. 8189) for the relief of K. S. Szymanski; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8190) for the relief of former employees of the Pittsburgh (Pa.) post office; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8191) granting a pension to Mary E. Curd Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8192) granting a pension to Callie Wofford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8193) granting a pension to Roy Walker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8194) granting a pension to Sarah L. Walker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8195) granting a pension to Emma Stacey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GREGORY: A bill (H. R. 8196) for the relief of Buster Jones; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8197) granting a pension to Mary Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HADLEY: A bill (H. R. 8198) for the relief of William J. Parker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAINES: A bill (H. R. 8199) granting a pension to Israel E. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARE: A bill (H. R. 8200) for the relief of Ruffin Padgett; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HILL of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8201) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Apley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HORNOR: A bill (H. R. 8202) granting an increase of pension to Joanna Manear; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8203) granting a pension to Ella Pitts; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KADING: A bill (H. R. 8204) for the relief of the estate of Victor L. Berger, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KLEBERG: A bill (H. R. 8205) granting a pension to A. L. White; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8206) for the relief of Adolph Morales; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8207) for the relief of Daisy Anderson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LARRABEE: A bill (H. R. 8208) granting an increase of pension to Indamora Francis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEHLBACH: A bill (H. R. 8209) for the relief of the High Clothing Co. (Inc.); to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8210) for the relief of William H. Chambliss; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8211) authorizing the appointment of Charles W. Albright as a warrant officer, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAAS: A bill (H. R. 8212) for the relief of James Darcy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAGRADY: A bill (H. R. 8213) granting a pension to Harriet Seasholtz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAJOR: A bill (H. R. 8214) for the relief of William H. Harris; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PARKS: A bill (H. R. 8215) for the relief of the National Bank of Commerce, El Dorado, Ark.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8216) for the relief of the First National Bank of Junction City, Ark.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8217) for the relief of the First National Bank, El Dorado, Ark.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8218) for the relief of C. F. Cooley, administrator of the estate of Charles F. Cooley, jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SELVIG: A bill (H. R. 8219) for the relief of certain riparian owners for losses sustained by them on the drained Mud Lake bottom in Marshall County in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. STEVENSON: A bill (H. R. 8220) granting an increase of pension to Allan H. Browning; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8221) for the relief of George T. Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ESLICK: A bill (H. R. 8222) granting an increase of pension to Charlotte B. McWilliams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THOMASON: A bill (H. R. 8223) for the relief of L. M. Crawford; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 8224) for the relief of Pierre Joseph Rossier; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VESTAL (by request): A bill (H. R. 8225) providing for the purchase of certain inventions, designs, and methods of aircraft, aircraft parts, aeronautical, and aviation technique of Edwin Fairfax Naulty and Leslie Fairfax Naulty, of New York; to the Committee on Patents.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 8226) providing for the purchase of certain inventions, designs, and methods of aircraft, aircraft parts, aeronautical and aviation technique of Edwin Fairfax Naulty and Leslie Fairfax Naulty, of New York; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. WHITE: A bill (H. R. 8227) granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Morse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHITLEY: A bill (H. R. 8228) granting an increase of pension to Ellen Nix; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8229) granting a pension to Jerusha G. Gilbert; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

608. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petitions of Annie R. Holley and 14 other citizens of South Kingston and Providence, and Josephine W. Thorne and 23 other citizens of Wickford, R. I., protesting against the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

609. By Mr. BEERS: Petition protesting against modification or resubmission to the States for repeal of the national prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

610. By Mr. BACHARACH: Petition of sundry citizens of Bordentown, N. J., protesting against modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

611. Also, petition of the members of the Atlantic County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Absecon, N. J., protesting against modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

612. By Mr. BOYLAN: Petition of resolution adopted at a meeting of the board of directors of the Maritime Association of the Port of New York, opposing Senate bill 7 and House bill 4648, entitled "A bill to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

613. Also, telegram from Joseph P. McCarthy, president of the Theater Mutual Association of New York City, protesting against the placing of a tax on theater tickets; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

614. By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: Petition of Mrs. Harold Lamb and others, of Union Point, Ga., protesting against any modification or resubmission of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

615. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the Texas "Pay Bonus Now" organization, requesting that the President of the United States convene the Congress of the United States in special session with instructions to enact legislation that will cause the World War veterans' adjusted-service certificates to be paid in full at once, without deduction of any interest due on loans already made on such certificates; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

616. Also, petition of the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, urging upon Congress the passage at this session of the bill now pending for the creation of an additional permanent judgeship in the district of New Jersey; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

617. By Mr. FIESINGER: Petition of Willis K. Link, superintendent of the Methodist Sunday school at Bloomville, Ohio, urging support of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

618. Also, petition of La Mira Bates, president of the Wood County (Ohio) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, urging support of the prohibition amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

619. Also, petition of Lucille Wilson, secretary of the United Brethren Sunday school at Bloomville, Ohio, urging support for the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

620. Also, petition of Anna F. Kirk, a member of the Wood County (Ohio) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, urging support of the prohibition amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

621. By Mr. HILL of Washington: Petition of Mrs. A. L. Hawes and other members of the Esther Reed Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Spokane, Wash., favoring an adequate Army and Navy, and opposing

our entrance into the World Court or League of Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

622. By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: Petition of Hon. Henry A. Turner, Madisonville, Tex., opposing a stamp tax on bank checks; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

623. Also, petition of Hon. W. E. Gaither, mayor Rockdale, Tex., opposing sales tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

624. By Mr. KNIFFIN: Petition of Charles Ensign and 59 others of Defiance, Ohio, urging the enforcement of the national prohibition law, and opposing any measure providing for its modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

625. Also, petition of Charles Ensign and 59 others of Defiance, Ohio, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

626. Also, petition of M. F. Swinehart, D. D., and 50 others, of Defiance, Ohio, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

627. Also, petition of Ora Skiver and 18 others, of Defiance, Ohio, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

628. By Mr. KVALE: Petition of Lac Qui Parle Post, No. 158, urging payment of the adjustment-compensation certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

629. Also, petition of the Austin F. Hanscom Post, No. 167, of the American Legion, of Willmar, Minn., urging payment of adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

630. By Mr. LEHLBACH: Petition favoring radio protection at sea; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

631. By Mr. MANLOVE: Petition of R. L. Foster, S. C. Ables, J. G. Hoover, J. M. Abson, George Zenoe, R. M. Hood, R. L. McNutt, M. F. Scott, John McBride, T. S. Brown, G. A. Ferguson, C. R. Hill, Mrs. N. S. Williams, T. Lee Masterson, Frank McMurray, L. C. Clark, E. J. Ferguson, E. L. Cline, Charles A. Richardson, A. J. Hamlin, John F. McKinley, Scott B. Dayton, D. D. Stratton, W. W. Harrington, M. S. McMahon, Mabel Coffey, and C. H. Kennedy, all of Aurora, Mo., petitioning Congress to oppose further interest-bearing bond issues to finance public works, and to demand instead issuance of Government bonds in small denominations, like the currency, without interest, making such bonds receivable for all debts, public and private, to be retired from circulation at the will of Congress, except that 5 per cent of such bonds shall be retired each year until the issue is withdrawn; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

632. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of Maryland Hotel Men's Association for modification of the national prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

633. By Mr. PARKS: Petition of the South Arkansas Chamber of Commerce, asking Congress to permit a committee from the cotton-producing States to appear before them and discuss ways and means whereby cotton acreage for the year 1932 may be reduced; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

634. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of the Southern Pine Association, New Orleans, La., favoring the passage of House bill 4608; to the Committee on Flood Control.

635. Also, petition of the Truck Equipment (Inc.), Buffalo, N. Y., opposing the proposed tax on the motor-vehicle industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

636. Also, petition of Theater Owners Chamber of Commerce, New York City, opposing admission tax on theaters; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

637. Also, petition of the Quain Kurt (Inc.), Brooklyn, N. Y., opposing a sales tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

638. By Mr. SANDERS of Texas: Petition of Chester Wright, of route No. 2, Kemp, Tex., signed by numerous other citizens of Kemp, urging the payment of the balance due on the adjusted-service certificates of World War veterans and urging a pension for the widows of World War veterans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

639. By Mr. SHOTT: Petition of the West Virginia Motor Transportation Association, protesting a tax on motor vehicles, motor-vehicle parts, and accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

640. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Williamson, W. Va., opposing resubmission of the national prohibition act to the States for ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

641. Also, petition of the men's Bible class of the Williamson (W. Va.) Baptist Church, opposing resubmission of the national prohibition act to the States for ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

642. Also, petition of ladies' Bible class of the Williamson (W. Va.) Baptist Church, opposing resubmission of the national prohibition act to the States for ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

643. Also, memorial of Pocahontas Operators Association, urging relief to the coal industry by enacting tariffs, embargoes, and other legislation against the importation of foreign oils; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

644. By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia: Resolution of the West Virginia Motor Transportation Association, opposing any legislation having for its purpose the increasing of taxation on motor vehicles, parts, and accessories, or gasoline; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

645. Also, resolution of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, opposing the proposed excise tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

646. Also, resolution of J. B. Ruby Motor Co., of Charleston, W. Va., and employees, opposing the proposed excise tax on motor cars; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

647. Also, resolution of Weaver Motor Car Co., of Charleston, W. Va., opposing the proposed excise tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

648. Also, resolution of Beckley, W. Va., automobile dealers, opposing the proposed excise tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

649. By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Apollo, Pa., opposed to any modification of the prohibition enforcement laws and to resubmission of the question to the States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

650. Also, petition of Women's Home Missionary Society and Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Franklin Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Johnstown, Pa., opposing any modification of the prohibition enforcement law or of resubmission of the question to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

651. By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Petition signed by Alex Barrington and 39 other adult residents of Harper, Wash., protesting against the enactment of the compulsory Sunday observance bill, S. 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

652. By Mr. SWICK: Petition of the Women's Missionary Society of Mars United Presbyterian Church, Mars, Butler County, Pa., opposing the submission of a repeal amendment to a State convention or to the State legislature for ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

653. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petition of Greene County Medical Society, Waynesburg, Pa., protesting against the enactment of Senate bill 572 and House bill 4739, commonly known as the Jones-Bankhead bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

654. Also, petition of Turner Automobile Co., Donora, Pa., and W. A. Carroll, Claysville, Pa., protesting against tax on motor vehicles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

655. By Mr. TREADWAY: Petition of Elizabeth E. Lyman and other residents of Pittsfield, Mass., in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.



656. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Charles Forney, Norfolk, Va., that by due and appropriate legislation Congress prescribe that cost to or due appraisement by banks and fiduciary institutions shall prevail; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

657. Also, petition of the Society of the War of 1812, in Maryland, protesting against any plan to use the grounds at Fort McHenry for any other purpose than that for which it has been established by Congress; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

658. Also, petition of the West Texas Chapter, American Institute of Architects, and others, asking that Congress pass House bill 6187; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

SENATE

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 1932

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, source of all life and power, who speakest in myriad ways to the children of men, yet most truly in the still small voice: Speak to each one of us now as we bow before Thee in this moment of rededication of our best selves to the duties of the day. Thou hast endowed us with varied gifts refined by secrets won from our experience, our traffic with life, with time, and with eternity; we therefore pray that Thou wouldst yet further unfold the mysteries of our world, with its infinity and depth of meaning, its fleeting moments and its timeless import, that through the medium of sense as in the realm of spirit we may find it filled with Thee, by whom star to star vibrates light and soul to soul shines through a finer element of its own. Enrich our lives and sanctify our work that through the sacramental fellowship we here enjoy we may render each day some nobler service to our country and our God. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H. R. 6172) to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Vice President.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Sheppard
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Shipstead
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Smith
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Smoot
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Steiwer
Barkley	Dill	King	Thomas, Idaho
Bingham	Fess	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Townsend
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Trammell
Borah	George	McGill	Tydings
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Vandenberg
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Wagner
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Walcott
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Walsh, Mass.
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Walsh, Mont.
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Waterman
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Watson
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Wheeler
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	White
Coolidge	Hebert	Pittman	
Copeland	Howell	Robinson, Ark.	
Costigan	Hull	Schall	

Mr. WATSON. I desire to announce the necessary absence of my colleague the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

I wish also to announce that the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] has been confined to his home for the past two days by a heavy cold, and therefore will be necessarily absent to-day. I shall let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. JOHNSON. May I announce that my colleague the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] is ill and has been ill for the last few days? That is the reason for his absence from the Chamber.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair, under authority of Senate Resolution 145, designates the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] to read Washington's Farewell Address on February 23 next.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PUBLIC PRINTER

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Public Printer, transmitting his annual report to the Congress, covering the operations of the United States Government Printing Office for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1931, and the calendar year 1931, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Printing.

CLAIM OF LINDLEY NURSERIES (INC.)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, his report and recommendation concerning the claim of Lindley Nurseries (Inc.) against the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I desire to announce that on Monday, January 25, I intend to address the Senate on the subject of silver, particularly the bill which I introduced a short time ago for the free coinage of silver as well as gold.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing Congress to provide aid to the various States which have enacted old-age pension legislation, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

(See joint resolution printed in full when presented to-day by Mr. BLAINE.)

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a telegram from M. Kashian, of Corning, N. Y., relative to the foreign debt, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. NEELY presented a letter in the nature of a memorial from the Kanawha County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of St. Albans, W. Va., signed by Mrs. I. E. Johnson, president, and Mrs. J. A. Watson, corresponding secretary, remonstrating against the proposal for the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CAPPER presented petitions numerously signed by members of the Methodist Ladies' Aid Society, of Ellis; members of the local chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lawrence; and of sundry citizens of Ness City, Walton, Robinson, and Stafford, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the First Baptist Church, the First Christian Church, the congregation of the Presbyterian Church, the Monthly Meeting of Friends, and the Second Presbyterian Church (under the auspices of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union), all of Emporia; the Farmers Union of St. John, the Christian Science Society of Ness City, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Ellis, Robinson, and Canton, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the

prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented petitions of sundry citizens of Cambridge and Canandaigua, N. Y., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented numerously signed memorials, and telegrams in the nature of memorials, from sundry citizens of the State of New York, remonstrating against the passage of legislation closing barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other compulsory Sunday observance legislation, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. TYDINGS presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Catonsville, Laurel, Lansdowne, and Takoma Park, all in the State of Maryland, remonstrating against the passage of any compulsory Sunday observance legislation for the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented memorials numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, remonstrating against any reduction in the National Guard or the curtailing of appropriations therefor, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD presented a petition of sundry citizens of Crookston and vicinity, in the State of Minnesota, praying for the passage of the legislation known as the Frazier farmers' farm relief bill, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented memorials numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of Minnesota remonstrating against the passage of legislation for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other compulsory Sunday observance legislation, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of St. Paul, Thief River Falls, and Worthington, all in the State of Minnesota, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against any modification of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Hollandale, Sherburn, and Minneapolis and vicinity, in the State of Minnesota, praying for the declaring of a moratorium and the passage of certain remedial monetary legislation, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. KING presented memorials of sundry citizens of the State of Utah, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other compulsory Sunday observance legislation, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a resolution of the Tremonton (Utah) Lions Club, favoring the passage of legislation to impose upon so-called liquid sugar a rate of tariff duty commensurate with its sugar content and to establish a differential between raw and refined sugar that will represent the difference in cost of refining in the United States and foreign countries, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a letter in the nature of a petition of the National Beet Growers Association, favoring the granting of immediate independence to the Philippine Islands, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

He also presented a letter from the National Retail Hardware Association, of Indianapolis, Ind., stating in part that "the answer to deficits is not to be found in the continual increase of expenditures," which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented letters in the nature of memorials from the Cooper Corporation, of Salisbury, Md., signed by its president, Mark Cooper, and the Motor Truck Association of America (Inc.), of New York City, signed by T. D. Pratt, its general manager, remonstrating against the imposition of a tariff on crude petroleum and its products, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of Charles Forney, of Norfolk, Va., praying for the passage of legislation to define the values of obligations issued by the United States Government listed on stock exchanges, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Ogden (Utah) Trades and Labor Assembly, favoring either the modification of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution or the amendment of the Volstead Act relative to the manufacture and sale of liquors, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BLAINE presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution memorializing Congress to provide aid to the various States which have enacted old-age pension legislation

Whereas certain States have enacted laws providing for old-age pensions; and

Whereas the experience of these States justifies the wisdom of their action; and

Whereas the Federal Government has from time to time from its bountiful resources granted aid to worthy projects initiated by the several States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin does respectfully memorialize and urge the Congress of the United States to enact appropriate legislation granting Federal aid to those States that have enacted old-age pensions; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, properly attested, be sent to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each House of Congress, and to each Wisconsin Member thereof.

HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
CHAS. B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

RESIGNATION OF SENATOR ASHURST FROM SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I ask leave to have published in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary resolutions adopted by the Laymen's Civic League, of Phoenix, Ariz., one of which is in relation to the resignation of the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] from the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary appointed to conduct hearings on the prohibition laws.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAYMEN'S CIVIC LEAGUE,
Phoenix, Ariz., January 11, 1932.

Whereas the senior Senator from Arizona, HENRY F. ASHURST, recently resigned from a subcommittee appointed to conduct hearings on the dry laws, giving as his reason that "it is a ridiculous waste of effort to attempt to relax or modify the prohibition laws": Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Laymen's Civic League expresses its deep appreciation of the courageous stand taken by Senator ASHURST, not only in resigning from the subcommittee but also for the position he has always taken as a friend to prohibition.

E. E. WILLIAMS,
Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Unanimously adopted by the Laymen's Civic League January 11, 1932.

R. E. NELSON, *President.*
GEORGE W. MCBRIDE, *Secretary.*

LAYMEN'S CIVIC LEAGUE,
Phoenix, Ariz., January 11, 1932.

Whereas an effort is being made by the enemies of good government and of sober living to have the Volstead law either modified or repealed; by some who would have the eighteenth amendment stricken from the Constitution of the United States; and by others "who are attempting to weaken or relax that amendment or those laws": Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Laymen's Civic League request that each of its representatives in Congress, Senators HENRY F. ASHURST and CARL HAYDEN, and Representative LEWIS W. DOUGLAS, vote, speak, and do all in their power to see that these prohibition laws and

the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution remain in full force and that a more strenuous effort be made to have them become more effective.

E. E. WILLIAMS,
Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Unanimously adopted by the Laymen's Civic League January 11, 1932.

R. E. NELSON, *President.*
GEORGE W. MCBRIDE, *Secretary.*

MARKET VALUE OF UNITED STATES BONDS AND VOLUME OF CURRENCY

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I present a letter from Jo Nichol, president of the Simmons National Bank, of Pine Bluff, Ark., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SIMMONS NATIONAL BANK OF PINE BLUFF,
Pine Bluff, Ark., January 13, 1932.

Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Reviewing the present market value of the United States bonds and the fact of the decreased volume of currency held by banks for legitimate needs in business, it occurs to the writer that if circulation privilege were granted national banks against United States Treasury 3 per cent bonds maturing September 15, 1955, that it would not only tend to improve and stabilize the market but would permit the banks to realize and liquefy their holdings in Government bonds.

This would also be a means of increased revenue to the Government through tax on circulation.

I am also of the opinion that an additional benefit would accrue if national banks were permitted to issue circulation not only against their capital but against their surplus, or at least a certain per cent of their surplus, say, 50 per cent.

Of course, I recognize that perhaps basically such action might be considered unsound, in view of the fact that the Government would be virtually issuing, or causing to be issued, currency against its own bonds. However, we believe that the security offered by national banks for the currency is good and the present conditions would perhaps justify the action. I believe that the tax on this privilege should be increased annually, so as to force retirement after the "emergency issue" had served its purpose.

While we have mentioned only one issue of Government bonds, it might be that other issues or all issues could be included or used temporarily.

If in your opinion you believe the suggestion has merit, I should be pleased to hear from you.

Yours very truly,

JO NICHOL.

PROPOSED RESUBMISSION OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Mr. TRAMMELL presented a resolution adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of De Land, Fla., relative to a proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the United States Senate:

Whereas the eighteenth amendment was adopted by the orderly process of government and has been sustained by no less than 48 decisions of the United States Supreme Court; and

Whereas its opponents are now asking Congress to resubmit the question of prohibition through a repeal amendment to be ratified by State conventions called for that purpose; and

Whereas we have no reason to believe that those opponents who have not counseled obedience to the eighteenth amendment and its enforcement act and those who have openly advocated disobedience and disregard of the same, which is selective anarchy, would change their attitude and accept the vote of the majority of States should the repeal amendment fail of ratification; and

Whereas we are confident that resubmission would not take prohibition out of politics but would intensify it as a State issue: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures, and that we ask our Congressman from this district and our United States Senators to vote against such a resolution and to vote for adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance.

Adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, representing 150 people.

JANUARY 19, 1932, *De Land, Fla.*

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE RESOLUTIONS

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I have a copy of the report of the committee on resolutions submitted at the recent Anti-Saloon League Convention held in this city, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

There being no objection, the matter was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS OF THE RECENT ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE NATIONAL CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

An outstanding fact in the life and work of the world to-day is the steady, irresistible translation into the life of individuals and organized society of the teaching of Jesus Christ concerning the vital central truth of human brotherhood, of the obligations of neighborly love, including willing self-denial, and the implication and practical results which necessarily follow an honest recognition of that fact.

Herein is implied the right of all men and women to a living wage, to limited hours of service, proper restrictions on the labor of women and children, a larger participation in the fruits of industry, better medical care, more parks and playgrounds, opportunity for self-culture and development; in short, whatever makes for a richer, fuller life. This same teaching also demands that men must not kill their brother men and so demands physical and spiritual disarmament, the abolition of all aggressive war, the adoption of peaceful methods to settle international disputes, and the initiation of whatever plans are necessary for the uplift of the entire social order throughout the world. This same teaching demands the complete abolition of the traffic in women and children for immoral purpose, of the traffic in narcotic drugs, and the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

Indeed, this teaching of Jesus has at last developed a new social conscience which declares and emphasizes the rights and duties of organized society as positively and with as sweeping an imperative as it declares the duties of the individual. It is this social conscience which underlies the warfare which has been waged against the beverage-liquor traffic, especially in its organized form in the last 50 years; and it is this social conscience which after trial of local and State prohibition finally demanded the adoption of the national prohibition law and finally put the brand of the outlaw upon the traffic in intoxicating liquors in every State and Territory under the flag. The national prohibition law is the most remarkable statutory exemplification of the teaching of Jesus concerning human brotherhood. It is the most remarkable social enactment by any great nation in any age, having as its purpose to promote the general welfare (an outstanding aim of the Constitution of the United States) by the restriction of the activities and appetites of the individual either voluntarily or by the compulsion of the law which demands the protection of the social order against the undue and hurtful selfishness of the individual. The industrial, social, educational, moral, and religious forces of the Nation, led by Christian citizenship, overthrew the legalized liquor traffic and secured national prohibition. It has not been recognized as it should be that the same great forces must continue unitedly to fight with equal vigor and persistence the branded criminal traffic and the would-be nullifiers of the law.

It is to be regretted that national prohibition enforcement was not as efficient and as successful during the first years after the ratification of the eighteenth amendment as it should have been. An inefficient enforcement greatly encourages violators. Men who had no sympathy with the law were in some instances on the force of officials selected and paid to enforce it. Violations in high places greatly heartened the lawless elements; the powerful did not fear exposure, and frequently violators escaped punishment.

To-day the same enemies of society which so bitterly fought the adoption of prohibition for selfish reasons are angry, insolent, and openly advocate lawlessness. Even governors of States practically advocate State nullification of the Federal Constitution. Various organizations against the prohibition amendment have been organized, led usually by those persons who drank, if they did not sell intoxicants in the preprohibition days, and even in the highest legislative assembly of the Nation it has been defiantly declared that "men will have intoxicating liquors Constitution or no Constitution," an open, flagrant incitement to anarchy. These opponents of prohibition know that it is practically impossible to secure the repeal of the prohibition amendment by the method prescribed in the Constitution, but they seek in various ways to shift the issues, to deceive and to confuse the people, and to accomplish by indirection what they know they can not do by direct assault.

The air is filled with the clamor of jangling voices with various forms of destructive proposals: To repeal or to fatally emasculate the Volstead Act; to legalize the sale of beer and wine; to leave to every State the enforcement of prohibition to State law alone; to empower Congress to regulate the whole question of intoxicating liquors, giving to each State in addition the right to determine its own laws.

Underlying all this clamor and these proposals the real purpose is to remove the brand of the criminal from the traffic in intoxicating liquor. It may be conceded that there are many honest persons who do not believe that national prohibition can ever be made a success, but these are not the leaders in the army of the enemies of the eighteenth amendment. The leaders want beer and wine or strong drink. They want the saloon or its equivalent as far as is necessary to secure a free distribution of intoxicants, and behind this leadership there are the former

brewers and distillers, the would-be brewers and distillers, and their backers who know what enormous profits were drained in the old days chiefly from the pockets of the poor and the laboring men, their wives, and children.

Against this motley company, one and all, the Anti-Saloon League of America stands representing those industrial, social, educational, moral, and religious forces of the Nation which are determined that the brand of the criminal shall not be removed from the liquor traffic in any territory under the flag.

With a President in the White House, with an Attorney General in the Department of Justice, with a sincere, courageous Administrator of Prohibition and Commissioner of Industrial Alcohol, all of whom are sincere in their efforts to perform their duty, the country has to-day the best enforcement of the national prohibition law that it has ever had. It is our declared purpose to see this thing through.

Education and observance, legislation, and enforcement, must go hand in hand.

Concerning certain phases of the present situation we declare:

First. Prohibition is not a partisan political issue. It has never been so treated by the national conventions of the major political parties but has been supported and opposed by members of both political parties. Not political parties but the people, regardless of party lines, in accordance with the method provided in the Constitution itself indicating their wishes to their Representatives in Congress and in the State legislatures, and acting through these Representatives, wrote the eighteenth amendment into the Constitution. Any question of the repeal or of the modification of the eighteenth amendment is not therefore a matter to be determined by party platforms or on party lines. Such action, if it is conceivable that it ever be taken, should originate in exactly the same way as did the adoption of the amendment. It should originate with the people, who, voicing their wishes to their Representatives in Congress and the State legislatures, elected to represent their views, can retain, amend, or repeal any part of the Constitution. The Anti-Saloon League of America has never hesitated, and does not hesitate to-day, to leave these questions in the hands of the people to be settled by them in the constitutional way, by an expression of their views in the election of Members of Congress and of State legislatures. This method provides for the only referendum to obtain the view of the people which is known to the Constitution, and this kind of referendum can be held every two years. The Anti-Saloon League of America will oppose any effort to short circuit the regular constitutional process for changing the prohibition statutory law or for amending the Constitution of the United States. Furthermore, the league opposes all sham proposals of the opponents of prohibition.

Second. Among the shams which would deceive no one is the claim that the real purpose of those who have proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment is something other than repeal. Resubmission certainly invites repeal and to call it anything else than an invitation to repeal is a misnomer. Resubmission is admittedly a necessary step toward repeal. Resubmission would have no existence as an issue apart from the purpose to repeal. Resubmission holds out a false hope of a refuge for such timid legislators as are seeking a formula for the evasion of their sworn constitutional responsibilities. Genuine friends of prohibition in Congress inclined to favor resubmission must assuredly take cognizance of these facts, and must furthermore recognize that the Constitution declares "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution." To vote for resubmission is actually to "propose" to the State legislatures an amendment which the Senator or Congressman so voting "deems necessary" to be submitted. To vote for resubmission of the prohibition amendment is to assume a grave responsibility which it behooves all genuine dry Members of Congress to consider with great care.

Third. Another sham is a demand for a national referendum when no such thing is possible under the Constitution of the United States. To call a thing a referendum does not make it one. To pretend to appeal to the will of the people in a way which the people have refused to provide in the Federal Constitution is cheap demagoguery.

Fourth. Another sham is a definite proposal introduced recently in Congress which calls saloon rule "home rule." All such proposals are plausibly phrased to appeal to those who advocate State autonomy. Actually these proposals mean saloons for all States that want them, precisely the impossible situation which existed before national prohibition. In these proposals safeguards against the saloon are either entirely nonexistent or else blandly assumed. Let there be no mistake, Raskobian "home rule" means eventually saloon rule.

If "home rule" means saloon rule as a fact, then it declares for sectionalism as a policy. It abandons the Federal principle and attempts to establish a sectionalism whereby States or groups of States could set their own standards without any regard to their Federal or mutual obligations. The purpose of the eighteenth amendment was to take prohibition out of politics. The defiant nullification activities of the wets have prevented the attainment of that goal. This proposed home rule amendment recently introduced in Congress catapults the prohibition issue necessarily into politics and keeps it there, for it will make it an issue in every congressional election. The "home rule" saloon plan is a completely planless plan. It does not even suggest a means for regulating or controlling beverage intoxicants, but leaves such means to be fought out in the political forum of each State and of the Nation.

Fifth. The demand for beer is conceived in deceit. There is an ocean of beer legally available to-day, an ocean of beer with not more than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol; but this does not satisfy the demand for beer. The demand for beer is really a plea for more alcohol, for something with an appreciable kick; in fact, something that will stimulate and something which in sufficient quantity will intoxicate. A law permitting an intoxicating beverage, by name or definition, would be unconstitutional, and a law calling an intoxicating beverage—4 per cent beer—nonintoxicating would be a legislative lie.

Sixth. We decry the unpatriotic attitude of those who seek to profit by the present extremity of the American people to advance their own selfish ends, to secure the reduction of the taxes of the rich by liquor taxes from the poor. Proposals which take advantage of economic confusion are unpatriotic. Wets are trying to saddle on the taxpayers a burden of expenditures running into the millions of dollars for holding futile and hopeless conventions, elections, hearings, and straw votes. These proposed expenditures hold not the slightest hope of tangible results for their proponents—not even a drink for the thirsty—only propaganda at the people's expense.

Seventh. We express our confidence in the President of the United States, the chief law-enforcement officer, and assure him of our support as to necessary appropriations and legislation to make effective his program of enforcement.

We also express our appreciation of the very efficient work being done by the Prohibition Department under the direction of Col. Amos W. W. Woodcock and Dr. James M. Doran in the department of industrial alcohol.

Eighth. We have heard with great satisfaction the reports of our executive officers: F. Scott McBride, superintendent; Ernest H. Cherrington, director of education department; Edward B. Dunford, attorney: Howard H. Russell, associate superintendent; and H. B. Sowers, comptroller. In what has been one of the most difficult periods of our country's history they have given our forces a leadership characterized by wisdom, courage, and success.

PROPOSED SALARY REDUCTION FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask that there may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Appropriations a statement in opposition to salary reduction for Government employees issued by the National Association of Letter Carriers.

There being no objection, the statement was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT IN OPPOSITION TO SALARY REDUCTION FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

A memorial to the Congress of the United States, presented by the council of administration of the National Association of Letter Carriers, January 20, 1932

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The proposed legislation to reduce postal and Federal salaries ought not to go into effect for the following reasons:

1. The general policy of maintaining wages in every industry so far as possible is a sound one, and Government should not abandon that policy and give its tremendous moral support to wage cutting.

2. Postal and Federal salaries have never been raised as much in relation to the cost of living as have wages generally, and their purchasing power is still inadequate.

3. The problem of the Government Budget is only slightly affected by the postal deficit, and if it is desired to remove this deficit, other means are available than cutting wages. Even a general cut in salaries of Federal civilian employees would be of negligible help in balancing the Budget.

4. The proper rôle of government during a depression is not to contract expenditures but to expand them.

These points may be briefly explained as follows:

I

One of the most remarkable features of the present depression has been the widespread recognition by public officials, from the President down, by industrial leaders, by economists and journalists, of the truth in labor's contention that wages ought not to be reduced.

The opposition to wage reduction rests on the principle that our whole industrial life depends on the purchase of goods by the consumer, and that if we lessen the purchasing power of the bulk of consumers we intensify the depression and postpone revival. This is particularly true when we consider that even before the crash almost every industry was troubled by capacity to produce more goods than could be sold. The increase of capital equipment to produce goods and the advance of technical efficiency in turning them out proceeded at a far more rapid rate during the period of prosperity than did the purchasing power of the wage earners and farmers, who were supposed to buy the goods produced. Between 1923 and 1926, according to Dr. Frederick B. Mills, of Columbia University, manufacturing production increased 4 per cent per annum. Railroad ton-miles increased 4 per cent per annum.

Yet the purchasing power of the annual incomes of wage earners increased very much less than this. There was an actual decline of real wages between 1923 and 1928 in manufacture and mining. Altogether, the general average of wage purchasing power probably did not increase more than 5 per cent in the whole period, or

1 per cent annually. According to Dr. Wilford I. King, in Income in the United States and its Purchasing Power, published by the National Bureau of Economic Research, the purchasing power of the annual earnings of wage earners in all industries averaged—in 1913 dollars—$679 in 1923 and $705 in 1927. This represents an increase of but 3.8 per cent in four years, or less than 1 per cent a year, as opposed to the 4 per cent annual increase in manufacturing production and transportation.

One of the fundamental readjustments of depression, which must be carried through before another period of prosperity can be expected, is an increase in the purchasing power of wages, brought about, not of course by an increase in money wage rates, but by a drop in prices and the cost of living sufficient to equalize the discrepancy between purchasing power and production which developed during the previous period of prosperity. If wage rates can be held up while the cost of living falls, we shall be in a much better situation to keep the industry busy when a turn in the tide of depression occurs and full employment returns.

So strong is this case that its opponents have had to invent an ingenious argument to get round it. What merit is there in this argument? It contends that keeping wages up actually reduces the workers' income, because it increases unemployment. Cut rates, says this argument, and the employer can reduce prices and sell more, and thus be in a position to increase employment. Though wage rates may be lower, the amount in the pay envelope will be larger.

This argument is never substantiated by the citation of a single case where this result has followed. Did prosperity follow the wage cut which the United States Steel Corporation finally decided to make? Is it selling any more steel now than before? Of course not. It is selling less.

Often prices are not cut at all after a wage cut. If prices are cut as a result of a wage cut, they can not be reduced very much as a rule, since in any single factory the wage cost is only a minor part of total cost.

In many cases of highly mechanized industries the efficiency of labor is already so high that any wage cut would make only a negligible difference in unit costs. In these cases wage cuts are usually resorted to not to lower prices but to protect dividends or interest which are in danger because the volume of business is too small. Of course, in such cases wage cuts can have no beneficial effect on employment.

Whatever may be the case in private industry, moreover, it is perfectly clear that in the Postal Service and Federal employment generally the specious argument for wage reduction has no force. Cutting Government salaries would not increase Government employment. It would be a sure and direct blow against the purchasing power of consumers.

Aside from the direct effect of a cut of salaries by the Government, it would have an enormous indirect and moral effect. It would signalize the surrender of the principle of wage maintenance and give sanction to a much more widespread and drastic period of wage slashing throughout the country than has yet occurred. No doubt this is the calculation and intention of those who support the bills in question. Does Congress wish to take this heavy responsibility?

II

In his book on Real Wages in the United States Prof. Paul Douglas, of the University of Chicago, states:

"While the full-time weekly wages of the manufacturing workers could purchase 12 per cent more in 1926 than during the nineties, the Federal employees could purchase 30 per cent less, and the postal workers 4 per cent less.

"Taking the years 1900–1926 as a whole, we find that the average * * * annual loss experienced by the postal workers has been 13 per cent.

"Since the hours per week for Federal employees increased slightly during this period * * * the real hourly earnings for these workers decreased * * * to an even greater degree than their weekly earnings. Thus, in 1914 they could purchase with an hour's work only 72 per cent as much as during the nineties, and in 1926 but 66 per cent as much. This loss of 34 per cent in real hourly earnings is in sharp contrast to the gain of 32 per cent made by the manufacturing workers, and shows, indeed, that the relative position of the Government employees in Washington has declined more than that of any other class of which we have record.

"The relative position of the postal workers as compared with that of the general run of workers also declined during this period, but by no means to the same degree as was the case with the employees of the executive departments, their weekly earnings being approximately 30 per cent less in 1920 than the average for 1890–1899 and 2 per cent less than in 1926."

During this period of 36 years the average postal worker suffered a net loss in purchasing power of $3,331.

No other occupation suffered so great a loss, while only six other occupations suffered a loss at all. Seventeen occupations gained substantial amounts. The average of all industries showed a net gain of $956 for the period, or an annual average gain of $35.41.

It is true that postal workers have made gains since 1926, largely due to a moderate drop in the cost of living, but their gains have been by no means enough either to compensate for their former losses or to bring them abreast of the other occupations.

As to the adequacy of postal and Federal salaries at present, the Commissioner of Labor Statistics made a significant report, which shows that even in 1928 the families of Government employees throughout the country could not live on the salaries received by these employees. The report was made to the Personnel Classification Board and is reprinted by them in House Document 602, pages 365 ff. It states:

"How the Government employee lives can be determined only by going into his home and studying his income and expenses. Such a study has been made in the families of Federal workers having a salary of under $2,500. The study relates only to families where there is a husband, wife, and at least one dependent. No inquiry was made as to the cost of living of unmarried persons or of higher-salaried persons. The period covered was the year ending June 30, 1928.

"The study reveals many interesting facts—

"The Government salary constituted but 78 per cent of the total family income in New Orleans. In the other cities it was still lower, being only 68 per cent in Chicago.

"In the several cities from 15 to 33 per cent of the husbands in these Federal families do outside work to add to the family income.

"From 15 to 32 per cent of these Government employees' wives go out from the home to work elsewhere for money.

"Children work and contribute to the family fund in many families.

"A few families take in boarders and lodgers.

"Some families are helped by relatives and friends by gifts of food, clothing, and other things.

"Only from 2 to 10 per cent of the families live within the Government salary of the husband.

"From 48 to 69 per cent of the families had expenses above the entire income from all sources.

"Only 10 to 20 per cent of all families had a Government salary on and after July 1, 1928, sufficient to meet expenses equal to those of the year then ending."

The conclusion is, obviously, that irrespective of what happens to wage rates outside the Government service, Federal salaries should not be reduced. Even if wages generally had a great fall, while Federal salaries were being maintained, still Federal salaries would not be out of line or unduly high.

III

For the fiscal year 1931 total Federal expenditures, exclusive of the expenses of the Postal Service, which were met from postal revenues, were $4,219,950,338. In this year there was paid out of the Treasury to the Post Office Department, in order to meet its book deficiency, $109,719,910. If the Post Office Department had been entirely abolished, therefore, there would have been a net saving in Government expenditures amounting to about 2.6 per cent of the total budget.

As a matter of fact, however, this $109,719,910 is not all properly a deficit attributable to the Postal Service itself. The Annual Report of the Postmaster General for the fiscal year points out that after deducting the amounts paid out by the Postal Service for nonpostal objects, at the direction of Congress—such as air and ocean mail subsidies and free mail service provided for Congress and executive departments—the net deficit was but $98,018,881.38. Even this includes indirect subsidies to parts of the service which do not pay their way, such as rural free delivery and free delivery of publications within countries.

The increase of this deficit for the year was due entirely, according to the Postmaster General, to a decline in the volume of mail accompanying the depression, amounting to about 7 per cent. With business revival the trend should be reversed.

It would be both absurd and unjust to hope to make any substantial contribution to Government budgetary problems by reduction of postal salaries.

Even aside from the Postal Service, only a minor part of governmental expenses arises from salaries paid to governmental employees. Three billion two hundred and ninty-six million three hundred and twenty-four thousand five hundred and nintyfive dollars, or 78 per cent, of the expenses of the Government in the fiscal year 1931 came under the following heads: Principal and interest of the public debt, Army, Navy, veterans, public buildings and public works, refunds, trust funds, and District of Columbia. Civilian employees of the Federal Government receive a wholly negligible proportion of the amounts spent under these heads. If we assume that the remaining 22 per cent of governmental expenses goes entirely to civilian employees, as of course it does not, still a reduction of 10 per cent in salaries would reduce expenses only 2.2 per cent. This is too small a reduction to be worth considering. It surely does not measure the difference between sound and unsound budgetary condition.

IV

A consensus of informed opinion with which everyone is familiar urges that a depression is the time when governmental expenditures for public works should be expanded. If it is desirable to expand governmental expenditures by pushing public works during a depression, surely it can not be desirable to contract the payments which Government makes to its own regular employees. That would be robbing Peter to pay Paul. It would be adding to the consuming power of certain wage earners at the expense of the consuming power of others.

As an excellent and authoritative statement of good fiscal policy in a depression, we quote from report on Long-Range Planning for the Regulation of Industry, drafted by Prof. J. M. Clark, of the economics department of Columbia University, with the assistance of a committee composed of Prof. J. Russell Smith, of

Columbia; Edwin S. Smith, formerly with A. Lincoln Filene of Boston and now commissioner of labor of Massachusetts; and George Soule:

"In order that governmental employment may operate to counteract rather than to reinforce business depression, it is necessary that expenditures be expanded at just these times when revenues fall off and budgets are straitened. A government in the strong financial situation of ours, backed by our generally strong national economy, need not and should not be afraid of using public credit freely or of incurring deficits at such times, relying on balancing the budget from surpluses secured in more prosperous years. The effect of government expenditures on economic stability is more important than accurate balancing of the budget in each single year. There need be no fear that borrowing will depress business by removing funds from the general capital market, at a time when business expansion is not calling for such funds in anything like normal volume, provided measures are taken to mobilize the lending power which actually exists, e. g., by thawing our frozen credits. Even increased taxes, whose yield and burden are likely to be deferred a year or more, with short-term borrowing in anticipation of their yield, can not depress business as much as prompt expenditures can stimulate it. By the time the taxes come to be paid, business may be in a stronger position to pay them.

"The point is that if taxes are sufficient to support the Government in the general run of good times and bad, a deficit in an admittedly very bad year need not be thought to necessitate desperate efforts at retrenchment to balance the Budget."

Submitted by the Council of Administration.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS,
By M. T. FINNAN, *Secretary*.

REPORT OF THE COMMERCE COMMITTEE

Mr. JOHNSON, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 2622) to provide an examination and survey of Seaside Harbor, Oreg., reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 138) thereon.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

A bill (S. 3216) for the relief of John H. Higgins; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. TRAMMELL:

A bill (S. 3219) for the relief of the Citizens Bank & Trust Co., of Tampa, Fla.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WAGNER:

A bill (S. 3220) to provide for the construction of a vessel for the Coast Guard designed for ice-breaking and assistance work; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 3221) to provide for the building of roads and trails in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Tennessee and North Carolina; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

A bill (S. 3222) to amend an act approved March 3, 1917, known as the District of Columbia appropriation act for the year ending June 30, 1918; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. KING (by request):

A bill (S. 3223) relative to the qualifications of practitioners of law in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3224) to give advanced rank to certain retired officers of the United States Navy; and

A bill (S. 3225) to give advanced rank to certain retired officers of the United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 3226) extending the benefits of the emergency officers' retirement act of May 24, 1928, to provisional officers of the Regular Establishment who served during the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3227) granting a pension to William W. Freeman;

A bill (S. 3228) granting a pension to Matilda O'Neel; and

A bill (S. 3229) granting a pension to Harriet Stewart; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COOLIDGE:

A bill (S. 3230) granting an increase of pension to Abbie L. Lockwood (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3231) for the relief of the Franklin County Trust Co., of Greenfield, Mass.;

A bill (S. 3232) for the relief of the Liberty Trust Co., of Boston, Mass.;

A bill (S. 3233) for the relief of the Security Trust Co., of Lynn, Mass.; and

A bill (S. 3234) for the relief of the Springfield Safe Deposit & Trust Co., of Springfield, Mass.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GEORGE:

A bill (S. 3235) providing for the restoration of retired officers to the active list of the Army in recognition of efficient service rendered while on active duty subsequent to retirement; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

A bill (S. 3236) to amend and correct the military record of Thomas P. Jordan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3237) to legalize a bridge across the Mississippi River at Grand Rapids, Minn.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. WALSH of Montana:

A bill (S. 3238) for the relief of John M. Grady; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JONES:

A bill (S. 3239) authorizing a survey of Duwamish Waterway, Wash.;

A bill (S. 3240) authorizing a survey of Lake River, near Ridgefield, Wash.;

A bill (S. 3141) authorizing a survey of Vancouver Lake, Wash.; and

A bill (S. 3242) authorizing a survey of the damage caused by navigation and erosion to the Columbia River; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. STEIWER:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 87) to provide for the appointment of a joint congressional committee and to afford emergency relief to the natural resource industries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION FEES

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I introduce two bills seeking to bring about a reduction in naturalization fees. A very exhaustive report upon this subject has been made by the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship. In connection with the two bills I ask that this report may be printed in the RECORD, together with a statement by myself and letters upon the same subject, and that these be also referred to the Committee on Immigration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill (S. 3217) to reduce certain naturalization fees; and

The bill (S. 3218) to reduce the fee for records of registry under the immigration laws were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

The statement prepared by Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts is as follows:

These two bills would reduce by 50 per cent the fees required under the naturalization and immigration laws for naturalization and registry.

At the present time an alien who came to the United States before June 23, 1921, of whose arrival no record is found, must pay $20 for a certificate of registry, in order to have his admission legalized so that he can apply for citizenship. By the provisions of my bills this fee would be reduced to $10.

In addition, the present fee required for certificate of arrival would be reduced from $5 to $2.50; the fee for receiving and filing a declaration of intention would be reduced from $5 to $2.50; the fee for filing and docketing a petition for citizenship and final hearing would be reduced from $10 to $5. Also, the fee for the issuance of new certificates of citizenship or declarations of intention in place of those lost, mutilated, or destroyed would be reduced from $10 to $5.

I have been endeavoring for several years to secure a reduction in the naturalization fees, as I have long considered that the

present rates put naturalization beyond the reach of the average applicant; that the desirability for citizenship should not be measured by an ability to pay an exorbitant fee, but that the true test should be an individual's merit, etc.

During the Seventy-first Congress I presented a bill (S. 3697) which provided for the reduction of the fee for record of registry from $20 to $10, and for making, filing, and docketing petition for citizenship and final hearing thereon from $10 to $5. However, the bill was never reported to the Senate because the department recommended against its enactment in a letter to the chairman of the Immigration Committee of the Senate.

The report of the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, with related data, presented by Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts, was referred to the Committee on Immigration, to accompany the bills, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN LANGUAGE INFORMATION SERVICE,
New York City, January 20, 1932.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senator from Massachusetts,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: I have been asked to forward to you a report from the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship dealing with the subject of naturalization fees and the effect of the increased fees. I think you will find in this report a wealth of important material on this subject. We are all hoping that you can make effective use of it in support of your bill to cut naturalization fees 50 per cent.

You are privileged to use this report or the material it includes in any way that you feel will be effective. I may say that the report as sent you is a first draft which the committee in charge has rushed in order that you might have the material at the earliest possible moment. The national council hopes to be able to print the report. Before this is done some minor changes may be made, but it will stand substantially as I am sending it.

With assurances of our cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

READ LEWIS, *Director.*

FOREWORD

The National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship is composed of member organizations and of individual men and women affiliated with national and local civic bodies representing every part of the United States. Its purpose is to promote coordinated effort in behalf of assimilation of the alien and education for good citizenship. It is designed to be of practical help to agencies interested in prospective citizens by assembling information and acting as a clearing bureau.

The large decrease in the number of persons applying for citizenship following the passage of the amendment to the naturalization law which increased the free for naturalization caused the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship to undertake a nation-wide study to determine the effect of the increased fee.

The report now presented has been prepared with much care and thought. The evidence gathered shows that the present fee of $20 seriously discourages the naturalization of our alien population. After a review of the data secured, the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship at its annual meeting held in 1931 unanimously adopted a recommendation that the high fee for naturalization be reduced.

Thanks are due the many civic agencies throughout the country who have assisted in assembling material for this report. Let us hope their efforts will aid in the correction of a situation which works a disadvantage to the alien and to the entire country, and that the emphasis in the requirements of citizenship will be transferred from a monetary to a more idealistic plane.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBT. C. DEMING,
Chairman Executive Board.

JANUARY 15, 1932.

HANDICAPS IN NATURALIZATION—A STUDY OF THE EFFECT OF HIGH FEES UPON THE NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS IN THE UNITED STATES

(This study was conducted under the auspices of the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, New York City, by a committee consisting of Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, director of immigration of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago; Mary O'Donnell Turner, director of the Americanization Bureau of Detroit (this organization has recently been disbanded); Florence Cassidy, of the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association, New York City; Thomas Mulholland, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York City; and Cecilia Razovsky, executive director of the department of service for foreign born of the National Council of Jewish Women, chairman.)

In the 10 years 1920 to 1929 an average of over 175,000 aliens became American citizens each year. As the years went by the number receiving their final naturalization certificates had steadily increased until in 1929, 224,197 aliens became citizens. In the fiscal year 1930 this number suddenly dropped and in 1931 fell further to 143,495. There was an even more startling decrease in the number of declarations of intention and petitions filed.

Here was a situation of deep concern to all interested in the assimilation of our alien population and their incorporation into the common life of our Nation. What was the reason for this sudden unprecedented decrease of over 81,000 (or more than one-third) in the number of aliens naturalized? It was this question that the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship undertook to study and to answer. The present report is a result of its investigations.

On March 2, 1929, the naturalization law was amended by a provision increasing the fees for naturalization from $5 to $20. The new fees went into effect July 1, 1929. The inference that this radical increase in fees was the cause for a striking decrease in naturalization was thus obvious and natural. The National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship was not, however, satisfied with any such easy conclusion.

There might be other factors responsible for this sudden decline. Were our restrictive immigration laws responsible? What was the situation in each of the 12 naturalization districts into which this country is divided? How were the different States affected by the new law? What was the testimony of competent civic and educational organizations throughout the Nation? The results of this inquiry show conclusively that the high fee is responsible for the decrease in naturalization during the past two years.

The reports submitted from a number of large cities contain so much significant data that there is great temptation to quote them in full. Because of lack of space, the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship is limiting the report to a condensed summary of the material received, which is believed to be representative of conditions throughout the country.

Up to 1929 the progressive growth in the naturalization of the aliens in this country (Table I of exhibits) shows how slowly but steadily the incorporation of the alien into our citizenry was being accomplished. In 1910 out of an alien population of approximately five and a half millions about 1 per cent were naturalized that year. In 1920 the proportion of aliens naturalized in relation to the total alien population, according to the census figures for that year, had increased to 3.3 per cent. By 1929 this proportion had increased to 4.5 per cent. This increased proportion was only affecting slightly a practically stable alien population of over 5,000,000 persons. To put it in another way, while the alien bloc remained practically stationary (see United States Census figures in Table I), the progress in naturalization took care roughly of all new alien admissions to the population accruing through immigration and including a few of those already in the country. For example, in 1929 the total number of immigrant aliens over 16 years of age admitted amounted to 200,923. (Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1929. Figures for aliens 21 years of age and over are not available from the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.) The number of aliens naturalized that year amounted to 224,197. Thus it can be seen that, however slight, an impression was being made on the solid alien bloc, since the naturalization figures were greater than the number of new aliens admitted.

The passage of the amendment to the naturalization act in 1929, increasing the cost of naturalization from $5 to $20, resulted in the following year in a drop in the proportion of the number of aliens naturalized to the alien population to 3.3 per cent—back to the 1920 figure. In 1931 there was a further drop in naturalization to 2.8 per cent in relation to the alien population.

IS DECREASE IN IMMIGRATION RESPONSIBLE FOR DECREASE IN NATURALIZATION?

It may occur to some that the great decrease in declarations of intention issued is to be credited to our restrictive immigration laws, but this presumption is obviously groundless in the presence of over 5,000,000 of aliens, of whom, according to the United States census of 1930, 3,342,837 had not yet declared their intention to become citizens. The very restrictive nature of our immigration laws, which makes traffic back and forth from Europe difficult for aliens, should have stimulated many of those residing in the United States for years to a new attempt to become citizens. Then, too, the deportation laws, the increased deportation activities of the Government, the threat of registration of aliens so greatly feared by them, should, it would seem, have induced many to declare their intention to become citizens or to complete their naturalization. Discrimination in many branches of industry, in the employment of public works, in membership in trade unions, in employment in private industries, should have created a scramble for the filing of declarations and petitions. In inducting 124 applicants into citizenship in New York City recently Judge Cotillo was quoted as having made the following remarks regarding the effect of the fee:

"The fee of $20 for naturalization was exorbitant in these times of depression, and that to get a job easily the alien was compelled to become a citizen, because industry closes three of every five jobs to aliens." (New York Times, December 31, 1931.)

But what do we find? With but few exceptions the naturalization of the alien has declined in practically every part of the country since 1929, and this despite the advantages and privileges, material as well as spiritual, which, particularly at this time, citizenship confers upon the alien. Two factors impose themselves for consideration—the high fee and the unemployment situation, which weighs particularly heavily upon the alien population. Table II (see exhibits) shows a decided decline in the number of petitions filed and the number of final certificates issued in 1930 and 1931 as compared with the numbers for 1929. The figures speak for themselves.

HOW HAVE THE VARIOUS STATES BEEN AFFECTED?

Before proceeding with a discussion of the replies received to the questionnaire sent out by the committee, attention is called to Table III (see appendix), which shows the figures for naturalization by States for specified years, together with the total alien

population over 21 years of age for each State, as given by the United States census of 1930, and the percentage of aliens naturalized in 1931 as compared with this total alien population. The figures for alien population for each State were obtained by subtracting from the total foreign-born population over 21 the number reported as being naturalized citizens. It will be noted that all the States show a large decrease in 1930 as compared with 1929 for declarations of intention issued, petitions filed, and final certificates granted. The drop in declarations of intention filed for each State in 1930 as compared with 1929 is indeed startling.

While it is true that by 1931 all the States, with the exception of Kentucky, show an increase in the number of declarations filed, as compared with the preceding year 1930, none of them approaches the figures for 1929, the year before the law was amended. Similarly, in 1931 the number of petitions filed in all the States shows an increase over 1930, but again the petitions do not reach the 1929 figures. It should be remembered that it was during this period that there developed a growing discrimination against aliens in industry, and in the granting of public relief and employment relief to aliens. Undoubtedly because of this discrimination, many aliens hastened to make declarations or to file petitions for naturalization.

The conclusions reached by an interested group in Los Angeles are:

"The increased fee makes a difference which is offset by the added advantage that citizens have over aliens in obtaining work. The fee works an undue hardship upon the prospective applicant. The fee should not become a test of citizenship because * * * economic barriers are unfair * * *."

However, the final certificates issued in 1931 as compared with 1930 show a further decrease so that there is a considerable decline in 1931 over the peak year 1929 in final papers granted. The year 1931 shows the smallest number of persons naturalized since the year 1917. (See Table II.) The following 35 States show this continued decrease in naturalization during 1931:

Alaska, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

The variation between the States as shown in Table III is obviously the result of several factors, such as differences in the depth of the depression, differences in educational facilities offered by State and city, variations in the legislation regarding employment of aliens on public works, etc.

Since the percentage of aliens naturalized in 1931 for the United States as a whole amounted to 2.8 per cent, a column is included in Table III showing the percentages of aliens naturalized by States in relation to their respective alien population. A map has been prepared—Table IV—in an attempt to show more graphically the unevenness of the progress of the naturalization of the alien in different sections of the country.

HAVE RURAL DISTRICTS BEEN EQUALLY AFFECTED BY THE FEE?

Data were secured from certain urban and rural communities in answer to the questionnaire sent out by the committee. It is evident from the reports that even within any one individual State, the rate for naturalization is spotty, depending again upon local conditions and activities.

Let us take Sullivan County, N. Y., as an illustration. This is a rural district consisting of rural farm population, rural nonfarm, small towns, and villages. The entire rural population is 28,395. Of this number 6,324 are foreign-born whites over 21 years of age, 1,995 of whom are not yet naturalized. In the year 1930, 6 people in Sullivan County applied for declarations of intention as compared with 89 in 1929. For the past fiscal year 1931, 17 persons applied for declarations of intention in this county. In 1929, 95 aliens received their final papers, whereas in 1930 the number had decreased to 74, and in 1931 there was a further decline to 35.

A similar report was received regarding the situation in Ulster County, N. Y., where the rural people find it exceptionally difficult to apply for papers, as they must pay witnesses for their transportation and also must pay for extra labor on the farm and the use of teams, when they take their own teams to the naturalization office. According to Miss Bessie Myers, educational supervisor of the farm and rural department of the National Council of Jewish Women, her experience in assisting aliens to make out applications leads her to believe that the high cost of the fee has deterred them from filing and completing their applications.

A report from Los Angeles states that while the urge to become citizens has been sufficient in the urban sections to overcome the hardship of paying the extra fee (because of pressure from employers), the increased fee has resulted in a hardship in the agricultural districts in the San Joaquin Valley; that is, in Fresno and Kings Counties.

According to a Minneapolis report, "The present unemployment situation and the high cost of fees is responsible for the decrease in naturalization, but it is possible this is only a temporary situation."

An outstanding instance of the effect of local conditions is that in the case of Detroit, where the number of aliens naturalized jumped tremendously in 1931, increasing to 11,295 declarations of intention from 6,794 in 1930, and where the number of certificates granted in 1931 amounted to 11,116 as compared with 10,055 in 1930. In 1930 the Detroit district had reacted as normally as the other districts to the effect of the fee.

The number of declarations of intention issued in 1930 amounted to 6,794, as compared with 22,852 issued in 1929. Similarly there had been a decrease in 1930 as compared with 1929 in the total number of certificates granted, 10,055 having been issued in 1930 as compared with 12,331 in 1929. The cause for the increase in 1931 is attributable to the "alien ruling" adopted in the city of Detroit in March, 1930, which removed from city pay rolls all alien employees. The pressure from employers who preferred citizens to aliens is also responsible for the increase. To quote from the report sent in by Miss Mary O'Donnell Turner:

"Pressure from employers and the fact that the city of Detroit requires its employees to be citizens have increased the demand for citizenship. Aliens believed that citizenship would assist them in securing and keeping employment. The ban on alien employees adopted by the city of Detroit and the removal of city employees from city employment caused the aliens to apply for papers in greater numbers."

The passage of the Michigan registration act (recently declared unconstitutional) was undoubtedly an additional cause for the increase.

IS THE HIGH FEE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECREASE IN NATURALIZATION?

In answering one of the questions which called for factors responsible for the slowing up of the process of naturalization the following interpretations were elicited:

High fees are given as the first factor in the effect on naturalization by agencies reporting from the following States and cities:

Boston, Mass.; Chicago district; Connecticut, including Bridgeport, Hartford, Meriden, New Haven, Middletown; Colorado; Dayton, Ohio; Erie County, Pa.; Oakland, Calif.; Portland district, Me.; San Francisco, Calif.; Seattle, Wash.; Syracuse, N. Y.; and western counties of Massachusetts.

High fees plus unemployment are given by the following sections and cities as being the two most important factors:

Brownsville, Tex.; Chicago, Ill.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Denver, Colo.; Massena, N. Y.; Oneida County, N. Y.; Ulster and Sullivan Counties, N. Y.; Utica, N. Y.; and Yonkers, N. Y.

Among other factors mentioned are higher educational requirements, itinerant labor, delay experienced by the local bureaus of naturalization in securing necessary supplies of new blanks, uncertainty as to procedure, and "red tape."

WHY MUST THE ALIEN PAY FOR AN OMISSION FOR WHICH HE IS NOT RESPONSIBLE?

Certificates of registry required by the law have caused the alien many difficulties and hardships. While the provision in the law permitting aliens who arrived before June 3, 1921, to legalize their residence by securing certificates of registry where they can not recall the date of arrival or name of steamer, or have entered without inspection, is excellent and greatly appreciated, it should be remembered that the fee for a certificate of registry is $20, in addition to the $20 further required for naturalization. Very few aliens who arrived in the United States before June 29, 1906, are able to recall the name of the steamer on which they sailed or the date of their arrival. On the other hand, at very few points of arrival were adequate records kept by the Government before 1906. One of the comments made in the report of the Commissioner of Naturalization (1931) refers to such certificates of arrival. According to this report—

"The records prior to 1906 have been imperfectly kept and attempts to make use of them have disclosed the impossibility of administering the requirement of the March 2, 1929, law that a certificate of arrival be furnished from the records for those aliens who entered the United States prior to June 29, 1906."

Even after June 29, 1906, and until some time in 1908, there were 90 points of arrival on the United States borders where no records were officially kept. To require certificates of arrival from aliens within this category is to tax them for an omission for which they can not be held responsible. To secure a certificate of registry is for many aliens an expensive as well as a very difficult matter. In some instances, the applicants must pay for the wages and transportation and luncheons of their two witnesses to the nearest immigration station where they are called for examination. It has been stated on good authority that the cost of certificate of registry mounts sometimes to as much as $100, taking into consideration loss of time and wages of the witnesses and of the applicant together with other necessary expenses.

One community center in New York City reports that there are quite a number of cases in their files of aliens who entered before 1906 and who are unable to obtain proof of their legal entrance because Ellis Island records were destroyed in a fire. An instance is cited of one woman who came to the United States in 1898 when she was only 2 years old. She was educated in this country and is thoroughly American. There is no record of her arrival. She wants to become a citizen, but can not afford the cost of a certificate of registry in addition to the naturalization fee because her husband is out of work and because they belong to that group in our population that has definite and immediate use for every penny earned and no chance to save.

The State director of adult education of Connecticut has a long list of aliens who arrived before 1906 and who are not responsible for their failure to secure verification of their arrival.

WHAT ABOUT NATURALIZATION OF WOMEN?

That women are also seriously affected by this change in the naturalization law is obvious from Table V (see exhibit). With the passage of the Cable Act in September, 1922, when married women were granted the privilege of independent citizenship, the

number of women taking advantage of this opportunity became gratifyingly larger each year.

In 1929, 57,063 women had become naturalized in their own right. In 1930, after the change in the law, the number had decreased by 8,258, a drop of 14.5 per cent for women. Incidentally there had been a drop of 28.1 per cent for men in 1930. In 1931 the effect was reversed and we find that the decrease for women was 24.6 per cent of the 1930 figures, whereas for men the drop was but 11.5 per cent of the figures for 1930. In 1931 there were 20,287 fewer women who had become citizens as compared with the 57,063 who had become naturalized in 1929—a total drop of 35.6 per cent. The percentage of decrease for men in 1931 as compared with the number of men naturalized in 1929 amounts to 36.4 per cent; there were 60,950 fewer men naturalized in 1931 than in 1929.

Many agencies called attention to the fact that a greater proportion of women than men living in their communities were deterred from completing naturalization because of the high fee. A visiting nurse in one city reported that nurses are often called in to aid families that have spent every cent on the father's citizenship and are therefore destitute. Their gas and electricity are turned off, they have no money left to purchase food after their grand naturalization splurge. As between father and mother, the naturalization of the father seems to be more urgent and the mothers are obliged to postpone taking any steps until there is more money in the family exchequer.

SOME ILLUSTRATIVE CASES FURNISHED BY AGENCIES

The following cases are given by various agencies as examples of hardship dependent upon the increase in fee:

"Mrs. T. was left a widow last March. The four children, two boys and two girls, range in age from 8 to 15. Mrs. T.'s health will not permit her to work and the children are too young. There was a little insurance, but only sufficient to pay the funeral expenses and debts accumulated during Mr. T.'s illness. The only income now is the small amount which Mrs. T. receives from her brother-in-law, who lodges with her, the newspaper-route earnings of one of the boys, and some groceries contributed by charitable organizations.

"Mr. T., a native Italian, became an American citizen a few years before his death. He intended to remain in this country and rear his children here, and so he bought a small home, putting into it the few hundred dollars he had managed to save and borrowing the balance. In the ensuing years he was able to pay back part of this, but there is still a mortgage on the place, and it is quite a problem for his widow to meet the interest due every six months. Mrs. T. wants her children to be educated, and bitterly regrets that the eldest, a girl, had to leave high school when her father died.

"Mrs. T., like her husband, Italian by birth, is anxious to become a citizen, for, as she says, she considers this country her home and will never leave it; her children are its citizens, and surely their mother ought not to be an alien. She has been in this country since 1914, speaks English quite well, and earnestly believes that she can pass the citizenship test with the help of the International Institute, which is only too willing to lend its assistance. But how is she to pay the increased fees? That is the question she has asked of the social worker interested in her problem, but as yet no answer has been found." (McKeesport, Pa.)

"John J., employed as storekeeper in State institution for past 20 years. He arrived prior to head-tax period from Canada. He recrossed border many times, but has been admitted on basis of his State employment. He can not see his way clear to invest $20 for record of registry." (Boston, Mass.)

"M. C., Hartford, Conn., came to the United States as a baby in 1902; lived at Hartford and attended school there. Could not make application for first papers until 18 years of age, which he did; joined the Army and served two years in the Philippines and has honorable discharge. His first papers lapsed and another declaration was taken out in 1926. In April, 1929, he applied for second papers, and heard nothing until October, when told his record of arrival could not be found and to apply at the Immigration Department. Here he was told to secure a record of registry, at a cost of $20. Mr. C. will be unable to proceed at present, hoping that the law will be modified so as to recognize his entrance, without the payment of $20 in addition to the twenty for naturalization." (Hartford, Conn.)

"Fairly prosperous Italian family, consisting of mother, father, and three children. Sickness and unemployment. Low salary now. Waiting for better salary to pay fee." (Washington, D. C.)

"Seventeen years ago an ambitious husband and father came to America, with the idea in mind of finding work and establishing a home so that after his position became secure he might send for his wife and family in Czechoslovakia. While building for this future possibility, he kept in close touch with his family, and sent quite large sums of money for their support. The World War was declared the year he landed in the United States, so that for four years there was no possibility of his wife and children joining him in this country. Then it became difficult to secure steady employment and consequently difficult to put money away for the passage of his family, as well as support them in Czechoslovakia.

"In 1921 immigration quotas were established under the new Federal policy, and it became especially difficult for families from southern European countries to secure admission to the United States. Then the immigration act of 1924 went into effect, and full citizenship was required before a man's wife and children could enter outside the quota. This man had not had the advantage of education in his country, and so a long period of study and preparation became necessary before his plans could be accomplished. His declaration of intention had been properly filed, and in September, 1930, he was called for the examination on his petition. He successfully answered all the questions and passed the examination, but could not be given his petition card because he did not have the necessary $10 fee. Economic depression had again meant the loss of his job, and the consequent lack of money. In the meantime his children will soon be past the age when they are entitled either to preference or nonquota status. Full citizenship, especially at so high a cost, is often an impossible price to ask of families as the basis of reunion.

"There is a young widow in Chicago with six children under 16 years of age. She came to the United States a year or two before the war with her husband, but has been so busy with her large family that she has learned very little English. Her husband had taken out his declaration of intention in 1922, but died before citizenship was completed. He had served in the American Army during the World War. This mother is anxious to qualify for a pension from the juvenile court by completing citizenship upon the basis of her husband's first papers. When she attempted to file a petition she found they had expired, and that she must begin the process all over again. She hopes to learn English and civics before the time of the examination. It will be very difficult for her to pay the $20 now required to complete the process of naturalization. Her situation raises a grave question as to whether citizenship should be required as the price of a mother's pension.

"One of the women who finds the new naturalization fees hard to meet is a widow with six children, the oldest of whom is a girl of 13. There were bills amounting to $440, and funeral expenses of $500, met by the subscription of their friends. In order to keep her family together this mother has applied for a juvenile-court pension. In order to secure it she must be a citizen of the United States. As a matter of fact, she was born in Chicago, and has never been out of the country. But she married an Italian, who had come to America many years ago but who had not become naturalized. Since the marriage took place (before the passage of the Cable Act in 1922) she had lost her citizenship in the United States. In order to regain it she need not take out "first papers," to be sure. But she must file a petition and pass the examination in civics. She has not the $10 necessary to meet the fee for second papers." (Chicago, Ill.)

THE HISTORY OF THE FEE

Up to 1906 there was no uniformity in the fees charged for naturalization. The fees varied considerably in the different States. From a report on the history of naturalization (F. G. Franklin, Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States) we find that in 1840—

"Fees varied greatly, being much higher in Federal than in State courts. They were often reduced by arrangements with political committees. The local fees ranged from 50 cents to $3 for naturalization and from 20 cents to $1.25 for a declaration of intention. In some States the total fee amounted to $3; in others it amounted to $10."

In the report of the House Committee on Immigration that accompanied the naturalization bill (February 26, 1906) it was stated that the average amount charged throughout the United States for naturalization amounted to $11—$1 for declaration of intention, $5 for filing of petition, and $5 for issuance of certificate. It was not until 1906 that Congress for the first time passed a law calling for a uniform naturalization fee. When the report of the committee was discussed in the House the chairman, Mr. Bonynge, in answer to a question as to how the committee arrived at the figures for fees, replied:

"We endeavored * * * to ascertain as near as we could, and it was largely a matter of conjecture, what the expenses of the national supervision of naturalization would be * * *. Upon further consideration, we have concluded that the fees provided by the amendment which we will offer [this amendment reduced the total fee to $5, and was adopted in conference.—C. R.] will be sufficient to pay the expenses, and it is our desire to charge only a sufficient amount to cover the expenses of naturalization." (United States CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 59th Con., 1st sess., vol. 40, pt. 7, p. 7035, middle of page, col. 1.)

We quote further from the United States CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 1906 (59th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 40):

"Mr. JAMES. If a man in good faith wants to become a citizen of this country it ought to be possible for him to do so without the clerk collecting from him an exorbitant fee in order to obtain the right to become an American citizen.

"Mr. BONYNGE. We do not desire that he should collect an exorbitant fee. (Pt. 4, p. 3647, top of page, col. 2.)

* * * * * * *

"Mr. GOLDFOGLE. You can not improve the quality of citizenship by an increase in the present fees for naturalization." (Pt. 7, p. 7043, foot of page, col. 1.)

ARE THE PRESENT FEES NECESSARY TO DEFRAY THE COST OF OUR NATURALIZATION SERVICE?

According to the annual report of the Commissioner of Naturalization, the excess of net receipts of 1929 as compared with the cost of administering the naturalization law amounted to $192,911.88. In 1930, after a year under the new law, the excess of net receipts increased to $1,648,101.71, that is eight and one-half times over that in 1929—854 per cent. In 1931 the excess of net receipts over cost of administration increased over ten times that of 1929, or 1,026 per cent to $1,981,933.63. As against this remarkably high

excess of net receipts over expenditures, we find that the increase in the cost of administration in 1930, as compared with 1929, was only $143,396.22, or 11½ per cent. For 1931, the cost of administration as compared with the cost in 1929 shows only a little over 12 per cent. The excess income from naturalization from 1907 to 1930 amounted to $1,098,926.37. In the last two years only it amounted to $3,629,135.34.

If the fee is only to cover cost of naturalization, it is extremely exorbitant; if it is to pay for the privilege of becoming a citizen, then who is willing to set the price on such a precious prerogative, whose value is inestimable? To quote Judge McCoy, of Washington, D. C.:

"If the fee is to be measured by the value of the privilege, the privilege is going cheap at $5 or $10. If the privilege is one which we desire the immigrant to exercise, both for his own good and ours, weren't the previous fees high enough?"

WHAT THEY DID IN SOUTH AFRICA

The situation in South Africa with respect to increase of fees might well be cited. Originally the fee in that country was a little over £2 6s. ($10). In July, 1921, it was increased to £10, then reduced in December, 1921, to £5. In December, 1924, it was again reduced, this time to £2 10s, because it was felt that the fee was a material consideration to applicants who are not in a financial position to incur the outlay involved.

SOME OPINIONS FROM INTERESTED CITIZENS

Many of the figures in the questionnaire received were supplemented by opinions, from which are quoted the following. It is evident from these statements that many teachers, social workers, judges, directors of adult education, etc., believe that the fee is too high and is responsible for the decrease in naturalization and its disastrous social consequences:

Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, of the Immigrants Protective League of Chicago, states: "We expected a decrease in naturalization, but we were not prepared for the immense drop in the Chicago district. The leading reasons are increase in fees, delay in supply of blanks, discouragement of the alien over the technicalities and obstacles on the long, long trail of the applicant."

Mr. Robert C. Deming, supervisor of adult education, Hartford, Conn.: "Americans believe in equality of opportunity and that 'a man's a man' regardless of his worldly wealth. When Congress radically increased the cost of naturalization in a time of depression, putting the emphasis upon wealth and not upon character and educational requirements, it ran contrary to our traditional ideals of democracy and lost a great opportunity to place citizenship on a spiritual rather than a material basis. How must citizenship be looked upon by our prospective citizens when it is a barrier and obstacle toward an economic, social, or immigration objective, rather than an envied objective through educational and spiritual qualitative requirements? Somehow the lamp of citizenship has been dimmed."

Miss Clara L. Soule, director of Americanization, Portland, Me., says: "My experience has been that the increased naturalization fee has proved a great hardship to many, even causing indefinite postponement."

Mr. Clarence L. Hewitt, director of adult education, Syracuse, N. Y., states: "I do not believe that the expense of naturalization demands the high fees. The high fees cause a postponement of the declaration and a consequent delay in preparation for citizenship. Even in good times the high fees will be a burden. In these hard times the high fees are an indirect tax on the community by reducing the petitioner's ability to take care of himself. In many cases the fees are loaned to petitioners by their friends. In a few instances private charitable agencies have paid the fees. This has had to cease on account of exhaustion of funds. They have caused resentment on the part of foreign born and have served to perpetuate the mass of alienage. In the cases of some the expiration of the seven years allowed for the life of a declaration has come when the alien could not possibly raise the money to pay the fees for a petition, so the money and time expended on the declaration became a total loss."

Rev. John C. Carr, Catholic Charities, Buffalo, N. Y.: "The fees are too high for even normal times, and unemployment makes the fees doubly hard and prohibitive. I now know a number of worthy people who are not financially able to get their final citizenship papers."

Miss Maude E. Aiton, administrative principal of public schools, Washington, D. C., writes: "I believe the fee for naturalization is too high, and I also believe your study will show that to be the general feeling among workers with adult foreign born. No fee can be commensurate with the gift of citizenship. A fee that covers the cost of naturalization to our Government so that our own citizens will not bear the financial burden seems to me to be an ample charge. As I understand it, this was so before the larger fee was legislated for. The larger fee is denying to the economically handicapped man and woman, even though of high qualifications and real loyalty to the Government, its protection, and rights."

Miss Irene Siachta, director, Catholic Immigrant Aid, New York City, states: "I am very much in favor of the reduction in naturalization fees. We have quite a number of clients who, like those enumerated in your statements, must defer their naturalization because of the charges. A smaller fee would be a blessing for them."

Mr. Read Lewis, director, Foreign Language Information Service, New York City, writes: "The increased fees for naturalization are in our experience a serious deterrent. Many aliens who desire American citizenship can not afford what it now costs. This seems particularly unfair during the present period of unemployment. We discriminate against the alien on the one hand and on the other increase the difficulties of his becoming a citizen. What is to be gained by such a policy? Naturalization should, it seems to us, be encouraged as soon as the alien has a sincere desire for it. If the former fees are not restored, the high fees now in force should, we believe, be substantially reduced."

Capt. Fritz Nelson, secretary immigration and Americanization department of Salvation Army, New York City: "The number of cases handled by the immigration and Americanization section has decreased since the July, 1929, act which increased the fees for naturalization. People are prevented from becoming citizens because of the high fees. Of course, the present depression and hardship of obtaining money is also responsible for the decrease in the number of applications for citizenship. People who are having a hard time keeping body and soul together need their money for necessities. Citizenship is not a necessity. It is a duty and privilege, and therefore is a second consideration in times like these. The fee should not exceed the actual expenses incurred by the Government in the necessary progress of examination and issuance of certificate, etc."

Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman, chairman department of service for foreign born of the National Council of Jewish Women, says: "In this organization's experience with aliens who are applying for citizenship in practically every section in the country, the high fee is causing great hardships. Some of our local branches have undertaken to assist the aliens by having them deposit a small weekly sum until the full amount is made up with which the fee may be covered. The efforts of our organization to stimulate interest among foreign-born women to become naturalized as a part of their participation in community life are unfortunately frustrated by the increased fee, since most women are obliged to sacrifice their personal desires in order to take care of the urgent needs of their families."

Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, executive, department of immigration and foreign communities, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, states: "To acquire American citizenship has always been important and has been held by successive thousands to be a precious privilege. To acquire it now is not only important, it often constitutes a family's one hope of remaining together or of maintaining independence. The excessively high fees required now have become a block to the fulfillment of naturalization hopes. To permit, in these times, a monetary figure to constitute a deciding factor in the business of qualifying for citizenship, amounts to casting the idealistic value of American citizenship over into the shadows of cynicism. I believe the fees connected with naturalization process should be immediately and materially lowered."

Mrs. Oscar Geballe, National Council of Jewish Women, San Francisco, Calif., says: "The applicants who apply to our organization for aid in naturalization find the high fees the most important factor which prevents them from completing their naturalization."

Mr. Henry Fruchter, Naturalization Aid League, New York City: "The high fee is the primary factor in the reduction of naturalization. Besides the high fee there are two other factors causing the decrease in the number of applications for naturalization—the depression. This is, of course, a very important factor. It is very difficult for an alien earning about $18 a week to afford citizenship. But when that alien is out of work the hardship is even greater. The educational requirements for citizenship eliminate approximately 5 per cent of the people who apply."

Mrs. Joseph Skwirsky, chairman Newark Americanization Classes of the National Council of Jewish Women, reports: "Many of the women are ready for citizenship but have not the money with which to pay the fee. Our own experience has shown that many people are not able to pay the fee, but it is not certain if this is due to the present situation or that it might have been the same were conditions better."

Mrs. Joseph Kohn, of the Council of Jewish Women, and Miss Jeannette Kaner, of the Jewish Charities, Duluth, Minn., state: "The increase in fees makes it difficult for many of our people to think of getting their papers."

Miss Sara C. Clapp, Kips Bay Neighborhood Association, New York City, adds in her report: "Many people who come here for information concerning citizenship procedure and rates believe that they are being misinformed when they are told about the new fees. They go from one organization to another asking whether the fees could really have been raised to the extent they have been advanced. The old age pension law, which came into effect on January 1, 1931, in New York City, has brought many inquiries about citizenship, inasmuch as it will benefit citizens. However, the inquiries are not followed up with applications for citizenship because of the new high cost of naturalization which very few can afford."

Mr. A. L. Sluger, Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, New York City, says: "The reasons for the decrease may be the combined factors of the increased fee as well as the present scarcity of money, with possibly the strict curtailment of immigration under the national origins quota act."

Mr. Harold Fields, executive director National League for American Citizenship, New York City, states: "It is absurd to assume that the higher fees we charge, the more assured are we of a better grade of citizen. In the 1860's, when Carl Schurz and others became naturalized, the fee was $1 and the resultant product has become publicly known as 'our pioneers.' * * * These higher fees have already been the cause of a painful decrease in the number seeking citizenship and the number being granted citizenship. * * * These increased fees coming at a time of depres-

sion have caused a definite slow-down in the whole process of naturalization. That leaves us faced with the fact that the fees can only be paid out of income and that the income of aliens is being curtailed because in many cases they are losing their jobs, or are without jobs, because of their very alien status. If one can not get work unless naturalized, and one can not become naturalized unless one has work—a circle that actually exists today—the situation calls for correction. I speak for myself and for the National League for American Citizenship when I say that we will look upon the reduction in fees for naturalization as a very sensible form of legislation and a very wise act in Government policy."

CONCLUSIONS

The data submitted in this report show that there had been a steady growth of progress in the naturalization of aliens up to 1929.

There were more aliens naturalized in 1929, before the new law went into effect, than the admission of new aliens over 21 into this country. Since the passage of the new amendment increasing the fee there has been a definite decline in the process of incorporation of the alien throughout the country.

Whereas since the passage of the Cable Act in 1922 women were becoming naturalized in increasing numbers each year up to 1929, the high fee has affected them very markedly and fewer women are now being naturalized.

Practically all observers agree that the present fee for naturalization is entirely too high.

Many civic agencies agree and insist that the present fee is responsible for the decrease in naturalization.

Many observers believe that the present economic situation undoubtedly aggravates the detrimental effect of the high fee on aliens who desire to become citizens.

The present cost of administering the naturalization law has increased by only 11½ per cent more than the cost in 1929. The excess in receipt of fees amounts to 1,052 per cent more than in 1929. There is, therefore, no need for the high increase in fee to balance the Budget.

COMMENTS

Naturalization is in a sense a part of the educational and assimilation process of the alien in this country. The effort to make a citizen out of an adult alien is analogous to the education required in teaching civics and citizenship to a native child. We do not expect any revenue from the education of the child who is to be our future citizen. Why should we require revenue for incorporating the alien into our community life?

One of the most potent arguments that made restriction of immigrants acceptable to the country was that we would be able to assimilate the alien already within our gates. The economic argument for restriction of immigration was by itself a debatable one and by many considered fallacious. The World War had taught us that there were great groups of unassimilated aliens in our country and a great postwar Americanization movement was inaugurated to hasten the assimilation process of the aliens.

Now are we going to retard the assimilation of the very alien whose bulk loomed large and whose future assimilation was planned when our Government adopted the restricted-immigration program?

We have a bloc of aliens in this country amounting to over 5,000,000 people. At the rate we are going at present, it will take more than a generation to naturalize them. Economically, socially, and culturally they are isolated. Are we going to put greater obstacles in their path than they experienced before?

We have cut their cultural bridges to their old fatherlands behind them by our restrictive immigration measures. Shall we at the same time build a Chinese wall around them here so that the new fatherland is closed to them? It must not be forgotten that the effect of alienage is not confined to the actual 5,000,000 but to their immediate descendants as well. Particularly grave hardships are imposed in making naturalization difficult for those aliens whose families are still abroad.

There can be only one effect in this increase of cost which with unemployment is deterring many aliens from becoming naturalized. That effect is the perpetuation of a permanent body of noncitizens who will constitute an alien bloc of the population, which history shows has always led to a serious social problem.

The high fees should be reduced.

Respectfully submitted.

CECILIA RAZOVSKY,
Chairman Subcommittee on Effect of Increased Fee on Naturalization, National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship.

JANUARY 15, 1932.

EXHIBITS

TABLE 1.—*Rate of naturalization in the United States*

	1910	1920	1929	1930	1931
Total alien population over 21 years of age	[1] 5,585,691	[1] 5,777,015	[1] 5,010,207	[1] 5,010,207	[1] 5,010,207
Total naturalized in year mentioned	30,448	177,683	224,728	169,377	144,495
Per cent naturalized	[3] 1	[3] 3.3	[3] 4.5	[3] 3.3	[3] 2.8

[1] United States census figures.
[2] United States census figures for 1930.
[3] Percentage estimated by correcting naturalization figures for 1910 and 1920 to allow for the citizenship status of married women who became citizens automatically by the naturalization of their husbands.

TABLE II.—*Naturalization figures for the entire country*
(Reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration)

Year	Declarations	Petitions	Civilian certificates	Military certificates	Total
1907	73,668	21,113	7,941		7,941
1908	137,571	44,032	25,975		25,975
1909	145,745	43,141	38,374		38,374
1910	169,348	55,750	39,448		39,448
1911	189,249	74,740	56,683		56,683
1912	171,133	95,661	70,310		70,310
1913	182,095	95,380	83,561		83,561
1914	214,104	124,475	104,145		104,145
1915	247,958	106,399	91,848		91,848
1916	209,204	108,767	87,831		87,831
1917	440,651	130,865	88,104		88,104
1918	342,283	105,514	87,456	63,993	151,449
1919	391,156	128,523	89,023	128,335	217,358
1920	299,976	166,760	125,711	51,972	177,683
1921	303,904	177,898	163,656	17,636	181,292
1922	273,511	173,170	160,979	9,468	170,447
1923	296,636	148,059	137,975	7,109	145,084
1924	424,540	166,947	140,340	10,170	150,510
1925	277,218	162,258	152,457		152,457
1926	277,539	172,107	146,239	92	146,331
1927	258,295	235,298	195,493	4,311	199,804
1928	284,588	235,328	228,006	5,149	233,155
1929	280,645	254,799	224,197	531	224,728
1930	62,138	111,209	167,637	1,740	169,377
1931	106,272	142,249	140,271	3,224	143,495
Total	6,028,517	3,270,442	2,853,660	303,730	3,157,390

TABLE IV.—*Percentage of alien population naturalized in 1931, by States*
(Report Bureau of Naturalization, 1931, U. S. Census Reports, 1930)

UNDER 2 PER CENT

Alabama	1.7
Arkansas	1
Colorado	1.3
Connecticut	1.9
Georgia	1.9
Idaho	1.3
Kansas	1.8
Louisiana	1.5
Maine	.7
Nevada	1.9
New Hampshire	.9
North Dakota	1.9
Oregon	1.7
Utah	1.3
Vermont	1.1
West Virginia	1.7

2 TO 3 PER CENT

Arizona	2.5
California	2.6
Delaware	2
Florida	2.3
Indiana	2.5
Kentucky	2.4
Maryland	2
Massachusetts	2.4
Minnesota	2.9
Mississippi	2
Missouri	2.4
Montana	2.2
Nebraska	2.7
New Jersey	2.8
New Mexico	2.1
Ohio	2.3
Oklahoma	2
Pennsylvania	2.5
Rhode Island	2.5
South Carolina	2.6
South Dakota	2.5
Tennessee	2.6
Texas	2.5
Virginia	2
Washington	2.4
Wisconsin	2.3
Wyoming	2.5

OVER 3 PER CENT

District of Columbia	3.5
Illinois	3.5
Iowa	5
Michigan	3.1
New York	3.5
North Carolina	3

TABLE V.—*Women applying for citizenship*
(Reports of U. S. Bureau of Naturalization)

Year	Declarations of intention	Petitions	Certificates of naturalization
1924	49,291	17,255	14,771
1925	51,927	22,526	18,576
1926	56,983	28,392	24,770
1927	55,017	44,474	33,971
1928	56,037	55,391	81,280
1929	73,496	69,903	57,063
1930	14,534	29,320	48,771
1931	22,798	36,773	36,720

The letters referred to by Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts protesting against naturalization and registration fees were referred to the Committee on Immigration, to accompany the bills, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Fall River, January 24, 1930.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
Senator from Massachusetts, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As you are no doubt aware, the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration is directly interested in the subject of naturalization, since practically 90 per cent of all those that have gained American citizenship during the past 10 years have been assisted and advised at each step in the process by our organization.

Because of our intimate connection with this work, I desire to bring to your attention one particular clause of the new regulations that apparently works a grave hardship on a large group of people in this vicinity.

I refer especially to that section of the law which makes it mandatory that a record of arrival be produced for each candidate for citizenship, regardless of the date of entry.

Since the system of recording arrivals at our seaports began more than half a century ago, such persons are not affected by the recent law, to the same extent as those who entered from Canada prior to June, 1906, the date on which formal inspection at the Canadian border line was inaugurated.

In this city especially are great numbers of Canadians who entered this country long prior to the year 1906 and consequently are not in position to satisfy the requirements anent record of entry.

For the most part, the group in question are not in financial circumstances to permit of their availing themselves of the legalization privilege, and I find it quite an impossible task to explain the necessity for such action. Within a week at least six persons of the class in question were informed of the necessity of legalization as a requisite for citizenship and I am certain that in no instance will they proceed further. When we consider that frequently these persons, with great sacrifice, have attended evening schools for several years in preparation for a naturalization examination only to be confronted with the prohibitive fee of $40, I am sure that you will agree with me that their particular cases warrant your earnest consideration.

I am aware that our laws are frequently enacted with the retroactive feature, but I feel that this law is retroactive to the extent that it exacts an impossibility from a considerable group of people.

To be concise, the law now permits an arrival from Europe who entered at a seaport such as Boston or New York in the year 1900 to acquire his citizenship at a cost of $20, while, on the other hand, a Canadian who crossed the land border in the same year must undergo the difficulty and expense of legalization in addition to the fee for citizenship.

May I respectfully request that you have the kindness to favor me with an opinion on this phase of the law, and also advise as to the possibility of any action that might be taken looking toward an amendment to correct this seeming injustice.

Very truly yours,
DIVISION OF IMMIGRATION AND AMERICANIZATION,
PATRICK J. HURLEY, *District Immigration Agent.*

SOMERVILLE, MASS.

DEAR MR. WALSH: I would appreciate very much if you would tell me what I could do in the following case: I was born in Canada, coming to this country at 6 months of age with my entire family. In 1927 I took out my first papers, and the second papers are now ready, but find that I will have to pay $35 before I can receive them, as they claim that no record of my entering this country. My parents claim at that time no record of entry was taken. I have my birth certificate and the date of my entry. I desire very much to become a citizen but am not in a position to pay the extra $20 that they claim I must pay to the Immigration Bureau. Hoping that you might be able to help me, thanking you, I remain,

Yours truly,

ARTHUR M. HYDE,
158 Albion Street, Somerville, Mass.

THE SALVATION ARMY,
New York, N. Y., April 10, 1930.

Senator WALSH of Massachusetts,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The fee I referred to in my previous letter is the one paid by all applicants for (first papers) declaration of intention to become an American citizen, in the past $1, now $5.

In order to enlist in the United States Army aliens must have such first papers, and very frequently the recruit is without funds and unable to raise the fee. In such cases private organizations are asked by the recruiting officers to do so, and we have always done so cheerfully.

I feel that any alien recruiting for the Army should receive his first papers without any fee whatsoever.

I inclose Form A-2213, stating the sum payable.

Sincerely yours,

Capt. FRITZ NELSON.

BOSTON, MASS., *December 14, 1931.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As you know, the fees for naturalization are outrageous, as the result of Republican legislation. I presume that the time is not opportune for a change in the charges because of the narrow Democratic margin in both Houses. However, I believe a start should be made, and it would not hurt the party in this State any to have these new citizens know that efforts were being made to reduce these charges to their original status, which was fair and reasonable, $1 for primary declaration, $4 for final papers, and $1 for duplicate of last paper, instead of the present charges of $5, $20, and $10 for the same papers.

Very faithfully yours,

JOHN J. BUTLER.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *December 8, 1930.*

Senator WALSH,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: As a former Bostonian, I am asking for your advice on a matter important to me. I should like to have introduced in Congress a bill to lower by at least 50 per cent the fees for naturalization (especially the $10 fee for second papers). The general antialien reaction has raised a barrier to naturalization in these huge fees. Even though these were intended to be a part of permanent law they can and ought to be changed.

As an example of the injustice they work, take my mother's case. She came here in 1897 and never could afford naturalization. I started the process in 1927 as a patriotic duty with my own money. Now, I have spent over $8 and still require $10 to pay the final fee, and I'm out of a job and broke. If the fee were reduced to $2, it would be a great help. Now, my mother could die happy without being a citizen, but why should naturalization be discouraged? Do you notice the outlaw condition of the Chinese here? Don't you think such a condition will exist among the foreign born if the policy of treating the alien as badly as possible is continued?

I hope you will introduce and press to a vote a bill reducing by at least 50 per cent all fees for naturalization.

Yours very truly,

MARTIN FALL.
(M. A. Harvard.)

PROPOSED EVERGLADES NATURAL PARK, FLA. (S. DOC. NO. 54)

On motion of Mr. FLETCHER, the report of a special committee on the National Parks Association appointed to study all the features in connection with the proposed Everglades National Park in the State of Florida was ordered to be printed as a document.

MANAGEMENT OF RAILROAD INDUSTRY

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read a concurrent resolution. After it is read I wish to make an explanation of it and then to ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let it be reported for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Con. Res. 9), as follows:

Whereas unemployment in the railroad industry has reached the point where it presents a grave problem for both employees of railroads and for the transportation system; and

Whereas it has been proposed that the railroads should provide for the adoption of the principle of a 6-hour day; and

Whereas there is no adequate information had by the Government as to the effects of the adoption of such a principle: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Interstate Commerce Commission is hereby authorized and instructed, with the aid of an advisory council which would be representative of both management and labor in the railroad industry, to examine into and to determine the feasibility of applying the principle of the 6-hour day to the different classes of railway employees and to report to the Congress on or before December 1, 1932.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, for several days there have been appearing in the press reports as to the lack of progress made by the railroad brotherhoods and the railroad executives now in conference in Chicago. In the last two or three days messages have come to my office from the conference indicating that perhaps the strongest point of difference between them is the question of the 6-hour day. It has been intimated to me that if there were some interest taken by Congress in the feasibility of the 6-hour day, the brotherhoods might yield that point and thus bring about an agreement between the executives and the brotherhoods. It seems to me, inasmuch as there is considerable agitation for the 6-hour day, that Congress might be properly in-

formed through one of its agencies, namely, the Interstate Commerce Commission, as to the feasibility of such a plan.

I think there is nothing more that I need to say. The circumstances and the facts I have stated indicate, I think, the desirability of our taking prompt action. Further, I might say that in the Interstate Commerce Committee this morning, seven members being present, we discussed this resolution, and those members present were unanimous in approving the resolution and were unanimously of the opinion that unanimous consent should be asked for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none, and, without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

SUITS AGAINST RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA AND OTHERS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 146) submitted by Mr. BLAINE on the 21st instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to report fully to the Senate at the earliest practicable date upon the present status of the following-entitled suit: In the District Court of the United States for the District of Delaware, in Equity No. 793, United States of America, petitioner, *v.* Radio Corporation of America, General Electric Co., American Telephone & Telegraph Co., Western Electric Co. (Inc.), Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., R. C. A. Photophone (Inc.), RCA Victor Co. (Inc.), General Motors Radio Corporation, and General Motors Corporation, defendants; upon any negotiations or conferences which may have taken place between the representatives of the Government and the said defendants, or any of them, and/or their attorneys or representatives, since the filing of the petition in the said suit, to wit, May 13, 1930, and upon any action taken by his office since that date to amend the petition in said action and to expedite the trial thereof, and to transmit a copy of the pleadings in said action; and

Resolved further, That the Attorney General is requested not to compromise or settle said suit or consent to the entry of any consent decree therein until the Senate has received the information and advices requested herein, to the end that legislation may be initiated for the protection of the public's interests and the safeguarding of the radio industry.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, when this resolution was presented yesterday I asked that it go over until to-day, because it appeared to be very important. Personally, after reading the resolution, I think it should be modified or that it should be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary for consideration. It involves certain public matters that probably should not be disclosed generally until first the Committee on the Judiciary shall have an opportunity to look into and discuss the matter fully with the Attorney General. I wonder if the Senator from Wisconsin would have any objection to the resolution going to the Judiciary Committee or to have a slight modification suggested to the resolution?

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I am informed that the Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL] desires to propose some amendments to the resolution; and if the Senator is disposed to propose those amendments now, they might be stated. Then I can ascertain whether or not, in my opinion, amendments ought to be adopted.

Mr. DILL. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. McNARY. Does the Senator from Washington desire to propose his amendments and have them read at this time?

Mr. DILL. I should like to propose certain amendments to the resolution.

Mr. McNARY. I yield to the Senator for that purpose.

Mr. DILL. The suit here involved has been filed for a considerable period of time, negotiations have been in process looking to some settlement, but there has been considerable delay and a good deal of rumor as to what was going to be done about it. It seems to me it is very proper to call upon the Department of Justice to ascertain what is being done. However, in the light of the fact that these negotiations are between the private parties to the suit and the Government's representatives, I wanted to offer some amendments to the resolution.

First, in line 2, after the word "the" where it first occurs, I suggest the insertion of the words "Judiciary Committee of the," so as to read, "That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to report fully to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate" the information called for, the idea being not to make these data public at this time, for to make them public might be somewhat embarrassing to the Attorney General. I desire also to suggest some other amendments in the latter part of the resolution if the Senator from Wisconsin is willing to accept them.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, at the time I offered this resolution my thought was that if the resolution should be adopted by the Senate and if the Attorney General should comply with the resolution and transmit the information asked by the Senate, it was my purpose then to ask that that information be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Therefore the resolution as proposed to be amended will carry out the purpose in a more expeditious manner perhaps than that which I had in mind, and I accept the modification of the resolution suggested by the Senator from Washington.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wisconsin modifies his resolution. Will the Senator from Washington now suggest the other amendments he proposed to the resolution?

Mr. DILL. On page 2, line 12, after the word "the" where it first occurs, I move to insert again the words "Judiciary Committee of the," so that it will provide that there shall be no decree entered in the case until the Judiciary Committee of the Senate shall have received the information, and so forth.

Mr. BLAINE. That is compatible with the Senator's first suggestion, and I accept the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wisconsin modifies his resolution.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. DILL. I wish first to finish the amendments. At the end of the paragraph I think it would be well to strike out the period and to insert the words "if found necessary," because it might be that the committee would decide that no legislation need be initiated, and I think, therefore, it would be well to insert the words "if found necessary."

Mr. BLAINE. It seems to me that would naturally follow, and I will accept that amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution is modified as suggested by the Senator from Washington.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. DILL. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. The effect of the resolution as amended, then, would be to suspend the conclusion of negotiations or the entering into any agreement until the report shall be made to the Judiciary Committee. Technically, however, restraint would then cease; and I apprehend that if a further resolution should be necessary suggesting a further postponement of the conclusion of negotiations, it could be taken care of at that time.

Mr. BLAINE. I assume that when the matter is before the Judiciary Committee that committee could then report back to the Senate, if it thought necessary, and ask that the proceedings be suspended, and, if not necessary, the committee could take such action as it deemed proper.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as modified.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I understood that the Senator was going to ask that the resolution as modified be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, my thought was to move that the resolution be referred to the Judiciary Committee; but, in view of the modifications, I shall not make the motion.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I never read the resolution until now, but it seems to me that we are doing a

very unusual and extraordinary thing. I suppose there are few Senators here who know anything about this complicated lawsuit or the proposed compromise between a number of litigants. None of us knows what might be the effect of the adoption of the resolution. Certainly it would seem that it would be more orderly for the resolution to be sent to the Committee on the Judiciary, so that that committee might investigate and have the Attorney General before them or have some one else before them to ascertain what effect the adoption of the resolution might have on the negotiations. I think that is a more orderly way than just to adopt a resolution with practically no consideration by the Senate and none at all by any committee. I merely offer that as a suggestion.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I share that view generally, but, in my opinion, the Attorney General will appear in person or by his subordinates before the committee and bring such data as he would bring if the resolution were referred to the committee. The point I was making was that I did not believe the report first should be made to the Senate and published. I thought the Attorney General should have the opportunity to present to a standing committee of the Senate the present status of the case; but the same opportunity will be afforded, as I understand, by the amendments which have been adopted as though the resolution itself were referred to the committee.

Mr. HARRISON. The resolution, as I understand, provides that nothing shall be done until the matter is presented to the Judiciary Committee. That may be perfectly all right, but it may be interpreted that the adoption by the Senate of the resolution should stop all negotiations for the settlement of a very intricate, perhaps, and delicate and important piece of litigation with which I am not familiar and as to which I know nothing. It seems to me that the more orderly way to proceed would be to have this resolution go to the Judiciary Committee and let that committee make a preliminary investigation. If there is nothing objectionable about it and, in their opinion, no harm would come, then they can report it to the Senate and let the Senate adopt it.

I was called to attend the Rules Committee on two different occasions to consider a rule which would provide that all resolutions calling for investigations, and so forth, resolutions of this character, as well as others, should, when they were offered, be referred to the appropriate committee for preliminary investigation. That rule ought to be enforced not as to one resolution but as to all resolutions if we are going to adopt such a policy, and I think the Rules Committee reported favorably such a rule.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator that that amendment to the rules has been agreed to.

Mr. HARRISON. It has been agreed to?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Then, why do we not follow an orderly procedure by requiring that every resolution, no matter who offers it, no matter what its character may be, shall go to the appropriate committee for preliminary investigation. Such a course will do no harm to anybody.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. HARRISON. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. On that point I have some doubt whether the pending resolution comes within the amendment to the rules. I do not understand that this resolution imposes any charge on the contingent fund of the Senate, and for that reason I do not think the rule to which the Senator is referring is applicable. It seems to me, however, that there ought to be no objection to referring the pending resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. HARRISON. I have said about all I want to say. I was merely expressing my opinion.

Mr. BLAINE. I wish to say to the Senator from Mississippi that this resolution does not suspend any negotiations that the Attorney General may have undertaken or may desire to carry on. All it does is to request him not to enter into a compromise agreement and a consent decree until the information is presented to the Judiciary Committee. That is all the resolution does.

Mr. HARRISON. Does the Senator think it would do any harm at all for the resolution to go to the Judiciary Committee, where some of the interested parties might be called, to see whether or not this would destroy any proceedings which are under way? It may be in the public interest to have the controversy settled.

Mr. BLAINE. Answering the Senator, my own feeling is that this will expedite the matter and that the Attorney General will welcome this particular procedure. That is my feeling about it.

Mr. HARRISON. Would it do any harm, then, to get an expression from the Attorney General with reference to that suggestion? The Judiciary Committee could report the resolution back to-morrow; and if there is no reason why it should not be adopted, that might persuade the committee; but this course of procedure is not carrying out the purpose of the Rules Committee and of a rule that was adopted the other day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the rule referred to only applies to resolutions proposing appropriations from the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. HARRISON. It would be a very good idea if applied to all resolutions.

The VICE PRESIDENT. What is the pleasure of the Senate?

SEVERAL SENATORS. Question!

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution offered by the Senator from Wisconsin, as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

WAR—AN ADDRESS BY DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered at the annual convention of the League of Nations Association in Philadelphia on Friday, January 15, 1932, by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

Speaking before this convention, meeting in Chicago one year ago, a brief survey of the most important problems then facing the international life of the world was offered and the question pressed, What will the American people do about it? A full year has passed, and the answer to that question is, apparently practically nothing! The American people just now seem content to prefer the lugubrious continuance of adversity to stirring themselves to regain prosperity; to permit their capital resources to be drained to an extent that is little short of astounding rather than to make an effort to lead the way in bringing to an end conditions which make possible that draining; to watch some seven millions of unemployed walking the streets in distress and want and to give unselfishly of their savings to help their less fortunate fellows, seeing factories close, railways drift toward receiverships, and farm income fall from $12,000,000,000 in 1929 to $7,000,000,000 in 1931, rather than to proceed to reconstruct their economic policies and international relationships so as to stimulate industry, trade, and transportation and offer new and multiplied opportunities for gainful occupation; to dawdle idly in the presence of foolish and meaningless talk at Washington rather than to rouse themselves to act to compel their government to conform to instructed, unselfish, and high-minded public opinion. The trouble is that the war is still going on.

By the terms of the armistice signed on November 11, 1918, it was provided that on the western front there should be cessation of hostilities on land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice, and that there should be immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea. Nothing was said in that famous document, and nothing could be there said, about the cessation of hostilities in human minds and in human hearts. What causes this country to-day to suffer so greatly, and what is bringing unprecedented distress to the whole world is the fact that the war is still going on. Hostilities, to be sure, are no longer military or naval in

their expression, but they are none the less angry, bitter, and selfish. How long must the war go on?

That which came to its tragic end in the years 1914–1918 was the system of armed and competitive nationalism which had been growing up in the western world for centuries. When it pulled down the roof of that world upon millions of innocent and once happy homes and sent to their unmerited death millions upon millions of human being who had not the least notion of what the fighting was all about, its lessons were so plain that for a time it seemed as if the public opinion of the world had learned what they were and was prepared to act upon them. The League of Nations came into existence and began helpfully and with large promise to set about its noble task. The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, creature of American example and American leadership, was constituted and quickly made a place for itself in the field of international relations. The Bank for International Settlements at Basel was brought into being, and there was quick promise through it of new leadership in all that pertains to international cooperation in the fields of economics and finance. The pacts of Locarno, definite and convincing, were followed by the pact of Paris, as definite and as convincing as any declaration of governments can possibly be. This pact, under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, at once became the supreme law of the land, and every violation of it or any attempt or preparation to violate it became an act of lawlessness. The names of Briand and Stresemann were names to conjure with. Under their kindly and understanding guidance public opinion not only in France and in Germany but throughout the world was being led toward the vision of the new day when the time-old suspicion and antagonism between the two great peoples on either side of the Rhine would disappear before new understanding and a new spirit of helpful cooperation. All these things had been done, and the future seemed full of promise.

Then reaction began, at first slowly and sporadically, then more generally and more widely diffused. There were outbreaks and manifestations, now here, now there, of the old nationalistic spirit, miscalled patriotism, and every such outburst in one land stimulated outbursts of like-minded reactionaries in other lands. That the world has been slipping backward since the pact of Paris was signed can not be doubted. Hostilities have broken out again, not on an eastern front nor on a western front, but, unhappily, in the hearts and minds of great numbers of human beings for whom there has been no effective armistice. At a time when trade barriers should everywhere be lowered in order that trade itself may be stimulated and employment given to the millions who are now seeking gainful occupation, those barriers have almost everywhere been either raised or made stouter. At a time when there should be complete international cooperation in examining the foundations of the present economic and financial crisis and in proposing and making effective policies for relief from it, that cooperation is resisted, first and chiefly in this land and sometimes but less stoutly in other lands, on the plausible but wholly misleading plea that we must look after our own and leave the rest of the world to see what it can do for itself. The trouble is that there is only one way adequately and sufficiently to look after our own and that is to join the whole world in looking after all of us, for the day has long since gone by when any nation, however populous or however powerful, has or can have an independent economic and financial life of its own. "Let us withdraw from Europe and mind our own business," cry strident voices at Washington, and their cry is repeated in a considerable portion of the American press. Why should not Idaho and California on like grounds withdraw from the Union? Why should not Bannock County withdraw from Idaho and Inyo County from California? Why should not Pocatello withdraw from Bannock County and Independence from Inyo County? Why keep up these hampering entanglements, alliances, and associations? Why not let every community look after itself and let the devil take the hindmost? What need have Pocatello and Independence for the potatoes of Aroostook, the corn of Kansas, the cotton of Georgia, or the oil of Oklahoma? Are they not themselves upright, forthright, downright people and able to attend to their own business without alliances and entanglements with others? That is the morality as well as the stupidity of the policy called isolation, and its economic and financial results, if it be pursued long enough, will be so disastrous that present conditions will seem like an abounding prosperity.

When Thomas Jefferson put his pen to the Declaration of Independence, he took no such immoral and unreasonable position, but proclaimed a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, and declared the causes of the separation from Great Britain in that spirit and for that purpose. It is a decent respect to the opinions of mankind and a decent respect for the prosperity and happiness of our own people, which should now lead our public opinion to compel the Government at Washington to move quickly to end the war which is still going on.

Speaking to a score of cardinals on Christmas eve, Pope Pius XI used these words:

"Unfortunately we see but one solidarity, namely, of distress, of pain, and suffering. There is but one tendency, and it is for isolation, for reciprocal exclusion, and for difference whereby the general suffering can but grow."

These few words are pregnant with meaning and are profoundly true. How long must the war go on?

No one who faces the facts can deny that the treaties which followed the armistice were built upon the foundation of that old order of armed and competitive nationalism which, if the lessons of the Great War had been learned, would have been seen to have reached its end. The dictated treaties, built upon this foundation, were, and could only be, abundant in causes of difficulty, of friction, and of dispute. To reconsider their provisions within any brief period of years is a psychological impossibility, but to overcome and to minimize the new difficulties which those treaties create is by no means impossible, leaving readjustments in the treaties themselves to the slow process of time. If only the fact be grasped that economic boundaries no longer bear any relation to political boundaries and that if national prosperity is to be restored and to continue, new and natural economic unities must be created by overleaping political boundaries now in one direction, now in another, and now in many directions at once, the new day will begin to dawn.

If trade and industry and transportation can be restored in central and western Europe, in eastern Europe, and in the Balkan States by the creation of new economic unities, with simple and helpful administration of laws of inspection and taxation at a political boundary, the whole world will begin to revive and then to move forward on a new and higher plane. But the United States must play its part and must go and do likewise. It must recognize that in these days no nation can be an end in itself but that each plays its part like a brick in a wall, like a stone in a monument, like a link in a chain, like a citizen in a State, as a member of that commonwealth of free and independent nations which is just now being born. Far-seeing statesmen and wise economists have seen all this and have projected or proposed it, but every effort to advance it is always confronted with the opposition of the entrenched powers of privilege and of special interest which uniformly clothe their selfish appeals in the garb of patriotism. These interests object violently to the dole when it is in the form of payment to an individual without employment, but they applaud it as wise and patriotic when it is in the form of a bounty to themselves and their own undertakings. Surely, with some twenty-five or thirty millions of human beings without employment in Europe and America, it is madness to withhold longer the constructive international action which can alone solve these problems. How can Europe or Asia or Africa pay debts owed either to or in the United States over the barrier set up by a high and thick tariff wall and a wish to build up and maintain a permanent surplus of exports? It can not be done! American policy in this respect provokes like policies in Europe, and the situation grows steadily worse.

The mere announcement on June 20 last that some change for the better in our international policy was proposed so cheered and so heartened the American people and so restored their confidence that in a few short hours billions of dollars were added to the value of those securities which are held for investment by every sort and kind of person throughout this land. Prosperity began to return. When a few days later it was declared that nothing important was to follow those billions of dollars of increased value quickly disappeared, followed by many other billions of dollars of value. Depression and dejection displaced the beginnings of a new confidence, and the last state of those prices of investment securities was worse than the first. Surely the intimate relation between international policy and national prosperity has been amply demonstrated.

The attempts which were made to distribute the cost of the Great War among the participating nations by the recognition of intergovernmental war debts have dismally failed, as they were doomed to do from the first. The monstrous idea that the world would submit to carrying for 62 years the burden of so-called international governmental indebtedness growing out of the conduct of the war could not find more than very temporary acceptance while men did not understand what it meant. The German people, engaged in the terrific struggle to build a democratic government on the ruins of a traditional imperialism, have been bled white through their effort to meet the burden imposed upon them. Those who were their enemies on the field of battle would gain infinitely more by ceasing to endeavor to collect impossible reparations and by beginning as quickly as may be to build up prosperous and profitable commercial relationships with a restored and productive German industry. The allied and associated powers endeavored to distribute among themselves their intergovernmental debts and advances of one sort and another. The task was possible on paper, perhaps, but not in fact. As events have turned out, for every dollar that the American people have received on account of so-called intergovernmental war debts they have lost many, many dollars of their own capital and income, largely because of the arrangements which these so-called intergovernmental war debts reflect and evidence. Wholly apart from the stupendous capital losses and the losses of markets which have resulted from the existing international situation, the Public Treasury of the Nation and of the various States has collected hundreds of millions of dollars less in income tax than three years ago. What, then, can possibly be the use of continuing a condition under which the American people lose many times what they collect on the foolish plea that if they do not continue to collect they must make good the amount not so collected? Are the American people so unpractical that they will continue to prefer to receive $5 and to lose $50 rather than to cease to collect the $5 and to have back the $50 from which to make good the $5?

We must not blind ourselves to the fact that the war is still going on. It is going on with great vigor at Washington, as a most casual reading of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will amply demonstrate. It is going on when it is calmly proposed that the Congress, facing a deficit of colossal proportions, shall undertake to

commit the Nation to a new expenditure of some $600,000,000 for the purpose of strengthening an instrument of war which we have pledged ourselves never to use. Have we lost not only our national common sense but also our national sense of humor? What sort of spectacle shall we present to the historian of to-morrow who tells the world the effect of the great war upon the people of the United States, upon their civilization, and upon the operation of their Government?

It is the business of public opinion to move to stop the war, that war which is raging in the hearts and minds of far too many millions of men in our own land and in other lands. This is not a form of war which can be brought to an end by any kind of force or by the use of anything that resembles the once powerful military arm of government. It can only be brought to an end by persuasion, by good will, and by self-determination. The battle is raging on the field of ideas, and the combatants are the ideas of yesterday and the ideas of to-morrow. We have our choice between looking backward and looking forward. We may, if we insist, continue to look backward, entrench ourselves behind the breastworks of armed and competitive nationalism, relapse into the dull placidity of somnolent selfishness, and let civilization take the consequences, whatever these may be. Or we may look forward and throw our whole force, intellectual and moral, behind those institutions, still in the making, which are the expression and the embodiment of forward-facing men's convictions and ideals. Chief among these are the institution for international consultation provided by the League of Nations at Geneva, the institution for judicial determination of international differences provided by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, and the institution for financial international understanding and cooperation furnished by the Bank for International Settlements at Basel.

These three cities—Geneva, The Hague, and Basel—embody the hope of the world. They are the centers at which the highest type of human effort will focus itself for the purpose of realizing those ideals of national prosperity, national security, and national happiness which in these modern days can have no other foundation than international understanding, international cooperation, and international peace. The coming commonwealth of free and independent cooperating nations will be a commonplace a hundred years from now. Men will then look back and wonder at the slowness of its making, at the obstacles that were put in its way, at the arguments that were advanced against it. But they will see Magna Charta striving for hundreds of years effectively to establish its principles. They will see the Bill of Rights meeting with every sort and kind of obstacle before it was universally accepted. They will see the Constitution of the United States opposed and defied by able and resolute men on precisely the grounds that are now so often advanced at Washington for resisting international cooperation and international peace. Rhetorically, all Washington is for international understanding and international peace, but propose any specific act for the fuller accomplishment of those ends and see what reception it meets from those who in rhetoric are most eloquent and most abundant!

How long must the war go on? It will go on until reason overthrows passion, until kindliness displaces hate, until generous concern for the welfare of all men drives out narrow selfishness, and until eyes now so tightly closed are open to the vision of the new day. Then America will be prosperous again and prosperous, let us hope, forever. Is this impossible? Perhaps, but I think not.

THE CALENDAR

The VICE PRESIDENT. The calendar, under Rule VIII, is in order. The clerk will state the first bill on the calendar.

The first business on the calendar was the bill (S. 1861) authorizing the George Washington Bicentennial Commission to print and distribute additional sets of the writings of George Washington.

Mr. JONES. I ask that the bill may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

FISH AND GAME SANCTUARIES IN NATIONAL FORESTS

The bill (S. 2326) to establish fish and game sanctuaries in the national forests was announced as next in order and was read.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, while this bill is rather well safeguarded with respect to the rights of the States, there is a very substantial objection to it, to which I should like to invite the attention of Senators, namely, that under the provisions of section 2 violation of the rules and regulations made by the Secretary of Agriculture with respect to taking game or fish within these sanctuaries is made an offense against the United States. Accordingly, anyone charged with taking game within these sanctuaries or taking game contrary to the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture with reference to them will be brought to trial in the Federal court instead of in the local tribunals that have control over offenses against the game laws of the State generally.

I think that is a grave objection to this bill; and while I am in sympathy with the purpose of it—the preservation of wild life, both fish and game—I can not believe that there is any occasion for thus multiplying the offenses triable in the Federal courts. Accordingly, I am constrained to object to the consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, before the bill goes over I feel that it should be said that necessarily there must be some forum for the enforcement of the statute. It would be useless to establish game sanctuaries and not penalize in some way those who violate the law for the protection of the game. I presume the statute could authorize State courts to try cases where there have been infractions of the Federal statutes. I am not certain that it is possible.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. JONES. Does not the Senator think it might be a good idea to refer the bill to the Judiciary Committee to pass upon the very question he has raised?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I have not any objection whatever to that, and I think I will make that motion.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, for the purpose mentioned by the Senator from Arkansas, I withdraw my objection to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. WALCOTT. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. WALCOTT. While I concur in the objection raised by the Senator from Montana, I believe the bill is an important measure. There are two or three important situations that would be very much relieved by the passage of this bill; and I am particularly anxious that it be straightened out, so that we can have something that will enable us to do what we want to accomplish without getting any new situations in the Federal courts. I approve thoroughly of the suggestion made by the Senator from Washington.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It is entirely true that under statutes recently enacted the Federal courts have become in large measure police tribunals—that is, tribunals for the enforcement of police laws and regulations—and I think it is desirable to have consideration by the law tribunal of the Senate, the Judiciary Committee, of the question as to where the jurisdiction to enforce this statute shall be rested. I move that the bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS, ETC., PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 1951) for the relief of Howard P. Cornick was announced as next in order.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, in the absence of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED], who made the adverse report upon this bill, and in the absence of the Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE], I think the Senate should pursue the course suggested by the Senator from Pennsylvania the other day when the Senator from California was absent, and have the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 88) to authorize the Postmaster General to investigate the conditions of the lease of the post-office garage in Boston, Mass., and to readjust the terms thereof, was announced as next in order.

Mr. BLAINE. Let that go over.



The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 26[illegible]o amend subdivision (c) of section 4 of the immigration act of 1924, as amended, was announced as next in order, and was read.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I do not find any report on this bill in my calendar. I understood that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS] was going to file one.

Mr. HARRIS. I expect to file a report on the bill sometime within the next few days, and shall then ask consideration of the measure. I am waiting to get the views of the departments on the measure.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1663) to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails was announced as next in order.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I should like to have that bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 58) to authorize the printing of the annual reports of the Federal Farm Board without limitation as to number was announced as next in order.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over.

The bill (S. 2199) exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, if this bill is to be taken up under the order now prevailing, there ought to be some explanation made of the reason for the exemption of building and loan associations from the bankruptcy statute.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. COUZENS. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS] is not in the Chamber; so I ask that the bill go over.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1234) to authorize an emergency appropriation for special study of and demonstration work in rural sanitation was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

PENSIONS AND INCREASE OF PENSIONS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 6596) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war, which had been reported from the Committee on Pensions with amendments.

The first amendment of the Committee on Pensions was, on page 37, after line 8, to strike out:

The name of Blanche A. Sheldon, widow of Edmund J. Sheldon, late of Company A, Twentieth Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 41, after line 2, to strike out:

The name of Christiana Rodarmel, widow of George T. Rodarmel, late of Company H, Fifty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 41, after line 14, to strike out:

The name of Myra E. Bilyen, widow of Volny Bilyen, late of Company F, Fifty-second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 44, after line 16, to strike out:

The name of Millie A. Washington, widow of George N. Washington, late of Company G, Twenty-seventh Regiment United States Colored Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 52, after line 7, to insert:

The name of Jane M. Ford, widow of Abel C. Ford, late of the Ninth unattached company, Massachusetts Militia Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ida H. Stinson, widow of Avery F. Stinson, alias Amos Simpson, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary J. McLaughlin, widow of Moses J. McLaughlin, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Margaret A. Kollock, widow of Horace T. Kollock, late of Company B, Thirtieth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Annie P. Hall, widow of David H. Hall, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Almeda Crosby, widow of Enock S. Crosby, late of Battery K, First Regiment Maine Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Susan Dadmun, widow of Josiah A. Dadmun, late musician, Third Regiment New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Susannah Powers, widow of George Powers, late of Company A, One hundred and thirty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary C. Stewart, widow of Irenious D. Stewart, late of Company E, Twenty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Myrtle G. Geoffroy, widow of Gregorie L. Geoffroy, late of Company B, Twelfth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Sabina C. T. Fox, widow of John Fox, late of Troop G, Eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary F. Robbins, widow of Ephriam Robbins, late of Company H, Fourteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month, and $30 per month when attaining the age of 60 years.

The name of Rosa Webb, helpless child of Stiles Delass Webb, late of Troop D, Third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Mattie J. Price, widow of Cyrus Price, late of Battery G, Fifth Regiment United States Colored Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Harriet C. Church, widow of John A. Church, late of Company K, Twenty-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary A. Cline, widow of Lemiel Cline, late of Company B, Seventy-fourth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of John William Duff, helpless child of William F. Duff, late of Company B, Ninety-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Mary Currier, widow of John Currier, late of Battery B, First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Margaret Cottrill, widow of Henderson Cottrill, late of Company B, One hundred and forty-eighth Regiment Ohio National Guard Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Hattie G. Kennedy, widow of William H. H. Kennedy, late of Company G, Eighty-first Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Flora A. Irwin, widow of Samuel L. Irwin, late of Company H, One hundred and thirty-sixth Regiment Ohio National Guard Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Margaret D. Haines, widow of Caleb P. Haines, late of Company D, Eighteenth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Herman Reissenbigler, helpless child of George Reissenbigler, late of Company F, Twenty-ninth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Tabitha Alkire, widow of Alexander Alkire, late of Troop E, First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Josephine L. Wilson, widow of Joseph S. Wilson, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Margaret E. Wells, widow of William A. Wells, late of Company C, Sixtieth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Jane West, widow of William West, late of Company E, Sixty-second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary Roby, widow of John W. Roby, late of Company B, Ninety-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Kate Ann McGinnis, widow of Neriah N. McGinnis, late of Company H, Twenty-sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah N. Houseman, widow of Henry Houseman, late of Company G, Thirty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Almera J. Chiles, widow of John F. Chiles, late of Company F, One hundred and twenty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ann M. Stead, widow of Benjamin G. Stead, late of Company H, Thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of J. S. Clyde Baldwin, helpless child of John S. Baldwin, late of Troop E, Thirteenth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Elizabeth Caulk, widow of Alexander Caulk, late of Company I, One hundred and twenty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary J. Goodson, widow of Jesse N. Goodson, late of Company F, One hundred and eighty-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Eliza Darnell, widow of James Darnell, late of Troop I, Eighth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of John G. Smith, helpless child of Samuel R. Smith, late of Company D, Tenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Eliza J. Young, widow of Shelby D. Young, late of Troop E, First Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of S. Audella Burdick, widow of Charles H. Burdick, late of Company K, Thirteenth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah Flier, widow of John H. Flier, late of Company E, Second Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Charlotte E. Patt, widow of Benjamin A. Patt, late of Company I, Fourth Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Fanny L. Johnson, widow of Dutee Johnson, jr., late of Company E, Fifth Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mandilla Nitchman, widow of John Nitchman, late of Company I, Fifty-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Martha Stonesifer, widow of Ishmael Stonesifer, late of Company F, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Laura E. Young, widow of Addison S. Young, late of Company B, Twenty-ninth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Isabelle H. Redfield, widow of David Redfield, late of Troop B, Fourteenth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Medora Bailey, widow of John F. Bailey, late of Battery A, Second Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Elizabeth E. Caskey, widow of Joseph Caskey, late of Company D, Eleventh Regiment Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month, and $30 per month when she attains the age of 60 years.

The name of Harriet A. Pelton, widow of Lysander Pelton, late of Company C, One hundred and fifth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Jennie B. Southwick, widow of Joseph P. Southwick, late of Company H, Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Ida M. Cunningham, widow of Ellison Cunningham, late of Troop H, Second Regiment Maine Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Jennie S. Fountain, widow of John M. Fountain, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Lucy N. Teel, widow of George Teel, late of Battery E, First Regiment New Hampshire Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Bridget A. Whittle, widow of Albert B. Whittle, late of Company B, Fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Canzada Pierce, widow of Plummer F. Pierce, late of Company I, One hundred and second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Emma C. Nichols, widow of Robert S. Nichols, late of Company D, Ninth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary C. Atwood, widow of Julius C. Atwood, late quartermaster sergeant, One hundredth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Cindarilla L. Kelsey, widow of William Kelsey, late of Company I, Eighth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Louisa A. Worthington, widow of Eugene A. Worthington, late of Company E, One hundred and sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Beatrice J. Rose, widow of Ludin Rose, late of Troop G, Sixth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Nettie Thaxton, widow of Monroe S. Thaxton, late of Troop A, Seventh Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Valeria Middleton, widow of William Middleton, late of Company E, Second Regiment Potomac Home Brigade Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of John W. Meredith, late of Company D, South Cumberland Battalion Kentucky Capital Guards, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

The name of Carrie B. Martin, helpless child of Silas E. Martin, late of Company B, Battalion Virginia Substitute, West Virginia Exempts, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Tulula V. M. Bortsfield, widow of Amos Bortsfield, late of Company E, One hundred and forty-seventh Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary White, widow of David A. White, late of Company C, Twelfth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ella A. Linsea, widow of Emanuel Linsea, late of Company G, Twelfth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Mary Ross, widow of Calvin Ross, late of Company E, Eighty-third Regiment United States Cavalry Volunteer Troops, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Bridget Striegel, widow of Christian Striegel, late of Company H, Forty-ninth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Sarah A. Bolton, widow of John Bolton, late of Company D, Seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Samantha A. Mundell, widow of Ransom Mundell, late of Troop L, Sixteenth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Frank C. Clifford, helpless child of Henry H. Clifford, late of Company E, One hundred and nineteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Della B. Ammons, helpless child of Abraham Ammons, late of Company I, Fifty-first Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Ellen Blodgett, widow of Silas Blodgett, late of Troop H, First Regiment District of Columbia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month, and $30 per month when she attains the age of 60 years.

The name of Jennie McBurney, widow of Andrew McBurney, late of Company K, Thirty-third Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Rosalie Kunkel, widow of Charles H. Kunkel, late of Company K, One hundred and twenty-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Alice A. Colburn, widow of Lewis A. Colburn, late of Troop A, First Regiment Provisional New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Cynthia Combs, widow of Harrison Combs, late of Company M, Fourteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary L. Cundiff, widow of George A. Cundiff, late of Troop L, Thirteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Anna Spinner, widow of Joseph Spinner, late of Company I, Twenty-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Viola Compton, widow of Albert Compton, late of Troop L, Third Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Susannah Lanham, widow of Ansel Lanham, late of Troop M, Eighth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mattie P. Busey, widow of Isaac M. Busey, late of Troop B, Ninth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Anna C. Havens, widow of Wilbur F. Havens, late of Company D, Seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary E. Smith, widow of Artemas Smith, late of Company H, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Anna Kelley, widow of Jerry Kelley, late of Company F, Seventh Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Millie Reed, widow of Addison Reed, late of Troop C, Sixth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Mary M. Hudson, widow of Charles C. Hudson, late of Company I, One hundred and forty-sixth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Anna L. Nesbet, widow of Joseph M. Nesbet, late of Troop B, Tenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Anna P. Allen, former widow of Isaac Phipps, late of Company A, Twenty-fourth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month and $30 per month when she attains the age of 60 years.

The name of Emma K. Pickett, widow of Albert J. Pickett, late of Troop B, Fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Margaret L. Roberts, widow of Calvin T. Roberts, late of Company I, Sixty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary J. Espy, widow of Robert J. Espy, late of Company D, Ninth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah Weaver, widow of John H. Weaver, late of Company K, Thirty-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Lenora Cartwright, widow of James W. Cartwright, late of the Twentieth Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary S. Stowe, widow of John Stowe, late of Company K, One hundred and sixteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Richard Southerland, late of Company A, Hall's Gap Battalion Kentucky State Volunteers, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

The name of Rosa Risdon, widow of Daniel Risdon, late of Company G, Ninth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah M. Hatfield, widow of Andrew Hatfield, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Amelia Bee, widow of Joel Bee, late of Company M, Sixth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah Pennel, widow of John Pennel, late of Company E, Sixty-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month and $30 per month when she has attained the age of 60 years.

The name of Henry Ellis, late of the United States Navy, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

The name of Jane Price, widow of James D. Price, late of Capt. G. W. Porter's company, Butternut Valley Guards, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Esther A. Dixon, widow of Albert E. Dixon, late of Company A, Nineteenth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary F. Dobson, widow of Palmer F. Dobson, late of Troop K, First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Rosina Dohon, widow of Constant Dohon, late of Troop D, Fourth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Jemima M. Metcalf, widow of George A. Metcalf, late of Troop F, Seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Henry Coonce, late of Captain Hart's Morgan County company, Missouri Mounted Militia, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

The name of Nancy E. Dawson, widow of Aaron Dawson, late of Company D, Thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ina J. Densmore, widow of Harry M. Densmore, late of Company A, Thirtieth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Isabel J. Estes, former widow of Henry Johnson, late of Company B, Second Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Bell J. Adams, widow of George S. Adams, late of Company E, Second Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Rose A. Fernan, widow of Franklin W. Fernan, late of Company H, First Battalion, Twelfth Regiment United States Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ann E. Foster, widow of William J. Foster, late of Company B, Fourth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Clara A. Phelps, widow of Allen Phelps, late of Troop M, Twenty-sixth Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Hannah L. Robbins, widow of Frank Robbins, late of Company D, Sixth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary E. Daniels, former widow of William Roach, late of Company D, Seventeenth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Anna M. Walbridge, widow of Lysander E. Walbridge, late of Company E, Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary A. Dittman, widow of Frederick Dittman, late of Troop E, Second Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary H. Keck, widow of John S. Keck, late of Troop G, Fourth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Josephine Stombaugh, widow of Henry Stombaugh, late of Company C, Ninety-ninth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Lona Wright, helpless child of Allen Wright, late of Troop F, Second Regiment Arkansas Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Lucrecia Aydelotte, widow of John Aydelotte, late of Company H, Seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Martha E. Goble, helpless child of Francis M. Goble, late of the Twenty-second Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Dora Klinger, widow of David Klinger, late of Battery C, First Regiment Indiana Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah A. Long, widow of Mansford Long, late of Company H, Thirty-second Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Permelia J. Long, widow of Jasper N. Long, late of Company H, Thirty-first Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Malinda Sprague, widow of Charles Sprague, late of Battery A, Fourth Regiment United States Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Rachel J. Johnson, widow of Childes B. Johnson, alias Charles B. Johnson, late of Company B, Sixty-ninth Regiment

Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Elizabeth Wesley, widow of John Wesley, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ada F. Williams, widow of Jeremiah Williams, late of Company H, Seventy-fourth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Emily J. Moore, widow of Thomas A. Moore, late of Company D, Seventy-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Nancy Maskel, widow of Ellis V. Maskel, late of Company A, Eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Gertrude Cox, widow of Thomas Cox, late of Tenth Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ellen J. Owens, widow of Nicholas A. Owens, late of Company A, One hundred and seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Martha A. Pyle, widow of William H. H. Pyle, late of Company K, Eighty-first Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Carrie D. Patton, former widow of Elias Dandridge, late of Company D, Sixteenth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Catharine Beach, widow of Joseph Beach, late of Company K, Fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mertena Swaidner, helpless child of Emanuel C. Swaidner, late of Company D, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Rosa A. Woodrum, widow of Abraham Woodrum, late of the Thirteenth Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Elizabeth Burris, widow of Simon Burris, late of Company I, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of Rosanna Kellogg, widow of Francis N. Kellogg, late of Company K, Seventy-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Rose L. Bard, widow of Isaac Bard, late of Company C, Twenty-sixth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Floretta Knopf, widow of Andrew Knopf, late of Battery I, Second Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah E. Smith, widow of Chandler Smith, late of Company A, Eighth Regiment Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Nannie Curry, widow of George W. Curry, late of Troop L, Thirteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Fannie Lou Cate Harmon, helpless child of James F. Harmon, late of Troop A, Eighth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

The name of Jane Soulsby, widow of Edward Soulsby, late of Troop D, Second Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Eliza H. Bagley, widow of Moses O. Bagley, late of Company I, Third Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Elizabeth Morehouse, widow of George W. Morehouse, late of Company E, Second Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary J. Johnson, former widow of Leonidas Johnson, late of Company K, One hundred and twenty-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Lorena White, widow of Charles R. White, late of Company A, Fifty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Jane McArthur, widow of Henry McArthur, late of Battery K, Fifth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

The name of E. Helen Barkley, widow of James H. Barkley, late of Company G, One hundred and fourteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Nancy Church, widow of William Church, late of Company N, Sixth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The amendments were agreed to.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I would like to ask some member of the Committee on Pensions a question. This morning I received notice of the rejection of a widow's claim on the ground that she was not married to the deceased husband prior to 1922. I would like to know whether any pension is granted by the bill we have just passed to any widow who married the veteran since 1922. The chairman of the committee does not seem to be here.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, my colleague [Mr. ROBINSON] is ill and confined to his home.

Mr. JONES. Very well.

MARY WILLOUGHBY OSTERHAUS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 209) granting an increase of pension to Mary Willoughby Osterhaus, which had been reported from the Committee on Pensions with an amendment, on page 1, line 8, to strike out "$100" and to insert in lieu thereof "$75," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Mary Willoughby Osterhaus, widow of Rear Admiral Hugo Osterhaus, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $75 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I would like to inquire of some member of the committee whether it is the purpose of the committee to give pensions to the widows of all admirals and generals and other officers, and if so, how the committee rates the amounts; how much more is given the widow of an admiral than the widow of a common seaman?

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, I am not a member of the Committee on Pensions, and therefore I can not answer that question. I did introduce the bill now before the Senate, however, in favor of Mrs. Osterhaus.

It has been the practice, at least it is not unusual, to allow $75 in the case of a widow where the income is not sufficient to provide for her requirements. Mrs. Osterhaus was the wife of Admiral Osterhaus, with whom I happened to serve during the Spanish-American War. He was a man devoted to his duty, served throughout all the ranks, was retired, and died here in Washington some years ago. The income which the widow receives is not sufficient to care for her at the present time, as she is disabled. She is 74 years of age and suffering from arteriosclerosis.

It is not probable that this pension would long be enjoyed by this widow. It is not unusual to make a grant of this kind to the widow of a man who had so distinguished a career as had Admiral Osterhaus. For that reason I introduced this bill.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I recall that a day or two ago, when the Senate had under consideration a bill introduced by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] awarding $1,500 in payment of a claim to a person who had been shot and seriously injured, the Senator from Nebraska resisted an increase in the allowance in the bill and finally had the bill referred back to the committee, with a view to taking more testimony.

I want to point out to the Senate that according to the report in the case now before the Senate the beneficiary of the bill has property valued at $15,000, a private income of $800 a year and is already drawing a pension of $50. I object to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his objection a moment?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I withhold the objection to permit the Senator to make a further statement.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, I feel that it is necessary, under the circumstances, as the Senator from Arkansas has

connected a claim bill with the pending measure, to say a word.

A man was shot some 12 years ago. The only evidence as to his disability resulting was evidence obtained at that time, except the affidavit of the man himself. It seemed that he had been in the hospital for some 13 weeks, that he received treatment afterwards, and that all his expenses were paid. All the evidence which the committee had before it was the fact that the man had been shot, that the incident occurred some 10 or 12 years ago, that no claim had been made on account of the injury up to the last session of Congress, and that no information as to his present condition was afforded, except from a statement by the man himself.

I think it must be acknowledged that the Committee on Claims must consider this class of claims coming before it in the same manner in which the claims of an insurance company would be considered, and should insist upon the presentation of testimony justifying an allowance.

In the case to which the Senator has referred it was testified that the man's income when he was working was $20 a week. Under an insurance policy they would insure him for $15 a week, total disability. There was allowed by the Committee on Claims 100 weeks of total disability upon the evidence that was afforded. I stated distinctly that if upon further evidence it was shown that the man was entitled to more, the committee would grant it; but I am sure there is no one in the Senate who would desire to have the committee allow claims, except upon full evidence, and when additional evidence is not forthcoming, that they should make an allowance based upon the evidence presented.

It was for that reason that the report was made as in this case. The report was made during the last session of the Congress, and the Senate approved the bill at that time. It was introduced a second time, and I reported the bill out under the general authorization of the committee which allowed me to do so under such circumstances.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, my objection to the consideration of the bill now before the Senate is the outgrowth of a comparison. I think, particularly under present conditions, the Senator from Nebraska is entirely right in safeguarding appropriations for claims and in making certain that the rights of the Government are protected. But the same thing should be done as regards pension legislation; and where a person applying for an increase of pension is already drawing $50 a month, has a private income of $800 a year, and possesses property worth $15,000, we should not increase the pension, however deserving the person may be. There is no justification for it. As a matter of fact, we have just passed a bill here carrying several hundred new pensions to widows of Civil War veterans.

It is right to limit these allowances, with due consideration for the necessities of the claimants. That rule ought to apply to persons who are seeking compensation, and it ought to apply to persons who are seeking pensions. We ought to be just about these matters.

I think there is a striking contrast between the case to which I referred a while ago and that now before the Senate. In the former case a man received hospital treatment, stayed in the hospital 13 weeks, received treatment for a much longer time, his expenses were paid, and I think the circumstances, aside from his own evidence, showed that his injury was very serious. The statement of the Secretary of War conclusively shows that the claimant was so injured that he can not perform ordinary manual labor. The description of the injury by the Secretary of War warrants that conclusion.

To limit the amount in a case like that to $1,500; to say that the claimant shall never receive more than $1,500, all told; and then to say that to a person who already draws a pension of $50 a month, has an annual income of $800, and owns a great amount of property we will pay a pension of $100 or $75 a month is discriminatory.

I shall object to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I should like to inquire of the Senator from Nebraska whether this lady is receiving $50 a month under a general pension law, or under a special act?

Mr. HOWELL. Under a special act.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. So she is already receiving more than is allowed under the general law?

Mr. HOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. The general law allows $30 a month?

Mr. HOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. The trouble with these cases is that they are apt to establish precedents. I have had requests from widows of Army officers that their pensions be increased, but such applications have been repeatedly rejected on the ground that they would establish a dangerous precedent. I think that is one of the troubles with this bill.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, may I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska that I have had several requests to introduce bills for special pensions, when the pensioner was already receiving a pension under a special law. I have been advised generally, and I think at all times, that the committee would not consider a special bill where the pensioner is already getting a pension by special act.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That has been the rule here for 20 years I know.

Mr. JONES. That is what I had understood.

Mr. HOWELL. It is my understanding that the committee would not consider any bill granting more than $75 a month.

Mr. JONES. I had been advised that the committee would not consider the passage of another special bill where the pensioner was already getting a pension by reason of special legislation. If the committee is not following that rule, I am glad to know it, because I have some requests along that line.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BARKLEY in the chair). Under objection, the bill will go over.

EXEMPTION FROM BANKRUPTCY LAW OF BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to recur to Calendar 127, the bill (S. 2199) exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, may I inquire who objected to consideration of the bill?

Mr. HASTINGS. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS]; but I just spoke to him about it. He objected at the time because the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] inquired something about the bill and I was not here to explain it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I have no objection to proceeding to the consideration of the bill if the Senator desires to do so. I did not understand its purposes and there was no one here at the moment to explain it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Delaware?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. HASTINGS. The bill proposes to amend section 4 of the bankruptcy act. That section now reads:

> Who may become bankrupt: Any person, except a municipal, railroad, insurance, or banking corporation, shall be entitled to the benefits of this act as a voluntary bankrupt.

The committee proposes to insert the words "a building and loan association," so the provision would read:

> Any person, except a municipal, railroad, insurance, banking corporation, or a building and loan association shall be entitled to the benefits of this act as a voluntary bankrupt.

Then in the next section, under the exceptions, are added the same words, so as to make the exception read:

> Except a municipal, railroad, insurance, or banking corporation, or a building and loan association.

The bill is recommended by the Building and Loan Association League for this reason. I think theer are four reported cases where members of a building and loan association have applied to a Federal court for bankruptcy for a particular association. The courts have universally held that a member of such an association could not make the application; that the bankruptcy laws do not apply to the associations; but notwithstanding that fact the building and loan associations are constantly being disturbed by persons who are members of such associations attempting to have them put into bankruptcy.

The bill was introduced to prevent that troublesome thing happening to various building and loan associations. It was unanimously approved by the committee. A similar bill has been reported out favorably by the Judiciary Committee of the House and is now on the Consent Calendar in that body. The Building and Loan Association League urges that speedy action be taken because of the great inconvenience to which they are being put.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I have no objection to the consideration of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4 of the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, as amended (U. S. C., title 11, sec. 22), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 4. Who may become bankrupts.—(a) Any person, except a municipal, railroad, insurance, banking corporation, or a building and loan association shall be entitled to the benefits of this act as a voluntary bankrupt.

"(b) Any natural person, except a wage earner or a person engaged chiefly in farming or the tillage of the soil, any unincorporated company, and any moneyed, business, or commercial corporation (except a municipal, railroad, insurance, or banking corporation, or a building and loan association) owing debts to the amount of $1,000 or over, may be adjudged an involuntary bankrupt upon default of an impartial trial, and shall be subject to the provisions and entitled to the benefits of this act.

"The bankruptcy of a corporation or association shall not release its officers, directors, or stockholders, as such, from any liability under the laws of a State or Territory or of the United States."

HELEN K. SNOWDEN

The bill (S. 1207) granting an increase of pension to Helen K. Snowden was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I think the bill had better go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

EXEMPTION FROM QUOTA OF HUSBANDS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS

The bill (S. 2656) to exempt from the quota husbands of American citizens was considered. The bill had been reported from the Committee on Immigration with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That subdivision (a) of section 4 of the immigration act of 1924, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(a) An immigrant who is the unmarried child under 21 years of age, or the wife, or the husband, of a citizen of the United States."

SEC. 2. Clause (A) of paragraph (1) of subdivision (a) of section 6 of the immigration act of 1924, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(A) Quota immigrants who are the fathers, or the mothers, of citizens of the United States, who are 21 years of age or over."

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, may we have an explanation of the bill?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, in a word, the bill gives to men the same right that women enjoy. It gives to husbands the same opportunity that their wives may have. They had the same right up to 1928, but were cut off then, so they are not admitted now.

Mr. BINGHAM. In other words, this promotes the humanitarian features of the law?

Mr. KING. Exactly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ROSA E. PLUMMER

The bill (S. 111) for the relief of Rosa E. Plummer was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let the bill go over. There are some objections to it which have been brought to my attention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

RIO GRANDE SOUTHERN RAILROAD CO.

The bill (S. 3058) authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad Co. was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to adjust and settle the claim of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad Co. for reimbursement of its expenditures for labor and expenses in repairing the damages to the Western Union telegraph line on its right of way at mile posts 95 and 96 plus 16, near Stapleton, Colo., which was damaged by the blasting during the Government's construction of the Dolores-Rico Forest highway project in Colorado, and to allow in full and final settlement of said claim not to exceed the sum of $34.40. There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $34.40, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to pay said claim.

J. D. STEWART

The bill (S. 3119) for the relief of J. D. Stewart was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let the bill go over.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I hope the Senator will withhold his objection?

Mr. KING. Very well; but I should like to have an explanation of the bill.

Mr. GEORGE. The bill merely gives to a rural carrier who was injured in line of service the right to present his claim to the United States Employees' Compensation Commission. The claim was presented, but it was presented perhaps just a day or so late under the statute of limitations. The commission stated that the claim was deemed to be just on the face of it, and it would have been allowed but for the statute of limitations. I invite the Senator's attention to the fact that the bill does not allow any compensation but merely permits the carrier now to file his application for compensation.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, let me say to my friend from Georgia that Congress felt that a limit of time must be fixed within which claims should be presented. That is a very fair and reasonable rule. Municipalities, where they permit suits to be brought, require claims to be presented in some instances within 30 days and in no instance, so far as I now recall, beyond one year. The State or the municipality or the Government ought to have an opportunity to ascertain the facts within a reasonable time after the injury so that it may protect itself. We gave a year within which claims might be presented. If we let down the bars, as we are doing so frequently, it seems to me we are putting the Government at a very great disadvantage. However, I shall withdraw my objection to the consideration of the bill, but I wish to say that hereafter I am going to insist upon compliance with the law.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 17 and 20 of the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended, are hereby waived in favor of J. D. Stewart, a rural carrier out of Edison, Ga., who was injured April 17, 1926.

J. G. SHELTON

The bill (S. 217) authorizing adjustment of the claim of J. G. Shelton was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to adjust and settle the claim of J. G. Shelton for refund of rent paid on tract No. 30, Camp Lee Military Reservation, Va., for a six months' period beginning February 15, 1931, after claimant had been required to vacate said premises, and to allow said claim in the sum of not to

exceed $37.50. There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not other appropriated, the sum of $37.50, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for payment of said claim.

LEWIS SEMLER

The bill (S. 224) authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis Semler was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to adjust and settle the claim of Lewis Semler for blood furnished September 9 and 11, 1930, for transfusion to Roy T. Nelson, a patient in a Government hospital, and to allow in full and final settlement of said claim an amount not in excess of $70. There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $70, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the payment of said claim.

WILEY POST AND HAROLD GATTY

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 33) to authorize the President to award gold medals to Wiley Post and Harold Gatty in recognition of their achievement in making an airplane flight around the world in less than nine days was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the President is authorized to award, in the name of Congress, gold medals of appropriate design to Wiley Post, pilot, and Harold Gatty, navigator, in recognition of their achievement in making an airplane flight around the world in 8 days, 15 hours, and 50 minutes, thus not only eclipsing in time all previous world flights but also by their intrepid courage, remarkable endurance, and matchless skill materially advancing the science of aerial navigation.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall cause duplicates in bronze of such medal to be coined and sold, under such regulations as he may prescribe, at a price to cover the cost thereof (including labor).

AMENDMENT OF RIVERS AND HARBORS ACT

The bill (S. 2334) to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented, was considered. The bill had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment, on page 1, line 10, after the word " by," to insert " seasonal passenger craft," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first paragraph of section 3 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "As used in this section the term 'commerce' shall include the use of waterways by seasonal passenger craft, yachts, house boats, fishing boats, motor boats, and other similar water craft, whether or not operated for hire."

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, will the chairman of the Committee on Commerce explain the bill?

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, the chairman of the committee is not in the Chamber at the moment. I introduced the bill. The present law, the act of 1902, provides that in carrying out the provisions of that act with reference to the rivers and harbors law the engineers shall consider the commerce involved. Heretofore the practice has been very largely for the engineers to consider commerce as related to freight and passenger business and that sort of thing.

The bill simply adds to the legislation now existing a provision that in considering commerce the engineers making the surveys looking to river and harbor improvements shall consider, under the head of " commerce," the use of waterways by seasonal passenger craft, as well as yachts, house boats, fishing boats, motor boats, and other similar water craft. In other words, since the act of 1902 there has been a very great development of the motor boat and the use of yachts, house boats, and water craft of that sort. The bill does not emphasize the use of these craft, but it does say that the engineers must consider them in connection with commerce on the proposed highway. The Chief Engineer in his report said:

It is the view of this department—

That is, the present Secretary of War, prompted, of course, by the Chief of Engineers—

that the present provisions of the law do not preclude the consideration of benefits to pleasure craft in arriving at a conclusion on the advisability of a proposed improvement.

The law at present does not preclude consideration of these things, but as a matter of practice they do not consider them. The report further says:

Principal weight is, and should be, given to the benefits to commercial navigation in the direction of prospective economies in transportation cost, since these ordinarily constitute the real and the tangible benefits from an improvement.

There is no conflict between us at all; I quite agree with that. But he says:

The enactment of the legislation is not considered necessary to the due consideration of the benefits of a proposed improvement to pleasure craft, but the department does not oppose the proposed legislation should Congress regard its enactment as advisable.

The department does not oppose it at all. They say it is hardly necessary, because they are already considering the use of waterways by such craft, but as a matter of practice they are not giving much attention to such use. I think we should make the addition to the law simply to broaden their consideration of the use of the word " commerce."

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I was about to inquire of the Senator with reference to the report of the Secretary of War which he has just read to the Senate. I wish to say that I am in accord with the purpose of this bill. I think it may be unnecessary, because the engineers of the Army have now the right to take into consideration the factors mentioned in the bill; yet I think the legislation would be helpful, and I sincerely hope the bill will be passed.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, is not the purpose and effect of this proposed legislation to bring within the scope of appropriations for river and harbor work any waters that will float yachts, house boats, fishing boats, motor boats, and other similar water craft? Take fishing boats, for instance. One can very readily imagine a very inconsequential fishing boat, a little skiff or something of that kind, that would float on 6 inches of water or 12 inches of water at the very outside. Are we not expanding the field of navigable waters, the improvement of which falls properly within the domain of the Federal Government, to a perfectly unjustifiable extent to include waters that are of no more consequence than such as will float boats such as those mentioned in the bill? It occurs to me that this is an opening wedge for appropriations for the improvement of creeks and other small streams away beyond anything we have heretofore considered as navigable waters.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Montana overlooks the fact that the Army engineers have limited control, and unless the waters were navigable the Army engineers would not be expected to survey creeks and try to make them navigable merely for the purpose of spending money.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Exactly; but is it not the meaning of this bill that any waters that will float fishing boats, house boats, or similar craft will be regarded by Congress as navigable waters?

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. I do not agree with the Senator. It seems to me that the purpose of this measure is to call attention to the fact that navigable waters that are used by the class of craft mentioned shall be considered in connection with the extent to which the waterways may be used for the purpose of developing them further. For instance, through the Cape Cod Canal, in Massachusetts, large steamships and merchant vessels pass back and forth, but an innumerable number of fishing vessels and an innumerable number of yachts and craft of the smaller character also go through that canal. In deciding whether or not there should be a development, a widening and extension of the canal, the engineers ought very properly to consider other craft than the major vessels that pass in and out through those waters. As I understand—and if I am not correct in the statement I hope the Senator from Florida will correct me—the purpose of this measure is to call attention to the use of navigable waters by smaller craft as well as by larger craft.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, that is precisely what it is intended for. It does not increase appropriations, it does not declare nonnavigable waters to be navigable, it does

not widen the field at all, but it simply authorizes the engineers to consider under the head of commerce these later and important developments, such as motor boats. In 1902 we had no motor boats worth while, but now they have come to be an important factor in commerce. They tow barges of freight and are used not only for pleasure but for traffic.

Then there is the house boat which has come largely into use through the development of the gasoline engine. As to fishing boats, of course, there may be fishing skiffs used, as the Senator from Montana suggests, but the fishing industry is an enormous one and the boats used for fishing are important boats. They go out to sea and come back into port; they are seagoing boats—that is a proper description of them—and not merely skiffs. Such boats go to sea to fish; they bring in the fish and land them in harbors, and they need to to be considered as engaged in commerce. Why should they not be considered as engaged in commerce?

All in the world this bill does is to authorize the engineers in making up their report as to whether a project should be adopted or not to consider as engaged in commerce the kinds of craft mentioned. The question as to the adoption of every project finally comes before Congress. Before a project can ever be improved it has got to be first adopted, and that adoption depends on the report of the engineers. If the engineers are to be confined, as they are in practice, to larger boats, to freight and passenger boats, that is one thing, but this bill simply provides that they shall not necessarily be confined to that, and the Chief of Engineers says, as a matter of fact, they are not precluded from considering these items. He has no objection to putting them in the law.

I am simply asking that the law shall authorize the consideration of these items in connection with the volume of commerce under any proposed project.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts said a moment ago, if I understood him correctly, that the appropriation for rivers and harbors must be for streams that are navigable.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Or that may be made navigable.

Mr. KING. May I say that Congress has by its legislation made hundreds of streams navigable, so far as appropriations are concerned, upon which there has been no commerce whatever.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. I agree with the Senator that there may have been a good many abuses in connection with our appropriations for rivers and harbors.

Mr. KING. Four years ago, if I may use the time of the Senator for a moment, I made a thorough search for every river and harbor appropriation that had been made from the time of Washington down, including every stream, every brook, every river, and every harbor in the United States. The appropriations up to that time were one billion some two hundred or three hundred million dollars. I found that scores, indeed, the greater part so far as numbers are concerned, of the so-called improvements for which appropriations had been made were devoted to small rivulets and streams which were dry part of the time and upon which there was no commerce. Occasionally a log would float down and sometimes a little flatboat would carry down some sand or gravel. Those were denominated "navigable streams" and received very large appropriations.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. I think the Senator has rendered a fine public service in calling attention to the matter. There is no question about abuses having existed in the past.

Mr. KING. It seems to me that if the amendment of my friend from Florida shall be accepted it will increase the abuses and give excuses—although the Lord knows that the engineers and the people directly interested in such improvements need no excuses for these appropriations—for demanding larger appropriations for streams, rivulets, bayous, and swamps that are not entitled to appropriations at the hands of the Federal Government.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Of course, the Senator knows that the Secretary of War states that, in his opinion, this proposed legislation is not necessary to enable the Army engineers to take into consideration the particular extent to which the craft mentioned use navigable waters, and he makes no objection to the bill. So I do not think there would be much harm done by the passage of the proposed legislation. It may help the Senator from Florida in the next election in his State. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I should like to ask, Has there ever been any precise definition of what is a navigable stream? In my State and in other States whenever a dam is to be erected we have to come to Congress and get permission, on the theory that the stream where the dam is to be located is a tributary of a navigable stream, and, if it is not per se navigable, it is classed amongst navigable waters. The point the Senator from Florida is making is that some of the smaller tributaries of the larger streams which carry the lighter forms of commerce should be entitled to the same consideration that is accorded the greater waterways and not be ignored as the short-line railroads have been ignored for the benefit of the Class I railroads.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. COPELAND. Does not the Senator know that the tears he is shedding now will fall upon the floor, run off into a rivulet, and flow into a creek, so that in the last analysis his tears are "navigable water"?

Mr. SMITH. If they have no more effect upon the Senate in connection with my argument than did the tears of the Senator from New York in connection with his argument a few days ago on another subject, I might just as well take my seat.

Mr. COPELAND. If the Senator will yield, let me advise him, that since that time bonds and stocks have been booming in New York and the banks have loaned money to the city and have not squeezed the city into considering an increased fare. So that recent events have justified the arguments used by me.

Mr. SMITH. I noticed that after we absolutely refused to grant any relief to the city of New York in a bill which was under consideration a few days ago the banks came across and furnished the money.

Mr. COPELAND. At 6 per cent interest.

Mr. SMITH. But the point I am making, Mr. President, is that I think the bill that has been introduced here by the Senator from Florida is a proper one, because, it seems to me, that the smaller streams, carrying commerce and doing the work that he has indicated, should be considered as well as some of the larger ones that obtain great appropriations but do not carry any commerce at all.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the abuses to which the junior Senator from Utah refers in connection with river and harbor legislation would be best met if the Congress would flatly decline ever to consider a project which lacked the recommendation of the Board of Rivers and Harbors Engineers. The great difficulty which is confornted on that proposition is precisely at that point. For instance, last year, when we made a perfectly enormous authorization for river and harbor projects, millions and millions of dollars of it lacked the recommendation of the Board of Rivers and Harbors Engineers, and much of it actually had that board's deliberate and specific opposition.

If we want to stop the abuse in respect to such projects, the way to do it is to start with a fundamental rule that we are not going to ignore the recommendations of the engineers of the War Department. In that connection, may I suggest to the junior Senator from Utah that I have submitted an amendment to the rules, which is now pending before the committee, which would permit a point of order to be made against any item in a rivers and harbors authorization which lacked the recommendation of the Board of Rivers and Harbors Engineers. That, in my judgment,

is the way to reach the major abuse to which the Senator refers.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. KING. I am very much gratified to learn the action taken by my friend from Michigan, and I shall give most hearty support to his proposition. May I say, however, that I read, I think, nearly every report submitted by the engineers from the days of Washington down to four years ago—hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of them—and I found that in many of those reports they felt constrained by reason of the pressure which was brought upon them by local communities and chambers of commerce to make a sort of negative recommendation. In many of those reports they would say, "There is no justification for it, but the people are for it; large organizations are for it, and the cost may not be very great." We find, in many of the reports submitted by honest engineers, opposition, so far as language is concerned, but followed by a consent that the survey be made.

I have objected to nearly every survey that has been asked for since I have been in the Senate, and have voted against every one of these river and harbor bills but one. I stood by Mr. Coolidge in his opposition to the bill that called for nearly a billion dollars. May I say that I was the only Member of the Senate who voted against it. We have been prodigal and wasteful; and, in my opinion, have permitted the wasting of at least $500,000,000 in so-called river and harbor improvements.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator undoubtedly is correct; and the major correction of the abuse lies, in my judgment, in the direction I have indicated.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Just a moment. Certainly the proposal sponsored by the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], and now pending before the Senate, in no sense opens the door to abuse so long as we operate under the other rule, because we in no degree change the authority or the definition under which the Board of Rivers and Harbors Engineers must operate. We merely indicate that the word "commerce" shall have a modern definition instead of an archaic definition.

I now yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, we have gotten a little away from the thought I had in mind. I did want to make a comment on what the Senator said about leaving the matter to the engineers. Why do we not do away with our part in it?

I can not conceive it possible that Congress would become merely a rubber stamp. We have the right always to review what a board does, even what the Budget Director does; and in a legislative matter which is prescribed by the Constitution as one which has to do with our duty I can not think it would be wise to have a rule which would shut the door to the consideration by Congress of arguments which might ultimately bring a decision here different from that reached by the Board of Army Engineers.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator may be justified in pleading for an ultimate avenue of appeal from that decision. I am not saying that he should be foreclosed on that point. I am saying that when a rivers and harbors bill is before the Senate there should be some sort of a red flag put upon any particular item in that bill which lacks the affirmative, definitive approval of the experts of the Government to whom is committed the responsibility of making those recommendations.

Mr. COPELAND. I agree to the proposition of the red flag; but it would be a very strange thing for us to give over to the Board of Army Engineers all the powers which we possess. They have a program, I know, that perhaps would not include some particular matter, such as that spoken of by the Senator from Florida, but we have the right to pass judgment upon it.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President——

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. McNARY. I have no objection to disposing of the bill. Of course, this argument is proceeding by unanimous consent. If there is to be opposition, is the Senator from Florida willing to let the matter go over for the day?

Mr. FLETCHER. I think the discussion has about been concluded, Mr. President.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Just let me make a concluding observation.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Michigan a question about his rule?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Do the provisions of the rule proposed by the Senator from Michigan affect appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors that were included in the bill by the House without the recommendation of the engineers?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think so, but I can not answer definitely.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. So that the effect of the rule would be to deprive the Senate of some of the rights that the House has in making appropriations independent of recommendations. However, I think the rule is one which should be given very careful and serious consideration.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Just let me say this, in complete agreement with the attitude of the senior Senator from Florida:

Upon the Great Lakes we find that commerce to-day means something vastly more than cargo freight. In fact, commerce upon the Great Lakes means infinitely more a question of passenger facilities and passenger traffic than it does cargo freight. The advantage of the bill is to require of the Board of Rivers and Harbors Engineers a competent consideration which they are now supposed to give under the letter of the rule, but which they withhold under the present practice of giving all priority to commercial considerations.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I hope and am satisfied that the reelection of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] does not depend upon the action we may take on this bill. [Laughter.] If we can not get a Republican from that State—and I see no hope of it—I do not know of anybody that I would rather see come to the Senate from Florida than the Senator from Florida who is here now.

But, Mr. President, I am rather surprised that this measure should be reached so soon on the calendar. The committee was practically evenly divided with respect to the measure; and I think it would be wise if it could go over until we can give it a little bit more consideration. I am inclined to think that it does not add much one way or the other; but, if it is not necessary, I do not see any need of our cumbering our statute books with statutes which are not necessary. Therefore I am going to ask that the bill go over for this day, anyhow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

UNION FERRY CO.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 6) for the relief of the Union Ferry Co., owners of the ferryboat *Montauk*, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, on page 1, line 6, after the word "tug," to strike out "*Mojave*" and insert "*Mohave*," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the claim of the Union Ferry Co. of New York and Brooklyn, owners of the ferryboat *Montauk*, alleged to have been injured in a collision with the United States Navy tug *Mohave*, which occurred in the East River on the 27th day of December, 1918, for and on account of the alleged damage to said ferryboat *Montauk*, by reason of said collision, may be submitted to the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York under and in compliance with the rules of said court, sitting as a court of admiralty; and said court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine the whole controversy and to enter a judgment or decree for the amount of the damages sustained by reason of said collision, if any shall be found to be due said owners, on the same principles and measure of liability, with costs, as in like cases in admiralty between private parties, with the same rights of appeal: *Provided*, That such notice of the suit shall be given to the Attorney General of the United States as may be provided by the order of said court; and that it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to cause the United States attorney in such

district to appear and defend for the United States: *Provided further*, That the libel in the suit herein authorized shall be filed not later than four months after the passage of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 2569) authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis O. Wick was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, there is a suggestion that I desire to make to the chairman of the committee with respect to a number of claims where an appropriation is made in the body of the bill, after authorizing some official of the Government to determine the validity of the claim. I think that is not wise legislation; and I ask that the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 218) authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I conferred with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] this morning, and it is his desire that the bill go over. He does not care to have it considered until some time next week.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE, POPLAR, MONT.

The Senate proceed to consider the bill (S. 2639) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Montana, the counties of Roosevelt, Richland, and McCone, or any of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Poplar, Mont., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The amendments were, on page 1, line 3, after the words "That the," to strike out "consent of Congress is hereby granted to the State" and insert "times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge authorized by act of Congress approved July 3, 1930, to be built by the State"; in line 7, after the word "them," to strike out "to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto"; on page 2, line 3, after the word "Montana," to strike out "in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled 'An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters,' approved March 23, 1906" and insert "are hereby extended for one and three years, respectively, from the date of approval hereof"; and on the same page, after line 7, to insert:

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge authorized by act of Congress approved July 3, 1930, to be built by the State of Montana, the counties of Roosevelt, Richland, and McCone, or any of them, across the Missouri River, at a point suitable to the interest of navigation, at or near Poplar, Mont., are hereby extended for one and three years, respectively, from the date of approval hereof.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Poplar, Mont."

WILLIAM T. STILES

The bill (S. 249) authorizing adjustment of the claim of William T. Stiles was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to settle and adjust the claim of William T. Stiles for blood furnished October 11, 1926, for transfusion to Charles E. Williams, a patient in a Government hospital, and to allow in full and final settlement of said claim an amount not in excess of $25. There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $25 for the payment of such claim.

PYRAMID LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION, NEV.

The resolution (S. Res. 142) authorizing an investigation of the situation on Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev., was announced as next in order.

Mr. ODDIE. Mr. President, last night a very logical and practical question was asked in regard to this resolution, which was before the Senate for a few minutes, by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], as to why this matter had not been acted on by the Indian Affairs Committee.

I will state that a number of the ranches involved in this matter are on the borderline. It is a question whether they actually are within the reservation as laid out or not. The Public Lands Committee will be requested under this resolution to appoint a subcommittee to look into the facts of the case and report to Congress. The subcommittee can not make any law. Congress will have to do that. If it recommends legislation, I will suggest that that recommendation be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs if the committee so requests. This resolution is a request for information, and a request of the Secretary of the Interior that action in regard to throwing these settlers off the lands within the next week shall be withheld until this report is made to Congress. Recently I have spoken to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. FRAZIER], chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee, about this resolution and he is getting some data in the matter now.

If this resolution is passed, and he has objection later, I shall be willing to have it reconsidered; but I do not think he will object to the matter.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I have no particular objection to this resolution going to the Public Lands Committee, and yet it does seem to me that it should be dealt with by the Indian Affairs Committee. I am, however, opposed to the passage of the resolution if the second paragraph is left in. If that paragraph is taken out, I shall make no objection to it.

I see no reason why $1,000, or any sum of money, should be appropriated to allow one of the regular standing committees of the Senate to investigate a matter of this kind where the information can largely, if not entirely, be gotten from the department. I am not willing to provide in the resolution for the expense of possibly bringing somebody down here from the far West unless it is demonstrated later than it is absolutely necessary to do that. I have no objection to the provision asking the Secretary of the Interior to suspend action on these matters. I am perfectly willing to allow that to be done, and if the Senator will strike out the second paragraph, I shall make no objection. Otherwise I shall have to object.

Mr. ODDIE. Mr. President, in reply to the suggestion of the Senator from Washington, I do not expect that there will be any expenses in this matter, and I feel that the question of expenses is incidental to the purpose of the resolution; and, therefore, I will be willing to accept the amendment.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I move to strike out, on page 2, all after line 10 down to and including line 25.

The amendment was agreed to; and the resolution was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to investigate the situation on the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation with a view to determining particularly (1) the status of entries made on lands therein by certain settlers, which lands have been occupied and improved by such settlers and their transferees for a period of at least 21 years prior to June 7, 1924, (2) the advisability of requiring early payment thereon by such settlers under the provisions of the act entitled "An act for the relief of settlers and town-site occupants of certain lands in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev.," approved June 7, 1924, in view of all the equities of the claimants, the amounts involved, and present economic conditions, (3) the fairness of the valuation placed on such lands by appraisal pursuant to the provisions of

such act of June 7, 1924, and (4) the extent to which any general inequitable conditions may exist with relation to such land entries. The committee shall report to the Senate as soon as practicable the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations, if any, for necessary legislation for the relief of such settlers.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby requested to suspend, pending the deliberations and final report to the committee, and the final disposition by the Seventy-second Congress of such legislation as the committee may recommend, the requirements of any regulations prescribed by him governing payments on lands entered upon as hereinbefore referred to.

AMERICAN AND GERMAN WAR CLAIMS SETTLEMENTS

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an admirable and illuminating article by Mr. Joseph Conrad Fehr, entitled "American and German War Claims Settled."

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[American Bar Association, January, 1932]

AMERICAN AND GERMAN WAR CLAIMS SETTLED—MIXED CLAIMS COMMISSION, UNITED STATES AND GERMANY, WILL DURING 1932 CONCLUDE WHAT IS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED AS THE GREATEST INTERNATIONAL CLAIMS ARBITRATION IN HISTORY—A MONUMENTAL ACHIEVEMENT—STATISTICS OF CLAIMS DISPOSED OF—RETURN BY UNITED STATES OF SEQUESTERED GERMAN PROPERTY—WORK OF WAR CLAIMS ARBITER UNDER SETTLEMENT OF WAR CLAIMS ACT, ETC.

By Joseph Conrad Fehr,[1] member of the Washington, D. C., Bar

Necessarily it has taken some years to bring order out of the chaos which the World War left in its wake. The orderly processes of peaceful and amicable adjustment are infinitely slower than the destructive forces of war. The United States has reason to know this. The postwar period for the United States has been marked with several outstanding accomplishments, the result of championing the principle of arbitration as the most satisfactory solution of international differences. The most important is the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, which will during 1932 conclude what is generally recognized as the greatest international claims arbitration in history, a monumental achievement in the judicial settlement of controversies between nations.

Both the United States and Germany promptly organized the commission, pursuant to their agreement of August 10, 1922, following the treaty of Berlin of August 25, 1921, which restored friendly relations. Before the end of 1922 the tribunal was preparing to pass upon the following categories of claims, defined in the agreement:

"(1) Claims of American citizens, arising since July 31, 1914, in respect of damages to, or seizure of, their property, rights, and interests, including any company or association in which they are interested, within German territory as it existed on August 1, 1914.

"(2) Other claims for loss or damage to which the United States or its nationals have been subjected with respect to injuries to persons or to property, rights, and interests, including any company or association in which American nations are interested, since July 31, 1914, as a consequence of the war.

"(3) Debts owing to American citizens by the German Government or by German nationals."

On the suggestion of Germany that an American be named as umpire, the Hon. William R. Day, then an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was designated by President Harding. Judge Edwin B. Parker, of Texas and New York, a distinguished lawyer, who during the war served as priorities commissioner on the War Industries Board and later as chairman of the United States Liquidation Commission in Europe, which adjusted approximately $1,600,000,000 in claims between the United States and the allied powers, accepted appointment as American commissioner. Germany named Dr. Wilhelm Kiesselbach, of Hamburg, an eminent German jurist, now serving also as president (chief justice) of the Hanseatic Supreme Court, as her representative on the commission. Upon the resignation of Mr. Justice Day, shortly before his death in 1923, Judge Parker was the choice of both Governments for the position of umpire. He was succeeded as American commissioner by the Hon. Chandler P. Anderson, of New York and Washington, former counselor of the Department of State, an outstanding specialist in international law, who has frequently represented the United States in the deliberations of international arbitrations here and abroad. Following the death of Judge Parker in October, 1929, the Hon. Roland W. Boyden, of Boston, was on January 9, 1930, selected as umpire. Mr. Boyden had been for several years the unofficial observer of the United States at the Reparation Commission in Paris. The sudden death of Mr. Boyden on October 25, 1931, left a vacancy not only in the post of umpire but also in the United States panel of the Permanent Court of Arbitration under the old Hague conventions, and in the presidency of the arbitration tribunal established under the Young plan.

The Hon. Robert W. Bonynge, of New York, a prominent lawyer and former Representative in Congress from Colorado, has since June, 1923, been the American agent in charge of the preparation and presentation of these claims before the commission. He succeeded Robert C. Morris, of New York, who resigned after the organization work was completed. He is assisted by a legal staff, with Mr. Harold H. Martin, of Washington, who has ably served the United States Government in various advisory capacities, as chief counsel.

The present German agent is Dr. Wilhelm Tannenberg, who last spring succeeded Dr. Karl von Lewinski, a former high official in Germany's diplomatic service.

It was not the intention of the contracting parties that the umpire serve as presiding officer. The practice of the umpire presiding over meetings of the commission was adopted when the late Judge Parker succeeded to the position of the umpire upon Mr. Justice Day's resignation.

In less than nine years this tribunal and the two agents representing the respective Governments, together with their staffs of counsel, have disposed of nearly all of 20,425 claims. Germany was officially notified of the first group of claims, 12,416 in number, prior to April 10, 1923, as required under the rules adopted. In terms of dollars and cents the demands of these thousands of claimants, including the exaggerated or unfounded with the meritorious, reached the stupendous figure of $1,479,064,313.92. This included the claim for the cost of maintaining the American part of the Army of Occupation along the Rhine, estimated at $255,544,810.53 (as of January 31, 1923). This claim, by reason of the separate arrangement between the United States and Germany of June 23, 1930, in lieu of the Young plan (which supersedes the Dawes plan and the agreement adopted by the Paris conference January 14, 1925), is to be paid by Germany directly to the United States, hence was not pressed before the commission. The reparation demands of the principal allied and associated powers, it will be recalled, totaled about $32,000,000,000.

Subsequently, under the agreement of December 31, 1928 (contemplated by the settlement of war claims act of 1928), a large group of so-called late claims came within the jurisdiction of the commission. These cases, 8,009 in number, have all been decided.

There are some 167 (including 157 sabotage) claims pending adjudication by the commission. These remaining claims have been submitted for decision. It is estimated that when the work of the commission shall have been completed the total bill against Germany will be approximately $300,000,000, including interest and including the sabotage claims. This means that the principal alone will amount to approximately $160,000,000, exclusive of the sabotage claims.

Of the 6,816 awards in private claims the figures now definitely ascertained are, exclusive of interest, $2,409,431.31 in awards in the *Lusitania* group, $35,342,105.62 in the marine underwriters group, and $80,221,296.10 in the other claims, involving deaths and personal injuries (other than the *Lusitania* group), American hull and cargo losses, property losses in occupied territory, property losses in Germany, American interests in German estates, debts, bank deposits, and bonds. In addition, the estimated amount of the pending claims, exclusive of interest, is $24,150,000.

The claims put forward by the Government were on account of destruction of and damage to ships and cargoes and insurance losses. They have resulted in awards in the total amount of $42,034,794.41, exclusive of interest, as follows: Shipping Board, $16,500,000; Veterans' Bureau, $24,319,095.41; Railroad Administration, $1,215,000; Government dispatch agency, $699.

The grand total of the principal thus arrived at would, therefore, be some $184,000,000 (if the sabotage cases are included). Adding interest due, at the rate of 5 per cent from the various dates specified in the awards, America's total bill against Germany on account of both private and Government claims will on this basis approximate $300,000,000. Of this amount there has already been paid to private claimants over $133,000,000. Payments on account of the Government awards are deferred, under the act, until the private claimants have been fully recompensed.

Eliminating the war-risk insurance premium claims aggregating in amount claimed $345,000,000, which were categorically dismissed by the commission as utterly ill-founded, and the Army of Occupation costs estimated at $255,544,810.53, as well as quite some $100,000,000 in duplications and arbitrary exaggerations in initial petitions, the final awards of the commission so far entered (somewhat more than $255,000,000, including interest), will be about 38 per cent of the amount originally demanded.

These awards were huge compared with those entered by Judge Parker as the sole commissioner of the Tripartite Claims Commission, though these in turn were greater in amount than the recoveries obtained through several preceding arbitrations to which the United States was a party. The Tripartite Commission rendered awards against Austria totaling $370,032.14 (including interest). These have been paid. Its awards against Hungary totaled $172,619.70. To this must be added some interest. This is because Hungary has not yet been able to arrange for the payment of these awards, due to complications arising from most-favored-nation clauses in settlements with several European powers.

The so-called sabotage claims amount to approximately $40,000,000, including interest. They arose out of the Black Tom and Kingsland disasters in New Jersey in July, 1916, and January, 1917, respectively. These cases were adversely decided by the commission in October, 1930. But the American agent has filed petitions with the commission seeking a rehearing in both these cases. He has tendered important newly discovered evidence. The petitions have yet to be passed upon by the commission. Heretofore, efforts to reopen cases once decided by the commission have been comparatively rare and successful in very few instances. Should these petitions be acted upon favorably, the commission, now much reduced in personnel, will have to continue to function for several

[1] Mr. Fehr is a former special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, and was for several years one of the counsel for the United States before the American-German Claims Arbitration.

more months. Otherwise the commission's work is now practically completed, and as an organization the commission will pass out of existence in the near future.

It is interesting to note that this great international-claims arbitration has to date cost the Government of the United States for its entire operations, some $1,229,000, including the small amount for the Tripartite Commission's activities. It is estimated that in accordance with the provisions of the settlement of war claims act of 1928, the deduction of the very modest charge of one-half of 1 per cent from the awards as paid should result in reimbursing the Government in the sum of about $1,132,000, including the unfinished work. In other words, the United States will actually be out of pocket only $97,000, the difference between the $1,229,000 and $1,132,000. If the one-half of 1 per cent deduction is also applied to the Government awards, there would be a further recovery of cost of over $345,500, assuming payment of these awards as of the present time, that is, the Government would make an actual profit of some $248,500 as the result of the labors of the commission.

We will now turn to the related problems.

The return by the United States of German property it had sequestered, presented, in the light of the adjudicated and unpaid claims against Germany, a problem fraught with considerable difficulty. This property had been seized under the trading with the enemy act, originally enacted October 6, 1917, and amended from time to time. Then the property was specifically set aside, under the Knox-Porter resolution. This was the resolution declaring that the state of war with Germany had terminated with its passage as of July 2, 1921. It set the property aside to be dealt with later by the Congress, as a sort of pledge or security to ensure the payment by Germany of America's war claims, once the amounts thereof were finally determined. The resolution (incorporated as a part of the treaty of Berlin) provided that—

"All property of the Imperial German Government, or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals which was on April 6, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America * * * shall be retained by the United States of America, and no disposition thereof made * * * until such time as the Imperial German Government * * * shall have * * * made suitable provision for the satisfaction of all claims * * * of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States of America and who have suffered * * * since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their persons or property * * *."

On March 10, 1928, Congress enacted the settlement of war claims act of 1928, which also amended the trading with the enemy act. Under the terms of this legislation this property seized from German nationals is rapidly being returned to the former owners or their successors in interest. Out of the $545,228,160.84 worth of cash assets and other property seized by the Alien Property Custodian from alien enemies, $235,370,096.92 had already been returned to the erstwhile enemy owners prior to January 1, 1924, thus leaving in the hands of the custodian cash assets and other property amounting to $309,858,063.92. In addition there were the German ships seized under the congressional joint resolution of May 12, 1917, and the radio station and patents taken over from German nationals.

This brings us to another outstanding accomplishment, the work of the War Claims Arbiter, functioning under the settlement of war claims act. The first arbiter was Judge Parker. Before he died he rendered several decisions announcing general principles, but decided only two patent cases. He was succeeded January 13, 1930, by Judge James W. Remick, of Concord, N. H., who has very ably carried on and concluded the work so well begun.

It will be recalled that the German vessels were valued by the Navy Board of Appraisal in 1917 at some $34,000,000. In the suits filed in the United States Court of Claims after the war (dismissed for lack of jurisdiction) the former owners of these ships valued them in excess of $230,000,000. But Judge Remick, applying the particular rule of fair compensation prescribed by the act, in 1930 judicially determined, after very thorough argument and consideration, that the value of those within his jurisdiction was $74,243,000, including interest to January 1, 1929.

The arbiter wound up his office December 15, 1931. The amounts claimed in the nearly 1,200 cases filed were never accurately defined by claimants, but probably aggregated some $500,000,000. They were based on 105 ships, about 6,200 patents, and the Sayville radio station. It is unique in our history that one man has been given sole power of decision, without appeal, in cases involving such vast sums. The onerous trust reposed has been so ably, fairly, and promptly discharged as to meet with entire satisfaction on all sides.

The 288 awards entered by the arbiter in favor of German nationals in the patent cases and the radio-station claim amount, with interest through 1928, to $12,485,387.83. With the 27 awards in the 94 ship cases, the awards to Germans aggregate $86,738,320.83, including simple interest at 5 per cent per annum from July 2, 1921, through December 31, 1928, as required by the statute. The act fixed a maximum limitation of $100,000,000 on the awards. The German nationals have been paid one-half of the amount of the awards. Payments on account of the remainder, with interest, will be spread over a long period of years.

The arbiter has made 136 awards in favor of Austrian nationals, aggregating, with interest, $912,687.94; and 11 awards in favor of Hungarian nationals, amounting, with interest, to $53,799.56—all in patent claims. Austrian nationals are now being paid in full. Hungarian nationals will be fully recompensed when Hungary makes the deposit referred to herein.

Since the passage of the settlement of war claims act and to the date of the latest report there have been filed with the Alien Property Custodian 3,211 "war claims" under that statute. Of them, 2,183 have been paid, 607 disallowed, and the balance are pending, with the exception of 300 claims involving trusts of less than $2,000, which have been paid in full.

Of the Austrian claims presented to the custodian, all but a few have been paid, though Austrian nationals had necessarily been delayed in making applications. This was due to the fact that the settlement of war claims act provided that claims of Austrian nationals could be paid by the custodian only after the Austrian Government had deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States a sum sufficient to make full payment of the awards in favor of American nationals against Austria entered by the Tripartite Claims Commission. That deposit was made in December, 1928, after it was made certain what the maximum of such awards would be. The work of the commission was practically wound up in June, 1929. No Hungarian claims have been paid to date, for the reason that the Hungarian Government up to the present writing has not, because of difficulties referred to above, deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States the funds necessary to pay in full the tripartite awards in favor of American nationals against Hungary.

During 1928, the first year of the operation of the act, the custodian and the Department of Justice paid out cash and securities aggregating in value $31,500,600.67. According to the latest report, there has been paid out in cash and securities an aggregate of $138,466,645.68.

After the office of the custodian was established pursuant to the trading with the enemy act, the Congress appropriated certain sums of money during the years 1917 to 1927, inclusive, to take care of the expenses incident to the establishment, equipment, operation, and management of this agency of the Government. However, in 1927, former Senator Howard Sutherland, the present custodian, decided to ask Congress for no further appropriations for that purpose, and to place the office on a self-sustaining basis. With that idea in view, the policy was adopted of deducting 1 to 2 per cent from each payment made under each and every trust for expenses incident to administration. Congress in 1927 passed an appropriation sufficient to take care of the custodian's salary, fixed by statute. But since February 1, 1928, all of the expenses of the office, including that salary, have been paid from moneys held in trust.

Five years prior to this, that is, on March 4, 1923, Congress enacted what is known as the Winslow Act, amending the trading with the enemy act. Under its terms nationals of Germany, Austria, and Hungary, and persons who by reason of the war treaties were citizens of no particular country, were entitled to the return of not to exceed $10,000 of the principal held by the custodian in trust for such former enemy aliens. Since then and up to the date of the latest report, 42,823 so-called Winslow claims have been filed with the custodian. Nearly all of them have now been paid in full. The act also provided for the return of income accruals upon money and/or other property held by the custodian up to but not exceeding $10,000 for each trust in any one year, beginning March 4, 1923. Pusuant to this, vast sums of money have been paid out to erstwhile enemy aliens.

One interesting point of law may be mentioned. For more than three years after the passage of the Winslow Act the Department of Justice and the law division of the office of the Alien Property Custodian held that $10,000 might be returned to a partnership or that the sum of $10,000 might be allocated among the partners constituting the partnership. But in deciding a suit instituted in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia (Siegert *v.* Sutherland) the court held that where the partnership assets were seized by the custodian as being enemy-owned and the partners consisted of, say, three German nationals, one Brazilian national, and one American national, each of the German partners was entitled to the return of $10,000; that the Brazilian partner (or any other partner whose citizenship might be that of a neutral country) was entitled to the return of all of his property; that by operation of law the partnership was dissolved as of the date of the declaration of the existence of a state of war April 6, 1917, and that the American partner was authorized under the law to assume control of the partnership assets, wind up the firm's business, pay off its debts and obligations, and then remit to the custodian that portion of the proceeds derived from the sale and/or liquidation of the partnership assets belonging to the alien enemies. This principle and the law generally with respect to partnership property as applied to seizure of such property by the custodian during the war have now been definitely established by the Supreme Court of the United States and other Federal courts.

So it will be seen that so far as concerns the United States very fair progress has been made in the winding-up of the numerous complicated matters arising out of the various pecuniary claims which had their origin in the great World War, hostilities in which ceased 13 years ago. The United States has been able to secure the satisfaction of the claims of its own nationals and itself while living up to its traditional respect for the property of aliens. Neither the Congress nor the country has on the whole any substantial reason to doubt the wisdom of the solution, reached after considerable study and some compromise, formulated in the settlement of war claims act of 1928.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I am advised that the conference report on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill is on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Sheppard
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Shipstead
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Smith
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Smoot
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Steiwer
Barkley	Dill	King	Thomas, Idaho
Bingham	Fess	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Townsend
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Trammell
Borah	George	McGill	Tydings
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Vandenberg
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Wagner
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Walcott
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Walsh, Mass.
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Walsh, Mont.
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Waterman
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Watson
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Wheeler
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	White
Coolidge	Hebert	Pittman	
Copeland	Howell	Robinson, Ark.	
Costigan	Hull	Schall	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes.

Mr. WALCOTT. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the conference report.

(For report see Senate proceedings of yesterday, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 2389–2392.)

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the conference report.

Mr. WALCOTT. I move the adoption of the report.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Connecticut should analyze the report, in view of the many differences which existed between the House draft and the Senate draft.

Mr. BORAH. May I ask whether this is a unanimous report?

Mr. WALCOTT. It is a unanimous report. Does the Senator from Arkansas wish to ask questions, or is it his suggestion that I make a statement?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It is my suggestion that the Senator analyze the report for the convenience of the Senate. That will probably save the necessity of reading the report in its entirety. I could direct questions to the Senator, but I thought it would be preferable to have him explain how the matters in disagreement were worked out.

Mr. WALCOTT. I shall be very glad to do that. Instead of following the exact language of the conference report, I will take the master copy of the bill as corrected in the various hearings of the conferees, and go through it item by item. If there are any items omitted, the omission will be unintentional, and I will explain the matter when it is called to my attention.

In the first place, with reference to the title of the bill, the House language was accepted, to this effect, "to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry," in order to broaden the scope of the title.

Following down in line 5, the House language was accepted with reference to the location of the principal office of the corporation, that it be located in the District of Columbia.

The next change is an important one and an extensive one. In section 2 a provision of the House provided for $50,000,000 to aid agriculture by direct loans to farmers on crops.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator means an amendment by the Senate, instead of by the House.

Mr. WALCOTT. No; that was language interposed by the House, and in place of the language inserted by the House the so-called Smith amendment was inserted in the Senate, with this change: The Smith amendment carries $50,000,000, the same as the House language, but the essential change is in this language:

A first lien on all crops growing, or to be planted and grown, shall, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, be deemed sufficient security for such loan or advance.

This is entirely new language.

All such loans or advances shall be made through such agencies as the Secretary of Agriculture may designate and in such amounts as such agencies, with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, may determine.

That is practically the language that now exists in the crop loan act passed last year, 1931.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. In the provision of the $50,000,000 for agriculture, is the territory to which the loans are to go limited?

Mr. WALCOTT. I am getting to that.

Provided further, That the Secretary of Agriculture shall give preference in making such loans or advances to farmers who suffered from crop failures in 1931.

The original language of the Wheeler amendment was "to those who suffered from crop failures," and the words "advances to farmers who suffered in the crop failures," with the idea that the preference be given to those who suffered from crop failures. But there is no restriction in the bill against lending to those who suffered from bank closures and other elements of depression. Does that answer the Senator's question?

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I do not quite understand the limitation as to territory of which the Senator speaks and to whom the loans shall be made.

Mr. WALCOTT. There is no limitation as to territory.

Mr. BORAH. It is simply as to those who suffered crop failures?

Mr. WALCOTT. There is merely a suggestion that preference be given by the Secretary of Agriculture, in considering these loans, to those who suffered from crop failures in 1931; but it is also provided that any farmer suffering from bank closing or "general depression," as it is termed in the bill, may be considered for a loan.

Mr. BORAH. Then what is the effect of suggesting that preference? The discretion is still left, is it not, to execute the law in accordance with the judgment of those who are executing it?

Mr. WALCOTT. Entirely. It is a suggestion that the Secretary give preference to those sections of the country which in 1931 suffered from crop failures.

Mr. BORAH. I really do not know what the effect of making that kind of suggestion in the bill is.

Mr. WALCOTT. I can not say. That is the way it passed the Senate.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. NORBECK. I take no issue with the Senator from Connecticut but suggest the reading of the paragraph at this time. It was changed in conference. For my part, I put a different construction on it, and that is this, that preference be given to those farmers who suffered from crop failure in 1931. The word "section" was in the bill

in the Senate at one time, but I do not think the Senator will find it is in the bill now.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I think the statement just made by the Senator from South Dakota is correct.

Mr. WALCOTT. That is correct.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The language is:

That the Secretary of Agriculture shall give preference in making such loans or advances to farmers who suffered from crop failures in 1931.

Mr. BORAH. Is that the positive language, that he shall give preference?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. WALCOTT. That is the language.

Mr. BORAH. How did the committee come to lay down the rule that it is wise to give preference to those who suffered crop failures? There were other reasons for the conditions of the farmers quite as ruinous and quite as drastic as crop failures.

Mr. WALCOTT. The Senate attempted by the Wheeler amendment to reduce it to such sections as had suffered from crop failure.

Mr. BORAH. Who took out the sections?

Mr. WALCOTT. The House.

Mr. BORAH. I think that is wise. I would like to know before we pass on just how controlling the proposition is that preference shall be given.

Mr. WALCOTT. Anyone might venture an opinion on that, but I believe it rests entirely with the Secretary of Agriculture. I think the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] would know as much about that particular question as anyone here. We debated the matter considerably, and the word "shall" was used deliberately in order to influence the Secretary of Agriculture as much as possible with the suggestion; but it is a suggestion, and it is not mandatory.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. FLETCHER. The amendment was put in the bill in the Senate. That comes out of the Senate amendment offered by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER]?

Mr. WALCOTT. Yes. I explained it was the Wheeler amendment, but modified with the word "section" struck out and the words "those farmers" added.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. NORBECK. I may say that the Senate proviso first was general in that it should apply to all farmers who suffered from the depression. One person in the Department of Agriculture, who has some authority, said rather jocularly, but I took it seriously, that "it is very difficult to distinguish, and I think it will mean $8 to every farmer in the United States." We came to realize that the terms were too broad. It was not intended for a dole for the farmer. It was intended to be a loan to be repaid. The Wheeler amendment, which was offered later, said preference should be given to those sections where the crop had failed and for this reason the farmers were unable to make loans. But in conference objection was made to the word "section" being used.

Objection was also made to its general terms or having it applied to the whole area under depression; in other words, furnishing it to all the farmers of the United States.

The feeling was, after all, that the purpose is to enable those farmers who had suffered from some unusual calamity to plant crops, and the most unusual, of course, is where the crops were completely wiped out. Next to that are communities where, owing to bank failures, the farmers are unable to get money through the usual channels for planting their crops. There are many sections of the country where farmers borrow in the spring for crop planting. The bill now makes provision for both of these classes but preference is given to the farmer who raised nothing in 1931.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. KING. While we are discussing the $50,000,000 fund, I want to ask the Senator whether the board which will have charge of carrying out the provisions of the bill is to be relieved of any responsibility for the loans which are made to farmers? That is to say, is the $50,000,000 fund to be turned over to the Secretary of Agriculture, and loans which he may make may be good, bad, or indifferent, and the board created by the bill will be absolved from any liability whatever?

Mr. WALCOTT. Loans must have presumably adequate collateral. I may say for the information of the Senator that the loans made to farmers under the provisions of an act somewhat similar to this, passed a year ago, providing $45,000,000 for loans in cases of crop failure due to drought and other emergency, have been repaid to the extent of $37,000,000. The deficiency in that case at the end of about 15 months is not much more than $8,000,000 or $9,000,000, which is a very fair record considering that the areas were so greatly disturbed.

Mr. KING. I desire to know to whom the Congress will look for the purpose of seeing that the act is properly and wisely administered and where blame will lie if bad loans are made? Are we to hold the board for bad loans or lack of proper administration, or are we to hold the Secretary of Agriculture?

Mr. WALCOTT. There is no question about it that the Secretary of Agriculture is to be entirely responsible for the loans. If the loans are not well handled, in my opinion he would be very much to blame.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. WALCOTT. Certainly.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That statement applies to the $50,000,000 which is authorized to be employed for the relief of farmers in distress?

Mr. WALCOTT. I think so.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It has no application to any other part of the fund?

Mr. WALCOTT. That is true. The bill as it came to the conferees was really a rider on Senate bill No. 1. It has been merged in the bill, but it is still entirely a separate matter and not in any way to be administered by the board under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation provision.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. WALCOTT. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Will the Senator call my attention to the part of the bill reported by the conference committee dealing with the subject to which reference is now being made, or was it entirely stricken out?

Mr. WALCOTT. It is section 2, page 2, of the bill as reported by the conferees.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am particularly concerned to know what change was made in that particular with reference to the $50,000,000 included in the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] and amended on motion of my colleague [Mr. WHEELER].

Mr. WALCOTT. What print of the bill has the Senator before him?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I have the report of the conference committee.

Mr. WALCOTT. The House text contains the language that was stricken out. In lieu of that language the Smith amendment as revised is substituted. Does the Senator care to have that language read?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I have it. So the $50,000,000 is turned over to the Secretary of Agriculture?

Mr. WALCOTT. It is.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. And loans are to be made by him instead of by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation?

Mr. WALCOTT. Precisely.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Is that the only feature of change?

Mr. WALCOTT. No; not exactly.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. WALCOTT. Certainly.

Mr. FLETCHER. The difference is that, under the conference report and the conclusion reached by the conferees and insisted on by the House, the $50,000,000 is to come out of the $500,000,000 capitalization of the corporation. Under the amendment as offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] it was to be a separate fund in addition to the $500,000,000 corporation fund. The conferees have agreed that the $50,000,000 shall come out of the fund of the corporation. That is about the only difference.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That simply means that it comes out of the $500,000,000.

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes.

Mr. WALCOTT. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I understand the fund is turned over to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture instead of by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation?

Mr. WALCOTT. It is not a change really. That is in the original Smith amendment, which provided that it should be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. So the only change is that it is taken out of the $500,000,000 fund?

Mr. WALCOTT. Yes; and that the farmers who have suffered from crop failures shall have preference.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That was provided in the amendment of my colleague [Mr. WHEELER].

Mr. WALCOTT. Yes. I explained that.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. If that remains in the conference report, then it is not a change.

Mr. WALCOTT. It was a change from the original Senate bill. The Senator is quite right. I misunderstood him.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. WALCOTT. Certainly.

Mr. BYRNES. Will the Senator explain the changes in this section as to the amount of money made available for carrying out the purposes set forth in the section? By that I mean is the amount limited to the $50,000,000 or, under the language "and the extension of the same through notes," is it possible that a larger amount might be available?

Mr. WALCOTT. It is not easy to answer the Senator's question definitely. Of course, the Senator will realize that the administration of the fund is entirely optional with the Secretary of Agriculture; and while quoting him may be unsafe or unwise, I got the distinct impression from him and from his assistant, who made rather a careful estimate of the possibilities of the fund, that the amount of $50,000,000 would probably be adequate to take care of present needs, because the fund is available only during the year 1932 under the provisions of the act.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. Will the Senator explain whether or not the purposes for which the loans to the farmers are to be made have been changed? The drought relief act of a year ago provided that funds might be loaned to farmers for the purpose of crop production, for the purchase of seed, feed for work stock, fertilizer, and gasoline. Was there any discussion as to whether there was any change in the provisions for those loans?

Mr. WALCOTT. Those conditions remain just the same in this bill as in the act with which the Senator is familiar.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. For instance, if a farmer is on an irrigated tract is he permitted to borrow money from this fund for maintenance?

Mr. WALCOTT. Yes; if there has been serious economic disturbance in his particular section, which we defined with the general term "depression" and defined more specifically as "closed banks."

To continue with the explanation, section 3 prescribed originally in the Senate bill that the salaries of employees of the corporation should be limited to the same amount as set forth for the directors of the corporation, namely, $10,000, which was reduced from $12,000 as provided in the original language of the bill. The House text contains no such restriction. The Senate conferees receded and the net result is that the employees of the corporation are not limited as to their salaries except the four directors; but it is further provided by the bill in another section that a quarterly report shall be submitted by the board, the first report to be as of April 1, 1932, covering the number of loans, the classifications of the loans, the number of employees, with their names and the amount received by each who received over $400 a month. That is, every person receiving at the rate of $4,800 a year must be reported quarterly as to his name and the amount of money he is receiving from the corporation. No Government employee is allowed to receive other than his regular Government compensation. No additional compensation is permitted from this corporation. That applies to the ex officio officers.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Am I to understand that the only restraint upon the amount of salary which will be paid is that the man who gets the high salary may be advertised?

Mr. WALCOTT. That is the restraint. That is the theory.

Mr. BORAH. I do not think he would feel any chagrin at that. I think after our experience with the Farm Board there ought to have been some limitation upon the matter of salaries. The Farm Board are paying some employees $75,000 or $50,000 a year. I look upon it as scandalous. Did the Senator find that it was impossible to limit it?

Mr. WALCOTT. We discussed it at considerable length, and it was finally decided that publicity would be a sufficient deterrent.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. WALCOTT. I do.

Mr. WAGNER. On whom, under this bill, is conferred the authority to appoint the president and chairman of the board of directors of this newly created corporation?

Mr. WALCOTT. Mr. President, the authority is not specifically conferred by this bill; but the authority rests, in the absence of any specific direction, with the board of directors, if and when appointed, to draw up suitable by-laws for the corporation, and regulations and the restrictions, including the prescription of the duties of the various officers, and to elect such officers. Does that answer the Senator's question?

Mr. WAGNER. As I understand the bill, the directors of the corporation are given power to select the officers of the corporation. That would include the president of the corporation, would it not?

Mr. WALCOTT. It would.

Mr. WAGNER. What prompted this question, I might say to the Senator, is that I read in the newspapers the other day that the President had already, prior to the passage of this measure, selected as the president of this corporation General Dawes and had selected Mr. Eugene Meyer as the chairman of the board, and I was wondering under what authority the President made those appointments. According to the Senator's answer, there is probably a usurpation of power in that respect, is there not?

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. WATSON. The fact in regard to the selection of General Dawes as president of the board is simply this: As the Senator from New York knows, General Dawes was the head of the delegation of the United States to the disarmament conference and would have been compelled to leave the next day. Therefore the President, in order to prevent his going, announced that he would take this other position, and that he would be appointed to that position if this bill should pass. Otherwise General Dawes would have left the United States and would have gone to Geneva. The President announced the appointment of General Dawes in order that his failure to go to Geneva might be explained and would not be misunderstood abroad, and the President thought it was entirely proper to make the announcement.

Mr. WAGNER. I suppose the idea the President intended to convey was that he would recommend to the board of directors of this particular corporation that General Dawes be appointed?

Mr. WATSON. That is my understanding.

Mr. WAGNER. Although the wording of the published statement was more positive than that. The statement was that General Dawes had been selected by the President. If I may inject a suggestion here, the President has all along insisted that he wanted to preserve the nonpartisan character of this whole legislation and of the corporation created under it, since, after all, members of both parties have contributed to perfecting it and to its workability. Without in any way criticizing the appointments—for both appointees are men of very high character—the President's idea of preserving nonpartisanship apparently is to put in charge of the operations of this particular corporation two very distinguished Republicans.

Mr. WALCOTT. Mr. President, I do not care to enter into an argument on that subject with the distinguished Senator from New York. I have not discussed the matter with the President; but I am quite sure that the President wished to be in a position to congratulate himself, and perhaps the entire country, upon being fortunate enough to find a man of General Dawes's ability and experience for the job of running this corporation. The fact that the words "president of the corporation" were used in the published statements I do not believe is very relevant, and I do not think it reflects in any way upon the President because it was a suggestion that General Dawes be made president of the corporation if he is going to operate it. That is the logical office for him to hold. I do not like the insinuation of the Senator from New York, for the President has, from the very beginning, insisted that this be a nonpartisan board and has accepted every suggestion in that direction.

I may add further that the House bill contained a provision that of the four appointive officers not more than two should be members of the same political party. That would have left three Republicans as ex officio officers, as at present constituted, and two Republicans in the appointive offices. The Senate, with the concurrence of the President, made the language read that not more than four of any one political party should be appointed. However, the House receded from their position voluntarily, making it a fair bet as to what may happen.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, there was not any insinuation in what I said. I was talking about the question of authority as conferred by this proposed legislation. I agree with the Senator from Connecticut that both of the men selected are very distinguished and capable; but, nevertheless, it does follow that those who will be appointed to the board of directors will, so far as these selections are concerned, simply "rubber stamp" the appointments already made.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. WALCOTT. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I should like to recur to the matter we had under consideration a few moments ago. I was considerably confused on reading the conference report concerning the significance of the following language:

Provided, That $50,000,000 of the amount so subscribed, and the expansion of same through the notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations as set out in section 9 shall be allocated and made available to the Secretary of Agriculture, which sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture—

And so on, and so on. I refer particularly to the language "and the expansion of same through the notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations as set out in section 9." Section 9 refers to the power of the board to issue bonds to the amount of $1,500,000,000; and so, I take it, the proviso I have read means—the $50,000,000 being one-tenth of the capital stock of the corporation—if it should issue bonds to the amount, we will say, of $100,000,000, $10,000,000 of that amount, or the avails of $10,000,000, would be turned over to the Secretary of Agriculture in addition to the $50,000,000 prescribed here?

Mr. WALCOTT. But only if requested.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Of course, upon request of the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. WALCOTT. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. He could call for the avails of $10,000,000 of such issue of $100,000,000 bonds?

Mr. WALCOTT. That is, in my opinion, a correct interpretation of the language.

Mr. President, with reference to section 5, which is an important section, the chief point of controversy grew out of the words "or other bona fide financial institution." Neither the Senate nor the House were particularly anxious to have that language in the bill, although it was specifically requested by the governor of the Federal Reserve Board. The House, however, incorporated that language in their bill. After a discussion which lasted many hours a list of those institutions which it seemed proper to permit to become applicants for loans from the available capital was substituted. In addition to the corporations already prescribed, the following were added:

Mortgage-loan companies, credit unions, Federal land banks, and joint-stock land banks.

Then the word "Federal" was added before the words "intermediate credit bank," making it read "Federal intermediate credit bank."

The next change of consequence was the recession by the Senate from its provision and the adoption of the House language with regard to extending relief to closed banks. The word "insolvent" used in the House bill was stricken out and the language was made to read as follows:

Including loans secured by the assets of any bank that is closed, or in process of liquidation to aid in the reorganization or liquidation of such banks, upon application of the receiver or liquidating agent of such bank, and any receiver of any national bank is hereby authorized to contract for such loans and to pledge any assets of the bank for securing the same.

The following proviso was suggested by the conferees and eventually adopted unanimously, namely:

Provided, That not more than $200,000,000 shall be used for the relief of banks that are closed or in the process of liquidation.

That is a very important change from the original Senate bill. It was made for the purpose of giving hope to those who have deposits in closed banks. In the aggregate the deposits which are thus locked up amount to $1,800,000,000, in round figures. It is interesting to note that the records of the Comptroller of the Currency in connection with the liquidation of closed banks in the Federal reserve system show that during the last five years the banks that have been closed and liquidated have returned to their depositors 65 per cent of their deposits. With $1,800,000,000 of depositors' money now locked up, which they are unable to obtain, it is believed that at least 30 per cent, or $600,000,000, is a fair estimate of the amount that can be properly returned to them in a reasonably short time in the shape of cash. The use of $200,000,000, one-third of the $600,000,000, will fur-



nish very substantial relief to the present aggrieved depositors. It is believed that by the time this bill is well under operation another measure will be available to take care of the balance that the comptroller thinks it is safe to return to the depositors in view of the frozen assets and the insolvent condition of some of the banks. In other words, there is a very bright ray of hope in this clause, and we thought the emergency justified the action taken.

Going on to the end of section 5, while the report does not refer to it I want to speak of it, because it is a very important matter with reference to the railroads.

Under the provision of the original bill the railroads were not included so far as securing direct loans is concerned. Under the conference report they are included, subject to the approval only of the Interstate Commerce Commission. That has been brought about by inserting in line 19 of the Senate bill the words:

Not initiated, set on foot, or undertaken prior to the adoption of this act.

That means that railroads, although they may be in the hands of a receiver, may apply to the board for loans, which will be of very great advantage to them.

The only other item of controversy was as to the matter of eligibility of the loans of the corporation for rediscount at the Federal reserve banks. The House language proposed to make them eligible for rediscount. The Senate did not accede to their wishes. Subsequently the House receded, and these bonds will not be eligible for rediscount at the Federal reserve banks. They are, however, eligible for purchase and/or sale by the United States Treasury; and if, for any reason, the United States Treasury wishes to purchase these bonds and sell its own bonds in lieu thereof, turning the proceeds of those bonds over to the corporation, it may do so.

If there are no other questions by way of explanation, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That motion has already been made. The question is on agreeing to the report.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, before the Senate votes on this conference report I wish to place in the RECORD my protest against the action of the Senate conferees in yielding on the Senate's amendment providing for quarterly reports from this corporation to the House and to the Senate.

The Senate adopted the following amendment:

SEC. 15. The corporation shall submit quarterly to the President and to the Senate and House of Representatives (or the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives if those bodies are not in session) a full and detailed report of its activities and expenditures, together with a statement showing the condition of any funds administered by it, including a statement of the volume of loans or other transactions entered into under this act during the period covered by the report, the names of the persons, financial institutions, or corporations with whom contracts of loan or other transactions were entered into, and the amount involved in each case.

That is the essential part of the amendment as adopted by the Senate; and may I say that the record of the debate when that amendment was adopted shows a general agreement among the Senators who participated in it that the amendment was sound and should be adopted.

In lieu thereof the conference committee recommends the adoption of the following provision, page 18, section 15:

The corporation shall make and publish a report quarterly of its operations to the Congress stating the aggregate loans made to each of the classes of borrowers provided for and the number of borrowers by States in each class. The statement shall show the assets and liabilities of the corporation—

That is, of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—

and the first report shall be made on April 1, 1932, and quarterly thereafter. It shall also show the names and compensation of all persons employed by the corporation whose compensation exceeds $400 a month.

I know the argument will be made that corporations seeking the benefits of loans from this Reconstruction Finance Corporation should not have that fact made public, lest it may cause public apprehension concerning the soundness of the particular institution in question. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the Congress of the United States should pause before it gives absolute power to a corporation which is to loan $2,000,000,000 of money belonging to the people of the United States, and in the maximum amount it may loan $100,000,000 to any particular corporation. That is an extraordinary power; and in view of our past experience with institutions of this character it seems to me that the Senate is put upon notice that it should provide for reports which would disclose the manner in which this money—which, after all, belongs to the people of the United States—is being loaned to these private corporations in need of assistance at this time.

I cite only one example, namely, that of the Federal Farm Board.

Senators will remember that it has been practically impossible during the operations of that board, dealing with $500,000,000 taken out of the Treasury, to ascertain how those funds have been disposed of; and it was only shortly before the convening of this session of Congress that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCNARY], as chairman of the Agricultural Committee, finally extracted detailed information as to how that fund had been loaned and administered. Now this fund, amounting to $2,000,000,000, is to be loaned by the directors of this corporation; and under the report provision recommended by the conference committee the Congress and the people of this country will not have any knowledge as to how those funds have been loaned and for what purposes they have been loaned.

I realize that the Senate has been dragooned into passing this bill under whip and spur. I realize that there is no chance at this time of recommitting the conference report; but I merely wish to say that in my judgment Senators who are responsible for the adoption of this conference report will regret not providing for reports from this corporation which would show to the representatives of the people and to the public how $2,000,000,000 of money belonging to the people of the United States is being loaned and for what purposes it is being used.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Connecticut whether any provision has been made for the use of the Civil Service Commission in choosing the clerks of this corporation.

Mr. WALCOTT. It is not obligatory.

Mr. HARRIS. A provision of that kind is usually incorporated in measures of this nature; and I wondered whether the matter was discussed, and if so, what was the decision of the committee.

Mr. WALCOTT. It did not come up for discussion among the conferees.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I do not want to have a vote taken on this measure without at least expressing, in a very few words, my disappointment with the bill as an emergency measure in the present situation.

If the bill has any virtue, it may be that some of the little banks that are suffering from the practices that have been imposed upon this country by the great banks in the large financial centers may get some relief under it. The British Parliament was called into extra session last summer to throw the governmental credit back of the banks of London. We voted $250,000,000 in the moratorium to assist the banks of New York and the banks of London, to help them out of the muddle they got in by making bad loans in Europe. We are voting here a potential $2,000,000,000 out of the Treasury of the United States in the form of a receivership for big business. The mistakes that have been made must be paid for. This $2,000,000,000 will not pay for the mistakes of the banking interests of this country that have brought this depression upon us.

The $60,000,000,000 of values that have been destroyed in the last three years can not be paid by this $2,000,000,000 out of the Treasury of the United States. Big business is throwing up its hands in despair and asking the Government to take it over in the form of a receivership. It may be necessary to do that. I hope it will do some good.

This is not the first time that the Government of the United States has had to assume the liabilities of private initiative that has failed in its manipulations; and let no one say that the danger signals we have traveled by in the last 10 years have not been very plain. We have heard a great deal about the loans to Europe. We have heard very little about the seventy billions of stocks and bonds that were underwritten by the racketeering bankers and peddled to gullible investors in this country from 1920 to 1930. The inflation of the credit system that took place from 1924, that ended in the explosion of 1929, is now bearing its just fruits—a credit policy that was the most insane that could have been conceived by human minds. If the leadership of the capitalistic system 15 years ago had deliberately set out to hire experts of destruction and destroy that system, they could not have succeeded within the wildest dreams of their imagination as they have succeeded in destroying it so far.

There is nothing in this emergency legislation that attacks the most dangerous menace that confronts this country to-day, and that is the descending price level. It is said that this is not an inflationary measure; that it is counterdeflationary, to stop deflation. If this measure will stop the deflation, it should have been enacted three years ago. Those who sponsor it, if they have faith that it can stop the deflation, should have come here with it three years ago, before the deflation of the credit system and of the currency had wiped out sixty billions of values in this country.

What is counterdeflation but inflation? We heard few objections to inflation of the credit system from 1924 to 1929. We have had not a voice raised in opposition to the policy of deflation that has been going on for more than two years. The consensus of opinion of the financiers of the country now is that they have let the fall of prices go low enough, and now they are to stabilize it here. But unless the price level is not only kept from descending further but an attack is made upon it, so as to raise the price level, the indebtedness that has been incurred in cheap money during and since the war can never be paid except by being liquidated in the bankruptcy courts. If you want to go that way, it can lead only to chaos.

The McMillan report in Great Britain pointed out that the most essential and urgent and necessary thing to do was to have the bankers of Great Britain, including the Bank of England, pursue such policies as would raise the general price level, in order to restore confidence, restore values, and revive industry.

On the other hand, we have a deliberate policy here of deflation, a deflation of farm products, a deflation of the wage levels, further destroying the purchasing power of the 70,000,000 people who are dependent on agriculture and wages for their purchasing power.

We pursued that policy, so far as agriculture is concerned, since 1920. During those 10 years agriculture lost 50 per cent of its income, labor lost 40 per cent of its income, in the aggregate, and industry had an increase in income of 72 per cent, as reflected in increases in common-stock dividends.

Here we pursued policies which could lead to nothing but disaster. When there is taken from the income of the 70,000,000 people dependent upon wages and upon agriculture half of their income, and when policies are pursued which take that income and increase the income of industry by 72 per cent, there is an illustration of the hog who is so greedy that he eats his own trough; and now industry is paying the price for pursuing those policies.

If we are going to stabilize the commodity-price level, the wage level, the agricultural-price level, and the level of commodities and raw materials at the present price levels, how is that going to restore purchasing power? How is that going to restore the purchasing power which can furnish the power to buy the products of industry and so revive industry and reduce unemployment?

In order that capital shall collect on the paper which it has floated, is it now to be the deliberate policy of the Government and our credit system and our banking system to permanently stabilize the price level and the wage level in order to reduce the standards of living of the great mass of the people? If you think that that will restore purchasing power and prosperity, go over to China, where there is an example of the low standards of living—the low-wage level, and the low-price level. If you want a cheap country you can have it by having cheap income received by the great mass of the people.

There is nothing here to attack the high interest rates which are paralyzing business, the high interest rates which are making it impossible for agriculture to pay its mortgages or its interest. When the Government of the United States permitted the inflationary policy which was pursued from 1924 to 1929 without protest, the Government assumed some responsibility and has some responsibility now for the conduct of the banking policy and the credit policy under which these people incurred their indebtedness and the consequent policy of deflation, which has increased the value of the dollar more than 50 per cent, making it 50 per cent harder to pay a debt than when it was incurred, compelling these people to pay their debts in a dishonest dollar because it is a dollar that is entirely different in value from the dollar that was borrowed five years ago.

Mr. President, at some future time I desire to go more extensively into some of these policies we have been pursuing which have brought about this situation. This depression did not come out of the air, it did not come out of nothing. We are in the condition in which we find ourselves because we have been insisting on traveling in a certain direction for the past 15 years. This depression is due to causes which are the direct result of policies which have been pursued and therefore could have been avoided. Now, the question is, are we going to have this blood transfusion which may give a temporary respite without removing the chronic infection that is eating away the economic lifeblood of the American people? Are we from now on going to be willing to change the policies which have brought about this situation, or are we going to be content with this temporary shot in the arm and then pursue the policies which brought us to where we are and so have a recurrence on a larger scale of the depression under which we are suffering now?

Mr. President, as a part of my remarks I ask to have printed in the RECORD an article from the Minneapolis Star of Thursday, October 8, 1931.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHIPSTEAD WARNED OF DYNAMITE IN DAWES PLAN—PREDICTED CRASH IN STAR INTERVIEW SEVEN YEARS AGO—FORESAW CALAMITY POURING DOLLARS INTO TOTTERING FOREIGN STRUCTURES—DOOMED AMERICA TO PAY DEARLY—PRESENT DIFFICULTIES BEAR OUT FORECAST OF 1924

Writing exclusively for the Minneapolis Star, seven years ago, Senator HENRIK SHIPSTEAD predicted that the Dawes plan, then about to become effective, would involve the United States more and more deeply in the chaos of Europe. So certainly did the senior Senator from Minnesota foresee the difficulties into which the Nation was about to be plunged that the Star herewith reproduces this remarkable article which he wrote on October 8, 1924.

The article follows:

"The power of government should be taken away from special privilege and replaced in the hands of those who represent the people, who will use the Government for the purpose for which it was intended—to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and safeguard the rights of the people. We believe we have been drifting away from our original place of anchor. The ship of state is not anchored anywhere near where it is supposed to be anchored. Our domestic and foreign policies under both Republican and Democratic administrations have been following in the footsteps of the imperial governments of Europe, and if we continue in that course we, the American people, will have to pay the same price that the people of Europe are paying now.

INVOLVES UNITED STATES WITH EUROPE

"Our international bankers are involving us more and more deeply in the chaos of Europe. Under a recent ruling by the Federal Reserve Board our Federal reserve banks will accept European trade acceptances for discount. This means the credit reservoir which is the property of the people of the United States is going to be tapped and a constant stream of banking credit is going to be poured out over Europe for the purpose of bolstering up the tottering financial houses of Europe. They are going to give Euro-

pean bankers credit and money that they denied to the American business and American farmers in 1920, 1921, and 1922.

"The Dawes plan is a gold brick loaded with dynamite. It provides for a loan of $200,000,000 to Germany so Germany can pay France, who owes us $4,000,000,000 which she refuses to pay. It is said that this money is to be loaned to the various countries of Europe in order to establish peace in Europe, in order that we shall have an end of war in Europe.

"If this extension of credit is for peaceful purposes, why is it not provided in the contract that Europe shall disarm before she gets this money? Why is it not stipulated in the contract that the countries of Europe shall not spend money for armament and war? The President is quoted as saying that he intends to urge the American people to buy these securities in order that we may establish world peace. Some one is deceiving the people.

UNITED STATES FINANCES ARMAMENTS

"On August 31 in a weekly statement issued by the Bank of France the information is given that France has just loaned to the little entente an additional 3,000,000 gold francs, making a total up until August 29 of 4,468,000,000 francs France has loaned her small allies, chiefly for armaments. This shows that France is spending money for armaments as quickly as we send it along to her. The American people are being taxed now to pay the interest on the $4,000,000,000 that France owes the United States.

"These securities are to be sold to the American people or investors and it is said to be a private transaction with which the Government has nothing to do and in view of that statement it is of interest to go back a little bit in history and learn what some of these private transactions have brought us before. When Mr. Page, who was the United States ambassador to Great Britain before and during the war died, his private papers revealed the astonishing fact that the day we went into the war the British Government had overdrawn its banking account with J. Pierpont Morgan $400,000,000 and did not have the money to make good the overdraft. I quote verbatim, as given in the periodical called the World's Work for September, 1922:

UNITED STATES PAID BRITISH DEBT

"'By April 6, 1917, Great Britain had overdrawn her account with J. Pierpont Morgan to the extent $400,000,000 and had no cash available with which to meet this overdraft. The money was now coming due and if the obligations were not met the credit of Great Britain in this country would reach the vanishing point. The American Government finally paid the overdraft out of the proceeds of the Liberty loan.'

"In the Atlantic Monthly for December, 1922, the man who was one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury during the Wilson administration informs us that foreign governments had $800,000,000 in war contracts they could not pay for and that bill was also paid by the American Government. Now, these transactions started out as private transactions, but when they became large enough to jeopardize the safety of the financiers the American Government became involved. This is merely an example of the financial control of the government which has caused the wars and the miseries of Europe.

USE UNITED STATES AS BOOB

"The records of both the Republican and Democratic administrations are full of instances where the American Government has been used by its financiers and foreign governments to pull their chestnuts out of the fire and the American people have always paid dearly to do so. Are we going to continue permitting Uncle Sam to be played for a boob for the financiers and the diplomats of foreign governments? Shall we continue to be drafted in the game of selfishness and greed that is played by the governments of Europe? If we do we shall multiply the poverty, the misery, the debts, and the taxes of the American people. Shall we continue to be the tail of the kite, to take care of the imperial foreign governments before we take care of our own people? Shall we pile up larger taxes and heavier debts by financing the imperial European governments in their game of destruction?

"But we are told this is done in the name of peace. I believe we entered upon a war called a 'war to end war' to obtain world peace. We spent $40,000,000,000 in that experiment and still have no peace. The voice of humanity all over the earth is crying out for peace, but we can not have peace because those in control of the world's government do not want peace. They want iron mines, coal mines, oil fields, trade routes, and interest on bonds, and so they are now, through their financiers, manipulating the governments of the world in such a way that we are evidently drifting into another war and they are building armies and navies in order to have peace."

BANKERS ABLE TO AID EUROPE

On May 19, 1925, the Senator, in an interview with the Washington correspondent of the Minneapolis Star, declared that when the Federal Reserve Board granted authority to the International Acceptance Bank (Inc.) to accept for discount $5,000,000 of European paper as "an experimental start," it put in motion "the most important economic development since the armistice."

He charged that American bankers were able to give to the business men and bankers of Europe what they refused to give to the farmers and business men of America in 1920, when "the Federal Reserve Board deliberately began a deflation of credit that brought disaster to millions of citizens," he said.

European paper which the bankers of no other nation can or will handle, he asserted, is to be brought to this country and discounted with the authority of the Federal Reserve Board and secure for the bankers "enormous profits."

UNITED STATES SAVINGS FINANCE EUROPE

"The savings of the American people," said the Minnesota Senator, "instead of being employed to finance American commerce and expansion are to be used by the bankers in financing European commerce.

"By shutting off this reservoir of money to American business men four years ago the reserve board threw a monkey wrench into the delicate machinery of business to such an extent that 50,000 business concerns were driven into bankruptcy and a large percentage of the American farmers, investors in Liberty bonds and other securities, were dispossessed of their property to the amount of billions of dollars.

"When the Federal Reserve Board decided to permit Federal reserve banks to discount foreign acceptances, it bored a hole in the American banking property of the American people, consisting of bank credits, which will be poured out and dissipated in an effort to stabilize the tottering finances of Europe.

FEDERAL RESERVE MODEL

"Paul M. Warburg, who seems to be responsible for this new and perilous adventure into Europe, put the Federal reserve system over, modeling it after the Reichsbank of Germany.

"The Reichsbank set out to take the people's property from them by inflating and making worthless the mark. In this country evidently the scheme is to accomplish the same result by inflating the Nation's credit. It is not a wild assumption that what the American bankers now propose may have an effect upon the people here similar to what happened to the Germans when the industrialists in control of the nation's finances inaugurated a campaign that impoverished the classes as well as the masses.

"It is said the reason for this new financial policy is the desire of the bankers to stimulate exports financed by American credits. We have had some painful experiences along these lines, but we seem to have forgotten the terrible price we paid for financing European purchases in America.

"The Federal reserve system was set up to finance this Nation. By the action of the Federal Reserve Board it is now to be extended throughout the world. The property of the American people is to be used to finance merchants, bankers, and others in all the bankrupt nations of the world.

"The banking credit of the British Empire, which has been the main source of supply for credit with which to bolster the tottering financial structure of Europe, is evidently exhausted, and the American resources are to be thrown into the breach in an attempt to stave off the impending financial crash there.

"I see great danger in this move. It means that we shall have to carry additional burdens in Europe, and it may mean that we shall ultimately have to pay its debts. We are to pay for the imperialistic plans of unscrupulous politicians who have made the Versailles treaty an instrument of war.

REACTION PREDICTED

"American bankers are gambling with trust funds belonging to others. They did it before and lost, and the American people are now paying the price. The deflation of 1920 was directly related to that said experiment.

"The first result of this new scheme will be artificial stimulation of exporters and business. It may start an artificial business boom that will carry us until the election. It is also evident that the holding out of unlimited American credits to European nations is to be a club to force the acceptance by Europe of the Dawes plan and to compel the American producer to carry more of the European debt than he is already carrying.

"When the first effect of this unwise policy wears off there will be a reaction that will strike a serious blow at our financial stability and our industrial prosperity. It may even be that we will become inextricably mixed up in the tangled web of European politics and finances."

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, in the main I think I agree with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] in the way he has sized up the situation. I do not believe this bill meets or anywhere nearly meets the present economic situation. I do not believe it will restore the prices of farm products to a cost of production level. I do not believe it will find jobs for the 7,000,000 people who are unemployed. Temporarily it may relieve the big banks of New York, and it may relieve some railroads. There are some minor provisions for the little banks. We were successful in having included a provision for $200,000,000 for closed banks, and that may be available for the smaller banks of the country if the act is properly administered. That is the chief benefit in the bill. But that is only a temporary benefit.

It may enable many farmers who on the 1st of March, for instance, have interest coming due and are unable to secure the money with which to pay that interest to pay the interest at that time, but there will be a day of reckoning a little later on. The present situation can not be met by simply stimulating the lending of money, and that is what this legislation will do.

Its chief result, I fear, will be to peg the stock market of the stocks dealt in on the exchanges. I have shown the

Senate already they are still 50 per cent higher than the 1914 level. They are still enormously inflated, according to the Federal reserve chart which I had hung on the Senate wall a few days ago. If that is the result of the legislation, it will start another bubble which will be as sinister as that of the 1929 bubble.

The effort at relieving the situation does not begin at the bottom. I have consented to the adoption of the conference report mainly for the reason that I would like to see the legislation out of the way and afford a chance for considering some real legislation for the basic industry of agriculture and for the employment of the 7,000,000 men who are now looking for jobs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, now that the conference report has been agreed to by both Houses, I ask unanimous consent that authority be given the Vice President to sign the enrolled bill after the adjournment of the Senate to-day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Sheppard
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Shipstead
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Smith
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Smoot
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Steiwer
Barkley	Dill	King	Thomas, Idaho
Bingham	Fess	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Townsend
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Trammell
Borah	George	McGill	Tydings
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Vandenberg
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Wagner
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Walcott
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Walsh, Mass.
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Walsh, Mont.
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Waterman
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Watson
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Wheeler
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	White
Coolidge	Hebert	Pittman	
Copeland	Howell	Robinson, Ark.	
Costigan	Hull	Schall	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

REPORTS OF NOMINATIONS

Mr. SMOOT, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nominations of Oscar Mikkelsen, Mark E. Bowers, and Franklin R. Frampton to be assistant dental surgeons in the grade of assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service.

He also, from the same committee, reported favorably the nomination of Edgar J. Goodrich, of West Virginia, to be a member of the Board of Tax Appeals for the unexpired term of 10 years from June 2, 1926.

Mr. COUZENS, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, reported the nomination of William E. Humphrey to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for a term expiring September 25, 1938.

Mr. BINGHAM, from the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, reported favorably the nomination of James R. Beverley, of Texas, to be Governor of Porto Rico.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported favorably the nomination of Brig. Gen. John Hodgen Rice, Ordnance Department Reserve, to be brigadier general, Ordnance Department Reserve, from February 4, 1932, and also the nominations of sundry officers in the Regular Army, which were placed on the Executive Calendar.

Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. ODDIE, Mr. BAILEY, Mr. McGILL, and Mr. GEORGE, respectively, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

TREATY REGARDING CONSULAR AGENTS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The calendar is in order. The clerk will report the first business on the calendar.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the treaty (Executive GG, 70th Cong., 2d sess.) regarding consular agents, adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which assembled at Habana, Cuba, from January 16 to February 20, 1928, which was read, as follows:

To the Senate:

To the end that I may receive the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of the English text of a convention regarding consular agents, adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which assembled at Habana, Cuba, from January 16 to February 20, 1928.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 13, 1929.*

The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a certified English text of the convention regarding consular agents adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which assembled at Habana, Cuba, from January 16 to February 20, 1928.

This conventiton was not signed as a separate instrument, but was included in the final act of the conference which was signed on the part of all the Governments represented at the conference. A certified copy of this final act in the Spanish language, furnished by the Government of Cuba, accompanied a report to you dated to-day transmitting a convention regarding the Pan American Union.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 12, 1929.

CONVENTION

[Consular Agents]

The Governments of the Republics represented at the Sixth International Conference of American States, held in the city of Habana, Republic of Cuba, in the year nineteen hundred and twenty-eight, desirous of defining the duties, rights, prerogatives and immunities of consular agents, in accordance with the usages and agreements on the matter;

Have decided to conclude a convention to that end and have appointed the following plenipotentiaries:

Perú: Jesús Melquiades Salazar, Victor Maúrtua, Enrique Castro Oyanguren, Luis Ernesto Denegri.

Uruguay: Jacobo Varela Acevedo, Juan José Amézaga, Leonel Aguirre, Pedro Erasmo Callorda.

Panamá: Ricardo J. Alfaro, Eduardo Chiari.

Ecuador: Gonzalo Zaldumbide, Victor Zevallos, Colón Eloy Alfaro.

Mexico: Julio García, Fernando González Roa, Salvador Urbina, Aquiles Elorduy.

Salvador: Gustavo Guerrero, Héctor David Castro, Eduardo Alvarez.

Guatemala: Carlos Salazar, Bernardo Alvarado Tello, Luis Beltranena, José Azurdia.

Nicaragua: Carlos Cuadra Pazos, Joaquín Gómez, Máximo H. Zepeda.

Bolivia: José Antezana, Adolfo Costa du Rels.

Venezuela: Santiago Key Ayala, Francisco Gerardo Yanes, Rafael Angel Arraiz.

Colombia: Enrique Olaya Herrera, Jesús M. Yepes, Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez, Ricardo Gutiérrez Lee.

Honduras: Fausto Dávila, Mariano Vázquez.

Costa Rica: Ricardo Castro Beeche, J. Rafael Oreamuno, Arturo Tinoco.

Chile: Alejandro Lira, Alejandro Alvarez, Carlos Silva Vildósola, Manuel Bianchi.

Brazil: Raúl Fernandes, Lindolfo Collor, Alarico da Silveira, Sampaio Correa, Eduardo Espínola.

Argentina: Honorio Pueyrredón (Later resigned), Laurentino Olascoaga, Felipe A. Espil.

Paraguay: Lisandro Díaz León.

Haiti: Fernando Dennis, Charles Riboul.

Dominican Republic: Francisco J. Peynado, Gustavo A. Díaz, Elías Brache, Angel Morales, Tulio M. Cestero, Ricardo Pérez Alfonseca, Jacinto R. de Castro, Federico C. Alvarez.

United States of America: Charles Evans Hughes, Noble Brandon Judah, Henry P. Fletcher, Oscar W. Underwood, Dwight W. Morrow, Morgan J. O'Brien, James Brown Scott, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Leo S. Rowe.

Cuba: Antonio S. de Bustamante, Orestes Ferrara, Enrique Hernández Cartaya, José Manuel Cortina, Arístides Agüero, José B. Alemán, Manuel Márquez Sterling, Fernando Ortiz, Néstor Carbonell, Jesús María Barraqué.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the following provisions:

SECTION I—APPOINTMENTS AND FUNCTIONS

ARTICLE 1

States may appoint in the territory of others, with the express or tacit consent of the latter, consuls who shall there represent and defend their commercial and industrial interests and render to their nationals such assistance and protection as they may need.

ARTICLE 2

The form and requirements for appointment, the classes and the rank of the consuls, shall be regulated by the domestic laws of the respective state.

ARTICLE 3

Unless consented to by the state where he is to serve, one of its nationals may not act as consul. The granting of an exequatur implies such consent.

ARTICLE 4

The consul having been appointed, the state shall forward through diplomatic channels to the other state the respective commission which shall contain the name, category and authority of the appointee.

As to a vice consul or commercial agent appointed by the respective consul, where there is authorization by law, the commission shall be issued and communicated to the latter.

ARTICLE 5

States may refuse to accept consuls appointed in their territory or subject the exercise of consular functions to certain special obligations.

ARTICLE 6

The consul can be recognized as such only after having presented his commission and obtained the exequatur of the state in whose territory he is to serve. Provisional recognition can be granted upon the request of the legation of the consul pending the delivery in due form of the exequatur.

Officials appointed under the terms of Article 4 are likewise subject to this formality and in such case it rests with the respective consul to request the exequatur.

ARTICLE 7

The exequatur having been obtained, it shall be presented to the authorities of the consular district, who shall protect the consul in the exercise of his functions and guarantee to him the immunities to which he is entitled.

ARTICLE 8

The territorial government may at any time withdraw the consul's exequatur, but, except in urgent cases, it shall not have recourse to this measure without previously attempting to obtain from the consul's government his recall.

ARTICLE 9

In case of the death, disability or absence of consular agents any of the assistant employees whose official position has been previously made known to the ministry of foreign affairs or the department of state, may temporarily assume the consular functions; while thus engaged he shall enjoy all the rights and prerogatives corresponding to the permanent official.

ARTICLE 10

Consuls shall exercise the functions that the law of their state confers upon them, without prejudice to the legislation of the country where they are serving.

ARTICLE 11

In the exercise of their functions, consuls shall deal directly with the authorities of their district. Should their representations not be heeded, they may then pursue them before the government of the state through the intermediary of their diplomatic representative, but should not communicate directly with the government except in the absence or nonexistence of a diplomatic representative.

ARTICLE 12

In case of the absence of a diplomatic representative of the consul's state, the consul may undertake such diplomatic actions as the government of the state in which he functions may permit in such cases.

ARTICLE 13

A person duly accredited for the purpose may combine diplomatic representation and the consular function provided the state before which he is accredited consents to it.

SECTION II—PREROGATIVES OF CONSULS

ARTICLE 14

In the absence of a special agreement between two nations, the consular agents who are nationals of the state appointing them, shall neither be arrested nor prosecuted except in the cases when they are accused of committing an act classed as a crime by local legislation.

ARTICLE 15

In criminal cases, the prosecution or the defense may request attendance of consular agents at the trial, as witnesses. This request must be made with all possible consideration to consular dignity and to the duties of the consular office and shall be complied with by the consular official.

Consular agents shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the courts in civil cases, although with the limitation that when the consul is a national of his state and is not engaged in any private business with purposes of gain, his testimony shall be taken either verbally or in writing, at his residence or office, with all the consideration to which he is entitled.

The consul may, nevertheless, of his own free will appear as a witness when such appearance does not seriously hinder the discharge of his official duties.

ARTICLE 16

Consuls are not subject to local jurisdiction for acts done in their official character and within the scope of their authority. In case a private individual deems himself injured by the consul's action, he must submit his complaint to the government, which, if it considers the claim to be relevant, shall make it valid through diplomatic channels.

ARTICLE 17

In respect to unofficial acts, consuls are subject, in civil as well as in criminal matters, to the jurisdiction of the state where they exercise their functions.

ARTICLE 18

The official residence of the consuls and places used for the consulate's offices and archives are inviolable and in no case may the local authorities enter them without the permission of the consular agents; neither shall they examine nor seize, under any pretext whatsoever, documents or other objects found in a consular office. No consular officer shall be required to present his official files before the courts or to make declaration with respect to their contents.

When consular agents are engaged in business within the territory of the state where they are exercising their duties, the files and documents of the consulate shall be kept in a place entirely separate from the one where private or business papers are kept.

ARTICLE 19

Consuls are obliged to deliver, upon the simple request of the local authorities, persons accused or condemned for crimes who may have sought refuge in the consulate.

ARTICLE 20

Consular agents, as well as the employees of the consulate who are nationals of the state appointing them, not engaged in business with purposes of gain, in the state where they perform their functions, shall be exempt from all national, state, provincial, or municipal taxes levied upon their person or property, except such taxes as may apply to the possession or ownership of real estate located in the state where discharging their duties or to the proceeds of the same. Consular agents and employees who are nationals of the state they represent, are exempt from taxes on the salaries, honorariums, or wages which they receive in return for their consular services.

ARTICLE 21

The employee who substitutes for the consular agent in his absence, or for another cause, shall enjoy during his temporary term of office the same immunities and prerogatives as the latter.

ARTICLE 22

Consuls engaged in business or exercising other functions apart from those pertaining to their consular duties are subject to local jurisdiction in all their activities not pertaining to the consular service.

SECTION III—SUSPENSION AND TERMINATION OF CONSULAR FUNCTIONS

ARTICLE 23

Consular agents suspend their functions because of illness or leave of absence, and terminate their office:

a) By death;
b) By retirement, resignation, or dismissal; and
c) By the cancellation of the exequatur.

ARTICLE 24

The present convention does not affect obligations previously undertaken by the contracting parties through international agreements.

ARTICLE 25

After being signed, the present convention shall be submitted to the ratification of the signatory states. The Government of Cuba is charged with transmitting authentic certified copies to the governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instrument of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, the Union to notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications. This convention shall remain open to the adherence of non-signatory states.

In witness whereof, the aforenamed plenipotentiaries sign the present convention in Spanish, English, French, and Portuguese, in the city of Habana, the 20th day of February, 1928.

Perú: Jesús M. Salazar, Víctor M. Maúrtua, Luis Ernesto Denegri, E. Castro Oyanguren.

Uruguay: Varela, Pedro Erasmo Callorda.

Panamá: R. J. Alfaro, Eduardo Chiari.

Ecuador: Gonzalo Zaldumbide, Víctor Zevallos, C. E. Alfaro.

Mexico: Julio García, Fernando González Roa, Salvador Urbina, Aquiles Elorduy.

Salvador: J. Gustavo Guerrero, Héctor David Castro, Ed. Alvarez.

Guatemala: Carlos Salazar, B. Alvarado, Luis Beltranena, J. Azurdia.

Nicaragua: Carlos Cuadra Pazos, Máximo H. Zepeda, Joaquín Gómez.

Bolivia: José Antezana, A. Costa du R.

RESERVATION OF THE DELEGATION OF VENEZUELA

On behalf of the Government that I represent, I make a reservation with respect to the coincidence of diplomatic and consular functions in the same person, because it is totally opposed to our tradition, maintained since it was established until the present time, in a way that admits of no change.

Venezuela: Santiago Key Ayala, Francisco G. Yanes, Rafael Angel Arraiz.

Colombia: Enrique Olaya Herrera, R. Gutiérrez Lee, J. M. Yepes.

Honduras: F. Dávila, Mariano Vázquez.

Costa Rica: Ricardo Castro Beeche, J. Rafael Oreamuno, A. Tinoco Jiménez.

Chile: Alejandro Lira, Alejandro Alvarez, C. Silva Vildósola, Manuel Bianchi.

Brazil: Raúl Fernandes, Lindolfo Collor.

Argentina: Laurentino Olascoaga, Felipe A. Espil, Carlos Alberto Alcorta.

Paraguay: Lisandro Díaz León, Juan Vicente Ramírez.

Haiti: Fernando Dennis.

Dominican Republic: Fraco. J. Peynado, Tulio M. Cestero, Jacinto R. de Castro, Elías Brache, R. Pérez Alfonseca.

United States of America: Charles Evans Hughes, Noble Brandon Judah, Henry P. Fletcher, Oscar W. Underwood, Morgan J. O'Brien, James Brown Scott, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Leo S. Rowe.

Cuba: Antonio S. de Bustamente, Orestes Ferrara, E. Hernández Cartaya, Arístides de Agüero Bethencourt, M. Márquez Sterling, Néstor Carbonell.

Certified to be the English text of the convention on consular agents as contained in the final act signed at the closing session of the Sixth International Conference of American States.

FRANK B. KELLOGG,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, this is one of the treaties which resulted from the Habana conference in Cuba in 1928. It undertakes to codify and establish the consular rights of consuls. It has the unanimous support of the committee.

The treaty was reported to the Senate without amendment, and the resolution of ratification was read, as follows:

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of Executive GG, Seventieth Congress, second session, a treaty regarding consular agents of American States, adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which assembled at Habana, Cuba, from January 16 to February 20, 1928.

The resolution was agreed to, two-thirds of the Senators present voting in the affirmative.

TREATY WITH NORWAY

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the treaty (Executive KK, Seventieth Congress, second session) of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929, which was read, as follows:

To the end that I may receive the advice and consent of the Senate to their ratification, I transmit herewith a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929.

I also transmit for the information of the Senate copies of notes exchanged between the Norwegian Minister and the Secretary of State on June 5, 1928, concerning equality of tariff treatment to be accorded to Norwegian sardines under the most-favored-nation provision of the treaty.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 27, 1929.

The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President with a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to their ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929.

There are also inclosed for the information of the Senate copies of notes exchanged on June 5, 1928, between the Norwegian minister at Washington and the Secretary of State, concerning equality of tariff treatment to be accorded Norwegian sardines under the most-favored-nation provision of the treaty.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 26, 1929.

[Exchange of notes]

NORWEGIAN LEGATION,
Washington, D. C., June 5, 1928.

His Excellency Hon. FRANK B. KELLOGG,
Secretary of State.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: During the negotiations relating to the conclusion of the treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, which to-day has been signed, I was given to understand that under the present tariff laws of the United States Norwegian sardines are accorded the same tariff treatment as sardines imported from any other country and that such equality of treatment would be continued under the most-favored-nation provision of the treaty. Upon the request of my Government I have the honor to inform your excellency that my Government would appreciate very much to receive, if this be found possible, a communication from your excellency, stating that the tariff treatment of the Norwegian sardines is as above mentioned.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

H. H. BACHKE.

JUNE 5, 1928.

Mr. HALVARD H. BACHKE,
Minister of Norway.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this day's date, stating that during the negotiations relating to the conclusion of the treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, which you have this day signed with me, you were given to understand that under the present tariff laws of the United States, Norwegian sardines are accorded the same tariff treatment as sardines imported from any other country, and that such equality of treatment would be continued under the most-favored-nation provision of the treaty.

In reply I am happy to confirm the correctness of your understanding, as above recited, of the equality of treatment which is now accorded under the tariff laws of the United States, and will continue to be accorded under the most-favored-nation provision of the treaty, to Norwegian sardines.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

The United States of America and the Kingdom of Norway, desirous of strengthening the bond of peace which happily prevails between them, by arrangements designed to promote friendly intercourse between their respective territories through provisions responsive to the spiritual, cultural, economic and commercial aspirations of the peoples thereof, have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights and for that purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries,

The President of the United States of America,

Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States of America; and

His Majesty the King of Norway,

Mr. H. H. Bachke, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers found to be in due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ARTICLE 1

The nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties shall be permitted to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other; to exercise liberty of conscience and freedom of worship; to engage in professional, scientific, religious, philanthropic, manufacturing and commercial work of every kind without interference; to carry on every form of commercial activity which is not forbidden by the local law; to employ agents of their choice, and generally to do anything incidental to or necessary for the enjoyment of any of the foregoing privileges upon the same terms as nationals of the State of residence or as nationals of the nation hereafter to be most favored by it, submitting themselves to all local laws and regulations duly established.

The nationals of either High Contracting Party within the territories of the other shall not be subjected to the payment of any internal charges or taxes other or higher than those that are exacted of and paid by its nationals. This paragraph does not apply to charges and taxes on the acquisition and exploitation of waterfalls, energy produced by waterfalls, mines or forests.

The nationals of each High Contracting Party shall enjoy freedom of access to the courts of justice of the other on conforming to the local laws, as well for the prosecution as for the defense of their rights, and in all degrees of jurisdiction established by law.

The nationals of each High Contracting Party shall receive within the territories of the other, upon submitting to conditions imposed upon its nationals, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect that degree of protection that is required by international law. Their property shall not be taken without due process of law and without payment of just compensation.

Nothing contained in this Treaty shall be construed to affect existing statutes of either of the High Contracting Parties in relation to the immigration of aliens or the right of either of the High Contracting Parties to enact such statutes.

ARTICLE 2

With respect to that form of protection granted by National, State, or Provincial laws establishing civil liability for bodily injuries or for death, and giving to relatives or heirs or dependents of an injured party a right of action or a pecuniary compensation, such relatives or heirs or dependents of the injured party, himself a national of either of the High Contracting Parties and within any of the territories of the other, shall regardless of their alienage or residence outside of the territory where the injury occurred, enjoy the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to nationals, and under like conditions.

ARTICLE 3

The dwellings, warehouses, manufactories, shops, and other places of business, and all premises thereto appertaining of the nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territories of the other, used for any purposes set forth in Article I, shall be respected. It shall not be allowable to make a domiciliary visit to, or search of any such buildings and premises, or there to examine and inspect books, papers or accounts, except under the conditions and in conformity with the forms prescribed by the laws, ordinances and regulations for nationals.

ARTICLE 4

Where, on the death of any person holding real or other immovable property or interests therein within the territories of one High Contracting Party, such property or interests therein would, by the laws of the country or by a testamentary disposition, descend or pass to a national of the other High Contracting Party, whether resident or nonresident, were he not disqualified by the laws of the country where such property or interests therein is or are situated, such national shall be allowed a term of three years in which to sell the same, this term to be reasonably prolonged if circumstances render it necessary, and withdraw the proceeds thereof, without restraint or interference, and exempt from any succession, probate or administrative duties or charges other than those which may be imposed in like cases upon the nationals of the country from which such proceeds may be drawn.

Nationals of either High Contracting Party may have full power to dispose of their personal property of every kind within the territories of the other, by testament, donation, or otherwise, and their heirs, legatees and donees, of whatsoever nationality, whether resident or non-resident, shall succeed to such personal property, and may take possession thereof, either by themselves or by others acting for them, and retain or dispose of the same at their pleasure subject to the payment of such duties or charges only as the nationals of the High Contracting Party within whose territories such property may be or belong shall be liable to pay in like cases. In the same way, personal property left to nationals of one of the High Contracting Parties by nationals of the other High Contracting Party, and being within the territories of such other Party, shall be subject to the payment of such duties or charges only as the nationals of the High Contracting Party within whose territories such property may be or belong shall be liable to pay in like cases.

ARTICLE 5

The nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties in the exercise of the right of freedom of worship, within the territories of the other, as hereinabove provided, may, without annoyance or molestation of any kind by reason of their religious belief or otherwise, conduct services either within their own houses or within any appropriate buildings which they may be at liberty to erect and maintain in convenient situations, provided their teachings or practices are not contrary to public morals; and they may also be permitted to bury their dead according to their religious customs in suitable and convenient places established and maintained for the purpose, subject to the reasonable mortuary and sanitary laws and regulations of the place of burial.

ARTICLE 6

In the event of war between either High Contracting Party and a third State, such Party may draft for compulsory military service nationals of the other having a permanent residence within its territories and who have formally, according to its laws, declared an intention to adopt its nationality by naturalization, unless such individuals depart from the territories of said belligerent Party within sixty days after a declaration of war.

It is agreed, however, that such right to depart shall not apply to natives of the country drafting for compulsory military service who, being nationals of the other Party, have declared an intention to adopt the nationality of their nativity. Such natives shall nevertheless be entitled in respect of this matter to treatment no less favorable than that accorded the nationals of any other country who are similarly situated.

ARTICLE 7

Between the territories of the High Contracting Parties there shall be freedom of commerce and navigation. The nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties equally with those of the most favored nation, shall have liberty freely to come with their vessels and cargoes to all places, ports and waters of every kind within the territorial limits of the other which are or may be open to foreign commerce and navigation. Nothing in this Treaty shall be construed to restrict the right of either High Contracting Party to impose, on such terms as it may see fit, prohibitions or restrictions designed to protect human, animal, or plant health or life, or regulations for the enforcement of revenue or police laws, including laws prohibiting or restricting the importation or sale of alcoholic beverages or narcotics.

Each of the High Contracting Parties binds itself unconditionally to impose no higher or other duties, charges or conditions and no prohibition on the importation of any article, the growth, produce or manufacture, of the territories of the other Party, from whatever place arriving, than are or shall be imposed on the importation of any like article, the growth, produce or manufacture of any other foreign country; nor shall any duties, charges, conditions or prohibitions on importations be made effective retroactively on imports already cleared through the customs, or on goods declared for entry into consumption in the country.

Each of the High Contracting Parties also binds itself unconditionally to impose no higher or other charges or other restrictions or prohibitions on goods exported to the territories of the other High Contracting Party than are imposed on goods exported to any other foreign country.

Any advantage of whatsoever kind which either High Contracting Party may extend by treaty, law, decree, regulation, practice or otherwise, to any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to the like article the growth, produce or manufacture of the other High Contracting Party.

All articles which are or may be legally imported from foreign countries into ports of the United States or are or may be legally exported therefrom in vessels of the United States may likewise be imported into those ports or exported therefrom in Norwegian vessels without being liable to any other or higher duties or charges whatsoever than if such articles were imported or exported in vessels of the United States; and reciprocally, all articles which are or may be legally imported from foreign countries into the ports of Norway or are or may be legally exported therefrom in Norwegian vessels may likewise be imported into these ports or exported therefrom in vessels of the United States without being liable to any other or higher duties or charges whatsoever than if such articles were imported or exported in Norwegian vessels.

In the same manner there shall be perfect reciprocal equality in relation to the flags of the two countries with regard to bounties, drawbacks, and other privileges of this nature of whatever denomination which may be allowed in the territories of each of the Contracting Parties, on goods imported or exported in national vessels so that such bounties, drawbacks and other privileges shall also and in like manner be allowed on goods imported or exported in vessels of the other country.

With respect to the amount and collection of duties on imports and exports of every kind, each of the two High Contracting Parties binds itself to give to the nationals, vessels and goods of the other the advantage of every favor, privilege or immunity which it shall have accorded to the nationals, vessels and goods of a third State, whether such favored State shall have been accorded such treatment gratuitously or in return for reciprocal compensatory treatment. Every such favor, privilege or immunity which shall hereafter be granted the nationals, vessels or goods of a third State shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to the other High Contracting Party, for the benefit of itself, its nationals, vessels, and goods.

The stipulations of this Article do not extend to the treatment which is accorded by the United States to the commerce of Cuba under the provisions of the Commercial Convention concluded by the United States and Cuba on December 11, 1902, or any other commercial convention which hereafter may be concluded by the United States with Cuba. Such stipulations, moreover, do not extend to the commerce of the United States with the Panama Canal Zone or with any of the dependencies of the United States or to the commerce of the dependencies of the United States with one another under existing or future laws.

No claim may be made by virtue of the stipulations of the present Treaty to any privileges that Norway has accorded, or may accord, to Denmark, Iceland or Sweden, as long as the same privilege has not been extended to any other country.

Neither of the High Contracting Parties shall by virtue of the provisions of the present Treaty be entitled to claim the benefits which have been granted or may be granted to neighboring States in order to facilitate short boundary traffic.

ARTICLE 8

The nationals, goods, products, wares, and merchandise of each High Contracting Party within the territories of the other shall receive the same treatment as nationals, goods,

products, wares, and merchandise of the country with regard to internal taxes, transit duties, charges in respect to warehousing and other facilities and the amount of drawbacks and export bounties.

ARTICLE 9

The vessels and cargoes of one of the High Contracting Parties shall, within the territorial waters and harbors of the other Party in all respects and unconditionally be accorded the same treatment as the vessels and cargoes of that Party, irrespective of the port of departure of the vessel, or the port of destination, and irrespective of the origin or the destination of the cargo. It is especially agreed that no duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, or other similar or corresponding duties or charges of whatever denomination, levied in the name or for the profit of the Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind shall be imposed in the ports of the territories or territorial waters of either country upon the vessels of the other, which shall not equally, under the same conditions, be imposed on national vessels.

ARTICLE 10

Merchant vessels and other privately owned vessels under the flag of either of the High Contracting Parties, and carrying the papers required by its national laws in proof of nationality shall, both within the territorial waters of the other High Contracting Party and on the high seas, be deemed to be the vessels of the Party whose flag is flown.

ARTICLE 11

Merchant vessels and other privately owned vessels under the flag of either of the High Contracting Parties shall be permitted to discharge portions of cargoes at any port open to foreign commerce in the territories of the other High Contracting Party, and to proceed with the remaining portions of such cargoes to any other ports of the same territories open to foreign commerce, without paying other or higher tonnage dues or port charges in such cases than would be paid by national vessels in like circumstances, and they shall be permitted to load in like manner at different ports in the same voyage outward, provided, however, that the coasting trade of the High Contracting Parties is exempt from the provisions of this Article and from the other provisions of this Treaty, and is to be regulated according to the laws of each High Contracting Party in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that nationals of either High Contracting Party shall within the territories of the other enjoy with respect to the coasting trade the most favored nation treatment.

ARTICLE 12

Limited liability and other corporations and associations, whether or not for pecuniary profit, which have been or may hereafter be organized in accordance with and under the laws, National, State, or Provincial, of either High Contracting Party and maintain a central office within the territories thereof, shall have their juridical status recognized by the other High Contracting Party provided that they pursue no aims within its territories contrary to its laws. They shall enjoy free access to the courts of law and equity, on conforming to the laws regulating the matter, as well for the prosecution as for the defense of rights in all the degrees of jurisdiction established by law.

The right of such corporations and associations of either High Contracting Party so recognized by the other to establish themselves in the territories of the other Party, establish branch offices and fulfill their functions therein shall depend upon, and be governed solely by, the consent of such Party as expressed in its National, State, or Provincial laws.

ARTICLE 13

The nationals of either High Contracting Party shall enjoy within the territories of the other, reciprocally and upon compliance with the conditions there imposed, such rights and privileges as have been or may hereafter be accorded the nationals of any other State with respect to the organization of and participation in limited liability and other corporations and associations, for pecuniary profit or otherwise, including the rights of promotion, incorporation, purchase and ownership and sale of shares and the holding of executive or official positions therein. In the exercise of the foregoing rights and with respect to the regulation or procedure concerning the organization or conduct of such corporations or associations, such nationals shall be subjected to no condition less favorable than those which have been or may hereafter be imposed upon the nationals of the most favored nation. The rights of any of such corporations or associations as may be organized or controlled or participated in by the nationals of either High Contracting Party within the territories of the other to exercise any of their functions therein, shall be governed by the laws and regulations, National, State or Provincial, which are in force or may hereafter be established within the territories of the Party wherein they propose to engage in business.

The nationals of either High Contracting Party shall, moreover, enjoy within the territories of the other, reciprocally and upon compliance with the conditions there imposed, such rights and privileges as have been or may hereafter be accorded the nationals of any other State with respect to the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium on the public domain of the other.

ARTICLE 14

Commercial travelers representing manufacturers, merchants and traders domiciled in the territories of either High Contracting Party shall on their entry into and sojourn in the territories of the other Party and on their departure therefrom be accorded the most favored nation treatment in respect of customs and other privileges and of all charges and taxes of whatever denomination applicable to them or to their samples.

If either High Contracting Party require the presentation of an authentic document establishing the identity and authority of a commercial traveler, a signed statement by the concern or concerns represented, certified by a consular officer of the country of destination shall be accepted as satisfactory.

ARTICLE 15

There shall be complete freedom of transit through the territories including territorial waters of each High Contracting Party on the routes most convenient for international transit, by rail, navigable waterways, and canal, other than the Panama Canal and waterways and canals which constitute international boundaries, to persons and goods coming from, going to or passing through the territories of the other High Contracting Party, except such persons as may be forbidden admission into its territories or goods of which the importation may be prohibited by law or regulations. The measures of a general or particular character which either of the High Contracting Parties is obliged to take in case of an emergency affecting the safety of the State or vital interests of the country may, in exceptional cases and for as short a period as possible, involve a deviation from the provisions of this paragraph, it being understood that the principle of freedom of transit must be observed to the utmost possible extent.

Persons and goods in transit shall not be subjected to any transit duty, or to any unnecessary delays, or restrictions, or to any discrimination as regards charges, facilities, or any other matter.

Goods in transit must be entered at the proper customhouse, but they shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

All charges imposed on transport in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic.

ARTICLE 16

Each of the High Contracting Parties agrees to receive from the other, consular officers in those of its ports, places and cities, where it may be convenient and which are open to consular representatives of any foreign country.

Consular officers of each of the High Contracting Parties shall after entering upon their duties, enjoy reciprocally in the territories of the other all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities which are enjoyed by officers of the same grade of the most favored nation. As official agents, such officers shall be entitled to the high consideration of all

officials, national or local, with whom they have official intercourse in the State which receives them.

The Governments of each of the High Contracting Parties shall furnish free of charge the necessary exequatur of such consular officers of the other as present a regular commission signed by the chief executive of the appointing State and under its great seal; and they shall issue to a subordinate or substitute consular officer duly appointed by an accepted superior consular officer with the approbation of his Government, or by any other competent officer of that Government, such documents as according to the laws of the respective countries shall be requisite for the exercise by the appointee of the consular function. On the exhibition of an exequatur, or other document issued in lieu thereof to such subordinate, such consular officer shall be permitted to enter upon his duties and to enjoy the rights, privileges and immunities granted by this Treaty.

ARTICLE 17

Consular officers, nationals of the State by which they are appointed, and not engaged in any profession, business or trade, shall be exempt from arrest except when charged with the commission of offenses locally designated as crimes other than misdemeanors and subjecting the individual guilty thereof to punishment. Such officers shall be exempt from military billetings, and from service of any military or naval, administrative or police character whatsoever.

In criminal cases the attendance at the trial by a consular officer as a witness may be demanded by the prosecution or defense, or by the court. The demand shall be made with all possible regard for the consular dignity and the duties of the officer; and there shall be compliance on the part of the consular officer.

When the testimony of a consular officer who is a national of the State which appoints him and is engaged in no private occupation for gain, is taken in civil cases, it shall be taken orally or in writing at his residence or office and with due regard for his convenience. The officer should, however, voluntarily give his testimony at the trial whenever it is possible to do so without serious interference with his official duties.

No consular officer shall be required to testify in either criminal or civil cases regarding acts performed by him in his official capacity.

ARTICLE 18

Consular officers, including employees in a consulate, nationals of the State by which they are appointed other than those engaged in private occupations for gain within the State where they exercise their functions shall be exempt from all taxes, National, State, Provincial and Municipal, levied upon their persons or upon their property, except taxes levied on account of the possession or ownership of immovable property situated in, or income derived from property of any kind situated or belonging within the territories of the State within which they exercise their functions. All consular officers and employees, nationals of the State appointing them, and not engaged in any profession, business or trade, shall be exempt from the payment of taxes on the salary, fees or wages received by them in compensation for their consular services.

ARTICLE 19

Consular officers may place over the outer door of their respective offices the arms of their State with an appropriate inscription designating the official office. Such officers may also hoist the flag of their country on their offices including those situated in the capitals of the two countries. They may likewise hoist such flag over any boat or vessel employed in the exercise of the consular function.

The consular offices and archives shall at all times be inviolable. They shall under no circumstances be subjected to invasion by any authorities of any character within the country where such offices are located. Nor shall the authorities under any pretext make any examination or seizure of papers or other property deposited within a consular office. Consular offices shall not be used as places of asylum. No consular officers shall be required to produce official archives in court or testify as to their contents.

When a consular officer is engaged in business of any kind within the country which receives him, the archives of the consulate and the documents relative to the same shall be kept in a place entirely apart from his private or business papers.

Upon the death, incapacity, or absence of a consular officer having no subordinate consular officer at his post, secretaries or chancellors, whose official character may have previously been made known to the Government of the State where the consular function was exercised, may temporarily exercise the consular function of the deceased or incapacitated or absent consular officer; and while so acting shall enjoy all the rights, prerogatives and immunities granted to the incumbent.

ARTICLE 20

Consular officers of either High Contracting Party may, within their respective consular districts, address the authorities concerned, National, State, Provincial or Municipal, for the purpose of protecting the nationals of the State by which they are appointed in the enjoyment of their rights accruing by treaty or otherwise. Complaint may be made for the infraction of those rights. Failure upon the part of the proper authorities to grant redress or to accord protection may justify interposition through the diplomatic channel, and in the absence of a diplomatic representative, a consul general or the consular officer stationed at the capital may apply directly to the Government of the country.

ARTICLE 21

Consular officers, may, in pursuance of the laws of their own country, take, at any appropriate place within their respective districts, the depositions of any occupants of vessels of their own country, or of any national of, or of any person having permanent residence within the territories of, their own country. Such officers may draw up, attest, certify and authenticate unilateral acts, deeds and testamentary dispositions of their countrymen, and also contracts to which a countryman is a party. They may draw up, attest, certify and authenticate written instruments of any kind purporting to express or embody the conveyance or encumbrance of property of any kind within the territory of the State by which such officers are appointed, and unilateral acts, deeds, testamentary dispositions and contracts relating to property situated, or business to be transacted within, the territories of the State by which they are appointed. embracing unilateral acts, deeds, testamentary dispositions or agreements executed solely by nations of the State within which such officers exercise their functions.

Instruments and documents thus executed and copies and translations thereof, when duly authenticated under his official seal by the consular officer shall be received as evidence in the territories of the Contracting Parties as original documents or authenticated copies, as the case may be, and shall have the same force and effect as if drawn by and executed before a notary or other public officer duly authorized in the country by which the consular officer was appointed; provided, always that such documents shall have been drawn and executed in conformity to the laws and regulations of the country where they are designed to take effect.

ARTICLE 22

A consular officer shall have exclusive jurisdiction over controversies arising out of the internal order of private vessels of his country, and shall alone exercise jurisdiction in cases, wherever arising, between officers and crews, pertaining to the enforcement of discipline on board, provided the vessel and the persons charged with wrongdoing shall have entered a port within his consular district. Such an officer shall also have jurisdiction over issues concerning the adjustment of wages and the execution of contracts relating thereto provided, however, that such jurisdiction shall not exclude the jurisdiction conferred on local authorities under existing or future laws.

When an act committed on board of a private vessel under the flag of the State by which the consular officer has been appointed and within the territorial waters of the State to which he has been appointed constitutes a crime according

to the laws of that State, subjecting the person guilty thereof to punishment as a criminal, the consular officer shall not exercise jurisdiction except in so far as he is permitted to do so by the local law.

A consular officer may freely invoke the assistance of the local police authorities in any matter pertaining to the maintenance of internal order on board of a vessel under the flag of his country within the territorial waters of the State to which he is appointed, and upon such a request the requisite assistance shall be given.

A consular officer may appear with the officers and crews of vessels under the flag of his country before the judicial authorities of the State to which he is appointed for the purpose of observing the proceedings and rendering such assistance as may be permitted by the local laws.

ARTICLE 23

In case of the death of a national of either High Contracting Party in the territory of the other without having in the territory of his decease any known heirs or testamentary executors by him appointed, the competent local authorities shall at once inform the nearest consular officer of the State of which the deceased was a national of the fact of his death, in order that necessary information may be forwarded to the parties interested.

Likewise in case of the death of a resident of either of the High Contracting Parties in the territory of the other Party from whose remaining papers which may come into the possession of the local authorities, it appears that the decedent was a native of the other High Contracting Party, the proper local authorities shall at once inform the nearest consular officer of that Party of the death.

In case of the death of a national of either of the High Contracting Parties without will or testament whereby he has appointed testamentary executors, in the territory of the other High Contracting Party, the consular officer of the State of which the deceased was a national and within whose district the deceased made his home at the time of death, shall, so far as the laws of the country permit and pending the appointment of an administrator and until letters of administration have been granted, be deemed qualified to take charge of the property left by the decedent for the preservation and protection of the same. Such consular officer shall have the right to be appointed as administrator within the discretion of a tribunal or other agency controlling the administration of estates provided the laws of the place where the estate is administered so permit.

Whenever a consular officer accepts the office of administrator of the estate of a deceased countryman, he subjects himself as such to the jurisdiction of the tribunal or other agency making the appointment for all necessary purposes to the same extent as a national of the country where he was appointed.

ARTICLE 24

A consular officer of either High Contracting Party shall within his district have the right to appear personally or by delegate in all matters concerning the administration and distribution of the estate of a deceased person under the jurisdiction of the local authorities for all such heirs or legatees in said estate, either minors or adults, as may be nonresidents and nationals of the country represented by the said consular officer, with the same effect as if he held their mandate to represent them, unless such heirs or legatees themselves have appeared, either in person or by duly authorized representative.

A consular officer of either High Contracting Party may in behalf of his non-resident countrymen collect and receipt for their distributive shares derived from estates in process of probate or accruing under the provisions of so-called Workmen's Compensation Laws or other like statutes, for transmission through channels prescribed by his Government to the proper distributees.

ARTICLE 25

A consular officer of either High Contracting Party shall have the right to inspect within the ports of the other High Contracting Party within his consular district, the private vessels of any flag destined or about to clear for ports of the country appointing him in order to observe the sanitary conditions and measures taken on board such vessels, and to be enabled thereby to execute intelligently bills of health and other documents required by the laws of his country, and to inform his Government concerning the extent to which its sanitary regulations have been observed at ports of departure by vessels destined to its ports, with a view to facilitating entry of such vessels therein.

In exercising the right conferred upon them by this Article, consular officers shall act with all possible despatch and without unnecessary delay.

ARTICLE 26

Each of the High Contracting Parties agrees to permit the entry free of all duty of all furniture, equipment and supplies intended for official use in the consular offices of the other, and to extend to such consular officers of the other and their families and suites as are its nationals, the privilege of entry free of duty of their baggage and all other personal property, accompanying the officer, his family or suite, to his post, provided, nevertheless, that no article, the importation of which is prohibited by the law of either of the High Contracting Parties, may be brought into its territories. Personal property imported by consular officers, their families or suites during the incumbency of the officers shall be accorded on condition of reciprocity the customs privileges and exemptions accorded to consular officers of the most favored nation.

It is understood, however, that this privilege shall not be extended to consular officers who are engaged in any private occupation for gain in the countries to which they are accredited, save with respect to Governmental supplies.

ARTICLE 27

All proceedings relative to the salvage of vessels of either High Contracting Party wrecked upon the coasts of the other shall be directed by the consular officer of the country to which the vessel belongs and within whose district the wreck may have occurred, or by some other person authorized thereto by the law of that country. Pending the arrival of such officer, who shall be immediately informed of the occurrence, or the arrival of such other person, whose authority shall be made known to the local authorities by the consular officer, the local authorities shall take all necessary measures for the protection of persons and the preservation of wrecked property. The local authorities shall not otherwise interfere than for the maintenance of order, the protection of the interests of the salvors, if these do not belong to the crews that have been wrecked and to carry into effect the arrangements made for the entry and exportation of the merchandise saved. It is understood that such merchandise is not to be subjected to any customhouse charges, unless it be intended for consumption in the country where the wreck may have taken place.

The intervention of the local authorities in these different cases shall occasion no expense of any kind, except such as may be caused by the operations of salvage and the preservation of the goods saved, together with such as would be incurred under similar circumstances by vessels of the nation.

ARTICLE 28

Subject to any limitation or exception hereinabove set forth, or hereafter to be agreed upon the territories of the High Contracting Parties to which the provisions of this Treaty extend shall be understood to comprise all areas of land, water, and air over which the Parties respectively claim and exercise dominion as sovereign thereof, except the Panama Canal Zone and Svalbard.

ARTICLE 29

The present Treaty shall remain in full force for the term of three years from the date of the exchange of ratifications, on which date it shall begin to take effect in all of its provisions.

If within one year before the expiration of the aforesaid period of three years neither High Contracting Party notifies to the other an intention of modifying by change or omission, any of the provisions of any of the Articles in this Treaty or of terminating it upon the expiration of the afore-

said period, the Treaty shall remain in full force and effect after the aforesaid period and until one year from such a time as either of the High Contracting Parties shall have notified to the other an intention of modifying or terminating the Treaty.

The present Treaty shall, from the date of the exchange of ratifications be deemed to supplant, as between the United States and Norway, the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded by the United States and the King of Norway and Sweden on July 4, 1827.

ARTICLE 30

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done in duplicate, in the English and Norwegian languages at Washington, this 5th day of June 1928.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.
H. H. BACHKE.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE

The United States of America and the Kingdom of Norway by the undersigned, the Secretary of State of the United States and the Minister of Norway at Washington, their duly empowered Plenipotentiaries, agree as follows:

Notwithstanding the provision in the third paragraph of Article XXIX of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights between the United States and Norway, signed June 5, 1928, that the said treaty shall from the date of the exchange of ratifications thereof be deemed to supplant as between the United States and Norway the treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded by the United States and the King of Norway and Sweden on July 4, 1827, the provisions of Article I of the latter treaty concerning the entry and residence of the nationals of the one country in the territories of the other for purposes of trade shall continue in full force and effect.

The present additional Article shall be considered to be an integral part of the treaty signed June 5, 1928, as fully and completely as if it had been included in that treaty, and as such integral part shall be subject to the provisions in Article XXIX thereof in regard to ratification, duration and termination concurrently with the other Articles of the treaty.

Done, in duplicate, in the English and Norwegian languages, at Washington this 25th day of February, 1929.

FRANK B. KELLOGG [SEAL]
H. H. BACHKE [SEAL]

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, this is a treaty of amity and commerce with the Kingdom of Norway. It contains what is known as the unconditional most-favored-nation clause, found at the top of page 6 of the treaty:

> Each of the high contracting parties binds itself unconditionally to impose no higher or other duties, charges or conditions, and no prohibition on the importation of any article, the growth, produce or manufacture, of the territories of the other party, from whatever place arriving, than are or shall be imposed on the importation of any like article, the growth, produce or manufacture of any other foreign country; nor shall any duties, charges, conditions, or prohibitions on importations be made effective retroactively on imports already cleared through the customs, or on goods declared for entry into consumption in the country.

That subject will be a matter of perhaps protracted debate in connection with the tariff bill which came to us from the House a short while ago and is now under consideration by the Finance Committee.

Briefly let me say with respect to the matter that our treaties of commerce have long contained, as a rule at least, what is known as the most-favored-nation clause, under which each of the parties binds itself to grant to the other whatever concessions in the way of duties upon imports it grants to any other country. But it has come to be regarded as a conditional undertaking, an undertaking to the effect that if a concession is gratuitously given to any one country in respect to customs duties it must be given to another, but that if the concession with respect to the duties was upon a consideration passing to the other then it did not extend to the other country.

By way of illustration, we grant to the Republic of Cuba a concession of 20 per cent upon importations from that country. In other words, Cuba is entitled to introduce her commodities into this country at rates 20 per cent less than those collected from any other country. That has not been regarded as a violation of the most-favored-nation clause because we did not give it gratuitously to Cuba. We gave it to her in consideration of her according to us a naval base in her territory and upon other considerations growing out of the war for the liberation of Cuba.

Within the last 8 or 10 years we have ratified a number of treaties containing the usual most-favored-nation clause, but expressing that it is made "unconditionally." The effect claimed for that one word is that if now upon any consideration whatever we should grant to one nation a concession with respect to duties we would be obliged to give the same concession to every nation with which we have a treaty embracing such a clause. The effect of that would be, and is, to prevent the negotiation of what are known as reciprocity treaties; that is to say, we enter into an agreement, by way of illustration, with Spain by which, in consideration of her allowing our goods to go into her country at a reduction, say, of 20 per cent, we allow her goods to come into our country at a reduction of 20 per cent; or if she will allow certain of our goods to go into her country with a reduction from the regular rates, we will allow certain goods from that country to come into our country at a reduction of rates. But it is claimed that under a provision of this character, allowing her commodities to come into our ports at a reduction in duties, the same reduction immediately and automatically goes into effect with respect to all the countries with which we have this unconditional clause.

In view of the importance of it in connection with the legislation presently to be before the Senate for consideration, I ask the Senator from Idaho whether he will not let the matter go over.

Mr. BORAH. Oh, yes; I have no objection. I do not know of any particular reason why the ratification of the treaty should be hastened unduly.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the treaty will be passed over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The Chief Clerk read the nominations of Frank Evans, of Utah; William F. Schilling, of Minnesota; and Sam H. Thompson, of Illinois, to be members of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] expressed a desire to be present when these nominations came up for consideration. Therefore I ask that the three nominations be passed over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations will be passed over.

CUSTOMS SERVICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Frederick A. Hobbs to be surveyor, customs collection district No. 1, Portland, Me.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

GENERAL LAND OFFICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of John Robert White to be register, land office, Los Angeles, Calif.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. ODDIE. I ask that the nominations be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order is made. That completes the calendar.

The Senate resumed legislative session.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next at 12 o'clock meridian.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate (at 3 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Monday, January 25, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 22, 1932

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS

Frederick A. Hobbs to be surveyor of customs collection district No. 1, Portland, Me.

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE

John Robert White to be register of land office, Los Angeles, Calif.

POSTMASTERS

ARIZONA

John R. Livingston, Chloride.
William F. Haas, Naco.
Edith A. Macia, Tombstone.

COLORADO

Adelbert E. Humeston, Collbran.
Alexander G. Johnson, Fort Lupton.
William B. Sweezy, Fort Lyon.
Lawrence H. Dewey, Fruita.
Lula D. Trimble, Georgetown.
Walter H. Morris, Granada.
James M. Brown, Mancos.
William A. Sawyer, Mount Morrison.
Ellsworth A. Weller, New Castle.
Anna Richards, Ouray.
Juan R. Valdez, San Luis.
Harry G. Moore, Victor.

FLORIDA

Bertha F. Knight, Bartow.
Carrie Bowers, Lake Placid.
Charles I. Matthews, Longwood.
Archibald I. Nearing, Marianna.
Samuel J. Yoder, Moore Haven.
Lola Miller, Palm Beach.
Lydia E. Ware, St. Andrew.
Joseph P. Hall, Sanford.
George H. Hauser, Venice.

INDIANA

John S. Moore, Battle Ground.
Claude A. Warr, Brook.
Hugh R. Foss, Cambridge City.
Samuel C. Morgan, Campbellsburg.
Julia V. Clark, Colfax.
Lionel A. Pratt, Dunkirk.
Erasmus R. Bartley, Greencastle.
Vernon D. Macy, Mooresville.
Betty M. Miller, West Baden.
Edmund H. Imes, Westville.

MAINE

William F. Holden, Bangor.
Donald W. Stackpole, Bridgewater.
Albert C. Bradbury, Newport.
Edith B. Holden, Oakfield.
Homer M. Orr, Old Town.
Louise R. Harding, Orono.
Ernest C. Butterfield, Springfield.
Robert L. Cyr, Van Buren.

OHIO

Arthur L. Vanosdall, Ashland.
Frank B. Pauly, Middletown.
Charles T. Cline, New Matamoras.
Nellie Maddock, North Ridgeville.
Frank B. McCullough, Plain City.
Harry Oldham, Sidney.

OREGON

Fred D. Wagner, Ashland.
Arthur C. Wahl, Banks.
William H. Hays, Brownsville.
William G. Hoover, Fossil.
Andrew R. Siegmund, Gervais.
Frank W. Castor, Haines.
Duncan E. Douglas, Marshfield.
Gaphart D. Ebner, Mount Angel.
Lyle B. Chappell, North Bend.
Evelyn D. Davenport, Oak Grove.
Grace W. Gamwell, Powers.
Josephine T. Stark, Sutherlin.
Charles R. Tyler, Yamhill.

WISCONSIN

Dean J. Hotchkiss, Foxlake.
Harry W. Nyenhuis, Oostburg.
Fisk W. Carlin, Palmyra.
John Feutz, Slinger.

WYOMING

Alvah J. Macy, Moorcroft.
Conrad Johnson, Pine Bluffs.
Robert E. Chittick, jr., Shoshoni.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Blessed Lord, may we walk among men with patience, with faithful rebuking of evil, in discernment of speaking the truth, and with appreciation for all. O let Thy kingdom come, for this old earth is waiting for it through the long, long years; let it not linger any longer on the stepping-stones of its afflicted life or in its fossil faults. Do Thou look upon it with its strickened hopes and take it to Thyself and make Thyself known to Thy children everywhere. When we wander, do Thou forgive us. May we never allow adversity to chill our hearts or abounding success to steal them. We thank Thee that Thy love is always glowing, always revealing some newer, some richer tokens of a wonderful providence. In the name of our Savior. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

BRIDGE ACROSS CLARKS FORK RIVER

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I call up from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 573) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington, a similar House bill being on the calendar.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the commissioners of Pend Oreille County, Wash., to construct a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Wash., in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MILLIGAN: Strike out all of section 1 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to Pend Oreille County, State of Washington, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Clarks Fork River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Ione, Wash., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill was laid on the table.

COMMEMORATION OF THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mr. WOODRUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House Concurrent Resolution No. 12, relative to the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, with Senate amendments, and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments as follows:

Page 2, line 5, after "Armies," insert "the Chief of Staff of the Army."

Page 2, line 5, strike out "and."

Page 2, line 6, after "Corps," insert "and the Commandant of the Coast Guard."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were agreed to.

HAWAII

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill (H. R. 310) to amend section 100 of the act entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved April 30, 1900, be stricken from the House Calendar and rereferred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire about the purposes of the bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. It is a bill to amend section 100 of the act entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii."

Mr. SNELL. And the gentleman wants to do what with it?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. I have asked that it be stricken from the calendar and rereferred to the Committee on Territories for further consideration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

THE YAZOO FLOOD

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by including an address delivered over the radio last night on the Yazoo flood in Mississippi.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address which I delivered on Thursday, January 21, over Station WJSV, Washington, D. C.:

As the majesty of the sea awes, so the romance of a river charms. The important rivers of any country bring both peril and progress. Generally blessings, they sometimes become scourges. The largest rivers, like the largest men, are not always the most important. Countries have been first settled and developed along the seacoast and along the rivers. Both primitive and civilized men have prospered in river valleys. A courageous and self-reliant people dwell along the rivers.

Rivers occupy a prominent place in history and mythology. The Garden of Eden was located in the valley between the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers. The ancient Egyptians regarded the Nile River as a goddess, and without it their civilization would have been impossible. The Romans worshipped the Tiber, and cast into its waters costly treasures. The Ganges is sacred to the East Indians, and to bathe in its waters is a part of their religious rites. The Mississippi River was called by the Indians the "Father of Waters" and reverenced by them as such.

Rivers have been an important factor in the commerce and civilization of all countries. What would London be without the Thames, Paris without the Seine, New York without the Hudson, or New Orleans without the Mississippi? Huckleberry Finn, without his experiences along the Mississippi River, would have been unknown. Mark Twain owes much of his fame to the stories of his experiences in the floods of the Mississippi River.

Those who live along rivers are sometimes called upon to face the perils of the floods, which are among the disasters that men endure.

Floods occur almost annually in China. A few months ago Col. Charles Lindbergh, while traveling in that country, rendered conspicuous aid in a great Chinese flood.

In 1882 the lower Mississippi River became a mighty sea from Cairo to the Gulf. It was 40 miles wide on the average and 1,000 miles long, with an average depth of 10 feet. Almost 50 years later, in 1927, there occurred the greatest and most disastrous of all Mississippi floods, in which 350 lives were lost, with a property damage of $250,000,000.

In 1913 the great Ohio flood occurred, in which more than 600 people were drowned, with a property loss of $180,000,000, the city of Dayton being the greatest sufferer.

The prevailing Yazoo flood in northwest Mississippi has gripped the attention of the country and enlisted the sympathy and interest of the people.

THE DELTA

The Yazoo Basin, known as the Delta, is the largest and most highly improved of the four great basins in the lower Mississippi Valley, and contains 7,000 square miles of fertile alluvial land. It is lenticular in shape and is bounded on the west by the Mississippi River, on the east by the Yazoo hills. It extends on a straight line from 15 miles south of Memphis to Vicksburg, a distance of 180 miles, and its extreme width, near the city of Greenwood, is 65 miles. The eastern part of the Delta is drained by the Yazoo-Tallahatchie-Coldwater River system, which I shall call the Yazoo River, with a watershed of 2,500 square miles in the Delta; and with tributaries, the most important of which are the Little Tallahatchie, Yokena, and the Yalobusha, having a watershed of 7,500 miles in the hills of north and northwest Mississippi. The river extends in a southerly direction from where it enters the Delta from the hills some 30 miles south of Memphis, and its channel is located from 3 to 15 miles from the hills, except where it skirts the bluffs at a few points south of Yazoo City. It enters the Mississippi River near Vicksburg.

More than two-thirds of the 1,600,000 acres in the valley of the Yazoo River are cultivated, and long-staple cotton is the chief product. The river is approximately 520 miles in length, is navigable for some 300 miles, and extends from the hills near the Tennessee line in a southerly direction to its confluence with the Mississippi River at Vicksburg. There is a network of highways and railways. Towns and cities are located on and near the river, the largest of which are Greenwood, Belzoni, and Yazoo City, Greenwood having some 12,500 inhabitants, 40 per cent of whom have abandoned their homes in the present flood.

The population of the valley is approximately 150,000, two-thirds being negroes. There are probably more improved school buildings and better equipped consolidated schools in the Delta than in any similar area in the South.

The average rainfall in both the Delta and the hills is around 50 inches annually. There is a quick run-off from the hills, but the channel of the river in the Delta is narrow and winding, with many bends and curves, and with but little slope. With floods, the whole valley of 2,500 miles, is subject to overflow.

PROTECTION

In recent years the upper river and the tributaries have been improved, the channels straightened, and drainage canals constructed, with the result that the hill waters reach the main river more quickly than formerly, and overflows are more frequent. But the people of the Delta have not been idle. They have undertaken to protect against the floods. In the Delta there are some 50 drainage and levee districts, most of which are along the Yazoo River system. There are canals and ditches to drain surface waters, and levees to protect against the floods.

Levee is the French word for dyke, meaning an artificial bank. The river is leveed on the west bank from where it enters the hills in a southerly direction considerably below the city of Belzoni, a distance of some 200 miles, and generally on the east side there are levees, especially for about 100 miles from the hills to the south. In some cases there are diversions. Tributaries have been diverted and carried along the foothills to reenter the river farther down. The levees are built of soil and are from 3 to 30 feet in height. Cities and towns are generally located along the banks of the river, and as in all alluvial lands, the slope is from the bank to the interior.

Floods are caused by the inadequacy of the channel in the Delta to carry the combined run-off from the hill and valley lands in excessive rainfalls. The levees are designed to keep the floods confined in the main channel.

I may say in passing that there is an erroneous idea that floods enrich the lands by soil deposits. Prior to the construction of levees and the clearing and cultivation of the lands, there was a deposit that enriched the soil. The undergrowth and timber impeded the current and caused deposits. As the country was cleared and as the levees were constructed, the overflows became floods when the levees broke. The currents were increased, and there is but little timber or cane to obstruct and slacken the currents. Deposits now obtain only in timber lands or in the lee of ridges or other obstructions. It may be safely said that for every inch of deposit left in the alluvial valley 3 inches of topsoil are eroded from other lands. Moreover, the deposits now fill the drainage ditches and canals, where the eddying action of currents causes precipitation. Instead of the soil being enriched,

it is practically destroyed by deposits of sand where crevasses occur. Floods, therefore, leave no deposits of value.

All levees and other improvements to prevent floods have been constructed by local interests at local expense.

CAUSE

Dry weather in the fall of 1931 was followed by two months of continuous and unprecedented rainfall. The average rainfall at Swan Lake, in the upper Delta, from November 18 to January 19 is 10 inches. There has been an unprecedented rainfall of 34 inches, which is 24 inches in excess of the normal rainfall for said period of 60 days. The excessive rainfall likewise obtained in the hills along all the tributaries. Whenever there is a combined excessive and unusual rainfall in both the hills and the valley, there is always a maximum flood. It is now, as is always the case, when the rains descend, the floods come. The levees were designed to protect against the previous maximum flood, but at Swan Lake all previous records have been broken. The gage has registered 3.2 feet higher than in any previous flood.

FLOOD

Ninety per cent of the cultivated lands of the Yazoo Valley is overflowed, and the river has become an inland sea from 1 to 30 miles in width and 200 miles long, with occasional high ground or ridges. Thousands have been driven from their homes and many more thousands are affected, but thus far no deaths have been caused directly by the flood, although several have been drowned by accident. The property losses will aggregate several hundred thousand dollars.

As the rains increase and the floods come, every effort is made to strengthen and enlarge the levees. Temporary embankments are constructed. The method is to build levees of sacks. Ordinary oat sacks are filled with soil and stacked edgewise along the river. For miles these temporary levees have been constructed.

In many cases they are as high as 8 feet. But as a result of the unprecedented rainfall, levees have been overtopped and the waters have spilled for miles and miles. The levees have become soft and saturated, as a result of rains for 60 days. What are called "sandboils" develop. These indicate weakness in the levee. Then business in the town and work in the country are abandoned. All volunteer for help to hold the levees. Weak places are quickly repaired, but when high-water records are broken, not only overtopping but breaking somewhere in the levee line is inevitable. A break is called a crevasse, and when a break occurs, it usually happens at night when the wind is strong and the rains are falling. A mighty roar is heard and the people know that the battle is lost. They have remained in their houses. People are loathe to leave their homes. The crevasse widens in fanlike shape as the waters surge through the break in the levees. The immediate danger to life and property is nearest to the crevasse. The advancing waters are like the onrush of a mighty army. There is panic and confusion as people seek refuge and safety. Hogs, cattle, horses, corn, and household goods are frequently left behind. It often happens that the inhabitants are marooned. The waters have come up unexpectedly. Many inhabitants are unfamiliar with the topography of the land. Rescue and emergency work is immediately inaugurated. Boats have been in readiness as the floods developed. As the people have built their own levees, so generally the rescue and emergency work is done largely by the local people themselves. Many acts of heroism and deeds of kindness characterize every great flood. Helpfulness and service are uppermost in the minds of all.

In the Delta there was a drought in 1930, and as a result of the depression, with low prices of cotton, cotton planters are almost bankrupt. There was a good food and feed crop in 1931, and while planters have been unable to furnish or supply their tenants during the winter, the tenants themselves had provided gardens, had raised and canned fruits and vegetables, and they had hogs and corn to tide over until the planters were able to aid. Now they have been driven from their homes in many cases. Gardens have been destroyed. Beds and clothing have been lost or damaged. The corn has been flooded in many cases. The tenants, as well as many landowners, are in need and those who are in need must be helped.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

While the initial rescue work is done largely by the local people themselves, there must be emergency relief and rehabilitation. Disease must be prevented. The American Red Cross is the first to arrive and the last to depart in floods, as in other disasters. When the waters accumulated and the floods increased in volume, the Red Cross sent at once to the flood area representatives experienced in disaster and relief work. The American Red Cross functioned successfully in the Mississippi flood of 1927 and expended some $17,000,000 generously contributed by the American people. It is functioning in the Yazoo flood at the present time. There is always local confusion and frequently lack of organization. The American Red Cross is the greatest humanitarian institution in all the world. One of its purposes is to relieve in disasters. It is the chief part of its peace-time program.

At the same time the Red Cross is the most democratic of institutions. It functions through the local chapters. It assists in emergency relief. It directs rehabilitation. The family is always the unit of relief; the need, not the loss, is the basis of help. The American Red Cross provides the very best relief. It enables people to help themselves. It encourages local responsibility. It develops local leadership. It utilizes community resources for self-help. All requests for aid must be approved by the county chapter and the field representatives of the American Red Cross. Red Cross funds are thus conserved. In the present flood, which has developed in intensity as it proceeded down the river, Judge John Barton Payne, chairman, and Mr. James L. Fieser, vice chairman, of the American Red Cross, have made thorough investigations. Robert E. Bondy, of national headquarters, director of disaster relief, and 12 experienced flood-disaster workers were promptly dispatched to the flood area.

In the existing world-wide economic crisis, with the widespread unemployment in the United States, the calls upon the American Red Cross are many. I know I voice the sentiments of the resourceful people of the Delta whom I represent when I say that we are grateful to the American Red Cross—the best mother in all the world to-day—as in the World War, for help and for guidance in these tragic hours. I bespeak for the American Red Cross the continued generous support of the American people. It promotes relief by voluntary contributions rather than by governmental appropriations, for otherwise the springs of sympathy and the wells of charity, the finest fruits of our civilization, would dry up. Giving to relieve need always helps both the giver and those relieved.

REPAIRS AND PLANS

The local levee and drainage districts have failed to function successfully, as they have failed in all other unprecedented floods covering large areas. For years I have advocated a comprehensive flood-control project for the improvement of the entire river. Four years ago Congress responded and provision had been made for studies and for plans for flood control along the principal tributaries of the Mississippi River, as well as along the principal rivers of the United States. Several hundred thousand dollars in the past four years have been expended in studies and investigations for flood-control improvements along the Yazoo River and its tributaries. The Chief of Engineers will shortly submit a report on the Yazoo River system to Congress, with a comprehensive plan for flood control.

There is a Federal interest in flood control along the Yazoo River and other tributaries of the Mississippi River. The problem of floods along the Mississippi River will never be completely solved until floods along the tributaries have been prevented. It would be wiser and more economical to protect fertile lands already reclaimed than to expend larger sums in bringing other lands into cultivation.

Meantime, under the provisions of the flood control act of May 15, 1928, Congress has made adequate appropriations to enable the district engineer of the Government to aid in rescue and maintenance work along the Yazoo River and other tributaries. Maj. Gen. Lytle Brown, Chief of Engineers, and Maj. T. B. Larkin, district engineer at Vicksburg, were promptly on the job. Material for protection and experienced flood fighters to aid in rescue work have been furnished to assist in the flood fight. Moreover, when the floods have subsided the Government will repair the crevasses and damages to the levees.

Not only has the rainfall been excessive throughout the Delta and north and northwest Mississippi, but a further alarming aspect of the present flood is that the rainfall has been earlier than usually obtains. Floods generally come in the spring. Cold weather adds to the suffering. Winter floods may be followed by spring floods and the spring floods may come before the winter floods have subsided.

The Yazoo River is a famous Indian stream. The Indians dwelt along its banks. Up and down the valley are found Indian mounds, huge embankments, in many cases 50 feet high. In these mounds the Indians buried their dead, and in the floods, on these mounds, found refuge from the floods.

There are high spots here and there in the Delta and people who are driven from their homes find refuge on the high ridges or spots that dot the valley, as well as on the hills or bluffs adjacent thereto.

Without a further flood it will be six weeks or two months before the present flood subsides. Those who are in need must be helped and disease must be prevented. Homes now filled with mud must be rehabilitated.

The people who dwell along the Yazoo River are accustomed to disasters. They are resourceful. The sufferings and sacrifices of the present flood will not have been in vain if the Congress will adopt a policy of national flood control applicable to all of the navigable rivers of the United States. Such a policy will be adopted when both the Congress and the country realize that it is wiser to prevent than to pay for floods.

PROHIBITION LEGISLATION

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, what I say is not intended to be a speech or in any wise controversial. My purpose is to make an announcement, in view of what happened in another body yesterday. A vote was taken there on the so-called Bingham beer bill, and the newspapers carry a story this morning which I believe should not go unchallenged. I quote from the front page of to-day's New York Times:

The wet cause also lost its momentum in the House, where the Democratic leaders decided, following the Senate vote, to postpone

consideration of the prohibition issue until the relief measures and other important legislation are acted upon.

The dry leaders herald the decision as meaning that a vote on the dry question probably would not be reached in the House at this session of Congress.

I wish to state most emphatically that there is no basis whatever for any such statement. To-day, I believe, every Member of the House received by mail a copy of House Joint Resolution 208 introduced by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM]. An identical proposal has been introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BECK] and by myself and other Members. It proposes to amend the eighteenth amendment by ratification by the States at conventions chosen for that purpose, to read as follows:

The Congress shall have power to regulate or to prohibit the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, and the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes: *Provided, however,* That such power shall not be construed or applied to abridge or deny the right of any State to authorize and regulate the manufacture, sale, transportation, or use of such intoxicating liquors wholly within the borders of such State; and such power of regulation or any power of the Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce shall not be construed to empower the Congress to authorize the shipment, transportation, or importation into any State of intoxicating liquors for beverage or other purposes whenever the manufacture, sale, transportation, or use of such liquors has been prohibited by the laws of such State; and any such shipment or importation of intoxicating liquors into such State in violation of its laws is prohibited, and any such shipment or importation shall be subject to the laws of the State upon its arrival therein.

This proposal is the result of considerable study on the part of a committee of 10 members, one-half appointed by Mr. BECK and one-half appointed by Mr. LINTHICUM, which committee analyzed all propositions which have been introduced in the Congress before deciding upon the most effective method of presenting the question to the House for a vote at this session.

That committee of 10 appointed a subcommittee, consisting of Messrs. BECK, LINTHICUM, and myself, which proceeded to draft a proposal in accordance with the views of the larger committee. After considerable work and many revisions, the amendment proposed was agreed upon by the committee of 10, and was then submitted to the two so-called wet groups in the House, which with practical unanimity approved the same. It was suggested that any Member might introduce an identical resolution if he so desired.

The first five lines of the resolution is the identical language recommended by all 11 members of the Wickersham commission in case the eighteenth amendment were to be revised, while the remainder of the resolution restores to the States their right to deal with the liquor problem, with adequate Federal protection to those States desiring to remain dry.

The Committee on the Judiciary of the House has set February 16 for a hearing on the resolution. Immediately upon action by that committee, if the same be unfavorable, we propose to file a petition to discharge the committee under the new discharge rule.

Let me assure the House that, while no attempt will be made to set aside the so-called reconstruction financial program, no time will be lost bringing the proposition to a vote in this House; and we have every expectation of a vote of such a size as to cause surprise, if not consternation, in some quarters.

We believe that the people of the country want action on the question of resubmittal of the question. We believe that the amendment submitted meets the wishes of a greater number of people than any other proposition could.

I want to say in answer to the stories in the newspapers that many Members of the House have no sympathy whatsoever with the performance yesterday in the other body. [Applause.] They never believed that such a proposal was a proper approach to the fundamental question involved. There are some persons who term the performance and the so-called "test" as ridiculous. "Wets" might well have opposed it. Some of us do not yet know what it meant. So what happened yesterday is of no consequence to our program.

I ask that Members interested in the cause study the proposition we submit, because we are sincere in our belief that no man, even though he be the most ardent prohibitionist, can reasonably object to the proposition to be submitted to the States. Every State will be protected by its own laws and by Federal aid.

We shall have a vote, first, on resubmission of the amendment; and after that is over, we shall have a vote in the House on the modification of the Volstead Act. [Applause.] The committee is preparing a bill to cover that situation and will continue to push the matter. We shall have two votes in the House, one on the amendment and one on the Volstead law. Two votes have been promised to us. The record will bear out that assertion. We will have, first, a vote on resubmission, and, failing in that, we will have a vote on the modification of the Volstead Act. The latter bill will soon be introduced; and if the Judiciary Committee does not report it out favorably, we shall file a petition to discharge the committee on the bill, and we have no doubt as to what the ruling of the Chair will be as to whether the two matters are "substantially indentical." [Applause.]

PERMISSION TO FILE REPORT

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I filed a report on the bill (H. R. 4712) to establish a minimum area for the Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes, which I fear does not comply with the Ramseyer rule. I ask unanimous consent to file a supplementary report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a proposal by Prof. Amos W. Ford of the economics department of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, Ruston, La., entitled "Federal Control of Cotton Production."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

Mr. UNDERHILL. I object.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent that the statement may be read in lieu of that report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman calls up a conference report and asks unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the report. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert:

"That there be, and is hereby, created a body corporate with the name 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation' (herein called the corporation). That the principal office of the corporation shall be located in the District of Columbia, but there may be established agencies or branch offices in any city or cities of the United States under rules and



regulations prescribed by the board of directors. This act may be cited as the 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation act.'

"SEC. 2. The corporation shall have capital stock of $500,000,000, subscribed by the United States of America, payment for which shall be subject to call in whole or in part by the board of directors of the corporation.

"There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $500,000,000, for the purpose of making payments upon such subscription when called: *Provided*, That $50,000,000 of the amount so subscribed, and the expansion of same through the notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations as set out in section 9 shall be allocated and made available to the Secretary of Agriculture, which sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose of making loans or advances to farmers in the several States of the United States in cases where he finds that an emergency exists as a result of which farmers are unable to obtain loans for crop production during the year 1932: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Agriculture shall give preference in making such loans or advances to farmers who suffered from crop failures in 1931. Such advances or loans shall be made upon such terms and conditions and subject to such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe. A first lien on all crops growing, or to be planted and grown, shall, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, be deemed sufficient security for such loan or advance. All such loans or advances shall be made through such agencies as the Secretary of Agriculture may designate, and in such amounts as such agencies, with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, may determine. Any person who shall knowingly make any material false representation for the purpose of obtaining an advance or loan, or in assisting in obtaining such advance or loan, under this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both.

"Receipts for payments by the United States of America for or on account of such stock shall be issued by the corporation to the Secretary of the Treasury and shall be evidence of the stock ownership of the United States of America.

"SEC. 3. The management of the corporation shall be vested in a board of directors consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, or, in his absence, the Under Secretary of of the Treasury, the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, and the Farm Loan Commissioner, who shall be members ex officio, and four other persons appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Of the seven members of the board of directors not more than four shall be members of any one political party and not more than one shall be appointed from any one Federal reserve district. Each director shall devote his time not otherwise required by the business of the United States principally to the business of the corporation. Before entering upon his duties each of the directors so appointed and each officer of the corporation shall take an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of his office. Nothing contained in this or in any other act shall be construed to prevent the appointment and compensation as an employee of the corporation of any officer or employee of the United States in any board, commission, independent establishment, or executive department thereof. The terms of the directors appointed by the President of the United States shall be two years and run from the date of the enactment hereof and until their successors are appointed and qualified. Whenever a vacancy shall occur among the directors so appointed, the person appointed to fill such vacancy shall hold office for the unexpired portion of the term of the director whose place he is selected to fill. The directors of the corporation appointed as hereinbefore provided shall receive salaries at the rate of $10,000 per annum each. No director, officer, attorney, agent, or employee of the corporation shall in any manner, directly or indirectly, participate in the deliberation upon or the determination of any question affecting his personal interests, or the interests of any corporation, partnership, or association in which he is directly or indirectly interested.

"SEC. 4. The corporation shall have succession for a period of 10 years from the date of the enactment hereof, unless it is sooner dissolved by an Act of Congress. It shall have power to adopt, alter, and use a corporate seal; to make contracts; to lease such real estate as may be necessary for the transaction of its business; to sue and be sued, to complain and to defend, in any court of competent jurisdiction, State or Federal; to select, employ, and fix the compensation of such officers, employees, attorneys, and agents as shall be necessary for the transaction of the business of the corporation, without regard to the provisions of other laws applicable to the employment and compensation of officers or employees of the United States; to define their authority and duties, require bonds of them and fix the penalties thereof, and to dismiss at pleasure such officers, employees, attorneys, and agents; and to prescribe, amend, and repeal, by its board of directors, by-laws, rules, and regulations governing the manner in which its general business may be conducted and the powers granted to it by law may be exercised and enjoyed, including the selection of its chairman and vice chairman, together with provision for such committees and the functions thereof as the board of directors may deem necessary for facilitating its business under this act. The board of directors of the corporation shall determine and prescribe the manner in which its obligations shall be incurred and its expenses allowed and paid. The corporation shall be entitled to the free use of the United States mails in the same manner as the executive departments of the Government. The corporation, with the consent of any board, commission, independent establishment, or executive department of the Government, including any field service thereof, may avail itself of the use of information, services, facilities, officers, and employees thereof in carrying out the provisions of this act.

"SEC. 5. To aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, including facilitating the exportation of agricultural and other products, the corporation is authorized and empowered to make loans, upon such terms and conditions not inconsistent with this act as it may determine, to any bank, savings bank, trust company, building and loan association, insurance company, mortgage loan company, credit union, Federal land bank, joint-stock land bank, Federal intermediate credit bank, agricultural credit corporation, livestock credit corporation, organized under the laws of any State or of the United States, including loans secured by the assets of any bank that is closed, or in process of liquidation to aid in the reorganization or liquidation of such banks, upon application of the receiver or liquidating agent of such bank and any receiver of any national bank is hereby authorized to contract for such loans and to pledge any assets of the bank for securing the same: *Provided*, That not more than $200,000,000 shall be used for the relief of banks that are closed or in the process of liquidation.

"All loans made under the foregoing provisions shall be fully and adequately secured. The corporation, under such conditions as it shall prescribe, may take over to provide for the administration and liquidation of any collateral accepted by it as security for such loans. Such loans may be made directly upon promissory notes or by way of discount or rediscount of obligations tendered for the purpose, or otherwise in such form and in such amount and at such interest or discount rates as the corporation may approve: *Provided*, That no loans or advances shall be made upon foreign securities or foreign acceptances as collateral or for the purpose of assisting in the carrying or liquidation of such foreign securities and foreign acceptances. In no case shall the aggregate amount of advances made under this section to any one corporation and its subsidiary or affiliated organizations exceed at any one time 5 per cent of (1) the authorized capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation plus (2) the aggregate amount of bonds of the corporation

authorized to be outstanding when the capital stock is fully subscribed.

"Each such loan may be made for a period not exceeding three years, and the corporation may from time to time extend the time of payment of any such loan, through renewal, substitution of new obligations, or otherwise, but the time for such payment shall not be extended beyond five years from the date upon which such loan was made originally. Except as provided in section 5a hereof, no loan or advancement shall be made by the corporation for the purpose of initiating, setting on foot, or financing any enterprise not initiated, set on foot, or undertaken prior to the adoption of this act: *Provided*, That the foregoing limitation shall not apply to loans made to agricultural or livestock credit corporations, or Federal land banks, joint-stock land banks, or Federal intermediate credit banks, nor to loans made to banks for the purpose of financing agricultural operations. The corporation may make loans under this section at any time prior to the expiration of one year from the date of the enactment hereof; and the President may from time to time postpone such date of expiration for such additional period or periods as he may deem necessary, not to exceed two years from the date of the enactment hereof. Within the foregoing limitations of this section, the corporation may also, upon the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, make loans to aid in the temporary financing of railroads and railways engaged in interstate commerce, to railroads and railways in process of construction, and to receivers of such railroads and railways, when in the opinion of the board of directors of the corporation such railroads or railways are unable to obtain funds upon reasonable terms through banking channels or from the general public and the corporation will be adequately secured: *Provided*, That no fee or commission shall be paid by any applicant for a loan under the provisions hereof in connection with any such application or any loan made or to be made hereunder, and the agreement to pay or payment of any such fee or commission shall be unlawful. Any such railroad may obligate itself in such form as shall be prescribed and otherwise comply with the requirements of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the corporation with respect to the deposit or assignment of security hereunder, without the authorization or approval of any authority, State or Federal, and without compliance with any requirement, State or Federal, as to notification, other than such as may be imposed by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the corporation under the provisions of this section.

"SEC. 5a. The corporation is authorized and empowered to accept drafts and bills of exchange drawn upon it which grow out of transactions involving the exportation of agricultural or other products actually sold or transported for sale subsequent to the enactment hereof and in process of shipment to buyers in foreign countries: *Provided*, That the corporation shall not make any such acceptances growing out of transactions involving the sale or shipment of armaments, munitions, or other war materials, or the sale or shipment into countries which are at war of any merchandise or commodities except food and supplies for the actual use of noncombatants. No bill of exchange or draft shall be eligible for acceptance if such bill shall have at time of acceptance a maturity of more than 12 months. All drafts and bills of exchange accepted under this section shall be in terms payable in the United States, in currency of the United States, and in addition to the draft or bill of exchange shall at all times be fully secured by American securities deposited as collateral or shall be guaranteed by a bank or trust company of undoubted solvency organized under the laws of the United States or any State, Territory, or insular possession thereof: *Provided*, That such securities shall not include goods stored or in process of shipment in foreign countries or the obligation of any foreign government, corporation, firm, or person.

"SEC. 6. Section 5202 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended, is hereby amended by striking out the words 'War Finance Corporation act' and inserting in lieu thereof the words 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation act.'

"SEC. 7. All moneys of the corporation not otherwise employed may be deposited with the Treasurer of the United States subject to check by authority of the corporation or in any Federal reserve bank, or may, by authorization of the board of directors of the corporation, be used in the purchase for redemption and retirement of any notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations issued by the corporation, and the corporation may reimburse such Federal reserve bank for their services in the manner as may be agreed upon. The Federal reserve banks are authorized and directed to act as depositaries, custodians, and fiscal agents for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the general performance of its powers conferred by this act.

"SEC. 8. In order to enable the corporation to carry out the provisions of this act, the Treasury Department, the Federal Farm Loan Board, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal reserve banks, and the Interstate Commerce Commission are hereby authorized, under such conditions as they may prescribe, to make available to the corporation, in confidence, such reports, records, or other information as they may have available relating to the condition of financial institutions and railroads or railways with respect to which the corporation has had or contemplates having transactions under this act, or relating to individuals, associations, partnerships, or corporations whose obligations are offered to or held by the corporation as security for loans to financial institutions or railroads or railways under this act, and to make through their examiners or other employees for the confidential use of the corporation, examinations of such financial institutions or railroads and railways. Every applicant for a loan under this act shall, as a condition precedent thereto, consent to such examinations as the corporation may require for the purposes of this act and that reports of examinations by constituted authorities may be furnished by such authorities to the corporation upon request therefor.

"SEC. 9. The corporation is authorized and empowered, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to issue, and to have outstanding at any one time in an amount aggregating not more than three times its subscribed capital, its notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations; such obligations to mature not more than five years from their respective dates of issue, to be redeemable at the option of the corporation before maturity in such manner as may be stipulated in such obligations, and to bear such rate or rates of interest as may be determined by the corporation: *Provided*, That the corporation, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may sell on a discount basis short-term obligations payable at maturity without interest. The notes, debentures, bonds, and other obligations of the corporation may be secured by assets of the corporation in such manner as shall be prescribed by its board of directors: *Provided*, That the aggregate of all obligations issued under this section shall not exceed three times the amount of the subscribed capital stock. Such obligations may be issued in payment of any loan authorized by this act or may be offered for sale at such price or prices as the corporation may determine with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. The said obligations shall be fully and unconditionally guaranteed both as to interest and principal by the United States and such guaranty shall be expressed on the face thereof. In the event that the corporation shall be unable to pay upon demand, when due, the principal of or interest on notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations issued by it, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay the amount thereof, which is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and thereupon to the extent of the amounts so paid the Secretary of the Treasury shall succeed to all the rights of the holders of such notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is authorized to purchase any obligations of the corporation to be issued hereunder, and for such pur-

pose the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use as a public-debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities hereafter issued under the second Liberty bond act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under the second Liberty bond act, as amended, are extended to include any purchases of the corporation's obligations hereunder. The Secretary of the Treasury may, at any time, sell any of the obligations of the corporation acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of the obligations of the corporation shall be treated as public-debt transactions of the United States. Such obligations shall not be eligible for discount or purchase by any Federal reserve bank.

"SEC. 10. Any and all notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations issued by the corporation shall be exempt both as to principal and interest from all taxation (except surtaxes, estate, inheritance, and gift taxes) now or hereafter imposed by the United States, by any Territory, dependency, or possession thereof, or by any State, county, municipality, or local taxing authority. The corporation, including its franchise, its capital, reserves, and surplus, and its income shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, by any Territory, dependency, or possession thereof, or by any State, county, municipality, or local taxing authority; except that any real property of the corporation shall be subject to State, Territorial, county, municipal, or local taxation to the same extent according to its value as other real property is taxed.

"SEC. 11. In order that the corporation may be supplied with such forms of notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations as it may need for issuance under this act, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to prepare such forms as shall be suitable and approved by the corporation, to be held in the Treasury subject to delivery, upon order of the corporation. The engraved plates, dies, bed pieces, etc., executed in connection therewith shall remain in the custody of the Secretary of the Treasury. The corporation shall reimburse the Secretary of the Treasury for any expenses incurred in the preparation, custody, and delivery of such notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations.

"SEC. 12. When designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, the corporation shall be a depositary of public money, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by said Secretary; and it may also be employed as a financial agent of the Government; and it shall perform all such reasonable duties, as depositary of public money and financial agent of the Government, as may be required of it. Obligations of the corporation shall be lawful investments, and may be accepted as security, for all fiduciary, trust, and public funds the investment or deposit of which shall be under the authority or control of the United States or any officer or officers thereof.

"SEC. 13. Upon the expiration of the period of one year within which the corporation may make loans, or of any extension thereof by the President under the authority of this act, the board of directors of the corporation shall, except as otherwise herein specifically authorized, proceed to liquidate its assets and wind up its affairs. It may with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury deposit with the Treasurer of the United States as a special fund any money belonging to the corporation or from time to time received by it in the course of liquidation or otherwise, for the payment of principal and interest of its outstanding obligations or for the purpose of redemption of such obligations in accordance with the terms thereof, which fund may be drawn upon or paid out for no other purpose. The corporation may also at any time pay to the Treasurer of the United States as miscellaneous receipts any money belonging to the corporation or from time to time received by it in the course of liquidation or otherwise in excess of reasonable amounts reserved to meet its requirements during liquidation. Upon such deposit being made, such amount of the capital stock of the corporation as may be specified by the corporation with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, but not exceeding in par value the amount so paid in, shall be canceled and retired. Any balance remaining after the liquidation of all the corporation's assets and after provision has been made for payment of all legal obligations of any kind and character shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts. Thereupon the corporation shall be dissolved and the residue, if any, of its capital stock shall be canceled and retired.

"SEC. 14. If at the expiration of the 10 years for which the corporation has succession hereunder its board of directors shall not have completed the liquidation of its assets and the winding up of its affairs, the duty of completing such liquidation and winding up of its affairs shall be transferred to the Secretary of the Treasury, who for such purpose shall succeed to all the powers and duties of the board of directors of the corporation under this act. In such event he may assign to any officer or officers of the United States in the Treasury Department the exercise and performance, under his general supervision and direction, of any such powers and duties; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect any right or privilege accrued, any penalty or liability incurred, any criminal or civil proceeding commenced, or any authority conferred hereunder, except as herein provided in connection with the liquidation of the remaining assets and the winding up of the affairs of the corporation until the Secretary of the Treasury shall find that such liquidation will no longer be advantageous to the United States and that all of its legal obligations have been provided for, whereupon he shall retire any capital stock then outstanding, pay into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts the unused balance of the moneys belonging to the corporation, and make the final report of the corporation to the Congress. Thereupon the corporation shall be deemed to be dissolved.

"SEC. 15. The corporation shall make and publish a report quarterly of its operations to the Congress, stating the aggregate loans made to each of the classes of borrowers provided for and the number of borrowers by State in each class. The statement shall show the assets and liabilities of the corporation, and the first report shall be made on April 1, 1932, and quarterly thereafter. It shall also show the names and compensation of all persons employed by the corporation whose compensation exceeds $400 a month.

"SEC. 16. (a) Whoever makes any statement knowing it to be false, or whoever willfully overvalues any security, for the purpose of obtaining for himself or for any applicant any loan, or extension thereof by renewal, deferment of action, or otherwise, or the acceptance, release, or substitution of security therefor, or for the purpose of influencing in any way the action of the corporation, or for the purpose of obtaining money, property, or anything of value, under this act, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

"(b) Whoever (1) falsely makes, forges, or counterfeits any note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, in imitation of or purporting to be a note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, issued by the corporation, or (2) passes, utters or publishes, or attempts to pass, utter or publish, any false, forged, or counterfeited note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, purporting to have been issued by the corporation, knowing the same to be false, forged, or counterfeited, or (3) falsely alters any note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, issued or purporting to have been issued by the corporation, or (4) passes, utters or publishes, or attempts to pass, utter or publish, as true any falsely altered or spurious note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or coupon, issued or purporting to have been issued by the corporation, knowing the same to be falsely altered or spurious, or any person who willfully violates any other provision of this act, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

"(c) Whoever, being connected in any capacity with the corporation, (1) embezzles, abstracts, purloins, or willfully misapplies any moneys, funds, securities, or other things of value, whether belonging to it or pledged or otherwise entrusted to it, or (2) with intent to defraud the corporation

or any other body politic or corporate, or any individual, or to deceive any officer, auditor, or examiner of the corporation, makes any false entry in any book, report, or statement of or to the corporation, or, without being duly authorized, draws any order or issues, puts forth or assigns any note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or draft, bill of exchange, mortgage, judgment, or decree thereof, or (3) with intent to defraud participates, shares, receives directly or indirectly any money, profit, property or benefit through any transaction, loan, commission, contract, or any other act of the corporation, or (4) gives any unauthorized information concerning any future action or plan of the corporation which might affect the value of securities, or, having such knowledge, invests or speculates, directly or indirectly, in the securities or property of any company, bank, or corporation receiving loans or other assistance from the corporation, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

"(d) No individual, association, partnership, or corporation shall use the words 'Reconstruction Finance Corporation' or a combination of these three words, as the name or a part thereof under which he or it shall do business. Every individual, partnership, association, or corporation violating this prohibition shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

"(e) The provisions of sections 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, and 117 of the Criminal Code of the United States (U. S. C., title 18, ch. 5, secs. 202 to 207, inclusive), in so far as applicable, are extended to apply to contracts or agreements with the corporation under this act, which for the purposes hereof shall be held to include loans, advances, discounts, and rediscounts; extensions and renewals thereof; and acceptances, releases, and substitutions of security therefor.

"SEC. 17. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved. If any clause, sentence, paragraph, or part of this act shall for any reason be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this act, but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph, or part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered."

And the Senate agree to the same.

HENRY B. STEAGALL,
CHARLES H. BRAND,
W. F. STEVENSON,
L. T. MCFADDEN,
JAMES G. STRONG,
Managers on the part of the House.

PETER NORBECK,
F. C. WALCOTT,
SMITH W. BROOKHART,
JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Jr.,
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
CARTER GLASS,
ROBERT J. BULKLEY,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

Sections 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 17 of the House bill are included in the text agreed upon by the committee of conference with merely a few changes which are clerical or formal in character.

Section 2 of the House bill contained a provision that not less than $50,000,000 of the amounts subscribed by the United States for the stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and "the expansion of same through the notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations as set out in section 9" should be allocated and made available to the intermediate credit banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock credit corporations, and agricultural or farmers' associations. In the Senate amendment, section 18 provides for an authorization for an appropriation of $50,000,000 to be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture "for the purpose of making loans or advances to farmers in the several States of the United States who, because of the failures of banking institutions and conditions resulting from crop failures or the general depression, are unable to obtain credit for crop-production purposes for the year 1932. This is followed by a proviso that preference in making such loans or advances should be given to "those sections of the country that suffered from crop failures in 1931."

The text agreed upon by the committee of conference eliminates the provision of the House bill and the Senate amendment, and in lieu thereof inserts a proviso in section 2 that $50,000,000 of the amounts subscribed by the United States to the stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and "the expansion of same through the notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations as set out in section 9" shall be allocated and made available to the Secretary of Agriculture for expenditure "for the purpose of making loans or advances to farmers in the several States of the United States in cases where he finds that an emergency exists as a result of which farmers are unable to obtain loans for crop production during the year 1932." This is followed by a proviso that the Secretary of Agriculture shall give preference in making such loans or advances to farmers who have suffered from crop failures in 1931. The provision of the Senate amendment relating to the terms and conditions upon which such loans or advances are to be made and the penalty provisions for misrepresentation for the purpose of obtaining any such advance or loan are also retained.

Section 3 of the House bill provided that the Secretary of Agriculture should be a member of the board of directors of the corporation, while in the corresponding section of the Senate amendment the Farm Loan Commissioner was to be a member of such board. At the conference it was agreed that the Farm Loan Commissioner, rather than the Secretary of Agriculture, should be a director of the corporation.

Section 3 of the House bill also contained a provision in the last sentence limiting the salaries of employees of the corporation to not more than the amount provided in the bill for directors of the corporation. This provision was eliminated and in lieu thereof there was added at the end of section 15 of the text of the House bill a provision requiring the statements of the corporation to show "the names and compensation of all persons employed by the corporation whose compensation exceeds $400 a month." Section 15 of the Senate amendment relating to the reports of the corporation was eliminated and the language of section 15 of the House bill substituted with the change above noted.

Section 5 of the House bill enumerated certain institutions which were to be eligible to receive loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and then provided that such loans might be made to any "other bona fide financial institution in the United States (herein referred to as financial institutions)." In lieu of this general provision following the enumeration, at the conference, the enumeration of the institutions eligible to receive loans from the corporation was enlarged to include "mortgage loan companies (which were enumerated in the Senate amendment), credit unions, Federal land banks, and joint-stock land banks." Agricultural or farmers' associations which were enumerated in the House bill were eliminated from the eligible list at the conference.

Under this same section of the House bill it was provided that loans might be made by the corporation secured by the assets of any bank that is "closed, insolvent, or in process of liquidation." The word "insolvent" was eliminated at the conference and a proviso was added which restricts the use of the funds of the corporation to be used for the relief

of banks that are closed or in process of liquidation to $200,000,000.

The Senate amendment contains a provision in section 5a authorizing the corporation to accept drafts and bills of exchange drawn upon the corporation which at the time of acceptance have a maturity of not more than 12 months, and which grow out of transactions involving the exportation of goods sold or transported for sale and in process of shipment to buyers in foreign countries, with a limitation that the total of the outstanding acceptances shall not exceed $500,000,000 at any one time. It is further provided that the corporation shall not make any such acceptances growing out of transactions involving the sale or shipment of armaments, munitions, or other war materials, or the sale or shipment into countries which are at war of any merchandise or commodities except food and supplies for the actual use of noncombatants. In addition, the drafts and bills of exchange accepted by the corporation are to be payable in the United States, in currency of the United States, and are to be fully secured by American securities deposited as collateral or guaranteed by an American bank or trust company of undoubted solvency.

This section, which was not in the House bill, has been retained with certain changes. The drafts and bills of exchange drawn upon the corporation must grow out of transactions involving exportation of agricultural or other products actually sold or transported for sale subsequent to the enactment of the bill. The limitation upon the amount of the acceptances outstanding at any time is eliminated and a proviso is added that the securities deposited as collateral shall not include goods stored or in the process of shipment in foreign countries or the obligation of any foreign government, corporation, firm, or person.

Section 9 of the House bill contained a provision that Federal reserve banks should have the same powers to discount notes, drafts, and bills of exchange secured by obligations issued by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to make advances to member banks on their notes secured by such obligations, to use the paper so acquired, and to purchase and sell such obligations, as they have with respect to bonds and notes of the United States. This was followed by a provision limiting the discount rate to 1 per cent per annum above the discount rate of the bank on 90-day commercial paper. This provision was eliminated at the conference, and in lieu thereof the language of the Senate amendment was accepted. This provides, in effect, that the Secretary of the Treasury may purchase the obligations of the corporation and for that purpose may use the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the second Liberty bond act, as amended. The Secretary is also authorized to sell at any time any of the obligations of the corporation which he acquires, and all redemptions, purchases, and sales by him are to be treated as public-debt transactions of the United States. The obligations of the corporation are not to be eligible for discount or purchase by any Federal reserve bank.

Section 10 of the House bill provided that the obligations of the corporation are to be exempt from all taxation except surtaxes, estate, inheritance, and gift taxes. This provision has been retained in lieu of the provision in section 10 of the Senate amendment which exempts such obligations from taxation except estate, inheritance, and gift taxes.

HENRY E. STEAGALL,
CHARLES H. BRAND,
W. F. STEVENSON,
L. T. MCFADDEN,
JAMES G. STRONG,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman make a statement explaining the main features of the House bill and the changes in the conference report?

Mr. STEAGALL. I shall be glad to do so.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield to me for a suggestion?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. SNELL. I want to make the suggestion that the Chairman give a full explanation before any questions are asked.

Mr. STEAGALL. I desire to make a brief statement, and then I promise to yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD]. I hope it will not take long to discuss this report.

First, with reference to the personnel of the board of directors; the House bill provided for the appointment of four members by the President, who, together with the Secretary of the Treasury, or, in his absence, the Under Secretary, the governor of the Federal Reserve Board and the Secretary of Agriculture, ex officio members, should constitute the entire board of seven members. The Senate bill named the farm-loan commissioner instead of the Secretary of Agriculture, and the conference committee accepted the Senate provision.

There is also in the measure as agreed upon in conference a provision that not more than four of the members of the board shall be members of the same political party, and that not more than one member appointed on the board shall be from any one Federal reserve district. That limitation does not apply to the ex officio members, and it was not so intended, but applies to the four members to be appointed by the President. The House bill contained a provision which made the obligations to be issued by the corporation eligible for discount with the Federal reserve banks. The Senate bill provided that the obligations of the corporation might be purchased and sold by the Secretary of the Treasury, but should not be eligible for discount or purchase by the Federal reserve banks. The House receded and accepted the Senate provision.

Mr. BRIGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes.

Mr. BRIGGS. Does the gentleman regard this new provision as advantageous to the people generally as the provision contained in the House bill, with the rediscount provided in the Federal reserve banks? Did not that give to those who are receiving the benefits of the act a wider opportunity than exists under the conference report?

Mr. STEAGALL. Certainly; the gentleman is correct. The House provision gave complete access to the Federal reserve banks for the discount of the securities of the corporation with a proviso that the rate charged should be 1 per cent per annum above the regular discount rate on commercial paper. The Senate bill denies the obligations of the corporation all privileges of eligibility with the Federal reserve banks. But I will say to the gentleman that that provision in conference was somewhat as it was in the House—it did not develop quite the discussion or controversy that might reasonably have been anticipated. Some of us on the committee were considerably surprised, I might say to the gentleman, when we got by the House without any discussion of that provision of the bill, and it did not involve the difficulty in conference that might have been anticipated. The conferees on the part of the House do not think that the bill has been hurt by the change from the House provision to the Senate provision in that connection.

I should not like to enter into a full discussion of that feature of the legislation unless it were necessary to do so. The Federal reserve banks embrace the deposit banks and banks of that type should at all times be able to respond to their liability to their depositors. I will say that I do not think we have done any harm in separating the great Federal reserve system from connection with the securities to be offered by this corporation which is established to aid almost every institution in the country, and to take over all sorts of securities, whether of long or short maturity.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. In a moment. We are using the Treasury of the United States to meet an emergency task; and in doing that we can not contend that it is necessary, and many Members of both Houses do not think it is

wise, to involve the Federal reserve banks in handling securities of such a corporation. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. In section 5, near the bottom of page 3 of the conference report, is the language:

Provided, That no loans or advances shall be made upon foreign securities or foreign acceptances as collateral or for the purpose of assisting in the carrying or liquidation of such foreign securities and foreign acceptances.

I have received several telegrams in the last 24 hours from small banks, saying that if that language remains in the bill practically all of the small banks that were forced—and I use the word "forced" advisedly—to purchase these foreign securities from the big banks in the East will be denied the right to secure any loans under the provisions of this act.

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, the feeling in that connection of members of the Banking and Currency Committee and among the membership of the House—and I think the same is true of the Senate—is such that this legislation never could have been enacted into law if we had let the bars down for the absorption of the vast amount of undesirable foreign securities that have been taken over by the banks of the country.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. In that I fully agree with the gentleman and I am glad that the committee has put in a safeguard, but I think almost every bank in the country has some of these securities; and how can they make a loan if they have in their possession foreign securities, because certainly the loan will in part be for carrying those securities?

Mr. STEAGALL. Oh, not necessarily.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. They certainly are hardly assets now, but no doubt are considered part of their liabilities. They have little value and must be carried along with other securities that are below their original value.

Mr. STEAGALL. No. I think the gentleman's construction is strained far beyond a just interpretation of the language, as well as the purpose of the law. What is attempted in this legislation is to afford credit facilities to institutions that are embarrassed in just the situation to which the gentleman refers, but only so long as they are in position to offer to the corporation fair and adequate security. It is not contemplated that anybody shall be permitted to unload any junk on the corporation.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Then the intent of Congress is that if they have proper securities, even though they are carrying foreign securities, they will be entitled to borrow?

Mr. STEAGALL. Oh, certainly. There is no question whatever about that. The purpose is to aid any banks, no matter what their difficulties may be, if they have adequate security to offer; but we drew an arbitrary line as to the foreign securities that have occasioned so much criticism and complaint in recent months and, which we are informed, have involved citizens and banks in enormous losses. We do not intend to provide a way by which any such losses may be unloaded upon the Treasury of the United States. We want the corporation to aid wherever it may be done properly, but not to that extent.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield with pleasure to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. HOWARD. The gentleman has made a great study of this problem, and I would like to have the gentleman explain to the House with reference to the security which will be given by the banks when they shall receive money from the corporation. Will that security consist of anything other than the claims which the bank has now against individuals or corporations and which the bank is unable to collect?

Mr. STEAGALL. The gentleman has asked a question, of course, which involves the exercise of administrative discretion by the members of the board that is set up to administer this corporation; but what is attempted in the legislation is to afford ample facilities to enable the directors to grant relief to such organizations as are given access to the facilities of the corporation, in worthy cases, wherever there is an opportunity to do so, upon adequate security.

The only limitation is the arbitrary provision to which I have just alluded, that under this law we will not permit the unloading, on this corporation, of foreign securities and acceptances.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield for one more question?

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield for me to make a suggestion to the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. STEVENSON. The language is, "all loans made under the foregoing provisions shall be fully and adequately secured," which does not require them to only put up and take the assets of the bank which they have in the shape of bills receivable, but any other security, which makes it good and adequate.

Mr. HOWARD. I am very grateful to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Just one more question, please. The gentleman from Alabama has stated again and again that these loans are not to be secured by "junk," but the gentleman has stated that they are to be secured by loans now carried by the bank. Evidently there would be no need for this money by the bank if it might collect those loans. I understand those loans which the banks can not collect are to be given over to this corporation for good money; and then it will be up to the corporation to collect it, will it not?

Mr. STEAGALL. Why, of course. The purpose of the law is to take care of the difficulties in which banks, which have good securities upon which they can not immediately realize or collect, find themselves.

Mr. HOWARD. And the theory of the gentleman is that the corporation will be a better collecting agency than the bank?

Mr. STEAGALL. No; not that it will be a better collecting agency, but that it will be a better carrying agency for assets upon which realization can not be had, in order that our banking institutions of the country may be saved from embarrassment resulting from the horrible state of fear that exists in the public mind, which is bringing about withdrawals of deposits and constant closing down of the banks of the Nation.

Mr. HOWARD. I thank the gentleman for his explanation of the dole, which is the best I have heard, and yet not effulgent in clarity.

Mr. KERR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. KERR. I would be very much interested to have the gentleman state his opinion about this: Is this fund which has been created for this corporation also available to those banks which have recently failed and are now in the process of liquidation?

Mr. STEAGALL. Now, I will devote sufficient time to that to attempt to answer the gentleman's inquiry and to furnish the House such information as it may desire in that connection. The House bill provides for loans upon assets of "any bank that is closed, insolvent, or in process of liquidation," and for "purposes of reorganization or liquidation" of such banks and authorized receivers for national banks to contract for such loans.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. Please let me finish my answer to the gentleman from North Carolina.

The language of the Senate bill permitted loans to closed banks whose assets were such as to admit of a restoration to solvency. That is substantially the language of the Senate provision. The Senate receded with an amendment, and the conferees adopted the House provision with the word "insolvent" eliminated, which does not in any sense of the word change the meaning of the bill.

The language remaining in the bill is that "loans may be made upon assets of any bank that is closed or in process of liquidation," and that covers all of them if they are

closed, whether solvent or not. It will apply to a bank for which a receiver may not have been named, if a reorganization plan should be set on foot immediately before the naming of a receiver, and to any bank that is in process of liquidation. The bill, as agreed upon in conference, further provides that not more than $200,000,000 of the funds of the corporation may be used for loans upon assets of banks that are closed or in process of liquidation.

I need not discuss the developments in connection with bank failures, which, unhappily, are continuing throughout the country. It is the thought of members of the committee that many instances would arise from time to time where banks are closing in connection with which there will be opportunity for reorganization.

We hope in some instances speedy reorganization may be arranged to absorb the shock and save communities from the disturbance and distress that attend bank failures. We understand, of course, that with the enormous amount of assets that are now tied up in banks that are closed and in process of liquidation, the sum of $200,000,000 is not enough to adequately carry on the work of handling these frozen assets in the interest of depositors.

It will give opportunity for limited service in that connection and we think will give ample opportunity for the corporation to meet demands that will be made for the reorganization of banks that are closed.

In that connection I will say to the House that some of us are at work now on different measures and different plans out of which we hope to agree upon legislation of a permanent character, which will set up adequate machinery, with sufficient funds, to aid in an orderly and expeditious liquidation of banks that are closed so that depositors and communities may not suffer the distress and demoralization which attend bank failures under the present order of things. I do not mean by that to commit myself or any member of our committee to any particular bill; but we will take up that question just as soon as we can get to it, in the hope that we may be able to find a way for relief of depositors as to assets that are tied up in banks which are closed and in process of liquidation.

Mr. BEEDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. BEEDY. I just want to say that the gentleman wishes the House to understand that that legislation is not intended merely to meet the present emergency but to be a permanent piece of legislation.

Mr. STEAGALL. I thought I had stated that. If I did not, I will state it now. I refer to relief for depositors, as distinguished from aid for purposes of reorganization. But I am not referring to any particular bill or any particular legislation, because there are many suggestions in that connection which some of us want to be free to deal with after full opportunity for consideration and study.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. The gentleman is making a very interesting statement. This bill provides for loans to banking institutions which are now in operation and to those which are now closed, but it is provided that these institutions shall give good and sound security for the loans. Now, will bonds, real-estate mortgages, and so forth, be considered as good security, and will they be accepted by this corporation?

Mr. STEAGALL. There is no limitation at that point in the bill. It is left to the discretion of the directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Mr. PARSONS. If banks are closed, or near the point of closing, because of the securities they now have on which they can not realize, how will they be able to satisfy this corporation that their securities are good and sufficient for the loans to be had from this corporation?

Mr. STEAGALL. The very purpose of the bill is to carry loans that are solvent but not liquid. In my judgment, the best thing in this legislation is that which will grant relief in connection with the very situation to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. PARSONS. If it will do it.

Mr. STEAGALL. Well, if it is administered in accordance with the purposes of the act, and as it specifically provides, it will save many institutions that would probably be lost in the absence of this legislation. We will never know those institutions they have saved, because as long as a bank is running all right we do not hear about it, but you do hear about failures. You do not hear about those that are saved by the work and toil of those who sit around the council table at night when these problems are worked out successfully.

You will not know of those that are saved, but in my judgment it will save many institutions. I am going to say this—and please do not think I am trying to criticize anybody or that there is any thought of politics in what I am saying—but if this Congress had been called together 90 days ago——

Mr. PARSONS. A year ago.

Mr. STEAGALL. And the legislation we are now about to pass had been enacted I can name you situations where the economic structures of entire States that have gone to ruin would have been saved. [Applause.]

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield again.

Mr. PARSONS. If this had been done two years ago, immediately after the stock market had collapsed, it would probably have saved many securities that are now said to be worthless and which this board will hold to be worthless when they are presented as security for loans. As I say, if this legislation had been passed two years ago many of these institutions would not have had to close their doors. [Applause.]

Mr. JONES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I understand what the gentleman from Texas has in mind. I will come to that, and then I shall be glad to answer any questions propounded by him. I will say to the gentleman that the conferees adopted a provision for loans to farmers, "where the Secretary of Agriculture may find an emergency exists, as the result of which farmers are unable to obtain the necessary credit for crop production for the year 1932." That provision of the bill also carries an allocation from the funds of the corporation of the sum of $50,000,000, and the expansion of that sum through the notes, debentures, and other obligations of the corporation, with which to do that service. It is, in substance—though I think the language is much improved—the amendment which I offered as the chairman of the committee when the bill was under consideration in the House and which went out on a point of order, made by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE], my colleague on the Committee on Banking and Currency. It embodies, in part, the purpose of the amendment offered in the House by my friend from Texas [Mr. JONES], who is very active, zealous, and very constructive in his efforts to benefit agriculture.

The gentleman's amendment provided funds allocated out of the resources of the corporation to the amount of $50,000,000 and its expansions through obligations issued by the corporation loans to intermediate-credit banks, agricultural-credit corporations and livestock, credit corporations. We have left in the bill the original provision which allows intermediate-credit banks, agricultural-credit corporations and livestock-credit corporations access to the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for loans without any limitation and without any allocation, so that we have in the bill, if the corporation in the exercise of its discretion sees fit to extend that relief, a provision without limit save the total amount of the corporation's resources. We have in addition the relief sought by the amendment which provided for the allocation of $50,000,000 and its expansion through obligations issued by the corporation for loans to be made by the Secretary of Agriculture for crop-production purposes wherever he may find an emergency exists making it necessary to aid farmers who are unable to obtain credit. Instead of an authorization for an appropriation out of the Treasury we provide for the funds to be allocated to the Secretary of

Agriculture out of the resources of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Mr. JONES. If I read the amendment right, it really is in better form than when it was presented here, because it includes a blending of the amendment which I offered and one which the gentleman offered and other details which I had in my original amendment, but which were subject to a point of order and had to be eliminated. If I read this correctly, it makes available $50,000,000 and the expansion thereof, or a possible $200,000,000 for loans under this provision through the Secretary of Agriculture under the provisions of section 9.

Mr. STEAGALL. It might not reach that amount. It depends upon the expansion.

Mr. JONES. But I say a possible $200,000,000.

Mr. STEAGALL. I will say to the gentleman that we got all we expected in the conference. We came back from the fair with a better horse than we rode to town.

Mr. JONES. If I construe this correctly, it means either the total expansion or a pro rata expansion, and I am construing it as meaning a pro rata expansion which would mean a possible $200,000,000. It either means that or a total expansion of $1,450,000,000.

Mr. STEAGALL. It means $50,000,000 plus whatever expansion may be had; and, of course, that could reach a total of $2,000,000,000, which would make this amount $200,000,000. But the Secretary of Agriculture has the discretion to use it as may seem necessary to meet emergencies.

Mr. JONES. Just one other suggestion. If I understand it correctly, it is not a limitation, but it still leaves open, under sections 5 and 9, an allocation of such amounts as the board may see fit to give to the intermediate-credit banks, the agricultural-credit corporations, and livestock-credit corporations mentioned in that section.

Mr. STEAGALL. Absolutely; and I thought I had so stated.

Mr. JONES. So that it makes possible $200,000,000 plus whatever the board may see fit to allocate to the agricultural institutions named in the other sections.

Mr. STEAGALL. This provision does not accomplish that. This provision stands by itself, but the bill which, as agreed upon in conference, makes that possible.

Mr. JONES. The point I am making is that this amendment carrying that definite allocation, as it does, does not in any way interfere with the additional amounts that may be made available under the other provisions of the bill.

Mr. STEAGALL. The $50,000,000 allocation applies to loans to be made by the Secretary of Agriculture for crop production, and the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have nothing to do with it except to hand that over to the Secretary of Agriculture, and it is then handled by him. The board may make loans to intermediate credit banks, agricultural credit corporations, or livestock credit corporations, as they may see fit, within the limits of the $2,000,000,000 of resources set up for the corporation.

Mr. JONES. And without regard to this amendment?

Mr. STEAGALL. Without any regard to this amendment. They are entirely separate, as I stated before.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman permit me to suggest that those of us who have been going along with the committee in support of this measure are entitled to have the country given a better explanation of the language of the bill which the gentleman from South Carolina quoted a few minutes ago. In other words, it is not contemplated that the Government, through the operations of this board, is going to give away any of the people's money in cooperating with those interested in the reorganization of closed banks and in the further financing of going institutions; in fact, in all of its dealings in the extension of credit, it is expected to protect the interests of the Government, in that it makes no loan other than one which is well and satisfactorily secured in the judgment and discretion of the board.

Mr. STEAGALL. The gentleman is entirely correct. The language of the bill to which attention has been repeatedly called is that all loans made by the corporation are to be "fully and adequately secured"; and within that limitation and the limitation as to foreign securities, to which I called attention, they have a free hand in the exercise of their discretion to grant relief to all the institutions and corporations outlined in the measure.

Mr. COX. In other words, if there be the impression that this bill is to operate to the end that this board is to take over all of the bad securities of financial institutions needing assistance, that is entirely erroneous?

Mr. STEAGALL. Certainly. There is no such thought as that.

Mr. DIES and Mr. BEEDY rose.

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield first to the distinguished young Member from Texas.

Mr. DIES. I have just one question to ask concerning some questions that have been raised as to whether or not railroads can get money for construction purposes under this bill.

Mr. STEAGALL. The House bill provided, and the measure finally agreed upon in conference, provides for loans to railroads and railways or to the receivers of railroads and railways, and to any railroad or railway in process of construction. I think that answers the gentleman's inquiry.

Mr. DIES. I want to ask the gentleman if under the bill, a railroad doing construction work can go to this corporation and borrow money for construction purposes?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes; if it is a road in process of construction.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Here is another railroad situation, where construction is not being done, one that is contemplated but not financed—would they be refused because the work was not started before the act?

Mr. STEAGALL. Oh, there is nothing in the act that will allow the starting of a railroad project and the financing of it. The bill provides that while a railroad is in actual process of construction access may be had to the corporation for a loan. But the board is to determine whether or not it is deserving and proper to extend such loan.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Does it go so far as to cover the case where the Interstate Commerce Commission has authorized the construction, but litigation has held it up until some future time?

Mr. STEAGALL. I think the gentleman is taking me over quite a wide range for the interpretation of the law relating to a situation to which the committee's attention has never been called. I shall not attempt to pass on that, it will be for the board and the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine. It depends on whether the project had reached the point of construction, not whether it was in contemplation. The language of the bill applies to roads in process of construction.

Mr. BEEDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield to the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BEEDY. The gentleman has made a very excellent statement, better than I could, but in the course of running debate there are some points that get by. I was concerned by the question asked by the gentleman from Illinois. He fails to see how this corporation we are setting up is going to be able to loan money on securities, if they can not borrow on them at the present time.

Is not this the situation: There are many banks to-day that have what they call local paper. For instance, a man may go to the bank and borrow a thousand dollars, not for commercial purposes, but he owes the doctor and the grocer and other bills, and he borrows that money and it is secured by collateral or by good local indorsement. The local bank at this time does not want to call on the man who is in extremity to pay the note. The local bank can not discount it at the Federal reserve bank, for that paper must have arisen out of commercial transactions.

When this corporation is set up the local bank may take such paper, well secured, and ask this corporation to rediscount it, and in that way secure the money for the note.

Mr. STEAGALL. The gentleman has stated the case quite accurately.

Now, I have but a few minutes left. I want to ask if any member of the committee wants any time?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. With respect to certain emergencies that authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make loans to the farmer.

Mr. STEAGALL. We left that to be determined by the Secretary of Agriculture, who has been administering a similar fund. We used broad language simplifying the language that had been used prior to that in other amendments that were under consideration. It will be for the Secretary of Agriculture to determine.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. I want to ask the chairman if an industrial corporation may apply to the Finance Corporation for a loan direct?

Mr. STEAGALL. I do not so understand.

Mr. BLANTON. Has an industrial corporation that right under the law?

Mr. STEAGALL. I would not say that it had.

Mr. BLANTON. Would the gentleman say that it has not?

Mr. STEAGALL. I hardly think it has.

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes; for a question.

Mr. BURTNESS. This is a matter that I wanted to ask the gentleman about when the gentleman fom Texas [Mr. JONES] was interrogating him. It is about the construction of the language relative to the $50,000,000 agricultural allocation. If I understand the gentleman's construction correctly, this provides that $50,000,000 of the capital stock be turned over to the Secretary of Agriculture, and in addition 10 per cent of the amount that may be secured through the sale of notes, debentures, bonds, and so forth, that is a pro rata amount obtained from notes and debentures, pro rated to the total in the ratio of what $50,000,000 is to $500,000,000. Is that correct?

Mr. STEAGALL. I think I answered that question as definitely as I could in response to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. JONES]. The fund allocated is $50,000,000 of the subscribed capital stock, and the expansion of that sum through the notes, debentures, and obligations of the corporation.

Mr. BURTNESS. That means plus the expansion of that sum?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Can the reconstruction corporation loan by taking its own bonds as security or collateral?

Mr. STEAGALL. I don't think there is any such authority in the law.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Following the question or statement made by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BEEDY], is it the understanding of the gentleman that under the authority here granted, providing that all loans be adequately secured, that this corporation may take paper, commercial or personal, without collateral?

Mr. STEAGALL. Yes; not directly from persons, but it may loan on that kind of paper to the agencies set forth to whom access is granted for these loans. I must not yield any further. I am sorry that I have taken so much time. To my surprise, some of the gentlemen on the committee want some time, and if I had known that I would not have taken all the time I have.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 12 minutes remaining.

Mr. STEAGALL. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCFADDEN].

Mr. MCFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I construe that request that the time at the command of the gentleman from Alabama be extended 10 minutes beyond the hour.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the time in control of the gentleman from Alabama be extended 10 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCFADDEN].

Mr. MCFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, what I have to say about this conference report will be confined to section 5a and sections 9 and 11 of the bill. Section 5a authorizes this corporation to set up an acceptance business. That means that this institution, which is capitalized with Government money, is going into the acceptance business, that kind of business which is being now conducted by the Federal reserve banks, particularly through that organization of member banks and other financial institutions under the organization of the American Acceptance Council, of which about 116 banks in the United States compose the membership, and to the acceptance business done in this country. There are in New York City 9 or 10 acceptance houses. The average person does not hear very much about this class of business, but it is an important international financial operation. It is through doing this particular kind of business that we find ourselves now in a deplorable condition in respect to short-term credits in Germany, Russia, Austria, and England. No doubt a great deal of the present international financial condition, which has affected our own domestic financial and economic situation, comes about because of this class of acceptance business, wh'ch is now being conducted by the banks I refer to. You are authorizing this institution to take on this business on a more liberal basis than the present existing institutions carry it on, because the present acceptance business is done on 30, 60, and 90 days, whereas you are authorizing this corporation to do an acceptance business to run for a period of 12 months. I am not criticizing that particular angle, but I think it is important for the House to know what it is doing in this connection. All through this bill there has been an attempt to put restrictions in the measure which would keep out of it the possibility of foreign financial obligations being negotiated through this institution. The handling of the present frozen acceptance business is what has been so embarrassing to our banks in this country at this time, and by that I mean German and Russian acceptances. The bankers engaged in this particular business are doing everything they can to keep these obligations alive. It is a fact, recognized not only by the bankers but by the people who know what has been going on in this acceptance business, that a lot of this acceptance business is fraudulent and unsecured. Unfortunately many of our banks have a lot of that paper to-day. I do not know whether by the methods which these bankers are going to pursue they purpose to unload these acceptances on this institution or not, but you are creating the authority here for a Government-subsidized institution to go in and handle this business, not for 30, 60, and 90 days but for 12 months. This kind of acceptance business is the source through which billions of dollars worth of American credits have been delivered abroad for the benefit of foreigners. It is an evil that I have repeatedly been calling to the attention of this House, and has been one of the methods of the greatest exploitation of American people during the last few years that has ever taken place.

So much for that. I want now to refer to section 9 of the bill.

Section 9 provides:

> The corporation is authorized and empowered, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to issue, and to have outstanding at any one time in an amount aggregating not more than three times its subscribed capital—

or $1,500,000,000.

The corporation, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may sell on a discount basis short-term obligations payable at maturity without interest.

These obligations are similar to the obligations which the Treasury offers from time to time, which they call "Treasury discount bills." Those bills are used by the big bankers in central money markets, to obtain Federal reserve credit to a very large extent. While there is a prohibition in this act which forbids the rediscounting of these particular obligations to be issued by this corporation in the Federal reserve system, here is a method by which those instruments can be bought by the Treasury, either directly or in the open market, and the Treasury is also authorized under the act to borrow money and pay for them. These short-term discount Treasury notes are eligible in the Federal reserve. The national banks, of course, can not get any extension of circulation privilege out of this particular measure. There is plenty of opportunity in this bill for inflation through exchange of securities issued by this corporation, the United States Treasury, and Federal reserve banks.

As I view this particular corporation, it is a superbank. It is going to do business with the banks principally, with some railroads, some other corporations, most of whom are those institutions which have been created by legislation here. I mean by that the intermediate credit banks, the Federal farm loan banks, and so forth. There is great expansion ability through the handling of the operations of this institution in cooperation with the big banks, the Treasury, and money market operations of the country. A great many people feel that, inasmuch as every other panacea has been tried out and failed to relieve the economic and financial situation, inflation is what is necessary. Inflation is a very dangerous toy to play with. It is common talk among the Members of the House that the only thing that will readjust the situation is inflation, and, as I pointed out, this corporation is a vehicle which can in its cooperation with other existing agencies, bring about inflation.

Now, I want to say a word in regard to section 11. That is the particular section which has to do with the handling of these obligations and will undoubtedly affect the sale of them to some extent. At the bottom of page 15 this language appears in the bill:

The obligations of the corporation shall be lawful investments and may be accepted as security for all fiduciary, trust, and public funds, the investment or deposit of which shall be under the authority or approval of the United States or any officer or director.

As I view it, that language permits and makes legal the holding of these obligations for all of the trust funds of the United States Treasury. It makes it legal that these obligations can be held as security for postal-savings deposits. It would seem to me also that this would make those instruments which are to be issued by this corporation legal securities for savings banks and trust companies, particularly when they are members of the Federal reserve system. It seems to me that is a matter of importance for us to know, wherein at the present time many acceptances—good, bad, and indifferent—are legal to secure the deposits of trust funds with the Treasury. It may be that some of these acceptance credits are deposited as security for Federal reserve note issues. It would be a method whereby those securities, as the Secretary of the Treasury said in regard to the gold notes of the National Credit Corporation, wherein they were made legal as security for public deposits, postal-savings deposits, and so forth—when he made that announcement—that it would release a vast amount of credit that was tied up in the form of acceptances which were on deposit with the Treasury as security for public deposits and trust funds. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD].

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I approach this legislation not with a "jaundiced eye" but with a clear realization of the need of legislation to meet existing conditions.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCFADDEN] refers to these bills of exchange and notes that may be accepted by this corporation, referred to in section 5, but the gentleman fails to call to the attention of the House, as provided in the same paragraph, that this board is not authorized to accept any of these bills of exchange or drafts unless they are payable in United States currency, and, further, that these bills of exchange must be fully secured by American securities, deposited as collateral, or shall be guaranteed by a bank or trust company of undoubted solvency, organized under the laws of the United States, or any State, Territory, or insular possession.

What other security could you expect with bills of exchange than that provision which has been agreed to by the conferees?

I want here to compliment the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STEAGALL] for his conservative attitude toward this legislation.

Mr. MCFADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; I can not yield. I have only five minutes.

As to the further criticism of the gentleman that this bill will lead to inflation, I supported the bill as it passed the House, although I registered my disapproval in private conversation with the gentleman from Alabama for allowing these bonds to be rediscountable by the Federal reserve banks. I bottom that position on the fact that a majority of the chairmen of the Federal reserve banks had protested against granting further discountable features to the Federal reserve act on account of the danger of inflation. I believe one of the great dangers confronting the country in these critical times is the fact that we may go too far if we launch into a period of inflation that may react disastrously in the same fashion as deflation. That has been cut out by agreement to the Glass-Bulkley proposal, that these bonds shall not be rediscountable, because that feature might lead to inflation with pyramiding of credit, a highly dangerous tendency when the country is striving to squeeze out false values.

Now as to the other outstanding feature of this bill, which makes $200,000,000 available for the resuscitation of failed banks in course of liquidation or banks about to fail. As the distinguished chairman of the committee said, there is other legislation in course of consideration by which it is intended to take care of that situation permanently. But this is a remedial measure most urgently needed at the present moment. Anyone who knows anything about the critical condition of the financial interests of this country knows that to-day there are many banks which are held in the balance for fear they may not be able to tide over their financial reverses, even though they have adequate securities.

This is a superbank, under Government control, established to meet an emergency and to care for these exigent conditions. To my mind, the bill which has been brought back to the House is far better than the bill which passed the House.

This fact has not been referred to, namely, that for the first time the Government is committed to the policy that no loans shall be made for the benefit of shipments of munitions abroad. For the first time in the history of the Government we are committing ourselves to the principle embodied in the Hull proposal, that in time of war no credit shall be used for transactions involving sale of munitions and the like.

I have taken these few minutes largely for the purpose of congratulating the chairman of the committee on his unbiased and unprejudiced manner of handling this bill.

This measure will not add to the distress of the financial or industrial interests of the country but will relieve those conditions by extending huge credits to solvent institutions with ample securities that are good but are not marketable for fear and apprehension of the psychologically depressed market.

Ninety days before the convening of this Congress no one could have foreseen the conditions which would confront us by reason of the debacle occasioned by the British naval riots

or by the suspension on the part of Great Britain of specie payments.

With the fear engendered by that financial reverse that shocked the whole world the President immediately called on the banks to form the National Credit Association. That has functioned to the relief of many financial institutions, but this governmental agency does far more, it not only seeks to relieve the distress in finance but to rehabilitate commerce by granting credit based on sound and good security.

It is a conservative measure that will lift suspicion and tend to promote confidence and trust in the business world.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. STRONG].

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I do not think I ever stood before the House when I was more happy to indorse legislation than I am this reconstruction finance bill, the same bill prepared at the direction of the President and introduced by myself at his request. Not only in the committee but in the conference we have given very careful consideration to this bill. I do not think there is anything in it that need alarm any Member or cause him to feel that it will in any way embarrass him in his district. I think this is a piece of legislation that will go to the relief of the whole country in thawing out frozen credits.

Unfortunately the other body objected to the words "and other bona fide financial institutions." So we had to get around that by writing in all of the institutions to which this corporation might loan money. If you will refer to paragraph 5, I think you will be surprised to see the range we have given this corporation in the loaning of money. We have provided for practically every group in the United States that needs to have its frozen loans thawed out—banks, savings banks, trust companies, building and loan associations, insurance companies, mortgage loan companies, credit unions, Federal land banks, joint-stock land banks, Federal intermediate credit banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock credit corporations, and closed banks.

I want you to particularly read section 5a, setting up a proposition whereby we can handle bills of exchange. I want you to note the fact that we have provided relief in connection with the exportation of agricultural and other products. We provide a method of aiding in financing such exportation companies.

The bill carries a clause which provides that this corporation shall not accept foreign but can only accept American securities. So in every way we have tried to safeguard the wishes of this House and make it possible to revive business in America, make it possible to revive our exports abroad, the exportation of agricultural products and other products of the United States.

I do not think anybody need be afraid of anything in this bill. I am glad and satisfied that there is a chance of some inflation, through the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. If this country needs anything it needs inflation. [Applause.] I am not afraid it will go wild. The men who will be at the head of this corporation will handle that proposition. If there ever was a time when the prices of products needed to be increased this is the time. So I think this bill will go a long way toward reviving agriculture and industry. The Treasury can buy the securities of this corporation and issue Treasury certificates therefor that will make it possible to dispose of these bonds. I am not afraid of the proposition that we failed to make these bonds subject to the surtax. If we have to pay a little higher interest because of the surtax we will get it back in taxes. I would have preferred it the other way because it would have been easier to sell the bonds, but that is not a serious matter. I believe, however, that these bonds will sell and bring out of hiding money needed in business of all kinds, but if not, the Treasury can buy these bonds and they can be freely spread over the country.

Mr. GILCHRIST. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. I will.

Mr. GILCHRIST. The bill as it left the House provided $50,000,000, with the expansion thereof, for the use of agricultural corporations and banks. The bill as it comes back provides $50,000,000 for use only in crop production.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. That is still in the bill.

Mr. GILCHRIST. Only for crop production.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. But farmers can also borrow through their local banks, farm-loan banks, intermediate credit banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock credit corporations, all of which are to be relieved under the terms of this Reconstruction Credit Corporation which the President planned for the relief of depressed conditions throughout our Nation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Speaker, I think this discussion has run long enough. The Senate is waiting on our action, and I move the previous question on the adoption of the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. STEAGALL, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7912, with Mr. MCCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read down to and including line 10, on page 4.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 4, line 3, insert "(U. S. C., Supp. V, title 5, sec. 118a)."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read down to and including line 13, on page 6.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before us carries with it several items of salaries, and while a great deal has been said on the question of salaries in the last two days, there has been reference made, directly or indirectly, to the position of the President on the question of salaries.

I need not tell any of my colleagues that I surely am not the spokesman, official or otherwise, for the President. I have culled from the papers official statements made by the President of the United States in the last two years on his stand on salary reduction. On the President's own repeated statements it may properly be said that he is opposed to wage reduction. I want to read these statements to the House at this time.

It was properly stated on the floor yesterday that the question of Government salaries is closely interlocked and connected with wages in industry and commerce, and that this drive on Government wages at this time is organized from without, in order to bring down wages in industry and in commerce all through the country, and thereby lower the American standard of living. This is all there is to it, gentlemen.

It will indeed be a sad commentary on Congress if out of this crisis all Congress will do is to lower the wage scale and lower the standard of living, thereby putting all of the burden of the mistakes of capital on the backs of the working people of this country. [Applause.] I for one will resist any such attempt.

Mr. KVALE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. KVALE. In the gentleman's opinion how much of this is to offset the $2,000,000,000 of psychology?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. We will not permit the $2,000,000,000 to be taken from the pay envelopes of the wage earners and real producers of our country. If we reduce by any percentage the standard of wages and the standard of living in this country, it will take us 100 years to get back to an American standard, if we do not have a revolution in the meantime.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. Does the gentleman think it would be possible for the purchasing power of the city to increase the price of agricultural commodities by reducing wages?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. It will tear down prices. What is happening now, and my colleague from Nebraska, of course, understands it, there is a variance between the earning power of the agricultural sections of the country and the industrial. If we now drag down the industrial, that will be taking everybody down and prices of agricultural products will go down even lower. What we want to do, and what you will find the city representatives will do with you, is to favor anything that will bring your prices up. We will pay your prices as long as our people are able to live up to the American standard of living.

Gentlemen, I think it was manifestly unfair for any Member to indirectly misrepresent the views of the President of the United States on the question of wages.

With your permission I will read various official statements of the President on the subject. On November 22, 1929, a statement issued from the White House said:

The President was authorized by the employers who were present at the morning's conference to state on their individual belief that they will not initiate any movement for wage reductions, and it was their strong recommendation that this attitude should be pursued by the country as a whole. They considered that aside from the human considerations involved, the consuming power of the country will thereby be maintained.

The President was also authorized by the representatives of labor to state that in their individual views and as their strong recommendation to the country as a whole, that no movement beyond those already in negotiation should be initiated for increase of wages, and that every cooperation should be given by labor to industry and the handling of its problems.

The purpose of these declarations is to give assurance that conflicts should not occur during the present situation which will affect the continuity of work, and thus to maintain stability of employment.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. President Hoover on December 23, 1930, announced—

That the policy of the Federal Government in connection with the payment of wages on Government contracts will be to insist that contractors for Government work shall pay the prevailing wages in their respective communities.

President Hoover in commenting upon the subject, said that at the time of the business depression a year ago and as a result of the White House conferences that followed with business and industrial leaders, an understanding was reached whereby the leading employers would maintain the existing wage scales. That action, the President said, has been one of the most constructive contributions made during the business depression.

Now, get this:

The example set by the business and industrial leaders was followed by the Government in the maintenance of wage scales, the President added, with one or two minor exceptions, which have since been corrected.

This is an authoritative and official statement right from the White House.

On October 7, 1930, referring to a previous conference:

The leaders of business and industry undertook to do their utmost to maintain the rate of wages. They also undertook in case of shortened employment to distribute work as evenly as possible over their regular body of employees. The leaders of labor undertook to urge effort in production and to prevent conflict and dispute. The public officials and the managers of industries and utilities undertook to expand construction work to mitigate unemployment.

We have now had nearly a year in which to observe the working of these arrangements. These, the first undertakings of this character in our history, have been carried out in astonishing degree. There are, of course, exceptions, but in the large sense our great manufacturing companies, the railways, utilities, and business houses have been able to maintain the established wages. Employers have spread their employment systematically. For the first time in more than a century of these recurring depressions we have been practically free of bitter industrial conflict.

We come now to April 3, 1931:

President Hoover was described at the White House April 2 as being highly gratified that the Nation's principal industries have been successful during the period of the economic depression in keeping up existing wage scales.

This statement, in effect, was made on behalf of President Hoover when his attention was called on April 2 to published statements that he was understood to be apprehensive over the apparent determination of some industries to force the wage level down. The administration, it was explained, has constantly advocated the maintenance of existing wage scales. The President was said to feel that the leading industries have stood by in maintaining these wage scales.

As a result of conferences President Hoover had with representative business men there have been no strikes, no general wage reductions, and no social disorders, it was said. The period of business depression had been unique in this matter, it was added.

On July 29, 1931, the following official statement was issued from the White House:

No member of the administration has expressed the view or holds the view that the policy of the administration in advocating maintenance of wages should be changed. It has not been changed.

On September 24, 1931, only a few months ago:

Despite announcements of wage cuts in the steel and other industries, President Hoover's anxiety to maintain American standards of living is unaltered and has been consistent, it was stated on his behalf September 23 at the White House.

This is the latest statement that has come on the subject.

Gentlemen, let me appeal to the Representatives coming from rural districts that this insidious propaganda to reduce wages is sent out in your districts, not by your friends but by your enemies, who want to tear down your prices, just as they are trying to tear down the wage scales in the industrial centers.

There is another thing that is necessary. All this propaganda and all this effort have had a tendency to lower the morale in the Government service. I think, in addition to the statement made by our colleague from New York [Mr. SNELL] that there would be no consideration of salary reduction at this time, that the employees of the Government should know so that they may remain secure, that we will not permit this attack to tear down the wage scale now existing to succeed. In this way we will keep up the efficiency and the morale of every bureau of the Government service.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Is it not a fact that the employees have been subjected, not to a request but a demand, that they participate in financing charity funds, contributions to community chests, to the extent of 2 to 4 per cent of their salaries?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Certainly; and what we should do is to remove the necessity of any class of the citizenry of the country being forced to submit to public or private charity; we should legislate constructively to create a spread of employment to meet existing machinery and modern methods of production. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

PRINTING AND BINDING

For all printing and binding for the Department of Agriculture, including all of its bureaus, offices, institutions, and services located in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, $925,000, including the Annual Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, as required by the act approved January 12, 1895 (U. S. C., title 44, secs. 111, 212–220, 222, 241, 244, 257), and in pursuance of the Joint Resolution numbered 13, approved March 30, 1906 (U. S. C., title 44, secs. 214, 224), and also including not to exceed $250,000 for farmers' bulletins, which shall be adapted to the interests of the people of the different sections of the country, an equal proportion of four-fifths of which shall be delivered to or sent out under the addressed franks furnished by the Senators, Representa-

tives, and Delegates in Congress, as they shall direct, but not including work done at the field printing plants of the Weather Bureau and the Forest Service authorized by the Joint Committee on Printing, in accordance with the act approved March 1, 1919 (U. S. C., title 44, secs. 111, 220).

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 7, line 20, after the word "elsewhere," strike out the figures "$925,000" and insert "$800,000."

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I represent one of the best agricultural districts in the country. The farmers in my district are losing their farms because they can not pay the interest on mortgages and their taxes. This Congress, in forcing unsolicited material on them through the Department of Agriculture, is not bettering their condition. They do not want to be tormented with such an abundance of unsolicited advice. They want less taxes.

If this appropriation would in any degree help farmers one iota, I would be the last person to oppose it or to ask a reduction in amount. This saving will injure no one.

During the present week I have received from the farmers and constituents in my district hundreds and hundreds of letters saying that if the Congress of the United States has any sympathy with the farmers it will cut appropriations to the least possible sum.

To-day I received a letter from a man in my district, whom I regard as the equal in good judgment of anyone, in which he said that it was time that Congress quit wasting money on unnecessary publications and the money they had expended on certain publications was an insult to the intelligence. I want to say to you that this wasted money is galling the people, especially to see hundreds of thousands of dollars annually wasted in this way.

Here is a sample from another department. They purchased 14 Majestic radios on a flimsy pretext, spending tax money contributed by a patient people. We sit here gossiping with each other and appropriating more money. The farmers of Indiana will appreciate it if we reduce this appropriation. The service is unnecessary in such unsolicited abundance. Agriculture will appreciate it more if we will conserve the finances of the Nation. They do not want the great number of agricultural publications which are sent out in vast quantities, most of which are never read. We can serve the people of this Nation if we will make a 15 per cent reduction in this item. Already this committee has poured down the rat hole $17,000,000 to combat the corn borer; and the corn borer is still with us. Much of the $17,000,000 was wasted. In face of the fact that the per capita tax in the United States, local, State, and national is $100, it is time that we serve the taxpayers of the country. Let us cut out useless and unnecessary appropriations. No person in the United States will be injured by this cut and a huge sum will be saved. Farmers will still have more publications than they want. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, my friend from Indiana [Mr. HOGG] has raised a question that I expect to present to you in a little different form later on, in a motion to recommit. I hardly agree with him at all in what he said. I have attempted to reduce the total of this bill. We have succeeded in reductions that I suggested to the amount of almost half a million dollars. I expect to propose later on net reductions of a quarter of a million dollars more in this bill, but I do not propose to take it from those services that the Department of Agriculture actually renders to the farmer. I do not know what experience my friend from Indiana has had, but I have never sent out an Agricultural Yearbook except upon request from some one in my district who asked for it, and I have never in any one year been able to supply the requests, without going to my city friends on the floor of the House and getting yearbooks from them in order to send them out. I have sent out as high as 100,000 agricultural bulletins a year, into my district, and not one of them except upon the request of a farmer that wanted it.

I do not propose that the Congress shall cut off that sort of service to our people. The high schools in my district will take every bulletin that you will let me have to send to them. The high schools in my district will take every Agricultural Yearbook that the gentleman can give me and that my city friends, in addition, can give me. If you want to cut, you will have an opportunity before the bill is passed to make a material cut by cutting off some of the salaries of people who work in the department here in Washington. I have back there on my desk three pages of spending agencies, itemized in this bill, where they have not taken a reduction of one cent in their salary personnel in Washington, and where they have not taken a reduction of one cent in their contingent expenses, except those the committee compelled them to take. One item of service to the farmer is cut 42 per cent, yet the item to maintain the grounds and greenhouses of the Department of Agriculture in Washington is not cut one nickel. I suggest to the gentleman from Indiana that in this bill we continue the expenditures that are going directly to aid the farmers of the country, and which they want, and make our retrenchments in these activities here in the Capital City.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Does the gentleman from Nebraska seriously think that cutting this item 15 per cent will rob anyone who wants to secure information from any of these documents—not yearbooks?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; because I know just exactly where they will cut. They will cut on those items they know the Congressmen will hear about. They will cut on those things that we get and send to our people, knowing that those will be the items more easily restored later on.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Oh, no; they can not.

Mr. SIMMONS. Oh, yes; they can, because that item the gentleman expects to cut is made up of some 43 different breakdowns. I pointed out in the hearings and in my statement the other day on the floor that they are cutting now in those services they render the field, but they do not propose to have any cut in the stationery appropriation of the department.

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COLTON. I am in sympathy with what the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] is saying. In the breakdown of the item of $925,000, will a part of it be used for the publication of bulletins, or is the amount for bulletins limited to the $250,000 provision on page 8?

Mr. SIMMONS. A part of this is to be used for reprinting farmers' bulletins under the set-up that came to us from the Budget calling for $950,000. We cut that amount by $25,000. They expect to use $174,000 for the reprinting of certain farmers' bulletins.

Mr. COLTON. I can use more bulletins than I can get, and I send them out only on regular requests.

Mr. SIMMONS. And $29,000 for printing new farmers' bulletins. The item for printing the Agricultural Yearbook is not carried under this head.

Mr. HOLADAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I am inclined to agree with the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOGG]. Briefly I shall state my experience in my own district. When I came to Congress eight years ago, I sent out to all the voters of my district a list of agricultural bulletins with the customary letter printed on the back of those lists. I received requests equal to about one-half of 1 per cent of the number of the lists I sent out. Four years later I sent out similar lists to the farmers alone in my district and kept accurate check on the requests I received, and they amount to a little less than 2 per cent from the farmers of my district. I fully agree with the gentleman from Indiana that there is a feeling throughout the country that not only in the Agricultural Department but in all of the other departments we are wasting—and I use the word "wasting" advisedly—thousands and millions of dollars on publications that are never used and are not desired by the

people, and which, when received by them, only tend to aggravate them and recall to their minds in a more vivid way their own distress, and the waste of our Government. I believe that we can cut this appropriation in the amount proposed by the gentleman from Indiana without in any way injuring the farmers of our country. Therefore, I favor the amendment.

Mr. MANLOVE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment which would tend to limit the agricultural publications known as "Agricultural Bulletins."

Of course, I do not know what conditions prevail in any other agricultural district throughout the country, but I know there is a demand, and a growing demand, among the farmers of my district for more information on the subject of agriculture, as distributed through the agricultural bulletins. There has never been a year since I have been in Congress that it has not been necessary for me to call upon my city friends to furnish me additional agricultural bulletins in order to supply the requests which I receive for agricultural bulletins. As far as the Agricultural Yearbook is concerned, I have annual requests for approximately 5,000 Agricultural Yearbooks from up-to-date reading farmers in my district. I have now a delayed list of 500 applications for a publication, a splendid publication, known as "Diseases of Cattle."

Speaking for the agricultural section of the country, which I have the honor to represent, I say that the Government does not expend any money in any manner which comes nearer placing the people of my district in touch with that thing which they call "government" than the money they spend for agricultural bulletins, the farmers' yearbook, and the Diseases of Horses and Cattle.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANLOVE. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The plates for the publication of the book known as the Diseases of Cattle and also the companion book Diseases of the Horse are in the Printing Office now intact. The only cost to the Government for furnishing a new edition of that book would be the actual printing and paper. There was an amendment offered last year by my friend from Texas, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Mr. JONES, and passed, providing for a new edition, but it was finally stricken out in conference. The gentleman can do no better work than to get such a proposition passed in this Congress. I have an envelope full of requests from all over western Texas for those books. I think they are of great value.

Mr. MANLOVE. I will say to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] that I should be very glad to join with any number of Members similarly situated to bring about the enactment of a further appropriation which will provide a further number of the publications Diseases of Cattle and Diseases of Horses. My answer to some of those who are not familiar with the situation who claim there are already down in the folding room a great pile of those books that they are not to my allotment. My allotment has been exhausted, and if my city friends will supply them, well and good but I should like to see this appropriation continued, and a further appropriation for a new edition of these books.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ADKINS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last sentence.

Mr. Chairman, I represent a very large agricultural district, and with reference to these farm bulletins, they are never sent out except upon request. About a week ago I received a notice that my supply was overdrawn, and it was necessary for me to get some of my city friends to let me have 40,000 bulletins to meet the demand.

Every high school in my district teaches agriculture. The principal of every agricultural school writes me for 20 or 30 bulletins of different kinds, which are described, to use in the schools. This morning on my desk, and every other morning, there are three or four or five or a dozen men writing in wanting a particular bulletin. There were five this morning from farmers and one from a high school.

These are times when the farmer is taking advantage of everything he can, employing every up-to-date method he can think of, to lessen the cost of production; in other words, to get out of his labor as much as possible. The farmers in my district are looking for the most up-to-date means of prosecuting all their activities. Necessarily they have taken an interest in this proposition. They want to see what it will do for them; I do not know what the experience of other Members of the House is; but as far as I am concerned, I would like very much to have my quota increased. In fact, I have to do it through the generosity of some of my friends who reside in the cities and who do not have as large demands. I am always willing to assign something to them, for which there is no demand in my district; but I am very much surprised to learn that from an agricultural district there is not a demand, such as there is in my district, for this information, both for the yearbook and for the bulletins.

I am compelled to do a great deal of trading around to get enough copies of the yearbook to anywhere near meet the demand. I think it would be a mistake to try to economize upon a thing in which there is so much interest manifested as in these bulletins and in the yearbook.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ADKINS. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. There are scores of these bulletins which have no value whatever. If we could stop the editing of new ones and stop the publication of the ones which have no value, we could economize a great deal, as is attempted by my friend the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOGG]. I will state that last year my office mailed out approximately 90,000 bulletins to the farmers of my district. It was of great value, but there were not over 10 different ones which were especially called for. Out of the hundreds that are printed there are only a small per cent of them that are worth while.

Mr. ADKINS. Well, I will ask the gentleman not to make a speech on my time.

Now, as to who will determine what are valuable and what are not, those that may not be of any interest to the farmers in my district at all may be of great interest to some of the people in the cities in my district. Some people of my district check a bulletin that no farmer ever thinks of checking and sending in here. I do not know who we could call upon to determine what scientific information should be printed by the Government. That is a new point to me, but I take it that all of these bulletins are of interest to somebody.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, of course this is a time when a fellow does not run any risk by talking economy and asking that appropriations be cut, but the men worth while in this Congress are those with discriminating minds, who will cut out unnecessary appropriations and stand for those that are necessary.

Let us take the item under consideration, the item which the gentleman from Indiana moves to decrease. Just a few years ago the Department of Agriculture found it was six years behind in its printing and binding. This Congress gradually increased that appropriation year by year in order to try to catch up and become current in printing and binding. In 1931 the amount was $942,000, and in 1932 we appropriated $1,000,000 in order to try to catch up. Although the department has not caught up, we are starting on the down grade, merely because the country needs economy. We have proposed that some of this printing wait a while. The Budget reduced this appropriation of $1,000,000 for last year by $50,000, and your committee further reduced it by $25,000, notwithstanding the fact that the department is five years behind on some of its publications, like soil surveys. In addition to this, the Congress passed a half holiday for Government employees, which increased the cost of printing, and if the amount is further reduced there will be

many very valuable publications that can not be printed at all and we will get farther behind.

Oh, gentlemen, what is the use? We make appropriation after appropriation directing this department to make a scientific research into some agricultural problem in order that we may keep abreast with the world. Now, what is the use of appropriating for such research if you are not going to publish the results of it?

I hope the committee will vote down the amendment, because the department can not stand it and operate efficiently.

Mr. KVALE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. KVALE. Is it not true that the Department of Agriculture, to begin with, took a more drastic cut than any of the other departments?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Absolutely. A great deal more drastic cut.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I am in sympathy with the purpose and object of the gentleman from Indiana to cut expenses. I think all of us are, and I think it is a laudable purpose; but we ought to retrench by restricting the publication of bulletins that have no value and not make a general sweeping reduction in all of them, so as to keep those that are of value from being published and distributed.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Does not the gentleman think it would be a better policy for the committee to go into these subjects and study them, directing a research to be made, and then there could be no question about useless publications?

Mr. BLANTON. That is a splendid idea, and I agree with the gentleman. All of these bulletins should be investigated, and publication of the useless ones should be stopped. We should not spend any money for the purpose of paying so-called experts to edit new bulletins unless it has been fully determined that they are of real value.

This past year was a good crop year in my district, notwithstanding that prices would hardly pay for gathering. The farmers had splendid gardens, and they raised lots of foodstuff. I sent out bulletins on canning fruits and vegetables, on canning meats, on preserving in the home of fruits and vegetables and meats. I sent them to many farmers throughout my district. To-day they have more to eat in their pantries than they ever had before for 10 years. They have learned how to save their fruits and vegetables, and they have learned how to put away meat for the winter months. So some of these bulletins have been of great help to them. They have helped them in that they now know how to put away supplies and keep them in good shape, so that when a drought comes or they have a bad crop year they will still have plenty to eat in their pantries.

There have been about 10, 15, or possibly 20 of these various bulletins that my constituents have called for. You take the bulletin on fitting blouses. It is a great help to lots of the young ladies living on the farms. It assists them in their sewing. Then there is the bulletin on how to bake bread. Is there any new way now for making bread that is better than the way that was used 10 years ago? Yet every few years they have got to have a new bulletin on how to make bread. They can not get any better bulletin than they had 10 years ago on how to bake bread. It is a good bulletin. I send it to my constituents all through my district, and they say it is of great value. But there are hundreds of these bulletins the publication of which ought to be stopped.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. I wonder whether the gentleman's district has found any use for that wonderful bulletin prepared by the experts of the Department of Agriculture telling you all about chiggers and chigger bites.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman's question indicates to me that he is not a fisherman. If he were a disciple of Izaak Walton, he would know the value of that bulletin.

Now, bureaus are coming to our committee saying that they want to print their publications in private printing plants; that it costs them 40 per cent more in our Government printing plant to print their publications than in private printing plants. If that is so, we ought to overhaul our Public Printing Office.

Why, it has not the overhead that private plants have. It does not pay any rent or taxes. It has everything furnished to it at Government wholesale cost, and if it can not print publications for our bureaus much cheaper than the cost in private printing plants, it ought to be abolished.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. Did the gentleman see the bulletin that said that wood was a good thing to burn in the wintertime and that it took the place of coal? [Laughter.]

Mr. BLANTON. No; I did not; but I do know that out in certain parts of the district of my distinguished friend from El Paso, Mr. THOMASON, there are places where wood does take the place of coal. There are places out there that if my friend were to go down there and was not familiar with the country, he might freeze to death, because you get your wood there by digging under the ground for it. It is composed of stumps of mesquite and other trees, which makes the finest wood in the world. You would not think there was any wood there at all, but when you dig in the ground you get very fine wood.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. I asked for the additional time for the gentleman, because I could not let his statement go unnoticed that the gentleman from Missouri is not a fisherman. That is my hobby, and I go fishing at every opportunity. I go fishing many times every summer—and further than that, I catch fish—but the gentleman from Missouri knows how to keep away from chiggers. Now and then they get him.

Mr. BLANTON. I know exactly why the chiggers did not bother the gentleman from Missouri. [Laughter.] All the chiggers I have ever had anything to do with were prohibitionists and did not imbibe. [Laughter.]

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. There are some antiprohibitionists among the chigger family, some wayward sons and daughters, but if they ever attack the antiprohibitionist from Missouri he knows of a remedy always near, no matter where one is, Texas or Missouri included, where some medicine used sometimes for snake bites can be secured, and I assure the gentleman from Texas I have found it valuable for chigger bites. I commend it to my friend from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas once in a great while gets to go fishing. When he goes fishing he fishes. He will not let anything bother him. He pays no attention to chiggers. He is busy fishing. He will not permit his mind to be diverted to snake bites, hence he needs to take along with him no remedy—because it is only from water that a fisherman can ever expect to catch a fish.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

I want to tell my farmer friends that the Department of Agriculture and this particular bureau are very considerate in preparing their bulletins. I have been complaining, and unjustly so, against these farm bulletins, and in some instances where there were demands made to increase the number, I objected. And what do you suppose they did? Why, they went out and got up a bulletin that is the most popular bulletin that was ever printed—how to make wine. [Laughter.] It is titled "How to Make Unfermented Grape Juice."

Mr. COLTON. That is different.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Oh, yes, that is different, but when you turn to pages 15 and 17, they tell you what not to do in order to make wine. [Laughter.] You can imagine the great demand for this bulletin in my city.

So instead of the insanitary, unscientific, antiquated methods of making wine in the tenement houses of my district, they follow the instructions of the Department of Agriculture, and make the choicest kind of wine—as per instructions. After that there was the greatest demand for California grapes that you ever saw. So that any time around October you may come down into my city and see grapes coming in from California, not by the truckload, not by the carload, but by the trainload—thousands of cars of grapes. They are brought into my district and KENNEDY'S district over there. Of course, in the district of my charming colleague from Park Avenue, they import theirs. [Laughter.]

So we bring these California grapes from ENGLEBRIGHT'S district—and do they not come from southern California, too?

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Some; yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. No wonder those southern California boys are dry. The price of grapes has gone up since this Department of Agriculture bulletin was published. [Laughter.]

You will see the grapes piled up in the markets one story high, and the good citizens of my district can go there and buy these grapes, follow the instructions contained in this bulletin, and make lawful wine, because it is lawful, not intoxicating in fact; and, boys, they tell me it is fine wine with a most satisfactory kick. [Laughter.]

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. May I ask the gentleman if the expert who edited that bulletin did not plagiarize by not giving the gentleman from New York credit for pages 17 and 18?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. No; I do not know much about the manufacture of the beverage at all.

Mr. BLANTON. I will give the gentleman my allotment of these bulletins for his district.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. There is such a demand for them from the gentleman's own State that the department can not meet it. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, we have gone far afield from the original subject matter under discussion.

I want to call your attention to the fact that the amendment which is proposed here does not refer alone to bulletins and yearbooks. It merely tends to cut out some of the superfluous, unsolicited, unnecessary, and irritating stuff that is sent out by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. The amendment does affect the bulletins, because in the department's breakdown there is approximately $170,000 for reprinting old bulletins. This is for printing bulletins the supply of which has become exhausted and for which there are requests for a new print. Then it affects also $29,000 for printing new bulletins.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. There is not a farmer anywhere who would be injured by this saving. I am tired hearing members say, "Oh, yes; we have cut the Budget 5 per cent and we must stand with the committee." Every item should stand on its own merit. We ought to stop squandering money and eliminate waste. [Applause.] I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the amendment be again read.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will again report the amendment.

The Clerk read the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on adopting the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. HOGG of Indiana) there were 13 ayes and 65 noes.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

There shall be printed as soon as the manuscript can be prepared with the necessary maps and illustrations to accompany it a report on each soil area surveyed by the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, Department of Agriculture, in the form of advance sheets bound in paper covers, of which not more than 250 copies shall be for the use of each Senator from the State and not more than 1,000 copies for the use of each Representative for the congressional district or districts in which a survey is made, the actual number to be determined on inquiry by the Secretary of Agriculture made to the aforesaid Senators and Representatives, and as many copies for the use of the Department of Agriculture as in the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture are deemed necessary. The total congressional and department edition shall be held for three years by the Superintendent of Documents, who shall distribute the soil surveys within the above limitations according to the requests of the said Senators, Representatives, or department, and at the expiration of the 3-year period the residue of the edition shall be turned over to the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on that paragraph, unless there is some good reason why it should be included.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I want to say to the gentleman from New York that this will save the Government between twenty-five and forty thousand dollars. It cuts in half the sum that goes to the Senate and the sum that goes to the House, and it is not used by them.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, my distinguished colleague from Michigan [Mr. HART] did me the unusual honor to pay me a tribute in the opening paragraph of his remarks yesterday. I did not happen to be in the Chamber at that identical time and so did not hear what he said. Had I been here I would have taken time to acknowledge immediately the compliment he paid me.

If you will read the first paragraph of his remarks, you will get the nature of the compliment he undertook to pay.

My colleague from Michigan, like the rest of us, believes that in this session of Congress we should do the very best we can in the way of promoting economy. At the outset I desire to take this opportunity of paying my tribute to the Department of Agriculture for the very substantial cuts they have themselves voluntarily made in the bill under consideration this year. Furthermore I approve the work of the subcommittee in making some additional cuts from the Budget.

Incidentally, may I offer one remark, and that is that this body is tremendously interested in agriculture, and that classification takes in the largest personal membership of the House, and I am sure they must have been interested in the oratory that has been expended this afternoon in the discussion of one very minor item in one of the lesser appropriation bills, so far as the amount of money is concerned. Let me say to you that if you take the appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and eliminate therefrom the appropriations made for roads, that exactly 2 per cent of the expenditures for the Government for the next year are to be on account of this, the greatest fundamental business that the country possesses.

In regard to the printing of farm bulletins about which we have orated for the last hour, I think if some mathematician were to get at it he would find that we have actually spent more money in the time used in the discussion of that item than the publication of the bulletins amount to in one year. That is the insignificant proportion of the total amount of the Government Budget involved in these items. In the first place, I make the point that in all of our discussions those of us who come from the farm sections ought to remember that, if we are going to cut and economize, there are some other places where real economies may be accomplished. We ought to think twice before seriously limiting any activity of the Department of Agriculture that makes any contribution whatever to the farmer.

To return to the compliment paid me by my good friend from Michigan [Mr. HART], a distinguished member of the Committee on Appropriations, with reference to a measure



that I had a little part, I believe, in writing into law; for those of us who are interested, showing the demand for that legislation, I might say that I have always been proud of one thing in connection with its passage, and that is that that bill carrying $1,960,000 passed at a session of the House of Representatives by unanimous consent. That will indicate something in respect to the interest in it. My friend in his remarks would rather lead one to believe that in them there was a bit of censure. I do not want to put a wrong construction upon his remarks, but I have the notion that he believes by the enactment of this measure that a little heavier tax burden was placed upon the farmers of the State of Michigan. I have taken the floor to tell him that, like many new Members of Congress when they first come down here, anxious to accomplish a thing that is worthy, they sometimes get started off on the wrong foot. I call particular attention to the bill in question and will demonstrate to him exactly how the bill makes a saving to the farmers of the State of Michigan, himself among the number, instead of making an extra charge in the taxes that they pay. The bill provides in the first instance that $20,000 shall go to every State in the Union every year for the assistance of cooperative extension work, and that $20,000 a year does not need to be matched by the State.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. Let me complete my statement, and at the end of it, if I have not made myself clear, I shall be very happy to yield to the gentleman.

Do not miss the point that $20,000 goes to each State without what is known in the department as an offset, in the way of matching. In addition to the $960,000 that is comprehended in the total, there goes over the whole country, distributed according to agricultural population, $500,000, which must be matched by the State by an equal appropriation. All well and good. I presume likely that in that last statement my friend thought that my action in the bill cost the State of Michigan a little extra expense. I hold in my hand a statement of the appropriations made by the Michigan State Legislature for the last year, and I turn to page 699 and there find that for the year 1929 an appropriation of $335,000 was made. The Capper-Ketcham bill then became effective.

If the gentleman will look at a like page in the Michigan statute for 1931, he will find that the appropriation of $335,000, to be raised by the State of Michigan for 1932 and 1933 by a real-estate tax on its farmers and others, was reduced by $85,000, the amount appropriated being $250,000 instead of the $335,000 that has been carried for the last few years. With this decrease of $85,000 in State taxes for extension service it should be noted that the number of agents increased from 71 in 1928 to 86 in 1932. As they say in the Department of Agriculture, let us break that down and see how it operates on my friend from Saginaw and on myself, and every other Michigan Member of the House. Instead of adding a cent to the taxes of my friend or myself upon our real estate it actually makes us a saving, because the tax that we pay is levied by the State legislation, and when it reduces the tax levy of the State in a single item from $335,000 to $250,000, that is a net saving upon the real-estate tax in the State of Michigan. When I am through with my remarks I expect my good friend, who owns a very substantial farm jointly up in Saginaw County, to come up and pay me what is my due for calling this to his attention. The refund to which he is entitled by reason of the Capper-Ketcham bill in lessening taxes for cooperative extension work in Michigan is 54 cents, and I ask him to please pay me the 54 cents at the conclusion of my remarks. If the gentleman does not care to pay it now, any time will be convenient, but seriously I want to drive home this fact, that when the Capper-Ketcham bill was written into law it was written for the specific purpose of bringing relief to some of the communities who felt that they could not bear the burden of the maintenance of the agricultural agent, where they desired the services of that particular individual.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KETCHAM. I am now glad to yield to my friend from Michigan.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I want to say for the benefit of my friend that I have been farming for about 40 years, and during those 40 years' time in farming I never had any service from the Extension Department. I have requested it only once. I asked the man who was in charge, the county agent, paid for out of these appropriations, to assist me in determining what kind of fertilizer I should use on this farm.

Mr. KETCHAM. If my colleague will yield——

Mr. HART. Oh, just a minute.

Mr. KETCHAM. But I yielded for a question.

Mr. HART. Some one told me that he could be of some service, and so I made that one request.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HART] desires recognition later, the Chair will be glad to yield to him. The gentleman from Michigan yielded for a question.

Mr. KETCHAM. I will be glad to answer the gentleman's question, but I do not want the gentleman to use all of my time.

Now, may I pursue the line of thought I was following? I may say that the Capper-Ketcham bill, as introduced, was designed, as I said a moment ago, to assist the poorer communities of the United States, where it was felt that a county agricultural agent was desired and yet it was not possible for the people of those particular communities to be able to match the requirement in a financial way of the Federal and State governments, and consequently $20,000 was assigned to each State, which need not be matched, in order that the 48 States of the Union might have that fund of $20,000 to go into a situation just like that and afford the assistance that was required.

I know it will be said by my friend that there are communities that do not desire county agricultural agents. Far be it from me to insist that any county that does not want an agricultural county agent shall be forced to have one; but, on the other hand, when I recall that something like 2,500 of the 2,800 agricultural counties of the United States have agricultural agents and that the demand is growing and the service is one of the finest services rendered by the Government, it seems to me, my colleagues, that my good friend is certainly picking the wrong kind of a situation to direct his fight for economy against, and I certainly want to combat it upon the theory, particularly, that the Capper-Ketcham bill imposes any additional tax upon the real estate in Michigan.

The statement I made goes not only for my friend from Saginaw but for every citizen in the State of Michigan. As a result of the enactment of that measure, I say that the cost of this very valuable service to the many people who desire it is rendered less by that bill than it was previous to that time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman inform the committee as to the average return received by these 2,500 agricultural agents distributed all over the country? I mean their average compensation or fees.

Mr. KETCHAM. Nothing is received in fees. The ordinary arrangement is that the salary is paid jointly by the Federal, State, and county governments.

Mr. STAFFORD. But what is that average salary?

Mr. KETCHAM. In a few communities the farm bureaus make appropriations as well. Then the requirement is that the county which they serve make provision for the quarters and traveling expenses, and generally about one-third of the total goes to the county, one-third to the State, and one-third to the Federal Government.

Mr. STAFFORD. But what is the average compensation that those county agents receive?

Mr. KETCHAM. I should say from $2,500 to $3,500.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is a sort of sinecure, then?

Mr. HART. They run as high as four thousand, do they not?

Mr. KETCHAM. In some large counties they may get as high as $4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

I will continue the story. I asked this county agent to assist me in determining what class of fertilizer I could use to advantage upon this farm. He gave me the wise information that the best way to find out was to experiment. So I have continued my experiments.

I will say to you that I am operating a section and a quarter of land, and it is not in red ink; that is not due to the extension service.

My distinguished friend, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KETCHAM], rather let the cat out of the bag in answering the gentleman from Wisconsin. The gentleman said the funds were matched by the Farm Bureau in certain instances. A small amount is paid by the Farm Bureau. Those are small institutions in the States, organized by the American Farm Bureau Federation, which, you know, maintains a lobby in the city of Washington. After they once make a small contribution to this Extension Service for the payment of a county agent they then take the office over, and not only take over the office but they take the frank of this Congress over and use it as a propaganda bureau to build up their organizations. My distinguished friend from Michigan has led some of these forces in Michigan, I think, as president of the Grange. Of course, these organizations are used to build up the farm organizations, and these appropriations are very useful.

During my vacation at home during the holidays two delegations of farmers waited upon me and wanted to know if it was legal for the county agent to use Federal Government money and State money without the county cooperating. I told them anybody might cooperate. So they get private subscriptions. The way they continue the office is that the county agent makes the subscription himself and draws the Federal and State money. They are able to get the State money in the same way they get money through Congress, through impressing this membership, through organization, that the actual farmer is demanding it.

I was opposed by every one of these organizations in a district that is normally 40,000 against my party, and I was elected by 5,000, with every one of those organizations opposing me, and I ran upon the plain statement that these services were not necessary. [Applause.]

Mr. STAFFORD. Does the gentleman undertake to intimate to the committee that these organizations are used for political ends?

Mr. HART. Surely they are. There is no question about it.

Mr. STAFFORD. And the Government of the United States is contributing to a political organization for propaganda purposes?

Mr. HART. I have in my office now two copies of letters sent out under frank. One is a letter of the American Farm Bureau Federation or the Michigan State Farm Bureau, and the other is the letter of the county agent advising the farmers to join it.

That is why I am opposed to this kind of appropriation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

In all, payments to States, Hawaii, Alaska, and Porto Rico for agricultural experiment stations, $4,374,000.

Mr. OSIAS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. OSIAS. Mr. Chairman, I rise on this occasion to invite attention to the fact that under this heading, whereby the Congress of the United States is extending aid to various insular possessions of the United States, the Philippine Islands are not included. If I rise, it is not because I have a complaint, nor is it because I am pleading for the allotment of money for the country which I have the honor to represent, but merely to point out the anomaly of our situation. Here we are under the American flag. We are appropriating money for Territories under that flag, and although I could with propriety ask for the establishment of agricultural-experiment stations in the Philippines, in the same manner as such stations are established in Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, I do not do so, because I recognize that by making these allotments to these Territories it is evidently the purpose of the United States to incorporate them in the United States, and the omission of the Philippine Islands, by the same token, is proof positive that America's rule in the Philippine Islands is only temporary, and that she means to free us at the earliest possible date. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I hold in my hand a paper which contains an editorial entitled "Philippine Independence Again. Don't laugh." This editorial is evidently written in a facetious spirit. I want to take it seriously, despite the spirit in which the editorial is written. I want to read the first two sentences of this editorial in question:

"The annual drive for Philippine independence is on in Washington, causing our Filipino friends some worry for fear that they may get it.

Independence is about the last thing the Filipino people want.

Mr. Chairman, it is true that the annual drive for Philippine independence is on in Washington, and I hope it is on every day that the Philippines is represented in the Congress of the United States. It is a vital issue with us. It is a serious issue with us; it ought to be considered a major issue in American politics and in American statesmanship. It is not fair to the people of America, it is not fair to the people of the Philippine Islands that this matter, this problem, should be treated in a spirit of levity.

Mr. Chairman, the Filipino people and the Philippine Legislature are spending money; they are sacrificing time and energy; they are sacrificing property for the ideal of our people. Just now a Philippine commission has been sent, at the behest of the Philippine Legislature, to plead once again before the Congress of the United States for the early redemption of America's pledge, and when I refer to America's pledge I mean the promise that was made in a congressional enactment, approved by this body in 1916, whereby the whole world was assured that America was in the Philippine Islands only temporarily, and that she was to withdraw her sovereignty over those islands as soon as a stable government could be established therein.

Mr. JONES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSIAS. I yield with pleasure to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. JONES. Would the gentleman be willing to have a plebiscite of the Philippine people to determine whether or not they wanted independence, and let that determine it?

Mr. OSIAS. I am glad that question was asked, because the Filipino people, by their legislature, approved a plebiscite bill to determine once for all whether the Filipino people wanted their independence. And do you know, Mr. Chairman, what happened to that measure? Despite the fact that we approved that bill in our Philippine Legislature the Governor General of the Philippine Islands vetoed it. We passed it over his veto by a two-thirds vote in both houses. I was a member, then, of the Philippine Senate. It was next presented to the President of the United States after the Governor General had vetoed it, and it was again vetoed. That presidential veto was final, according to law, and that is the only reason why the Philippine independence question was not submitted to a plebiscite.

Mr. JONES. I just want to say that I was sure I would receive that kind of answer and I asked the question in order to bring out that fact. Now, one further question. Are the members of the Philippine Legislature elected by the direct vote of the people?

Mr. OSIAS. They are all elected by the direct vote of the people except two members of the Philippine Senate, who are appointed by the Governor General, by virtue of the autonomy act of 1916, and nine members of the house of representatives, who are also appointed by the Governor General, by virtue of that same enactment.

Mr. JONES. One further question. What percentage of the members of that legislative body who are elected by the people are opposed to independence?

Mr. OSIAS. None; not one. All of the elected members in both houses are in favor of independence and every one of the appointed members in both houses voted in favor of the resolution sending the Philippine legislative commission to plead for the early redemption of America's pledge, which my people believe was made by America in honor and which she will not repudiate in dishonor. [Applause.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the Commissioner yield for a question?

Mr. OSIAS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. I have heard it said this morning that the address made by the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines before our committee of Congress was one of the most eloquent and unanswerable appeals that has been heard in a long time in Washington. Is he sent here by authority of your people?

Mr. OSIAS. I thank the gentleman for his words of commendation with respect to the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines. He and the other members of the commission were sent here by authority of our legislature. Apropos of this question, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to insert at this point as a part of my remarks the official, categorical, and authoritative statement of the chairman of the Philippine legislative commission now in Washington, Hon. Sergio Osmeña, acting president of the senate, who, with Speaker Manuel Roxas, appeared before the House Insular Affairs Committee this morning in order to demonstrate, once for all, that the Filipinos sincerely desire their immediate independence. The members of the Philippine commission, who represent both political parties of the islands, are not here merely for agitation, as stated in the editorial from which I read, but for the sincere purpose of petitioning the powers that be in Washington for a just, righteous, and permanent solution of the American-Philippine question.

Mr. BLANTON. Will not the gentleman amend that request by also inserting the address by the speaker? I understand that he probably will have finished his address by the time the RECORD goes to press.

Mr. OSIAS. Speaker Roxas' testimony is not yet completed. It will be continued to-morrow before the Committee on Insular Affairs. I have asked permission to incorporate Mr. Osmeña's statement because it is completed, and I know it comes within the rules of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from the Philippines?

There was no objection.

The statement referred to follows:

Mr. Chairman, I appear on behalf of the Philippine commission now in Washington, created by a concurrent resolution unanimously approved by the Philippine Legislature. The commission is composed of the president and acting president of the Philippine Senate, the speaker and the majority leader of the house of representatives, and the minority leaders of both the senate and the house of representatives. This commission has been charged by the legislature jointly with the Resident Commissioners from the Philippine Islands with the task of petitioning the Government and people of the United States for the granting of independence to the Philippine Islands at an early date.

The full text of the resolution to which I referred is as follows:

Concurrent resolution creating a committee of the legislature composed of three members of the senate and three of the house of representatives to petition the Government and Congress of the United States the early grant of the independence of the Philippines

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Philippine Senate concurring), That a committee of the legislature be, and the same hereby is, created, composed of the president of the senate, the speaker of the house of representatives, the president pro tempore of the senate, the majority floor leader of the house, Hon. Pedro Sabido; the minority floor leader of the senate, Hon. Ruperto Montinola; and the minority floor leader of the house, Hon. Emiliano T. Tirona, who shall, jointly with the Resident Commissioners, petition the Government and Congress of the United States for the early granting of the independence of the Philippines and submit to them from time to time the views of the legislature on any matter concerning the Philippines under consideration by the Government at Washington.

Adopted November 9, 1931.

We desire, first of all, to convey to the people and Government of the United States a message of good will, respect, and gratitude from the people of the Philippine Islands. We fully appreciate what America has done for us—her unselfishness, her altruism, her generosity. More than 30 years ago she set out in the Philippines on a unique adventure, nobly conceived and faithfully carried out, to liberate a subject people. This had never been attempted before, but so consistent has been America's adherence to her noble purpose that her administration in the Philippines has established a new standard of justice in the treatment of dependent peoples. Readily casting aside the belief current among many colonizing nations that democracy can not thrive in the tropics, she trained us in the art of self-government. Her success is now recognized. No other country under the tutelage of another has attained more substantial progress than the Philippine Islands during the same period of time. This is the opinion of impartial observers. We regard America as our friend and benefactor.

Our desire for independence is age long. It is an informed, intense, and sincere desire. It has been attested in the course of our unhappy history throughout our many struggles for freedom against Spain. It comes to use from our forbears. It will go down to our children and those who come after them.

Our desire for independence now, we wish to make it plain, is not impelled by a feeling of hatred or dissatisfaction with America, nor by a lack of appreciation of her work in our country. On the contrary, it is based on the accomplishments attained under her guidance and tutelage. It springs from the innate longing of all nationally conscious people and from the realization that their permanent welfare and happiness will be found not in the continuance of their union with the United States but in independence with full opportunity to develop their own genius, live their own life, and carve out their own destiny.

The agitation started three years ago and now carried on with greater intensity to curtail, if not entirely to abolish, privileges now enjoyed by the Philippine Islands in the American market in exchange for reciprocal privileges granted American products and manufactures in the Philippines is another reason which impels the Filipinos to insist upon a definite and early settlement of their problem. This agitation has cast a cloud of uncertainty over Philippine economic conditions and is checking our development. No new investments are possible while this uncertainty exists.

The proposal to exclude the Filipinos from the United States adds difficulty to the present situation. This movement can not but alarm the people of the Philippine Islands and fill their hearts with doubts and misgivings as to their future.

These new problems can not be solved piecemeal. They are part and parcel of the Philippine question and can only be settled satisfactorily with the settlement of the main question of independence.

The views of the Filipino people were formally expressed in the independence memorial unanimously approved by the legislature on September 24, 1931, on the occasion of the visit of the honorable the Secretary of War of the United States to the Philippine Islands. The memorial reads as follows:

"We, the members of the Philippine Legislature, in joint session assembled, for ourselves and in behalf of the Filipino people, do hereby reiterate our petition for the immediate and complete political separation of the Philippine Islands from the United States. Our desire for liberty was repeatedly manifested in the course of our history throughout our many struggles for political emancipation culminating in the establishment of the Philippine Republic. We lost our independence because of the superior force of America. We expect to regain it because of her plighted word.

"We acquiesced in American rule when we were assured that she came not as a conqueror but as a liberator. In all good faith we relied on her promise made through her highest executive officials and confirmed by the Congress of the United States when it declared that the independence of the Philippine Islands shall be granted upon the establishment of a stable government. This condition having been fulfilled, the Filipino people rightfully expect that their independence will be recognized without any further delay.

"Practical considerations also justify this urgent desire for immediate separation. The present movement to exclude Filipinos from the United States is giving rise to friction and misunderstanding. The manner in which the campaign is being conducted can not but arouse among the Filipino people a feeling that it is impelled by other than purely economic motives. Even at the present time it is not safe for Filipinos in some parts of the United States to engage in lawful occupation. So long as we remain under the American flag justice demands that we shall be allowed freely to live, work, and travel in any American territory.

"The dual responsibility in our Government, the one assumed by the Governor General and the other by Filipino officials, has been the source of serious conflicts in the past and is ever fraught with difficulties. Such an unsatisfactory situation must end. A backward step is unthinkable. The only solution is independence.

"Our present trade relations with the United States are uncertain and unstable. Regulated exclusively by the American Congress, America's interests rather than our own are the dominant

consideration. There is an increasing demand by American producers to maintain the American market solely for their benefit. Powerful American interests are now conducting a persistent campaign against the free entry of Philippine products. No one knows how long the American market will remain open to us. Doubts and misgivings have seized upon the minds of Philippine producers and investors, thus checking our development. We believe that enduring economic progress can only be achieved under an independent Philippines, free to dictate its own policies.

"These facts prove the wisdom of the declared purpose of the United States to grant us independence. They also serve to strengthen our belief that political separation is the only solution to our problem. We see no other alternative. The happiness and prosperity of the Philippines and the economic interests of America are not to be found in the present artificial union which hampers our national development and injures economic progress, but in political separation, wherein each may live the life suited to its distinct individuality and its national interests.

"The independence of America from the Philippines would seem to be as imperative as the independence of the Philippines from America. Therefore, with all due respect, with a deep feeling of gratitude to America and with full consciousness of the burdens and responsibilities of an independent life, we hereby submit that the time has come for the redemption of America's solemn promise to declare and recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands."

Upon our arrival in Washington we learned that the belief was entertained in certain quarters that the Filipino people had abandoned their stand for independence and that they would be satisfied with a grant of autonomy. There is no truth in such statements. The Filipinos have not changed front. A mere grant of autonomy, without a definite settlement of the question of independence, will not satisfy the Filipino people.

It is perhaps unnecessary to mention at this time the well-known fact that independence has been promised to the Philippine Islands by the United States. The promise is contained in formal and official declarations made by practically all the Presidents of the United States since the inception of American-Philippine relations and by authorized American officials in the Philippine Islands. As President Hoover has very well said:

"* * * Independence of the Philippines at some time has been directly or indirectly promised by every President and by the Congress. * * * The problem is one of time * * *"

This promise was made not only in executive pronouncements but by Congress itself in the Jones Act approved in 1916. The only condition imposed before the granting of independence was the establishment of a stable government. What constitutes a stable government has a clear and accepted meaning in American international relations, and especially in her relations with Cuba. In substance, it is a government supported by the suffrages of the people, capable of maintaining order and performing its international obligations. Such a government exists in the Philippines to-day. It is practically in the hands of Filipinos and Filipino officials. A grant of independence will not require radical changes in its structure. Unless other forms of government were attempted, all that would be needed would be the election of a new executive.

In the course of these hearings we shall attempt to submit facts and figures showing that this claim that a stable government now exists in the Philippines is well founded. Among other things, we shall submit information concerning public order, the administration of justice, cultural progress, political capacity, health and sanitation, government finances, and currency stability. Besides these facts, we shall be very pleased to furnish the committee with such additional data or information which the members of the committee may require.

This is the ninth mission which has appealed to Congress for some definite action on the matter of independence. Fifteen years have elapsed since the Jones law established the government which we were led to believe would result in independence. It is therefore our contention that the time for final action has arrived. We earnestly hope that this committee will be able to complete these hearings at an early date and will see its way clear to report a measure to Congress granting the Philippines its independence.

We are asking for our independence with respect and gratitude, with abiding faith in America's democratic ideals, with the firm determination to preserve all that we have achieved under her guidance, and with full confidence that in making ourselves worthy of America we shall enjoy her everlasting friendship.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. OSIAS. I thank the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSIAS. I gladly yield to the gentleman.

Mr. REILLY. Is it not a fact that there is a certain organization in the Philippine Islands working against independence?

Mr. OSIAS. There is a certain organization, and the organization, I know, is not a Filipino organization.

Mr. Chairman, it will not be surprising if there are a few tories in the Philippine Islands. The history of the United States is replete with examples of a similar type [applause], and I want to say to the gentleman that after a study of the history of the emancipatory struggles of peoples in the world I can say, without fear of successful contradiction, that there is no people in history who are more united, more passionate, and more persistent for national independence than the Filipino people. [Applause.]

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. OSIAS. With pleasure.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. If the Philippines receive independence, does the gentleman think the people of the Philippine Islands will be capable of maintaining their national entity?

Mr. OSIAS. I do.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say here that the drive for Philippine independence is not causing worry to the Filipinos because they fear they may get it, but it is causing worry for fear they may not get it. I desire to say further that, if the present lack of definite status continues, my people will suffer from the benumbing, not to say paralyzing, effects of the uncertainty of our situation.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSIAS. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. SIMMONS. Does the gentleman from the Philippines have any assurance that a Philippine independence bill that will actually give you independence can be brought up in this House during this session?

Mr. OSIAS. I shall not say that I have assurance. The gentleman from Nebraska is more familiar with the parliamentary situation; but I do hope, sincerely, that an independence bill will come before the House during this session in order to give everybody a chance to express an intelligent opinion and vote upon the subject.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. OSIAS. Certainly.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think the gentleman can rely upon considerable support from this side of the aisle if a complete independence bill for the Philippines comes out.

Mr. OSIAS. I thank the gentleman, and I will make known to my people the statement of the gentleman. And I want to say this, we are for immediate and complete independence, with or without economic concessions from the United States.

Mr. SIMMONS. Wait a minute, if the gentleman please. Let us not put that "with economic concessions."

Mr. OSIAS. I say with or without.

Mr. SIMMONS. My statement was "complete independence," which means complete independence and no concessions running to the Philippines.

Mr. OSIAS. I am pleased that the gentleman makes himself clear, and in order to be even clearer in my reply, I shall say that the Filipino people and the Philippine Legislature want the immediate and complete independence of the Philippine Islands.

Mr. SIROVICH. If the gentleman will yield, I would like to ask the following question: If I personally could vote on the matter of Philippine independence, I would vote for it——

Mr. OSIAS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SIROVICH. But one thing that is worrying many friends of Philippine independence and worrying me is this: If we grant political independence to the Philippines, what would prevent Japan, as she went into Manchuria in violation of various treaties, from going in and absorbing the Philippines? What protection would the Philippines have?

Mr. OSIAS. Mr. Chairman, I can not, in view of lack of sufficient time, satisfactorily discuss this question that affects other nations, which I hope to take up at a more appropriate time. I propose not to shirk answering that question. I shall merely state now that the Filipinos are not alarmed on that score. We are on friendly terms with our neigh-

bors. We do not believe invulnerability is a prerequisite to independence.

Besides, according to the official census, there are only 7,800 Japanese in the Philippines. The history of Japan shows that her expansion is not in our direction. This is only a partial reply, and I hope that I may deal with this subject more adequately during this Congress.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSIAS. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I do not wish to appear antagonistic, because I am ready to vote for Philippine independence——

Mr. OSIAS. I thank the gentleman. I knew that was the attitude of the gentleman.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. But I know a great many people who have been engaged in the Philippines in educational work, and I have to answer their inquiries or their statements that they do not yet believe that the great bulk of Filipinos are sufficiently trained in matters of government to look after their own interests. I would like to have some reply from the gentleman on that point.

Mr. OSIAS. Mr. Chairman, we believe we are economically prepared, we believe we are politically prepared, and we believe we are culturally prepared. I hope to demonstrate our preparedness in due time on the floor of this House.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the Commissioner may have five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. OSIAS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the Commissioner yield?

Mr. OSIAS. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The belated declaration of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS], I am sure, will be encouraging to the Commissioner. But I want to ask him if he had any bill proposing independence favorably reported out in the last Republican Congress, or in any of the continuous Republican Congresses during the last 10 years?

Mr. OSIAS. There was a bill reported out of the committee in the other branch of Congress.

Mr. BLANTON. I am talking about the House of Representatives in the Republican Congresses for the last 10 years.

Mr. OSIAS. None that I know of.

Mr. BLANTON. Then the belated declaration of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] is encouraging to the Commissioner and his people clamoring for independence.

Mr. OSIAS. Yes. I am happy, and in further response to the gentleman from Texas, it gives me great pleasure to be able to announce that there are no less than seven independence bills pending before this House, presented by Members on both sides of the aisle. These are H. R. 7233, presented on the 8th of January, 1932, by Mr. HARE, of South Carolina; H. R. 7610, on January 13, 1932, by Mr. KNUTSON, of Minnesota; H. R. 6, on December 8, 1931, by Mr. WELCH, of California; H. R. 4626, on December 8, 1931, by Mr. MONTET, of Louisiana; H. R. 5462, on December 11, 1931, by Mr. CRAIL, of California, and H. J. Res. 100, on December 8, 1931, by Mr. RANKIN, of Mississippi, and then—I speak from memory—there is another bill, presented by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH], the number of which I can not recall at this time.

Now, in closing, and by way of reply to this editorial, which says that "independence is about the last thing the Filipino people want," I emphatically declare that independence is the first thing that the Filipino people want. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain agricultural experiment stations in Hawaii and Porto Rico, including the erection of buildings, the preparation, illustration, and distribution of reports and bulletins, and all other necessary expenses, $133,560, as follows: $40,000 for Hawaii, $63,560 for Porto Rico, and $30,000, to be immediately available, for salaries, wages, and other expenses connected with the care of property, including all appurtenances thereto, and all equipment and livestock of the experiment stations in Alaska, Guam, and the Virgin Islands until they are transferred or sold: *Provided*, That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to transfer to any Government department or establishment or to local authorities or institutions such property and/or equipment or to sell the same at public or private sale and to pay from this appropriation the salaries of the present employees of said stations appointed from the continental United States, including salaries during such leave as may be granted under the acts approved June 30, 1914, and July 24, 1919 (U. S. C., title 5, secs. 535, 536), together with traveling expenses of themselves and families, including the transportation of such quantity and character of their personal effects as may be authorized by the Secretary of Agriculture, in returning to the usual port of debarkation in the United States, and the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to sell such products as are obtained on the land belonging to the agricultural experiment stations in Hawaii and Porto Rico, and the amount obtained from the sale thereof shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The Bureau of the Budget has cut out the experiment stations in Alaska and Guam, and that has left them with property there and livestock on hand.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. But we want to retain the station in Alaska. If this goes out on a point of order you will not be able to sell the property in Alaska.

Mr. BUCHANAN. And we will not be able to take care of it.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I will reserve the point of order. I wonder if the chairman will accept the amendment which the Delegate from Alaska is going to offer.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will say to the gentleman from New York that I have been on this committee about 15 years, and I have always supported the action of the committee, whether it was under a Republican or a Democratic majority. I can not accept the amendment.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Chairman, I ask that I may proceed for 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the Delegate from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I shall offer is to include the Matanuska Experiment Station in Alaska, which is not provided for in the bill. That station has been authorized heretofore by act of Congress, and was constructed at a cost of $150,000. It is in magnificent condition and doing great work in the Territory of Alaska.

The other experiment stations in Alaska have been abolished. The one at Fairbanks has been turned over to the agricultural college, with a small appropriation, so it is practically abolished. The Sitka station has no appropriation, and it is abolished. The Kodiak station has no appropriation, and it is abolished.

So if the bill passes without any amendment there will be no agricultural experiment station in the Territory of Alaska, no provision for aiding our farmers in getting new crops, and doing what experiment stations are doing in these new countries. I ask every Member from the States that have agricultural experiment stations, who know the value of them, to assist us in this matter at this time. All of you who have any knowledge of the value of agricultural experiment stations in a new country ought to give us assistance. The item is not included in the Budget and it is not included in the bill before the House. I propose to offer an amendment to insert it in the bill with an appropriation of $35,000. I call attention to the value of that station, to what the Government has done there, and to the loss that will happen if it is not continued.

I am for economy; I do not care whether it comes from a Democrat or a Republican source. I think the time has come in the administration of this Government when we have to shut down the floodgates and stop the flow of waste. I am as strongly in favor of that as if I were a Member of the House with a vote. However much I am in favor of economy, this is not economy, so far as this item is concerned. The Government has invested about $150,000 in this institution. It is a new institution. They have constructed splendid buildings and they are near the railroad. They have fine cleared land and the station is doing a lot of good. It is of great value to

our people in that Territory who so much need information and assistance in the matter of agriculture. "Oh," somebody says, "you have not got any agriculture in Alaska." I hear that sort of talk frequently from people who are ignorant of what we have in Alaska. The truth is that in the great Tanana Valley, where I lived for many years, we have an enormous extent of good valley land. The valley is 50 miles wide opposite Fairbanks. Professor Georgeson, who had charge of the experiment stations in Alaska for many years, made a survey of Alaskan agricultural lands and determined that we have 100,000 square miles of agricultural land in the Territory of Alaska. Some Member may say that 100,000 square miles is larger than his State. Yes; it is larger than two of your big States, but we have 100,000 square miles of good land in that Territory. But conditions are quite different from what they are in your States ,and we need the assistance of an agricultural experiment station to enable us to aid our farmers with their new problems. The governor of the Territory has called attention to this particular station in his report, and I call attention to what he says therein under the head of agriculture:

Progress has been made in agricultural settlement and development during the past year, especially in the Matanuska Valley. Settlers are developing new homesteads and buying partly improved ones and clearing more land. This region is well adapted to dairying, and farmers are planning to build barns for dairy cattle. The crop grown for ensilage consists of a mixture of peas and oats, which yields at the rate of about 6 tons of green forage per acre.

The cooperative projects between the agricultural experiment stations and the Alaska Railroad are being continued. The creamery at Curry, which is operated by the Alaska Railroad and supervised by the experiment stations, has made satisfactory progress. Another cooperative project between the Alaska Railroad and the experiment stations was undertaken last year. An effort was made to find a market for all of the farm crops produced in the railroad belt, and as a result of this all the farmers who had potatoes, vegetables, hogs, and other crops for sale at market prices found a market for everything that was produced.

The cooperative project between the Alaska experiment stations and the Government industrial school at Eklutna is being continued. The dairy cattle furnished by the Matanuska station are in excellent condition, and the milk that is produced by these animals is used at the school.

If this bill goes through as it is now there will be no Matanuska experiment station. The cooperative scheme between the railroad and the Matanuska experiment station is this: The railroad owns a large hotel at Curry. There are hundreds of railroad men living along the line who have to be fed, and the cooperative project between the Matanuska station and the railroad is for the purchase of supplies at that point for the railroad and its hotels and employees. If you fail to make this appropriation, all that is stopped. With respect to the Eklutna School, that is an Indian school and the Government has spent thousands of dollars in construction and maintenance. It is a large school, with a large number of Indian children. If you stop this agricultural experiment station now and waste the money that you have put into it, you will have to send outside and buy milk and food for these Indian children, which the Matanuska station now furnishes, and bring these supplies in there at large expense. It will cost you more to buy supplies for the Indian school and the Government railroad, which Matanuska now furnishes, than the $35,000 appropriation which I propose. I beg the House not to waste this station. Do not destroy it. It is the last thing that we have in the Territory of Alaska in the way of an agricultural experiment station. It is not a saving to strike out the $35,000 appropriation, but it is an economy to insert it. If you take it out you will have to go back there in 5 or 10 years and reestablish it, and thus lose your present investment and the sums necessary to rebuild it. To destroy it is waste and not economy.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I ask recognition in support of the amendment offered by the Delegate from Alaska.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no amendment pending before the committee. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] has reserved the point of order on a portion of the paragraph just read. Does the gentleman from New York intend to press his point of order?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I press my point of order to that part of the section before the committee, on page 13, line 3, commencing with the "*Provided*" and including the remainder of the section.

The CHAIRMAN. As the Chair understands, that is down to line 22?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would inquire of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] whether there is any existing law justifying the incorporation of this language in the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I think not. I am not aware of any existing law which authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to sell an experiment station. I do not know, but I am not aware of any.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. MCCORMACK). The Chair is ready to rule. The Chair is of the opinion that this is clearly legislation on an appropriation bill and therefore sustains the point of order.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The Delegate from Alaska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WICKERSHAM: Page 12, line 16, strike out all of the paragraph down to and including line 23, on page 13, and insert in lieu thereof:

"To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain agricultural experiment stations in Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the island of Guam, including the erection of buildings, the preparation, illustration, and distribution of reports and bulletins, and all other necessary expenses, $168,560, as follows: $35,000 for Alaska, $40,000 for Hawaii, $63,560 for Porto Rico, $20,000 for Guam, and $10,000, to be immediately available, for salaries, wages, and other expenses connected with the care of property, including all appurtenances thereto, and all equipment and livestock of the experiment stations at Sitka, Alaska, and in the Virgin Islands, until they are transferred or sold: *Provided*, That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to transfer to any Government department or establishment, or to local authorities or institutions, such property and/or equipment, or to sell the same at public or private sale, and to pay from this appropriation the present employees of the Alaska, Guam, and Virgin Islands stations whose appointments must be terminated by reason of the transfer or closing of and/or the reduction of appropriations for such stations for the leave accumulated under the acts approved June 30, 1914, and July 24, 1919 (U. S. C., title 5, secs. 535 and 536), together with the salaries and traveling expenses of such employees appointed from the continental United States and their families, including the transportation of such of their personal effects as may be authorized by the Secretary of Agriculture, in returning to the usual port of debarkation in the continental United States, and the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to sell such products as are obtained on the land belonging to the agricultural experiment stations in Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the island of Guam, and the amount obtained from the sale thereof shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

"In all, salaries and expenses, $329,294."

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That it is legislation on an appropriation bill. The Chair has just sustained a point of order raised by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] to the identical language.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will be glad to receive the benefit of the opinion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA], if the gentleman so desires.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. There is nothing further that I care to add, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. MCCORMACK). The Chair, for the same reason that the Chair sustained the point of order raised by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA], sustains the point of order now made by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN].

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment: Page 12, line 17, after the word "in," insert "Alaska"; and in line 21, just before the figures "40,000," insert the word "Alaska"; and in line 20, strike out

"$133,560" and insert in lieu thereof "$230,000"; in line 21, strike out "$4[illegible],000" and insert in lieu thereof "$62,450."

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment is quite involved, and the Chair would suggest to the gentleman from New York that the gentleman prepare his amendment in the proper manner and send it to the desk.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the amendment which I just offered, and I will offer another amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA]?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have sent to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: Page 12, line 16, strike out all of the paragraph down to and including line 23, on page 13, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain agricultural experiment stations in Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the island of Guam, including the erection of buildings, the preparation, illustration, and distribution of reports and bulletins, and all other necessary expenses, $168,560, as follows: $35,000 for Alaska, $40,000 for Hawaii, $63,560 for Porto Rico, $20,000 for Guam. In all, salaries and expenses, $329,294."

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I can not add to the appeal made by the Delegate from Alaska. It seems to me that in work of this kind, if there is one place where we should continue it is in territories like Alaska, where they have not the advantages and facilities of a State department of agriculture, and work carried on by State authorities. I see no reason why it should be cut out at this time, particularly since, as I understand it, the matter was fully presented to the committee, and the subcommittee had agreed on it. If we are going to exercise economy, let us not make a false showing by reaching away out to poor, helpless Alaska and taking away something that they may need.

Mr. COLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. COLTON. I visited this experiment station this summer, and they are just now developing forage crops to carry their stock through the winter. I think it would be a very great mistake to eliminate this agricultural experiment station. They are really doing an effective work for the future development of Alaska.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That is my view of it. If there is one place where it is needed, and where they have not the resources and have not State cooperation, it is a place like Alaska.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. The total addition to the bill by reason of this station is $35,000, is it not?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes; about that.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the gentleman from New York will permit, under the figures that have been submitted the appropriation for the present fiscal year is limited to something like $62,000 or $63,000. The amendment the gentleman has offered will call for the elimination of the experiment station at Sitka, about which I think there is no disagreement, and it will maintain the Matanuska station in a restricted form at $35,000 and it will maintain the station in Guam at $20,000. So the amendment now offered by the gentleman will actually add $55,000 to the bill but it will avoid the expenditure of about $20,000 involved in bringing home the Government employees from those two stations.

Mr. BURTNESS. I would like to ask another question, if the gentleman will permit. How will this expenditure compare with the expenditure for the current fiscal year?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do not recollect the amount for Guam during the current fiscal year.

Mr. BURTNESS. I mean with reference to Alaska?

Mr. SIMMONS. It will be a reduction of between $27,000 and $28,000.

Mr. BURTNESS. So, as a matter of fact, even with this amendment the actual saving as compared with the present fiscal year is somewhere between $20,000 and $30,000?

Mr. SIMMONS. Twenty-seven thousand to $28,000.

Mr. BURTNESS. So the adoption of the amendment would not mean an addition to the present current expenses of the Government in any shape, manner, or form, even though it happens to be an addition to this bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is true.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. It seems to me to be a petty and unwise thing to do.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman inform the committee from his close study——

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Just as close as the gentleman from Wisconsin, and he does not have to be sarcastic. I refuse to yield. That is an old trick of the gentleman from Wisconsin, and it does not go any more.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman, unfortunately, is without information, and he is most discourteous. I rose to get information which apparently he can not give.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I can conceive of no greater mistake that could be made in connection with the development of Alaska than to withdraw the amount of money necessary to maintain the Matanuska Experiment Station. The amendment which has been offered should be adopted.

I visited that station this summer in connection with a study I was making of the natives of Alaska and of the things necessary for the development of that Territory. I had particularly in mind the welfare of the native population, particularly the Indians, who occupy that section and sections to the south and east.

Now, here at Matanuska, is an experiment station in the midst of a largely unsettled area capable of agricultural development. If we stop this experiment station at this time, we are definitely putting an end to much of the agricultural development of the Territory of Alaska. I say that after due consideration.

It is an area capable of considerable settlement by men and women of pioneer fiber who are willing to go into a new country, as they went into new parts of continental United States and made a great Nation out of it. It will require, however, the working out of the methods of success, so that the homestead areas will become capable of supporting the families which settle there. In addition to that—though that in itself would be sufficient reason for the adoption of this amendment—there is that great native Indian population to consider. At the present time, of course, they depend, some of them, on fishing and some of them on hunting, but they are not as a whole in a good situation so far as making their own living is concerned.

In many parts of the Territory of Alaska they are sending the younger Indians to schools that are supported by this Government. They have in their future the possibility of using the resources at their command which include whatever agricultural possibilities exist within their country. To stop this experimental work would do great injury to one possibility of advancing that native people along one of the few lines open to them, one that will make them self-sustaining, self-supporting, and a healthy part of the population of the United States of America. By all means it would be a backward step not to adopt the amendment which has been offered, and continue that experimental work.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. As one who has first-hand information as to the work of this experiment station, I understand it has been in existence for a great number of years. If it has been in existence, what is the need of continuing it for the benefit of the natives of Alaska?

Mr. LEAVITT. This particular station has not been in existence a great number of years. It is in the midst of a great valley that has, in my judgment, fine agricultural pos-

sibilities and it is a new station. It has not gone far enough with its experiments to answer by any means all of the questions that should be answered. However, it has gone to the extent of proving definitely that there are agricultural possibilities there and that there is a way of developing areas of land that will support American families and that will support the native population.

Mr. STAFFORD. Twenty-five years ago it was called to my attention on the floor of this House by the gentleman from Ohio, General Grosvenor, that wheat was being grown near Fairbanks for the purpose of consumption there and at that time the Government had an experiment station there.

Mr. LEAVITT. That experiment station is the one that is now being taken over by the Territorial university and being carried on without expense to the Government.

Mr. COLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield.

Mr. COLTON. Is it not a fact that they are just now carrying on experiments which have not been completed?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes, indeed.

Mr. COLTON. And it would work a great hardship to cut out their activities right at the time when they are beginning to develop something.

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes. We have there an isolated part of the United States. This is the one thing we can do that is constructive and will help advance that Territory and make it a place where a part of our population can succeed.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. For the benefit of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD], who referred to this as an old, established station, the buildings that the Government is building there now are not as yet completed.

Mr. LEAVITT. That is true.

Mr. SIMMONS. As a matter of fact, they are just getting this station established.

Mr. LEAVITT. And by all means the station should be continued in justice to the people in that part of our Territory.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, there has been a station near Fairbanks for a quarter of a century.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman from Wisconsin ought to know something about the geography of Alaska. This station is over 300 miles south of Fairbanks, and the Fairbanks station has been turned over to the Territory of Alaska.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is the station I had in mind, and I wanted to get some information to see whether that was the station referred to or whether it was a new station.

Mr. CARTER of California. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I, too, visited this Government experiment station located at Matanuska, Alaska, last summer. I not only visited the station, but I took a ride around among the farms of the Matanuska Valley. They have a splendid station there that, in my opinion, is rendering a very valuable service to that country, and is going to continue to render in the future an even more valuable service. There are approximately 100 farmers that are settled there now in the Matanuska Valley who went in there with the understanding that this agricultural experimental station was there and was to be continued there for the benefit of these farmers, and I do not believe we are keeping faith with those people when we withdraw this experimental station.

I think the action of this subcommittee, taken before its report to the full committee, when it included this amount in the appropriation bill might as well be followed here.

Here is another thing that was called to my attention while in Alaska. According to the figures furnished me by the Alaskan Railway Co. between four and five million dollars worth of food products that might be produced in Alaska are imported into Alaska every year. We have now throughout the entire length and breadth of the United States a very serious farm problem, and in the only region under our jurisdiction where there is not a serious farm problem, we propose to close the agricultural experiment station.

While, of course, I am aware that Alaska is never going to be in competition with the States so far as agricultural products are concerned, I believe it is going to render Alaska a great service to continue this experimental station there and place her in a position where she can more nearly produce what is consumed there.

It seems to me it would be decidedly inopportune, it would be false economy, for us to dispose of this great experimental station at this time. [Applause.]

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

I rise and speak for the people of a little island under our flag, way out in the Pacific, 6,000 miles from the mainland. I refer to the people of the island of Guam, who have no Delegate, Commissioner, or Member of Congress to speak for them.

These people came under our sovereignty by virtue of the treaty of Paris, after the Spanish-American War. The island is a part of the Marianna group. The other islands of the group were sold to Germany and eventually came under the mandate of Japan after the World War.

We have been conducting a splendid development of colonial government in the island. The results are a credit to our country. We have built roads, provided a system of sanitation, built electric light and power plants, built up an excellent school system, and given the people a fairly full measure of liberty and freedom.

Agriculture is the principal industry and the people are absolutely dependent on what is raised on the small farms for their living. The principal agricultural products are grain, rice, copra, sweetpotatoes, garden vegetables, and fruit.

In order to help the natives we have conducted a small agricultural experiment station. Its efforts have been directed toward developing a type of agriculture best suited to the local conditions. Experiments have been made to determine the best legumes to raise, for truck and all other crops, the development of fiber-plant projects, heneguin, sisal, and magney. Splendid service has been rendered in horticultural work and in forestry. Seed and plant distributions have included a large quantity of vegetable seeds and plant-seed material of grain and root crops, also seedlings of citrus, mangoes, and miscellaneous fruits, forest trees and imported bamboo.

Extension work is a definite division activity. The work embraces boys' and girls' clubs organization and adult demonstrations. At the close of the year the total people enrolled under these various projects numbered 863. These are only a few of the many activities of the experiment station.

When these people came under our control they had no knowledge of the technical side of agriculture. We have made these people self-sustaining. The agricultural experiment station has paid for itself many times over.

The people of Guam appreciate all that America has done for them. They have cooperated to the very limit. The spirit of the people is set forth in a recent session of the Guam Congress by a resolution formally adopted, as follows:

Be it resolved, That we renew our pledge of allegiance to the United States of America, to its institutions, to its ideals of justice and democracy, and that we affirm our happiness to be a part of that great Nation over which waves the Stars and Stripes.

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that these people, who are upholding American ideals out there in the broad Pacific, thousands of miles from their mainland, are entitled to consideration at the hands of the Congress. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, Guam, the largest, most populous, and most southern of the Mariana Islands, was discovered by Magellan in 1521. He took possession in the name of Spain. During more than 300 years, marked by uprisings and rebellions, it remained under the yoke of that country.

On the 20th of June, 1898, the U. S. S. *Charleston* and three transports loaded with troops for the Philippines under the command of Capt. Henry Glass, United States Navy, steamed

into the harbor of Piti, Guam, and fired a few shots at old Fort Santa Cruz. The next day, after parleys with Spanish officers and officials, who did not know of the existence of a state of war, Captain Glass received the surrender of the island, took the governor and Spanish garrison prisoners, ran up the Stars and Stripes, and saluted with 21 guns. Guam has since been American territory under administrative authority derived mediately or immediately from the President of the United States, who has placed it for administration under the Navy Department.

The other islands of the Mariana group were sold by Spain to Germany after the Spanish-American War. The treaty of Versailles gave the mandate over them, and over the island of Yap, 200 miles to the south, and over the Caroline Islands to Japan. This mandate was offered to the United States, but refused. Now, we find ourselves responsible to the world for Guam, with Japan in control of the island of Rota only 40 miles away to the north, and Yap, 200 miles to the south, and objecting to every move to improve the harbor of Piti, the seaport of Agana, the capital, except for limited commercial purposes, because of the provisions of the Washington treaty. Yet Japan is said to have just completed a dock 1,000 feet long at Saipan, one of the Mariana group.

The island of Guam is about 30 miles in extreme length, and from 4½ to 8 miles in width. On the map its form appears not unlike the imprint of the human foot. The southern part is high and mountainous. Most of the island is a plateau, about 400 feet in elevation, broken by valleys of several streams. The plateau terminates in coastal highlands of coral rock which end in abrupt cliffs at the sea.

The natives of Guam are Chamorros, descendants of the Malay race. Now it is much mixed, with the Malay strain predominating. The average native has a brown skin, straight black hair, dark eyes, oval face, well-formed features, prominent nose and lips, and pleasing expression of the face. They appear very kindly in disposition. English is the language of the younger generation, since it is the language of the schools. The old Chamorro language, as modified by the Spanish influence, is used by the older people.

The better class—the landowners—are thrifty, provident, cultured, and refined. Several Americans have married into these families. The citizen of the middle class is the farmer, whose ranch furnishes him a living. His wife and daughters are notable housekeepers. The younger daughters dress in American fashion. The members of the lower class are peaceful, good natured, law-abiding, and industrious in their own way. The farmer lives in town and travels back and forth to his ranch, which is usually only a few acres. They never fail to reach the villages for church on Sunday. The people are devout Roman Catholics. The use of tobacco by women is not sanctioned. In town the people live in plank or bamboo houses perched from 2 to 4 feet from the ground, and which have usually only one room. Each house has a thatched lean-to at one end beneath which the cooking is done. All school children now dress in American fashion. Native games have been abandoned in favor of baseball and other games known to our children. Every school has an ample playground equipped with gymnastic appliances. All classes stand in awe of the law.

The island produces copra, eggplants, redpeppers, sweetpotatoes, bananas, rice, pineapples, and corn. The most common fruit trees are lemons, oranges, limes, citrons, and sugar-apples. Coconuts are common everywhere. Copra comes from coconuts. The depression has cut the price by one-half, so the native is now in some financial trouble. The island is well wooded with ifil, chopag, bamboo, and other fibrous trees.

Domestic animals are the caraboa, horses, cattle, mules, pigs, and goats. The Guam cattle bear a resemblance to our Jerseys and are used for drawing carts. It is a common sight to see a smooth-skinned cow saddled and haltered trotting along as swiftly as a horse, with her calf galloping at her side. The carabao is the beast of burden and does the plowing. The plow is of wood with an iron point and has only one handle. Farming tools are primitive, but the United States Department of Agriculture is trying to introduce improvements. The soil is light but productive. Two crops of corn can be raised annually. The coconut produces an oil which is used for lighting and fuel.

The climate is healthful and on the whole pleasant. Trade winds temper the natural torrid heat for six months of the year, while from June to November the southwest monsoon blows at frequent intervals. Destructive typhoons have occurred in years past. Slight earthquakes are of common occurrence. A few violent disturbances have occurred in the last hundred years.

Guam is a naval station. Many of the naval officers have administrative duties in connection with the civil government. The island is divided into what corresponds to our counties with a commissioner at the head. The United States has the confidence and cooperation of the natives. The retiring governor during the last year granted the people a bill of rights and established the Guam congress for advisory purposes, elected by universal suffrage.

Gov. Edmund S. Root is a distinguished officer of the United States Navy and his wife is a splendid type of American womanhood, who graces the palace with charms and dignity.

What is to be done with Guam? Some advocate sale and withdrawal. I am not much in favor of hauling down the American flag and admitting failure in colonial administration.

I believe it to be the desire and intention of the people of the United States to assure and provide the inhabitants of the island of Guam, ceded to us by Spain in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Paris, with a good and stable government. This intention to the people of Guam is shown by no uncertain words in the instructions given to the first Governor of Guam by President McKinley, under date of January 12, 1899, as follows:

> Finally it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the naval administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the island of Guam by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild way of justice and right for arbitrary rule.

We have not yet provided them by legislation "that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples."

The people of this island have proven their loyalty by their ready obedience to the laws and orders promulgated by the naval governors. They have waited patiently for 30 years for that legislation which would appear to be made mandatory upon the Congress of the United States by the provisions of article 9 of the treaty of Paris, as follows:

> The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the Territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.

We have not carried out our treaty agreement.

THE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

The people of Guam were taken over by us from a primitive state and have been raised gradually to a plane of living which they are unable to maintain without encouragement and assistance for a further period Their well-being and progress is almost entirely dependent upon the development of agriculture. The experiment station is the only source available from which they can obtain the means of accomplishing the improvement of their agricultural condition.

It may be that some of our other possessions with more varied sources of income have developed to a state where the people are able to continue their progress unassisted. This is not the case with Guam. With the decline in the price of copra and the removal of our military forces the people are in greater need than ever of the assistance of the experiment station in developing agricultural sources of income.

I am for the most rigid economy in making appropriations. But this is a small item. The grant of a few thousand dollars for the continuance of the station for the fiscal year will make a fourfold return and will assure these people

under our sovereignty of our continued interest in their welfare. That assurance is very important to all our people under existing conditions.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask recognition in opposition to the pro forma amendment. Here we have a striking instance of when economy is really attempted, some gentleman rises up in defense of an indefensible project.

There has been for years 150 miles north of the Matanuska station an experiment station for Alaska. I understand by the testimony that that station has been taken over by the Territory of Alaska.

The Budget failed to appropriate for Matanuska, 150 miles farther south, where geographical conditions are similar.

The Government of the United States is relinquishing jurisdiction over the island of Guam, and we are asked to perpetuate an experiment station among people over there over which we will have no jurisdiction whatever.

I want to congratulate the chairman of the committee, and the other Democratic members of the committee for not going into Alaska and perpetuating something that is indefensible.

Usually, in my experience, when certain Members go into our Territorial possessions they come back loaded down with appropriations for different activities. That is an incident that is the bane of these junketing expeditions.

I am as seriously concerned about the people of Alaska as anyone, but the population is diminishing—there are only 30,000 whites and about an equal number of natives—and here you want to vote that my people shall pay taxes for an experimental station that is not needed and is unjustifiable.

I was sincere in rising to get some information from the gentleman from New York, but he had none, and he resorted to abuse.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Why not knock out all of the experimental stations?

Mr. STAFFORD. I would be in favor of knocking out a million dollars of these political propositions, county agents, and every unnecessary appropriation, cutting down the Budget wherever we can, because the taxpayers of the country are demanding retrenchment and reform. I shall stand back of the committee in their commendable efforts to knock out these unnecessary and unjustifiable experiment stations. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. Gentlemen of the House, the experiment stations in Alaska have been the subject of controversy for several years. Your Secretary of Agriculture has long contended that the results obtained do not justify the expenditure. A couple of years ago they made an arrangement with the Territory of Alaska by which that Territory took over the Fairbanks station, or at least the College of Agriculture and Mining took it over, and they have a splendid college there, and the consideration was supposed to have been the abandonment of the other experiment stations in Alaska. The Secretary of Agriculture strongly recommended that course. Your Committee on Appropriations last year did not carry out all of the policy. They abandoned only the station at Kodiak Island. Again the Budget came along this year, and the Secretary of Agriculture, the Budget, and the President recommended that all of these experiment stations—and Matanuska is not the only one; they have one at Sitka right now—be abandoned. Mind you, the College of Agriculture and Mining has taken over the Fairbanks station. In addition to that we passed a law last Congress, I think it was, or the Congress before, after that agreement was made, extending the Hatch Act to Alaska and extending the Lever Act to Alaska, so that now Alaska shares in the benefits of those two acts and received $27,000 therefrom for the purpose of aiding that college of agriculture in Alaska. I am telling you the facts. I do not care three whoops in the nether region how you vote. I want the House to have the facts.

If you Republicans want to sustain your Secretary of Agriculture, if you want to sustain your Budget and your President, well and good. If you want to overrule them, that is your business and not mine. The college took over the station at Fairbanks. The Budget recommended the cutting out of the other stations in Alaska, one at Sitka, and one at Matanuska. What are the facts? There are less than 300 farmers within 300 miles of the Matanuska station. By that I mean actual farmers, and that is according to the hearings. Unless you go up and down the railroad there you can not get anywhere, anyway. My friend from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] says that every time some member of a committee takes a junket trip and visits one of these outlying places he comes back imbued with enthusiasm to grant appropriations for it. The gentleman did not know that I went up there, did he?

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, I know by the character of my friend that he would be immune to that kind of inoculation.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I visited Matanuska; I went all over it, and they were doing very good work, but they have only 300 farmers in 300 miles of that station. It may be that in future years Alaska may be settled up like northern Norway and Sweden, if our population increases. It may be that an appropriation for this station should be continued for the future development of that territory. I do not know. It depends on how fast it develops.

It may be—and this was not mentioned by the Delegate from Alaska—that that railroad that cost over $60,000,000 to build and is now engaged in a campaign to induce people to go to Alaska and try to farm, would be benefited if this station were continued. It might help increase the number of people up there and increase the traffic for that railroad and in that way save some Government expense. I am stating both sides to you. I have no interest in it.

It may be that it is in the interest of the country and the development of the railroad, and that, therefore, there would be a smaller deficiency necessary for the operation of the railroad. Let us see what Alaska gets under this bill. She gets $27,000 under the extension acts; $25,705 under the reindeer appropriation; $16,900 for musk-ox investigation, to try to produce a hardy breed of cattle up there that can stand the winter and paw down in the snow and find something to live on during the winter season—and it is nearly all winter up there. Then for the enforcement of the Alaska game law there is $105,966; for forest highways, $350,000; or a total without this Matanuska station of $525,771, for 28,000 white inhabitants and 27,000 native inhabitants. Those are the facts. I submit the question to you.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. LAGUARDIA) there were—ayes 19, noes 60.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Additional cooperative agricultural extension work: For additional cooperative agricultural extension work, including employment of specialists in economics and marketing, to be allotted and paid by the Secretary of Agriculture to the several States and the Territory of Hawaii in such amounts as he may deem necessary to accomplish such purposes, $1,000,000: *Provided*, That no expenditures shall be made hereunder until a sum or sums at least equal to such expenditures shall have been appropriated, subscribed, or contributed by State, county, or local authorities or by individuals or organizations for the accomplishment of such purpose.

Mr. HART rose.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order on the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. STAFFORD. My point of order is that it is not authorized by existing law. I reserve the point of order for the purpose of getting some information.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Michigan rise?

Mr. HART. To offer an amendment striking out the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman insist upon his point of order?

Mr. STAFFORD. I reserved the point of order for the purpose of getting information, to ask the chairman of the subcommittee or some other member of the committee as to the nature of this additional amount carried in this paragraph, $1,000,000, for cooperative extension work, when in the three prior paragraphs we appropriated over $3,000,000 for that same work, though under definite authorizations.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The million dollars has been authorized for years by Congress, supplementing these other extension acts, and has been put into operation for several years. They are operating under it, and the county agents and all extension-work programs in the different States have been built up upon it. It is only a part of the extension work, the same as the other acts. If the Congress did not want to supplement them, it need not have done it.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand it, it is not authorized by existing law.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Oh, yes; it is authorized under the organic act which created the Department of Agriculture. That is the purpose of the organic act.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is not authorized under these two or three specific acts?

Mr. BUCHANAN. There is no specific act for it. It is authorized under the organic act.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I inquire from the gentleman from Michigan whether it is the gentleman's purpose to move to strike out the paragraph?

Mr. HART. Yes; it is.

Mr. STAFFORD. For what purpose? That it is not justified?

Mr. HART. I move to strike out the paragraph because in the first place I am opposed to the extension of this service.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then, Mr. Chairman, as I understand, this provision is for the same kind of work which the gentleman protested a little while ago. I will press the point of order on the ground that there is no specific authorization of this character of work.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. BANKHEAD). Is the gentleman's point of order lodged against the entire section or against the proviso?

Mr. STAFFORD. Against the entire paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. BANKHEAD). The Chair is prepared to rule on the point of order. In the opinion of the Chair, the proviso is legislation on an appropriation bill. The Chair has been furnished by the parliamentarian with a precedent which seems to bear directly upon this proposition:

> The Chair is of the opinion that the general purpose of preparing logged-off lands for agriculture and studying methods of doing that would not be subject to a point of order, but that the provision for the cooperation with States, companies, or individuals would be new legislation.

Under that precedent, the Chair is of the opinion that the point of order on the proviso is well taken, and a part of the section being subject to a point of order, it applies to the entire section. Therefore the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SIMMONS. Does the ruling of the Chairman go to just that part of the paragraph containing the proviso?

The CHAIRMAN. To the entire paragraph.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Did the Chair sustain a point of order to the entire paragraph?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustained a point of order to the entire paragraph, beginning at line 17.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Then, Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. BUCHANAN: On page 15, after line 16, insert the following:
> "Additional cooperative agricultural extension work: For additional cooperative agricultural extension work, including employment of specialists in economics and marketing, to be allotted and paid by the Secretary of Agriculture to the several States and the Territory of Hawaii in such amounts as he may deem necessary to accomplish such purposes, $1,000,000."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order on the amendment just offered.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. STAFFORD. That it is not authorized by existing law.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the chairman of the committee prepared to show that the item is authorized?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt but what it is authorized under the organic act. I supposed the Chair was familiar with that act. If not, I will read it. In fact, I think the entire thing is in order under the organic act. A broader act could not be inscribed by the pen of man.

The CHAIRMAN. What has the gentleman from Wisconsin to say in reply to the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say in all frankness that I recall many, many decisions in prior Congresses where the organic act has been referred to as a basis for these general appropriations. I can not recall the exact phraseology of the organic act, but I know it is very broad. If I had a copy of it before me, I would be able to discuss the question more intelligently, but I must leave it to the decision of the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. BANKHEAD). The Chair will cite section 511, Title V, United States Code, which seems to be very broad and comprehensive, and within the purview of which the Chair is of the opinion that the committee has authority to report this section.

The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. My purpose in asking to strike out this paragraph is to get an expression from the House as to whether it desires to continue to expand this so-called Extension Service.

I hold in my hand an address delivered on May 10, 1924, by Hon. ST. GEORGE TUCKER in which he has shown the duplication of services performed by the Federal Government and by the States.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to insert at the close of my remarks, as a part of my remarks, the list of bureaus which is referred to in this address.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HART. On that date Mr. TUCKER read into the RECORD that the Federal Government had appropriated for this Extension Service for the year ending June 30, 1924, $7,478,730. This bill carries an appropriation of $13,076,911. This $1,000,000 covered in this paragraph provides additional funds with which to carry on propaganda for the purpose of continuing to increase these appropriations year by year.

They are used in conjunction with farm organizations for the purpose of lobbying this Congress and lobbying the 48 States in order to increase their appropriations and establish themselves throughout the United States. For that reason I asked to have the entire paragraph stricken out.

Under permission to extend my remarks I insert the following:

Federal Government for year ending June 30, 1924

Extension Service	$7,478,730.00
Experiment Stations	1,743,600.00
Bureau of Fisheries	1,202,810.00
Bureau of Education	3,194,760.00
Forest Service	10,273,532.00
Public Health Service	8,746,331.62
Bureau of Public Roads	473,480.00
Horticultural Board	363,010.00
Bureau of Animal Industry	9,845,606.00
Militia Bureau	29,896,590.00
Geological Survey	1,670,000.00
Vocational Education	6,427,000.00
Vocational rehabilitation, Veterans' Bureau	89,000,000.00
Prohibition	9,000,000.00
Weights and Measures, Bureau of Standards	
Agricultural Economics	4,005,853.00
Bureau of Biological Survey, Department of Agriculture	872,265.00

Bureau of Animal Industry	$9,845,606.00
Department of Labor	7,476,896.00
Bureau of Labor Statistics	242,260.00
Bureau of Plant Industry	3,376,470.00
Children's Bureau	1,551,040.00

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I sincerely hope the suggestion of my colleague, Mr. HART, will not prevail.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. In other words, the gentleman hopes the amendment I have offered will carry, because it is an amendment to insert this $1,000,000. I take it the gentleman is speaking against the amendment to strike out the entire paragraph proposed by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HART].

Mr. KETCHAM. I understood his amendment was to strike it out.

Mr. BUCHANAN. It was; but my amendment is to insert the $1,000,000.

Mr. KETCHAM. I accept the suggestion of the gentleman from Texas. My thought was that the gentleman [Mr. HART] offered the amendment he had offered originally, that the section be stricken out. I hope the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the subcommittee, will prevail.

I would like the very earnest consideration of the members of the committee of what I may say with reference to what this $1,000,000 is intended to do. If it had, even to the slightest degree, the object involved in it to which my colleague refers, I think possibly the questions he suggests might be raised; but speaking for my own State, and I am sure for the largest number of the States, there is not the collusion between the county farm agents and other agencies to which the gentleman has referred. I think he has very greatly overstated that proposition.

The plain fact of this matter is—and I happen to know the history of this particular $1,000,000 appropriation—that it was included two or three years ago in order to make it possible for a number of the counties in the poorer sections of the various States of the Union to avail themselves of this service when they could not otherwise do it by reason of their inability to meet the requirements of the Federal and State Governments. This provision permits the larger sums where they are needed—now, listen, where they are needed, in the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture. Michigan gets $22,000, for illustration. By these allotments we have been able to put county agricultural agents into communities where they are very greatly needed. There might be some question as to the wisdom of this action. If every farmer was a farmer on the scale of my distinguished colleague—and he is one of the largest farmers in Michigan and has other lines of business; he is an elevator man and very successful in that line of business, so that I can see the possible reason why he might not be particularly enthusiastic over the work of some of these county agricultural agents, particularly when they go out to encourage the formation of cooperative organizations. However, the important thing is this, that this $1,000,000 enables counties which have in them poor farmers, who are overburdened with taxation and who desire the services of county agricultural agents, to have them. For that reason I hope, outside of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HART] and the gentleman from the great agricultural city of Milwaukee, Wis. [Mr. STAFFORD], that there will not be a single vote cast to strike out this very essential $1,000,000 appropriation.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, Milwaukee was quite an agricultural center before the gentleman's erratic course on dry legislation, which prevented us from consuming barley.

Mr. KETCHAM. It is still quite prosperous, I think.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I shall take but just a moment on this amendment, Mr. Chairman. These county agents and home-demonstration agents in my State are made possible only through this provision. It happens that in a number of counties in my own district they would be unable to maintain them without this particular item. In my own district the home-demonstration agent and the county farm agent are serving two counties, organizing pig clubs, corn clubs, organizing boys and girls in the community in the general 4-H-club work. As has been appropriately stated by the speaker who preceded me, it is not aimed to help those primarily able to help themselves. It reaches to those sections and those counties which can not otherwise help themselves. It gives them the benefit of the skill, knowledge, and attainments of our best agricultural thought and experience in the country.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. KETCHAM. And it ought to be said, also, that in most of the States this did not require additional appropriations, because there were already on hand in these States sufficient funds to meet the matching requirements of the provision.

Mr. GREEN. That is, I believe, correct. We have at least two agents in my district who are carrying on a very good service under this appropriation, and that service can not be continued unless this appropriation is provided. Therefore I hope the committee will adopt the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas. The 4-H-club work is doing more for the general benefit of the rural communities than any other Federal agency. Why, my State produced the national 4-H-club girls' health champion about two years ago. Miss Florence Smock, of Eustis, was the national 4-H-club health prize winner.

Others from Florida have rated high in the national contests.

In the 4-H clubs they are taught in many lines; in fact, their training thus obtained prepares them for leadership in their respective communities. The work and this training should continue.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment. I do not agree with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HART] in his opinion of extension work. I come from a State and a district which has benefited very largely by this work. I come from a district which has hundreds of cooperative organizations which have not been built up through any propaganda on the part of the Department of Agriculture, as the gentleman from Michigan would have you believe, but because the farmers themselves have organized them.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HART] would have you believe that this is something we are forcing upon the farmers. The gentleman surely knows there is not a county in which this work is being done where it has not been initiated by the farmers of that county themselves. They have to begin the organization.

Mr. HART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. Yes; I yield.

Mr. HART. Does the gentleman believe that we can appropriate enough money to supervise all the farmers of the United States and tell them how to plant and raise their crops?

Mr. HOPE. No; I do not believe we can.

Mr. HART. That is what we are attempting to do.

Mr. HOPE. I do not agree with the gentleman.

I rose primarily, however, to call attention to one feature of this extension work, the boys' and girls' club work—the 4-H clubs—because I regard this as one of the greatest educational movements in this country to-day.

For years our rural communities have been drained of their leadership because we have been educating our boys and girls away from the farm, and the 4-H-club work offers an opportunity for us to train our farm boys and girls for leadership in rural communities, to familiarize them with the best things in farm and home life, to make it possible for them to learn the latest developments along agricultural lines, to enable them to make their communities better places in which to live, and to develop among themselves ideals of community service and citizenship. Because this work is accomplishing this very purpose, I say if we did not do anything, as a result of this appropriation, except develop

the boys' and girls' clubs throughout the country, it would be money well spent. [Applause.]

I have not the figures for the last year as to the number of boys and girls who belong to these clubs, but in 1928 there were 663,940 boys and girls enrolled in these clubs, and in my own State of Kansas, where this work has been carried forward and developed to a very high degree, there are at present 14,659 boys and girls who are enrolled in this work.

I have attended their club meetings, I have attended their State encampments, which they hold every year in connection with the State fair, and I have not seen anything in the way of an educational effort which made me any prouder of the young women and men of this country than the demonstrations which are put on at these State encampments, as well as the work which is done by the boys and girls locally in their community 4-H clubs.

I sincerely hope we will adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Texas, which will enable us to carry on this work to the same extent it has been conducted heretofore.

Mr. HART. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HOPE. I yield.

Mr. HART. Is not one of your troubles in Kansas overproduction?

Mr. HOPE. No. It is true we have, perhaps, in the world to-day a temporary surplus of wheat and other commodities, but that is not a permanent difficulty.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one more minute to answer the gentleman's inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOPE. The problem to-day is to secure cheaper and more efficient production, and the boys and girls' clubs and extension work are doing more than anything else to teach farmers efficient and cheap methods of production, and that is the thing we need more than anything else.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Could it not be said that the Department of Agriculture through the Extension Service is universally carrying education to the farming people, the parents and the children?

Mr. HOPE. I think that is a very good statement of it. [Applause.]

Mr. FINLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

My district is partly a mining district and party an agricultural district. An instance of the value of this service to the farmers came under my own observation.

Boys are not born with a knowledge of agriculture. Oftimes they are forced to cultivate the soil without any previous instruction. In one of the counties of my section of the State the old idea of deep plowing in the cultivation of corn prevails. The county agent argued with one old farmer that this was a mistake—deep plowing when turning the soil, but shallow plowing after the crop is planted. He argued this without effect. Finally he said to this old, hard-headed farmer, "Here are 2 acres of land similar in every character, similar in soil, exposure, and all that; you take 1 acre and cultivate it according to your notion and let your 15-year-old son take the other acre and cultivate it according to my directions, and see which one makes the most corn." I think the old farmer made 40 bushels on his acre and the boy made 86 bushels. There could not have been a stronger illustration or a finer illustration of the value of the service this work is doing for the farmer.

Mr. ARENTZ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. I think the gentleman from Kentucky could make the same comparison with respect to a herd of cows. I know of boys whose education has been along the line of the 4-H club who went home and told their fathers what the farm agent had told them about herds of cows and about there being boarders in their herds. The farmers could not believe it until there were a certain number of cows set aside, and under the direction of these boys they carried on their experiments and proved that the old farmers had cows in their herds that were not even paying their board; and to-day the young farmer is being taught that out of the same number of cows you can get more milk at less cost if you follow the instructions of these men.

Mr. FINLEY. I have seen the same thing take place in the breeding of hogs, in the breeding of cattle, and in the breeding of sheep. If gentlemen assume that the farmers of this country know all that is to be known about farming, they make a mistake. I can think of nothing more important than this Agricultural Extension Service, and I shall support it. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

At the end of the pending amendment insert "*Provided*, That no expenditures shall be made hereunder until a sum or sums at least equal to such expenditures shall have been appropriated, subscribed, or contributed by State, county, or local authorities or by individuals or organizations for the accomplishment of such purpose."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment as amended.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SIMMONS), the Chair announced that there were 70 ayes and 15 noes.

Mr. SIMMONS. O Mr. Chairman, not 15 noes; only 2 Members rose.

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed as tellers Mr. HART and Mr. BUCHANAN.

The committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were 84 ayes and 15 noes.

So the amendment as amended was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Grand total, office of the Secretary of Agriculture, $13,076,911.

Mr. KVALE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last figure for the purpose of asking the chairman of the committee if he has the information at hand, if these reductions in the item relating to cooperative forestry will mean the curtailment of this work? Will it handicap them severely, or can they proceed along the lines they have been pursuing heretofore?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The Chief Forester was asked that question, and he said, "I think we will not be harmed materially by this decrease."

Mr. KVALE. That includes services in the District of Columbia. Will these personal services suffer?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No, sir.

Mr. KVALE. Or will it be all taken from the funds expended in the field?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I am not sure whether it is all taken from the expenditures in the field or not.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think the Budget estimate set out that there is a reduction of $4,000 of expenditures in the field, and there is only one salary carried out of this item in the District of Columbia; so it can not suffer very much.

Mr. KVALE. I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Aerology: For necessary expenses for general administrative purposes, including the salary of chief of bureau and other personal services in the District of Columbia, $136,180.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 20, line 1, strike out the word "aerology."

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, that word is in the wrong place. It should be at the top of page 21.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

General weather service and research: For necessary expenses incident to collecting and disseminating meteorological, climatological, and marine information, and for investigations in meteorology, climatology, seismology, evaporation, and aerology in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, including $4,650 for investigations of the relationship of weather conditions to forest fires, under section 6 of the act approved May 22, 1928 (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 16, sec. 581e), $2,483,218, of which not to exceed $800 may be expended for the contribution of the United States to the cost of the office of the secretariat of the International Meteorological Committee, and not to exceed $10,000 may be expended for the maintenance of a printing office in the city of Washington for the printing of weather maps, bulletins, circulars, forms, and other publications: *Provided*, That no printing shall be done by the Weather Bureau that can be done at the Government Printing Office without impairing the service of said bureau.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. There is a reduction here of about $102,000. This work of the Weather Bureau in giving information for aviation of course is very important and has been very successful. Will that reduction in any way impair that branch of the work?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No. The activity of which the gentleman speaks is carried in the next appropriation on the next page.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. This provides for meteorology and aerology, and we are much concerned in that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If the gentleman will look at the top of page 21 he will note that the word "aerology" should be inserted before the word "for." That carries the appropriation of which the gentleman is speaking.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That is an appropriation of $1,457,440?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That is a reduction of $300,000.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The Chief of the Weather Bureau has said that he could get along with it.

Mr. KVALE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. KVALE. The hearings seem to disclose the fact that the reduction leaves a balance less than Mr. Marvin admits he can get along on page 81 of the hearings. That is essentially what he states.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. We have a reduction in the main item that covers meteorology and aerology of $102,000, and when we come to the section that is for aerology there is a reduction of $352,000. That is quite a reduction in an item of $1,457,000. I know of no branch of the Weather Bureau service that is as important as this work they are doing here. The continuity, success, and safety of aviation depends upon it. I hope the committee will consider this amount when we come to that item. I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the maintenance of stations, for observing, measuring, and investigating atmospheric phenomena, including salaries and other expenses, in the city of Washington and elsewhere, $1,457,440.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BUCHANAN: Page 21, line 1, before the word "For" insert the word "aerology."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: Page 21, line 4, strike out "$1,457,440" and insert "$1,500,000."

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, this figure is even less than was recommended by the Bureau of the Budget. The Bureau of the Budget reduced this item $220,000, and the committee reduced it even further. I think it would be a grave mistake to impair this work.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The committee's cut of $8,000 is for Alaska, and not for this country, and the other cut was merely 5 per cent of supplies, stationery, and so forth. We do not cut the main item at all except the $8,000 for Alaska, which we thought Alaska could stand.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. As the chairman knows, this is a lump-sum appropriation, and all we have before us is the amount.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The report of the committee shows that, and the department always follows the report of the committee; and when the committee report sets out that we cut $8,000 off that weather service in Alaska they deduct it from Alaska's allocation. It does not interfere with this country at all.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Even with my amendment it will be $209,340 less than last year.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. The item to which my colleague [Mr. BUCHANAN] refers was an increase for Alaska.

Alaska is being kept at its present appropriation. During the fiscal year 1931 this item carried $1,400,000, which is $53,000 less than now appropriated. This year this item carried $1,760,000, but of that $60,000 was a nonrecurring item for equipment. Then $158,000 of the balance was not expended, so that, as I understand this appropriation, it will carry on during the fiscal year 1933 exactly what is being done in 1932 without any material reduction.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I then have the assurance of the gentleman from Nebraska that there is sufficient unexpended balance to carry on the work that was carried on last year? That would require a reappropriation.

Mr. SIMMONS. Let me repeat the figures I have here. This item carried in 1932 $1,760,000. Of that $60,000 was a nonrecurring item, if my information is correct. Then $158,000 covers savings from the 1932 item, through operating economies and postponements. Then there is an amount of $7,000 added to that to make a saving of $165,000. So that it is my understanding that the amount carried in the bill is, to all practical purposes, for 1933 just what is carried in the bill for 1932.

Does the gentleman from Texas agree to that statement?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I agree to that statement.

Mr. SIMMONS. Not what is carried in the bill, but what is actually being expended this year. In other words, the economy program being put into effect this year saved $158,000. Then they propose to save, in addition to that, $7,000 more, which makes a total of $165,000. Then there is a nonrecurring item of $60,000.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. But that was not carried last year, because the gentleman speaks of $1,760,000 for last year. As a matter of fact, we only appropriated $1,709,000, so that that $60,000 was not carried last year.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman is correct. The appropriation last year was $1,709,000. The request was for $1,760,000, but the item this year is $225,000 less than it was last year, plus the 5 per cent savings in operating expenses, but $5,000 of that was for the aerological observations and reports that were cut out. Then there is $220,000 less this year for commercial airways than last year. That $220,000 is made up of $60,000 in the nonrecurring item, plus $158,000 not spent this year. So that the gentleman's amendment would actually put into this service more in 1933 than they received in 1932.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I will say that one crash over mountains, due to lack of proper weather information, is worth more than $220,000. I can not overemphasize the value of this service to night flying and mountain flying.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Disease of animals: For all necessary expenses for scientific investigations of diseases of animals, including the construction of necessary buildings at Beltsville, Md., the maintenance and improvement of the bureau experiment station at Bethesda, Md., and the necessary alterations of buildings thereon, and the necessary expenses for investigations of tuberculin, serums, antitoxins,

and analogous products, $422,950: *Provided*, That of said sum $100,000 may be used for researches concerning the cause, modes of spread, and methods of treatment and prevention of the disease of contagious abortion of animals.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have sent to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. THOMASON: On page 27, line 11, strike out "$422,950" and insert in lieu thereof "$432,950, of which $10,000 shall be for studies and investigations looking to the control or prevention of losses of animals from feeding upon bitterweed."

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, I hope the membership will not prejudge this amendment. I am for economy, and this amendment is not offered in any critical way of the committee, but to try to bring to your attention a very serious situation, in my judgment, which exists in my district in western Texas.

There are 6,000,000 sheep and three and a half million goats in my district. Some of the finest flocks in the world are there. About a year and a half ago an epidemic broke out in that sheep and goat raising section of the United States, which has caused a loss, estimated by those in a position to know, of approximately 150,000 sheep last year. Of course, it excited our people and they immediately began to make investigations. The Texas Sheep and Goat Raisers' Association, which is one of the largest livestock associations in America, backed up by the Legislature of Texas, the Agricultural College, and the Federal Department of Agriculture, particularly the Bureau of Animal Industry, headed by Dr. J. R. Mohler, have all agreed that these tremendous losses have been caused by a poisonous weed, commonly known in that section as the bitterweed. The people themselves did what they could to relieve the condition. They felt that the first duty and obligation was upon them. Failing to relieve the situation themselves, they went last spring to the Legislature of Texas with an emergency situation; and the legislature, backed up by the governor, gave them an appropriation of $35,000 to establish a plant laboratory at the State Experimental Station near Rocksprings, Tex., not far from San Angelo. They still did not get relief. I have myself seen literally dozens, and I do not think I would exaggerate if I said a hundred or more, of sheep in one pasture that had died in three days from this malady, whatever it may have been.

The chairman of this subcommittee, my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN], has personal knowledge of the situation; and the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, whose home immediately adjoins my district, knows of the situation.

So looking to that end and feeling it was my duty and my obligation to present the matter to this particular subcommittee, I did, and they unanimously, as I understand it, recommended it to the main committee. They were supported by the recommendation of Doctor Mohler and the statement of the Department of Agriculture itself that there was a poisonous plant which had brought about this epidemic in that locality; that was also reaching out into Colorado, into Kansas, into New Mexico, into Arizona, into Montana, and Wyoming. So, I think it is patent on its face that it is the duty and it is the obligation of the Federal Government—because it has the experts and we do not—to make some investigation of poisonous weeds and poisonous plants which are absolutely breaking some of my people. Those who used to pay their income taxes and never failed to pay their obligations to the Federal land banks are now being reduced to a state of bankruptcy.

The only answer I have been confronted with, in view of the recommendation of this particular subcommittee to the main committee, is that it is not within the Budget. Well, I have had some experience—if you will pardon a personal reference—in legislative affairs. I have long since been convinced that the only way to determine the justice of an appropriation is upon the merits of every individual proposition in an appropriation bill. If it is not deserving and meritorious it ought to go out. But if it is, it is entitled to recognition. So I appeal to you in a sense of fairness and in the sense of relief to my people, who have suffered—I repeat—to the extent of 150,000 sheep last year. They come here, through me, begging and pleading, through the Texas Sheep and Goat Raisers' Association, that you give us $10,000, for what? For the purpose of sending some of your experts, who have studied this situation, as I understand it, in Australia and in other parts of the world, to Texas, in order that they may investigate this matter of bitterweed, poisonous weeds, and poisonous plants which seem to be sweeping that part of our country.

We should have some relief from this situation, and I would say that this investigation is far more meritorious than some of the other investigations being made relative to animal and plant life.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.

Mr. BURTNESS. The gentleman seems to make out a very good case. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the subcommittee recommended this item?

Mr. THOMASON. My information is, as the record itself will disclose, that the subcommittee reported it to the main committee. As I have said, my friend from Texas, the chairman of the subcommittee, and the Speaker of the House have knowledge of this disease. There is no controversy about the fact that the disease exists and that the cause of it has been discovered.

Mr. BURTNESS. Do I understand the gentleman to this effect, that the only reason the item is not in the bill is because of the policy adopted not to report any items except those coming from the Budget?

Mr. THOMASON. I do not feel it is incumbent upon me to answer that, because they can answer it themselves; but I do know this, that there is no argument but that this disease is prevalent in that part of Texas and that many men have lost great numbers of their sheep.

Mr. BURTNESS. Unless there is some good argument to the contrary, I shall vote with the gentleman.

Mr. THOMASON. I thank the gentleman. I feel that as a matter of fairness this item of $10,000 should be allowed, in order to send experts to my State and into Colorado, if the same epidemic breaks out there, and into New Mexico and these other States where there are a great many sheep. Let these experts go down there for a year, at the minimum and nominal cost of $10,000, and try to give us information. The State has done what it could. The owners of the sheep have done what they could. They have been diligent, earnest, and sincere about it. Then is the great Federal Government going to say, "No; let your sheep die; we will not raise the appropriations in these hard times"? That is false economy, my friends. I am for economy absolutely, down to the bone, and I expect to vote for it just as long as these appropriation bills come in; but I repeat that, in my judgment, it is false economy to let my people lose flocks of sheep like that. Let me tell you this: I have a friend by the name of Tom Bond, at Sonora, who lost 1,100 sheep. I could name a half dozen who lost 300, 400, and 500 out of one flock.

It is not disputed that the sheep have died by the hundreds; it is not disputed as to what caused the death of the sheep, because Doctor Mohler, of the Bureau of Animal Industry, himself says that is the probable cause. Then, all of those things being true, it should not be said that this great Government can not send us two experts for one year to cooperate with our State authorities and our sheep and goat raisers' association. It seems to me that is not the kind of relief this great Government should give to its people in a time of stress. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The subcommittee, by its report of this bill, refused all new items and refused to increase any Budget item, as a general economic policy, to control not only on this bill but on every bill throughout the Government service.

Of course, if the House is not in favor of this economic policy, they can open the floodgates and adopt amendments increasing appropriations. When you grant one amendment then there is no reason why other meritorious amendments should not be adopted. The question is, can we put off things that do not have to be done now until a more convenient season when the country is in a better financial shape?

Now,listen as to the poisonous-weed proposition. The bill carries something over $24,000 for a study of poisonous weeds. Doctor Mohler has work in connection with 35 bitterweeds of different kinds that are poisonous to livestock.

These bitterweeds, according to the testimony, are now doing over $1,000,000 of damage to livestock in the United States. If we make a specific appropriation of $10,000 for this bitterweed, then we ought to make specific appropriation for the balance of the 35 poisonous weeds that are doing an enormous amount of damage along with this particular bitterweed.

I am not denying that it is within the proper province of the Government to make this study, but I tell you that the problem will not be solved in 1, 2, or 3 years unless the sheepmen solve it themselves by not overgrazing their own pastures.

Let me tell you the cause of it. In my judgment—and the department entertains the same theory—they put too many sheep in the pasture. They overgraze it, and there is nothing left for the sheep to eat except this bitterweed, which they will not eat if they have other weeds to eat that are not poisonous. They are compelled to eat it and then they become poisoned and die. There is a remedy in the hands of the ranch owners, if they can afford to exercise it.

I am not fighting the appropriation, if offered at a proper time, when the finances of the Government are such that we can afford to make such appropriations for all these various things and conduct proper study, proper research, and proper investigation, which are the high province of the Department of Agriculture; but I am here now to not only carry out the President's policy of economy, but I am here to help to carry it from low gear to high gear, so that we may make some impression upon the burden of taxation under which we are suffering.

All I ask you, gentlemen, so far as I am concerned, is to sustain the Committee on Appropriations in not increasing any item unless there is a real emergency and not to increase any Budget estimate.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman how late he intends to run. There are some very important items coming along that I think many of the Members would like to know about.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If there are no other amendments to be offered until we get to the items with respect to the dairy industry, it is my intention to then move that the committee rise.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman does not intend to go into the dairy industry items now?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No.

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk, proceeding with the reading of the bill, read to the end of line 6, page 31.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MCCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7360) entitled "An act to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes."

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, the following leave of absence was granted:

To Mr. HANCOCK of North Carolina, until Tuesday, January 26, 1932, on account of very important business in his home town of Oxford.

To Mr. BRIGGS, indefinitely, on account of illness in his family.

To Mr. COOPER of Ohio (at the request of Mr. MOORE of Ohio), indefinitely, on account of death in his family.

To Mr. MCMILLAN, indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. LARRABEE, indefinitely, on account of illness in his family.

PROVISIONS IN THE AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules I submit a report for printing under the rule.

The resolution is as follows:

House Resolution 120

Resolved, That it shall be in order, the general rules of the House to the contrary notwithstanding, to consider in connection with H. R. 7912, a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes, the following:

SEC. 2. No appropriation under the Department of Agriculture available during the fiscal years 1932 and/or 1933 shall be used after the date of the approval of this act (1) to increase the compensation of any position within the grade to which such position has been allocated under the classification act of 1923, as amended, (2) to increase the compensation of any position in the field service the pay of which is adjustable to correspond so far as may be practicable to the rates established by such act as amended for the departmental service in the District of Columbia, (3) to increase the compensation of any position under such act through reallocation, (4) to increase the compensation of any person in any grade under such act through advancement to another position in the same grade or to a position in a higher grade at a rate in excess of the minimum rate of such higher grade unless such minimum rate would require an actual reduction in compensation, or (5) to increase the compensation of any other position of the Federal Government under such department. The appropriations or portions of appropriations unexpended by the operation of this section shall not be used for any other purposes, but shall be impounded and returned to the Treasury, and a report of the amounts so impounded for the period between the date of the approval of this act and October 31, 1932, shall be submitted to Congress on the first day of the next regular session.

SEC. 3. No appropriation under the Department of Agriculture available during the fiscal years 1932 and/or 1933 shall be used after the date of the approval of this act to pay the compensation of an incumbent appointed to any position under the Federal Government which is vacant on the date of the approval of this act or to any such position which may become vacant after such date: *Provided*, That this inhibition shall not apply to absolutely essential positions the filling of which may be approved in writing by the President of the United States. The appropriations or portions of appropriations unexpended by the operation of this section shall not be used for any other purposes but shall be impounded and returned to the Treasury, and a report of all such vacancies, the number thereof filled, and the amounts unexpended, for the period between the date of the approval of this act and October 31, 1932, shall be submitted to Congress on the first day of the next regular session.

WILLACOOCHEE CANAL ROUTE

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, during the present depression there are two conflicting lines of legislative thought. The advocates of one say let us make some great worth-while improvements while the cost is low and

there is so much need for more employment. Others say let us leave off everything possible for the present.

As usual, there is much of merit in each. A sane, reasonable program is best. Among the worth-while big things to be accomplished I had hoped to secure the construction of a canal across south Georgia and north Florida in the immediate future. But even if actual construction is to be temporarily postponed, it is essential that in the meantime ample surveys be made and the proper route selected.

Under authorizations contained in the last river and harbor act preliminary surveys of the entire field are being made. The engineers are doing careful work and, I am advised, are studying every route that has been suggested and in which there appears any real merit. Most careful consideration has been given by the engineers to every route suggested by me, and I crave their indulgence that I may suggest one more route which I hope will be studied before the preliminary report on these surveys is filed. I therefore wish to suggest that a preliminary survey be made of a route not heretofore suggested, the full merits of which occurred to me only recently.

Since the city of Willacoochee, Ga., on this route, is located on top of the divide between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, I shall term it the Willacoochee route. This route, in part, is along some of the routes now being studied, but it has certain features of probable merit not possessed by the others.

This route uses Brunswick Harbor as the Atlantic terminus, following Turtle River as far westward as practicable; thence along a proposed canal—new excavation; thence westward to Satilla River, a little east of the confluence of Satilla and Little Satilla Rivers; thence westward along the Satilla River to where Pudding Creek flows into the Satilla River in Atkinson County, Ga.; thence westward along Pudding Creek to the headwaters thereof near Willacoochee; thence by way of the proposed new canal construction for 3 or 4 miles through sand-bed divide between Atlantic and Gulf on and near eastern bank of Alapaha River to the Alapaha River on Gulf side of the divide; thence northeastward along Alapaha River to most practical point; thence along proposed new construction along most practical route to Flint River; thence by way of Flint and Apalachicola Rivers to Gulf of Mexico at St. Georges Sound.

The Willacoochee route is along easily controlled streams with abundant water supply for a greater distance than any route yet suggested. It seems to me there are greater water power possibilities on this route than any other.

Dams just below the confluence of (a) the Little Satilla and Satilla Rivers (b) Satilla River and Pudding Creek, and (c) Alapaha River and Willacoochee Creek, would probably develop considerable power, would furnish ample water for entire canal and with little cost make practically the entire canal navigable from the Atlantic to many miles beyond the divide on the Gulf side. A few other dams might be necessary.

The proposed dam below the confluence of Willacoochee Creek and Alapaha River would provide an ample reservoir of water for the canal located at the highest point on the route. Then, again, as a matter of power development, flood control and navigation, it occurs to me that a dam could be constructed on the Ocmulgee River near the head waters of Willacoochee Creek which, with a small canal, would divert any additional amount of water that may be desired from the Ocmulgee River, to be brought along Willacoochee Creek to proposed reservoir at crest or peak of canal near Willacoochee, Ga. It will be observed that the Ocmulgee River flows practically due south all the way from near Atlanta, Ga., to near the headwaters of Willacoochee Creek, but then is deflected by a narrow escarpment of highland (the divide between the Gulf and Atlantic), turns and swings northeastward. If the Ocmulgee had flowed only a few miles further on its due south course, it would have joined the channel of the Willacoochee Creek, flowed through to the Alapaha River and would have entered the Gulf of Mexico instead of the Atlantic Ocean. However, if the waters of the Ocmulgee had gone a little further eastward and broken through the escarpment into the headwaters of the Satilla, it would have flowed through the channel of that river and entered the Atlantic Ocean. The channel of Willacoochee Creek and of the Satilla River are only a few miles apart and parallel to each other, practically all the way from the Ocmulgee to the proposed Willacoochee canal route. The divide between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean is between these two streams. This fact, together with the fact that so much of the Alapaha and Satilla Rivers and Pudding Creek, extends practically east and west in the proper direction for the proposed canal, has led me to request a preliminary survey of this route.

The portion of the proposed canal from the Alapaha River to the Flint River is to be located wherever it is most practicable from an engineering standpoint. I am not as familiar with this territory as I am with the portion of the route farther east, but am quite sure that a stream flowing into the Alapaha very probably can be easily connected with a stream flowing into the Flint and thus make necessary the excavation of only a very few miles between. At any rate, the new construction on the proposed Willacoochee route will probably be much less than along any other route yet suggested.

There can be impounded at or near Willacoochee ample water to make the Alapaha navigable as far as it is followed to the west and then, I am sure, there will be an abundant quantity of water to supply the newly constructed canal all the way to the Flint River.

Then, again, a large amount of water can be impounded where the canal reaches the Flint River. Still an additional supply of water can be impounded along the new cut where many small rivers are intersected. If the Alapaha is followed northwest to the southwest corner of Irwin County, and thence along a small creek, shown on the map, to a point near where the Southern Railroad crosses the line between Tift and Turner Counties, just north of the station at Chula, it will be necessary to excavate only 10 or 15 miles, crossing several small streams before a stream will be reached flowing into the Flint River.

If the course just mentioned should be followed, there would be only 25 or 30 miles or probably less of new excavation away from streams on the entire route between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. Of course, a study of the field might develop the best portion of the route from the Alapaha to the Flint River to be farther south. For instance, another route would be to leave the Alapaha River a little west of the confluence of that river with Willacoochee Creek and pass between the cities of Alapaha and Nashville, going across the northern end of Cook County and reaching the Flint River near Baconton.

Taking everything into consideration this is one of the best, if not the best, routes yet suggested.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 259. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Public Service Coordinated Transport of Newark, N. J.; to the Committee on War Claims.

S. 402. An act for the relief of Nelson King; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 476. An act for the relief of certain purchasers of lots in Harding Townsite, Fla.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 477. An act for the relief of Walter J. Bryson Paving Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 478. An act for the relief of Cicero A. Hillard; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 542. An act for the relief of Benton L. Sims; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 621. An act to repeal section 7 of the postal act approved May 29, 1928; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

S. 659. An act for the relief of William J. Ryan, chaplain, United States Army; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 718. An act authorizing a survey of Coquille River, Oreg.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 719. An act authorizing a survey of Columbia River from Tongue Point to the sea; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 721. An act authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of Alsea Bay, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 723. An act authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of the Yamhill River, Oreg.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 726. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Sunset Investment Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a dam to retain tidal waters in Inner Depoe Bay, Lincoln County, Oreg.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 727. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Haynes Slough drainage district to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Haynes Slough, Coos Bay, Coos County, Oreg.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 728. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Beaver Slough drainage district to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Beaver Slough, Coquille River, Coos County, Oreg.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 729. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Larson Slough drainage district to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Larson Slough, Coos Bay, Coos County, Oreg.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 730. An act to provide for preliminary examination and survey to be made of the Willamette River and its tributaries, Oregon, with a view to providing a navigable channel from Eugene to Springfield; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 1280. An act for the relief of National Ben Franklin Fire Insurance Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1293. An act for the relief of Harold S. Shepardson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1302. An act to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of William W. Danenhower; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1440. An act for the relief of August R. Lundstrom; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1694. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to exchange obsolete, surplus, deteriorated, or unserviceable supplies or equipment for new supplies or equipment of the same general character; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1891. An act for the relief of John F. Walker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2378. An act to regulate the conduct and administration of military arsenals, Air Corps depots, and other War Department activities and property, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2531. An act for the relief of the Union Shipping & Trading Co. (Ltd.); to the Committe on War Claims.

S. 2822. An act for the relief of Anna Marie Sanford, widow of William Richard Sanford, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

S. J. Res. 48. Joint resolution to authorize the acceptance on behalf of the United States of the bequest of the late William F. Edgar, of Los Angeles County, State of California, for the benefit of the museum and library connected with the office of the Surgeon General of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 7360. An act to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6172. An act to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, January 23, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Saturday, January 23, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

(10 a. m.)

Provision for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation (H. R. 4743).

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m.)

Miscellaneous taxes.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE, RADIO, AND FISHERIES

(10 a. m.)

General inquiry into the American Merchant Marine, the United States Shipping Board, and Merchant Fleet Corporation affairs.

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

(10 a. m.)

Provision for moratorium on construction charges on reclamation projects (H. R. 6995).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

401. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Comptroller General, transmitting a report and recommendation concerning the claim of Lindley Nurseries (Inc.) was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Claims.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. KVALE: Committee on the Territories. H. R. 307. A bill to approve Act No. 256 of the session laws of 1931 of the Territory of Hawaii, entitled "An act to authorize and provide for the manufacture, maintenance, distribution, and supply of electric current for light and power within the districts of North Kona and South Kona, on the island and county of Hawaii, Territory of Hawaii"; without amendment (Rept. No. 244). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DICKSTEIN: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 8174. A bill to exempt from the quota fathers and mothers over 60 years of age of United States citizens; without amendment (Rept. No. 245). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'CONNOR: Committee on Rules. H. Res. 120. A resolution to provide for the consideration of certain provisions in connection with H. R. 7912, the agricultural appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1933; without amendment (Rept. 247). Referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. COYLE: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 4103. A bill for the relief of Warren Burke; without amendment (Rept. No. 246). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8230) to authorize the construction of certain naval vessels for replacements and additions, and other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. COLTON: A bill (H. R. 8231) to amend an act to increase the efficiency of the Veterinary Corps of the Regular Army, approved June 28, 1930; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOPKINS: A bill (H. R. 8232) to amend section 301 of the World War veterans' act, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 8233) for the improvement of Boston Harbor; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8234) to provide for the improvement of the Columbia and Snake Rivers; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8235) to clarify the application of the contract labor provisions of the immigration laws to instrumental musicians; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. REID of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8236) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to reconstruct a free highway bridge across the Fox River at Geneva, in Kane County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8237) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across the Fox River 5½ miles south of McHenry, in McHenry County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8238) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a free highway bridge across the Fox River at Algonquin, in McHenry County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8239) making appropriation for the Great Smoky Mountain National Park; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. DRANE: A bill (H. R. 8240) for the erection of a memorial to the dead of the war between the United States of America and Spain; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PATTERSON: A bill (H. R. 8241) to provide for the further development of vocational education in the several States and Territories, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. PEAVEY: A bill (H. R. 8242) to maintain the level of the Great Lakes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. KOPP: A bill (H. R. 8243) to make the United States liable for all damages to property resulting from the construction, maintenance, and/or operation of locks and dams in the Mississippi River by the United States between the mouth of the Missouri River and Minneapolis, Minn., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BARTON: A bill (H. R. 8244) for the erection of a Government building at Salem, Dent County, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8245) for the erection of a Government building at Rolla, Phelps County, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KELLER: A bill (H. R. 8246) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, to stabilize the average wholesale price of commodities at the average level of the year 1926, thereby to correct the price decline suffered since September, 1928, to promote economic justice, to steady industry, agriculture, commerce, and employment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GREGORY: A bill (H. R. 8247) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River at Mound City, Ill.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BARTON: A bill (H. R. 8248) for the erection of a Government building at Marshfield, Webster County, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. McSWAIN: A bill (H. R. 8249) providing for the appointment of standing referees arising under contracts of war-risk insurance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8250) granting authority to the Texas State Highway Commission to maintain and operate, as constructed, a free highway bridge across Trinity River between the counties of Navarro and Henderson, in the State of Texas; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BYRNS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. CROSSER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 231) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LaGUARDIA: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 232) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORNING: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 233) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PRALL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 234) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CULLEN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 235) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONDON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 236) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 237) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARLEY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 238) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LINDSAY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 239) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUDD: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 240) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAMNECK: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 241) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SULLIVAN of New York: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 242) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLASS of Massachusetts: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 243) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCORMACK: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 244) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GAMBRILL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 245) providing for the retention of the postgraduate school of the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, Md.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN: A bill (H. R. 8251) for the relief of James M. Pace; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. AMLIE: A bill (H. R. 8252) granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Hoisington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ARNOLD: A bill (H. R. 8253) granting a pension to Mary Elizabeth Venus; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8254) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Spain; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BACON: A bill (H. R. 8255) for the relief of Homer C. Chapin; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BALDRIGE: A bill (H. R. 8256) for the relief of William Thomas; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BARTON: A bill (H. R. 8257) granting an increase of pension to Sallie A. Nunn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BULWINKLE: A bill (H. R. 8258) granting a pension to Ellen Moody; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8259) granting an increase of pension to Guss Hughes; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CABLE: A bill (H. R. 8260) to authorize reinstatement of war-risk insurance of John D. Deardourff, deceased; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8261) granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Marshall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8262) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Roush; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8263) granting an increase of pension to Sarah M. Platt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANNON: A bill (H. R. 8264) granting an increase of pension to Hattie B. Roberts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8265) granting a pension to Laura J. Haynes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8266) granting an increase of pension to Martha Kellerhals; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARLEY: A bill (H. R. 8267) granting a pension to Charles Thorson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 8268) granting a pension to Howard S. Ford; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 8269) granting a pension to Rose Marie Cronin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DRANE: A bill (H. R. 8270) for the relief of C. Buck Turner; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EVANS of California: A bill (H. R. 8271) for the relief of William H. Wagoner; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8272) granting a pension to Mary A. McCullough; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8273) granting a pension to Clara E. Bryan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8274) for the relief of Oscar Allen; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FULMER: A bill (H. R. 8275) for the relief of R. R. O'Brien; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GARBER: A bill (H. R. 8276) for the relief of Lyman Paul Edwards; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HALL of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 8277) for the relief of F. W. Elmer, jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HARLAN: A bill (H. R. 8278) granting a pension to James O. Freeman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8279) for the relief of June Harvie; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOLADAY: A bill (H. R. 8280) granting a pension to George W. Wolfe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware: A bill (H. R. 8281) for the relief of John A. Cranston and the former stockholders of the F. K. Wills Construction Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8282) granting an increase of pension to Mary H. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8283) for the relief of Henry James Pape; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8284) to correct the naval record of Johnnie Henry Fitzwater; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KLEBERG: A bill (H. R. 8285) granting a pension to R. M. Collins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LEA: A bill (H. R. 8286) for the relief of Charles H. Brown, alias Harry Morgan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 8287) relating to the retirement of Col. Robert Todd Oliver; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McFADDEN: A bill (H. R. 8288) for the relief of Helen G. Mercur; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MARTIN of Oregon: A bill (H. R. 8289) for the relief of Arthur C. Callan; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MILLIGAN: A bill (H. R. 8290) to authorize the appointment of Garrett Bruce Shomber as a first lieutenant of Cavalry, Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER: A bill (H. R. 8291) to authorize the appointment of Howard Hillman Hasting as second lieutenant of Infantry, Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 8292) granting a pension to Beulah W. Pearl; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MOUSER: A bill (H. R. 8293) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Blair; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 8294) granting an increase of pension to Mary Lacy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PERSON: A bill (H. R. 8295) granting a pension to Drusilla A. McLoud; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8296) for the relief of Troy C. Stickel; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8297) granting a pension to Maude Alice Cross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HARCOURT J. PRATT: A bill (H. R. 8298) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PURNELL: A bill (H. R. 8299) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Lister; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REED of New York: A bill (H. R. 8300) to extend the benefits under the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended, to Ethel Boyd; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8301) granting an increase of pension to Carrie Abell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBINSON: A bill (H. R. 8302) granting a pension to Frederica Philpot Stiles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHANNON: A bill (H. R. 8303) granting a pension to Mary E. Harper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHREVE: A bill (H. R. 8304) granting a pension to Harry J. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SIMMONS: A bill (H. R. 8305) for the relief of James Colton; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8306) for the relief of D. M. Leypoldt Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SNOW: A bill (H. R. 8307) for the relief of Herbert W. Long; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SOMERS of New York: A bill (H. R. 8308) for the relief of Frank J. Kenney; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8309) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8310) granting a pension to Joseph Allen McGee; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TABER: A bill (H. R. 8311) granting a pension to Louise C. Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WATSON: A bill (H. R. 8312) granting an increase of pension to Susanna Rainier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH: A bill (H. R. 8313) granting an increase of pension to Lizzie A. Whitten; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

659. By Mr. AMLIE: Memorial of the Wisconsin Legislature, urging Congress to provide aid to the various States which have enacted old-age pension legislation; to the Committee on Labor.

660. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of Methodist Church of Walton, Kans., for support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

661. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Canton, Kans., for support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

662. Also, petition of Essie W. Kelly and others, of Wichita, Kans., for support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

663. By Mr. BACHMANN: Petition of Mrs. B. Wadsworth, president, and Mrs. Charles F. Folmar, secretary-treasurer, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Valley Grove, W. Va., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and opposing any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

664. By Mr. BACHARACH: Resolution of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Bridgeton, N. J., protesting against any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

665. By Mr. BOHN: Petition of directors of the Michigan Real Estate Association, vigorously protesting the proposed enactment by the Federal Congress of the United States of a stamp tax of 50 cents for each $500 value in excess of $100 on realty conveyances; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

666. Also, petition of citizens of Mancelona, Mich., in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

667. By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: Petition signed by 250 leading citizens of Thomson, McDuffie County, Ga., protesting against resubmission of prohibition question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

668. By Mr. BURDICK: Petition of 32 employees of Frank Crook (Inc.), Pawtucket, R. I., automobile distributor, protesting against a tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

669. By Mr. CHAPMAN: Resolution signed by D. B. Scobee, chairman, and J. Smith Hayes, jr., secretary, representing citizens of Winchester, Ky., in mass meeting assembled January 14, 1932, pursuant to special proclamation of the mayor of Winchester, commending to the citizens of these United States their unalloyed and unstinted respect and esteem for their fellow citizen, Lieut. Thomas H. Massie, United States Navy, whose character is unassailable and whom Clark County is proud to honor and own as one of her most beloved and splendid sons, which esteem is shared by all home and honor protecting citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

670. Also, resolution addressed to Virgil Chapman, Member of Congress, signed by J. M. Stevenson, chairman, J. Smith Hays, jr., secretary, for committee of certain citizens requesting Hon. D. B. Scobee, mayor of Winchester, Ky., to call mass meeting January 14, 1932, for purpose of giving citizenship opportunity to express itself in behalf of Lieut. Thomas H. Massie, of the United States Navy, and to take such steps advisable to insure justice to him; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

671. Also, resolution signed by V. W. Bush, chairman; H. C. MacNeill, secretary of the official board of the First Christian Church, Winchester, Ky., representing a group of 1,500 people in meeting assembled at church Sunday evening, January 17, 1932, protesting to the President of the United States and the Government of the United States, and every official whose duty it is to act under circumstances and intolerable conditions existing in the Territory of Hawaii, especially in city of Honolulu, where conditions have rendered it unsafe for American women; requesting release and vindication of Lieut. Thomas H. Massie, and his codefendants, and the speedy punishment of perpetrators of the outrage against Lieutenant Massie and his family, to satisfy the ideal of Americans at home and abroad; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

672. Also, copy of petition addressed to the President of the United States, signed by committee representing the women of the First Christian Church of Winchester, Ky., home town of Lieut. Thomas H. Massie, requesting the President to intercede in behalf of Lieutenant Massie and his codefendants, to place the Hawaiian Islands under martial law until conditions can be improved, and requesting a statement from the President explaining his apparent indifference to conditions in the islands which make the protection of American womanhood impossible; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

673. By Mr. CONDON (by request): Petition of George H. Thornton and other citizens of Rhode Island, protesting against the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

674. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of residents of Montgomery County in New York State, urging support and enforcement of the eighteenth amendment and opposing any measure providing for its modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

675. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of the Lusco Brick & Stone Co., Oklahoma City, Okla., urging support of House bill 4680; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

676. Also, petition of the Southern Pine Association, New Orleans, La., urging support of House bill 4608; to the Committee on Agriculture.

677. Also, petition of citizens of the eighth district of Oklahoma, protesting against the proposed 10 per cent tax on theater admissions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

678. Also, petition, signed by Mrs. E. A. Swiger, of the Beaver Church of God Sunday School, urging the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment, Beaver, Okla.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

679. Also, petition of the Canadian County Rural Carriers Association, protesting against the passage of the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator WILLIAM KING, of Utah, placing the rural delivery service on a contract basis; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

680. Also, petition of George W. Offutt, president Washington Board of Trade, Washington, D. C., urging action to be taken the first day possible on Senate bill 2933 and House bill 7363; to the Committee on Roads.

681. Also, petition of A. W. Shoults, president Shoults Motor Co. (Inc.), Woodward, Okla., protesting against a proposed Federal excise tax on motor vehicles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

682. Also, petition of Mrs. G. B. Reneau, State chairman of legislation, Oklahoma Congress of Parents and Teachers, Tulsa, Okla., urging the ratification of the child labor law to make it more effective in enforcement; to the Committee on Labor.

683. Also, petition of George R. Phillips, State forester, Oklahoma City, protesting against the reduced Budget recommendations for fire-protection and tree-distribution cooperative work with the various States under the Clarke-McNary law; to the Committee on Appropriations.

684. By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: Petition of common council of the town of South Charleston, W. Va., protesting

against the use of Government property at that point for a penal institution; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

685. Also, petition of Huntington Chapter of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, requesting favorable action on the measure calling for a Sunday of rest for the barbers of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

686. Also, petition of Federal Postal Employees Association, protesting any reduction in the compensation of Federal employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

687. Also, petition of Huntington Mother's Club, in support of the maintenance and enforcement of the prohibition law and opposing any measure toward modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

688. By Mr. HOPE: Petition of Mrs. F. H. Brubaker and 56 others of Anthony, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

689. Also, petition of Mrs. M. E. Lousignont and 91 other citizens of Stafford, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

690. Also, petition of Ola Camerrer and 70 other citizens of Bluff City, Kans., protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

691. Also, petition of Rev. Chester A. Miles and 53 other citizens of Nickerson, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

692. Also, petition of Mrs. Guy Carter and 20 others, of St. John, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

693. Also, petition of Alice Gill and 60 others, of Ransom, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

694. Also, petition of Mrs. Ollie Bondurant and 22 other citizens of Ness City, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

695. Also, petition of Lida H. Spiers and 29 others, of Great Bend, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

696. Also, petition of Mrs. E. R. Ayres and 41 others, of Nickerson, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

697. Also, petition of Mrs. W. H. Feather and Gladys Ellington, of Liberal, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

698. Also, petition of W. D. Strickler and 72 others, of Reno County, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

699. By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: Petition of Wilbur Harrison Post, No. 238, American Legion, Teague, Tex., favoring immediate payment in full of adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

700. By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: Petition of members of First United Presbyterian Church of Wilkinsburg, Pa., protesting against repeal or resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

701. Also, petition of citizens of Pitcairn, urging maintenance of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

702. By Mr. KENDALL: Petition of 57 members of the South Brownsville Methodist Episcopal Church, South Brownsville, Pa., opposing the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

703. By Mr. LAMNECK: Petition of John Gaal, Arthur Foerst, Joseph Offenbother, and others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations throughout the country commonly known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

704. Also, petition of Joseph Gaal, William H. Brown, R. F. Borah, and others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations throughout the country commonly known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

705. Also, petition of C. D. Ward, William W. Wortman, Jack M. Kimball, and others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations throughout the country commonly known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

706. Also, petition of Clarence W. Knospe, Emma Knospe, R. S. Welch, and others, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations throughout the country commonly known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

707. By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of Hilgartner Marble Co., Baltimore, Md., urging passage of House bill 4680; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

708. Also, petition of A. S. Polk, Baltimore, Md., protesting brush manufacture in Leavenworth prison; to the Committee on Labor.

709. Also, petition of National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local No. 181, and Michael L. O'Connor, of Baltimore, Md., protesting reduction in salaries of Federal employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

710. Also, petition of Baltimore Association of Commerce, Baltimore, Md., opposing retroactive tax legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

711. Also, petition of the Maryland-Virginia Joint Stock Land Bank of Baltimore, Md., protesting the Black and Thomas amendments to the Federal land bank bill; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

712. Also, petition of Harrison Royer, of Baltimore, Md., urging full payment of bonus for World War veterans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

713. Also, petition of Motion Picture Theater Owners of Maryland (Inc.), Baltimore Local No. 19, I. A. T. S. E., Baltimore, Md., protesting against Federal amusement tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

714. Also, petition of C. B. Canavan, Leo Jordan Co., and A. H. Bishop, of Baltimore, Md., protesting against taxation on automobiles, accessories, and parts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

715. Also, petition of Cornelia E. Machin, Arlington, Md., urging passage of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

716. Also, petition protesting against reduction in appropriation for National Guard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

717. By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of the Connecticut Hotel Association, relative to modification and repeal of prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

718. By Mr. McKEOWN: Petition of Mrs. C. C. Efaw, president, and a number of other members of Kendrick

(Okla.) Chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, expressing opposition to any modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

719. By Mr. McLAUGHLIN: Petition of Miss Alice Van Deman and 22 others, of Beulah and Benzonia, Mich., urging the enforcement of the national prohibition law and opposing any measure providing for its modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

720. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of Male Choir Bavaria (Inc.), to amend the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

721. By Mr. RAGON: Petition of legal voters and taxpayers of Faulkner County, Ark., in regard to House bill 1; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

722. By Mr. REILLY: Telegram from R. P. A. Johnson, Labor Union No. 276, Nakoma, Madison, Wis., protesting against decrease of salaries for Federal employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

723. Also, telegram from J. J. Handley, secretary Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, Milwaukee, Wis., protesting against any salary decreases for Federal employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

724. By Mr. ROMJUE: Petition of Legislation and taxation committee, real-estate board of Kansas City, Mo., opposing stamp tax on deeds of conveyance of real estate; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

725. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of Mohawk Valley Towns Association (Inc.), New York, favoring suitable taxation of trucks and passenger coaches using the highways for profit which shall place such carriers on a parity with the railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

726. By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia: Resolution of Mrs. E. C. Clayton, president Woman's Christian Temperance Union, St. Albans, W. Va., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to the United States Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

727. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of Sedgefield Shaw and other citizens of Ludlow, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

728. By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: Petition of Republican Women's Organization of Cambria County, Pa., opposing any modification of the prohibition enforcement laws, or of resubmission of the question to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

729. By Mr. SWANK: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Edmond, Okla., in support of maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

730. By Mr. SWICK: Petition of the official board of Mars Methodist Episcopal Church, Mars, Butler County, Pa., opposing the submission of national prohibition to the States by a resolution to submit a repeal amendment either to the State convention or to the State legislature for ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

731. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petitions of Brown Motor Co., Washington, and Union Transit Co., Waynesburg, Pa., protesting against tax on motor vehicles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

732. By Mr. TREADWAY: Petition of Edwin D. Clayton and other residents of Conway, Williamsburg, and Northampton, Mass., protesting against the enactment of Senate bill 1202, providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

733. By Mr. WHITTINGTON: Petition of Exchange Club of Cleveland, Miss., favoring the passage of legislation in aid of drainage districts; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

734. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Wisconsin Legislature, memorializing Congress to provide aid to the various States which have enacted old-age pension legislation; to the Committee on Labor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Thy injunction is with us; may we not forget all Thy benefits. Let our eyes ever be open to behold Thy goodness and mercy. How sharply contrasted is our personal unworthiness with Thy crowded gifts poured down upon us in such marvelous succession. They shine forth like the stars against a darkened sky. May we seal our allegiance to the One who was made perfect through suffering. Father in Heaven impress us most earnestly that now the elements and the opportunities for service are not far to reach; they are now at our feet. Let us lay them to our hearts and consecrate our common relations, our common tasks, and our common duties to the urgent needs of our whole country. The Lord God bless and direct this Congress as it moves forward in patriotic devotion to respond to the appealing calls of the Republic. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6596. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills, a joint resolution, and a concurrent resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 6. An act for the relief of the Union Ferry Co., owners of the ferryboat *Montauk;*

S. 217. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of J. G. Shelton;

S. 224. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis Semler;

S. 249. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of William T. Stiles;

S. 2199. An act exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts;

S. 2639. An act to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Poplar, Mont.;

S. 2656. An act to exempt from the quota husbands of American citizens;

S. 3058. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad Co.;

S. 3119. An act for the relief of J. D. Stewart;

S. J. Res. 33. Joint resolution to authorize the president to award gold medals to Wiley Post and Harold Gatty in recognition of their achievement in making an airplane flight around the world in less than nine days; and

S. Con. Res. 9. Concurrent resolution relative to the feasibility of a 6-hour day for railway employees.

CAPITAL STOCK—RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Appropriations, I call up House Joint Resolution 230, making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $500,000,000, to remain available until expended, for subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in

accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the act of the Seventy-second Congress entitled "An act to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes."

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

PAYMENT OF ADJUSTED-SERVICE CERTIFICATES

Mr. KVALE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by including therein an address delivered last night over the radio by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

Mr. Toastmaster, comrades, and ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, the Veterans of Foreign Wars is a militant, aggressive organization; it is always battling for the rights of veterans of all wars, their widows and orphans. A story I have heard illustrates the determination of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. A farmer had a visitor one evening—a friend from the city. The weather was cold. The visitor, noticing where some of the cold air was entering the room, said to his host, "Why do you have holes in your front door?" The farmer replied, "You see the four cats on the hearth in front of the fire, don't you?" "Yes;" replied the visitor; "but all four cats can go out one hole, so why have four holes?" "Yes; that is true;" replied the farmer; "but when I say scat, by golly, I mean scat."

VETERANS GRATEFUL TO GOVERNMENT—THEY REPRESENTATIVES OF PLAIN PEOPLE

I feel sure the veterans of the World War are grateful to their Government for the beneficial legislation passed in their behalf; on the other hand, the veterans are to be congratulated for being so reasonable in their requests for legislation. Congress has never invoked a new principle or policy of Government in their behalf; they have not received, neither have they ever asked, that the Government give to them and to their widows and orphans the same benefits now extended by the Government to the veterans of other wars and to their dependents. Almost 5,000,000 citizens of our Nation were in the military service of the United States during the World War. These veterans are representatives of the great middle class—not the very rich nor the very poor, but the plain people—the class that builds our country in time of peace and saves it in time of war.

A DEBT NOT A BONUS

We are not asking for the payment of a bonus. We are asking for the payment of an honest debt that has been publicly confessed and acknowledged by the Congress of the United States to the veterans of the World War for services rendered.

In order to persuade the Congress of the United States to enact a law providing for the full cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates, the burden is upon us to show (1) that the face value of each certificate is past due, and (2) that the Government can pay the debt at this time without detriment to the general welfare. I believe we can make this showing. We can show further that the payment of the debt at this time will benefit all the people of the Nation and promote the general welfare. The Government can make the payment without a bond issue, without increasing taxes, and without paying interest.

When the war was over bills were introduced in Congress providing for the adjustment of the pay of those who were in the military service. The private soldier drew $30 a month during his service. From this pay deductions of from $10 to $20 a month were often made for his dependents, $6.60 a month was deducted for a life-insurance premium; he also paid for altering and mending his clothing and shoes, as well as other incidental expenses. After thorough and deliberate consideration Congress declared that the lowest-paid civilian laborer during the war received between $1 and $1.25 more per day for his services than the veteran received. Congress, on three different occasions, passed bills confessing a debt to the veterans for adjusted pay. The amount agreed upon was $1 additional for each day one served in the United States and $1.25 a day additional for each day one served overseas. The last bill which passed Congress became a law, but instead of making the payment in cash an adjusted-service certificate, or an I O U marked "Nonnegotiable," payable in 20 years, was given to the veteran; the ones who were entitled to receive $50 or less were paid in cash. The first bill introduced in the House this session of Congress provides for the full and immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates. I introduced the bill and it is known as H. R. 1. Representative CONNERY, of Massachusetts, the toastmaster of the banquet this evening, has presented a similar measure. We are working together on the proposal. In this bill we are merely asking for the payment of the $1 or $1.25 a day as of the time the services were rendered, with 6 per cent interest compounded annually. The interest rate is reasonable, as the Government for many years required the veterans to pay 6, 7, and 8 per cent interest compounded annually for their own money. In this bill we are not asking for the 25 per cent increase for waiting, which Congress said was reasonable. That part is eliminated. If a veteran is given the $1 and $1.25 a day as of the time the services were rendered, with a reasonable rate of interest from that time, he was entitled to an amount equal to the face or maturity value of his adjusted-service certificate October 1, 1931. Therefore the certificates were really due October 1, 1931, although made payable in 1945.

NUMBER BORROWED AND REMAINDER DUE

Three million six hundred thousand veterans hold these certificates. They range in value from $126 to $1,590 each, of the average value of $1,000. All except 1,000,000—or 5 out of every 7 veterans—have borrowed the limit allowed by law, 50 per cent, on their certificates. It will require $2,200,000,000 to pay the remainder due, after deducting prior loans and interest to October 1, 1931. If this money is paid now, it will be equal to a distribution of $18 per capita over the entire Nation. This additional purchasing power is very much needed at this time. The benefits will not be restricted to the veterans and their families, but everybody will be helped.

IS DEMAND FOR FULL PAYMENT UNPATRIOTIC?

Many would accuse the veterans of being unpatriotic for seeking full payment at this time. If full payment is not made, what will the average veteran, who has borrowed the limit, receive on his certificate in subsequent years? He will not be permitted to borrow any more until 1944, and then only $16.55. The next year, 1945, he will be given $66.25 and his certificate will be canceled. Compound interest will have consumed the remainder. The veterans are now 39½ years of age; they need the money worse than the Government or the banks need it in compound interest. More than a million veterans who hold these certificates are unemployed and need the money to purchase necessities of life for themselves and families. An investigation disclosed that less than 7 per cent of the money loaned to them under the 50 per cent loan act was wasted.

OTHERS RECEIVED ADJUSTED PAY IN CASH

The war contractors and railroad owners after the war were paid billions of dollars by the Government in adjusted compensation for their war services, and much more than all the veterans will receive in adjusted pay if H. R. 1 becomes a law; they were paid in cash at a time when our Nation owed $10,000,000,000 more than it owes to-day. The 500,000 Federal employees, who received $2,500 a year or less, also received adjusted pay of $240 a year, not only during the war but for five years after the war was over, costing the Government more than $300,000,000. Soldiers, who worked for a dollar a day on the public roads during the war side by side with civilians who received $8 a day, had their pay adjusted by Congress after the war and were given $7 a day additional for each day they so worked.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES GIVEN BILLIONS

Foreign countries, our allies during the war, persuaded our Government to adjust their debts. Congress passed laws which resulted in our Government giving to these countries more than $10,000,000,000 as a bonus, gift, or subsidy. These countries used our money to make public improvements, to pay unemployment insurance, doles, and to pay their own soldiers not only adjusted compensation but bonuses aggregating as much as $7,290 each.

MISLEADING PROPAGANDA

There is much misleading and false propaganda relating to veterans' affairs being circulated over the country at this time. One headline in a newspaper was "Thirteen billion dollars paid veterans during 1931." An investigation of this headline disclosed that the Government has spent that enormous sum on veterans, their widows and orphans, and for hospitalization and all other expenses; not just World War veterans but all veterans; not during 1931 nor since 1917, but since 1776. The Government has expended $5,000,000,000 since 1917 on veterans of the World War, including hospitalization, cost of administration and compensation to dependent ones. How much is $5,000,000,000? Just one-half as much as our Government gave to foreign countries in one gift.

DID VETERANS CAUSE PRESENT TREASURY DEFICIT?

One who holds a high position with our Government has made the charge that the present deficit in the Treasury has been caused by loans made to veterans on their adjusted-service certificates. The charge is untrue. Two funds have been utilized in making these loans. Eight hundred and forty million dollars has been loaned from the adjusted-service certificate fund, which is a reserve fund built up over a period of years from annual appropriations by Congress. The remainder has been loaned from the Government life-insurance fund, which was created by insurance premiums paid by veterans on their Government life insurance. Not one penny has been loaned by the Treasury of the United States on these certificates. Therefore, not one penny of the deficit has been caused by such loans.

UNCLE SAM PLAYS SANTA CLAUS TO VETERANS

Another newspaper headline appeared during the Christmas holidays, "Congress votes $200,000,000 to veterans as Christmas present." From that headline one would immediately form the opinion that the Government played Santa Claus to the veterans by giving them this large sum of money. Many thought the bill had passed to pay the remainder of their certificates and wired the Government and the St. Paul Bank to send them the rest. This appropriation was not a gift to the veterans. The President, anticipating that the two funds heretofore mentioned that were furnishing the money to make loans on the certificates may become exhausted, asked Congress to make this appropriation in

order that it may be available for the purpose of loaning the veterans their own money at 4½ per cent interest compounded annually. In other words, if the veterans use this money—that will cost the Government about 2½ per cent interest to borrow—they will have to pay the Government $9,000,000 a year for the use of it. Considering the false propaganda that has been and is being circulated by the World War profiteers against the veterans, we do not wonder that some of our good citizens are deluded into believing that the veterans are bonus racketeers, Treasury raiders, and trying to bankrupt the Government.

WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM?

We need more money in circulation. This debt should be paid in Treasury notes, which will circulate as money the same as notes of the Federal reserve banks. They should be nontaxable and non interest bearing, good for the payment of all debts public and private, and should be full legal tender. Such payment of $2,200,000,000 will cause moderate inflation of the currency, which is very much needed at this time, and which is being advocated by the President of the United States, bankers, economists, financiers, and others, and in no way endanger the gold standard. This plan can become effective at once and the money distributed in payment of the debt to the veterans to every nook and corner of America; purchasing power will be placed into the hands of consumers; wheels of industry will commence to turn to supply demands from these consumers. The payment can be made in this way without a bond issue, without additional taxes, and without paying interest.

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS BILL

Widows and orphans of veterans of all wars except the World War receive a pension from the Government regardless of the cause of the death of the veteran husband and father. The same law should be made applicable to widows and orphans of veterans of the World War. This legislation is receiving first consideration from all veterans' organizations and Members of Congress. I believe that such a law will be enacted without delay.

EQUALIZE BURDENS OF LAST WAR

I am not thinking so much about equalizing the burdens of the next war as I am thinking about equalizing the burdens of the last war. We know who profited so much during the last war by reason of our country's misery and misfortune; they can yet be made to pay the bill. If they find such a policy to be expensive, a future war will be less likely.

WHAT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE THINKING

H. R. 1 will become a law this session of Congress if the people get the truth and they in turn communicate their wishes to their duly chosen Representatives in Congress.

The veterans in this fight are not asking for sympathy; they are asking for understanding. They have a just cause; they are right; they are only asking for the payment of an honest debt that Congress has heretofore confessed for services rendered. No fair person who understands their cause is opposed to the proposal. The fight will continue until the wrong is righted and the debt is paid in full.

TARIFF ON OIL

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, in any discussion of a tariff on petroleum the question of its effect upon the price of gasoline and lubricating oil naturally arises. Those companies engaging in importing oil would like to give the impression that a tariff would mean greatly increased prices, and they have been very active in disseminating propaganda along this line. Much of this propaganda has been untrue and misleading.

To answer the question as to the effect of a tariff on the retail price of gasoline and lubricating oil it is necessary to consider conditions in the oil industry and the relationship between the price of crude oil and of the refined products. To-day the price of crude oil is cheap because of importations from abroad and overproduction in the past in this country. As compared with the price of crude oil, gasoline prices are relatively high but are lower than they have been in the past. The main reason they are lower is because there is competition in the industry. That competition is furnished by the independent producers. If they can continue in business, we will have competitive prices. If the large importing companies force them out of business, we will have monopoly prices.

It might be well in this connection to consider how the prices of gasoline in countries where there are no independent producers compare with those in the United States. In the month of December retail gasoline prices in this country, less the tax, ranged from 9 to 14 cents per gallon. The Tariff Commission has found that oil is being produced in Venezuela for $1.03 per barrel less than in the United States, yet at Caracas, Venezuela, gasoline is selling for 25½ cents per gallon. We import oil from Colombia, yet, deducting taxes, it has been selling in Bogota for 34 cents per gallon, and in Cartagena for 26 cents. Mexico is an oil-producing country, and yet gasoline, according to the latest figures available in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, is selling for 24.7 cents in Mexico City and 30.3 cents per gallon at Tampico. The fact is we have the lowest gasoline prices of any country on the globe because of the intense competition in the industry.

Take another illustration of the effect of monopoly. We all know that while there has been some reduction in gasoline prices we are paying the same or higher prices to-day for lubricating oil that we did when crude oil was but $3.50 per barrel. The average crude-oil price to-day is 77 cents per barrel, and during the year it has been as low as 14 cents. Why are we still paying from 25 to 35 cents per quart for lubricating oil when crude prices have declined so drastically? Simply because this phase of the refining business is in the hands of a relatively few refiners and is controlled by the larger companies. Because of the lack of strong independent competition these companies have held the price of lubricating oil to war-time levels.

Are the cities along the Atlantic seaboard where imported gasoline is being sold receiving any price benefit from the fact that it is manufactured from oil which is produced for $1.03 per barrel less than the cost of production in this country? Certainly not. On December 7, the latest date for which I have been able to get reliable figures, gasoline was selling, excluding tax, at service stations in Atlantic seaboard cities, as follows:

	Cents
Baltimore	12.4
Washington	12.9
Charleston, S. C.	12.5
Newark, N. J.	12.7
New York City	14.3
Boston, Mass.	11.5
Hartford, Conn.	12.0

Compare these prices with cities which are not only a great distance from the Atlantic seaboard but from the domestic oil-producing territory as well:

	Cents
Indianapolis, Ind.	12.3
Minneapolis, Minn.	11.4
Des Moines, Iowa	11.4
St. Louis, Mo.	11.9
Chicago, Ill.	12.0
Omaha, Nebr.	11.9
Milwaukee, Wis.	12.1
Detroit, Mich.	11.5

All of the above prices are taken from the December 9 issue of the National Petroleum News and are for the standard grades of gasoline. After comparing these figures, it is hardly necessary to point out that no apparent price benefits are being received by the consumers as a result of these importations of foreign oil produced by cheap tropical labor.

Propagandists for the importing companies have been particularly active in trying to point out to the farmers the danger of an increased price for petroleum products if a tariff is imposed. I do not believe that the farmers of this country are gullible enough to fall for any such line of argument. They know only too well how dearly they pay when monopolies are able to fix the price of products which they must buy. The agricultural-implement business is the best example we have of a monopoly in this country to-day. There is simply no competition in it. On the other hand, the automobile industry is highly competitive. Anything which reduces costs in the industry ought to have the same effect in the other, yet since the war we have seen a tremendous decrease in the price of automobiles, while farm machinery prices have been even higher than during war times.

Recently we have been reading in the newspapers and magazines about gasoline racketeers who have built to gigantic proportions the business of bootlegging gasoline to avoid payment of tax. But those racketeers are small fry compared with the big importing companies who, by reason of their ability to bring cheap South American gasoline

into this country free of duty, would drive their competitors, the little independent companies, out of existence. Right now they are boasting of the fact that because of the depression in the industry they have been able to acquire the property of some of the independents at ruinous prices. If, through the failure of Congress to afford the legitimate oil industry tariff protection, these great importing companies can pursue their racketeering tactics, they will achieve absolute control of the industry and the great American gasoline-buying public will be taken for a long, long ride. Then we will know what it means to have high gasoline prices.

ELECTION TO A COMMITTEE

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, I move the adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 121

Resolved, That WILLIAM N. ROGERS, of New Hampshire, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of the standing Committee on Military Affairs.

The resolution was agreed to.

TAXATION OF STATE AND FEDERAL SALARIES

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, I ask unanimous consent that House Joint Resolution 185, to amend the Constitution of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, be rereferred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. SNELL. What is it about?

Mr. RAINEY. It is a resolution which provides for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States permitting States to tax Federal salaries and the Federal Government to tax State salaries.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to announce that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act has been printed, and I have directed 5,000 copies to be placed in the document room. I do not know whether they have reached there yet or not, but I want the Members to understand that there is a supply available for all who desire them.

WITHDRAWAL OF A BILL

Mr. HORR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the bill (H. R. 7627) to reconvey to the State of Oregon all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to Sand Island, near the mouth of the Columbia River, in the State of Oregon, reserving to the United States the right to the perpetual use of the said land for military purposes, which was inadvertently introduced by myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

INCREASES IN SALARIES

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules I call up House Resolution 120, being a privileged resolution from the Committee on Rules, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That it shall be in order, the general rules of the House to the contrary notwithstanding, to consider in connection with H. R. 7912, a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes, the following:

SEC. 2. No appropriation under the Department of Agriculture available during the fiscal years 1932 and/or 1933 shall be used after the date of the approval of this act (1) to increase the compensation of any position within the grade to which such position has been allocated under the classification act of 1923, as amended, (2) to increase the compensation of any position in the field service the pay of which is adjustable to correspond so far as may be practicable to the rates established by such act as amended for the departmental service in the District of Columbia, (3) to increase the compensation of any position under such act through reallocation, (4) to increase the compensation of any person in any grade under such act through advancement to another position in the same grade or to a position in a higher grade at a rate in excess of the minimum rate of such higher grade unless such minimum rate would require an actual reduction in compensation, or (5) to increase the compensation of any other position of the Federal Government under such department. The appropriations or portions of appropriations unexpended by the operation of this section shall not be used for any other purposes, but shall be impounded and returned to the Treasury, and a report of the amounts so impounded for the period between the date of the approval of this act and October 31, 1932, shall be submitted to Congress on the first day of the next regular session.

SEC. 3. No appropriation under the Department of Agriculture available during the fiscal years 1932 and/or 1933 shall be used after the date of the approval of this act to pay the compensation of an incumbent appointed to any position under the Federal Government which is vacant on the date of the approval of this act or to any such position which may become vacant after such date: *Provided*, That this inhibition shall not apply to absolutely essential positions the filling of which may be approved in writing by the President of the United States. The appropriations or portions of appropriations unexpended by the operation of this section shall not be used for any other purposes, but shall be impounded and returned to the Treasury, and a report of all such vacancies, the number thereof filled, and the amounts unexpended, for the period between the date of the approval of this act and October 31, 1932, shall be submitted to Congress on the first day of the next regular session.

Mr. SNELL. Did the gentleman from New York notify the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. PURNELL] that this resolution was to be called up to-day?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I did not. I understood he presumed yesterday that it would, however.

Mr. SNELL. I do not know whether there is any demand for time on this side or not. I ask the gentleman to make a statement with respect to it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, this resolution was introduced before the Committee on Rules by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS], chairman of the Committee on Appropriations at the request of his committee. We were informed that every member of the Appropriations Committee—Republican and Democratic members—favored it except as to one gentleman objecting in one small particular. As for the necessity for the resolution it was stated that there was a probability that a point of order might be made against these provisions of sections 2 and 3 now carried in this agricultural appropriation bill. It was therefore thought best that the matter be laid before the House so that the membership of the House could determine whether the provisions of these two sections now in the bill should remain in the bill.

It has always been my understanding that the Rules Committee is not a committee that passes on the merits of measures. As has often been said before, that committee merely determines whether or not a measure is in accord with the program of the House and in answer to a reasonable demand from the membership of the House, that they have an opportunity to pass their judgment upon it. It is in that customary spirit that the Rules Committee approached this resolution without going into its merits to any extent. The entire membership of the Appropriations Committee without regard to politics wanted to give the House an opportunity to pass upon it. In such a situation I believe it to be the duty of the Rules Committee to lay the matter before the House for such action as it shall see fit to take. That we have done in this case.

We were informed that these provisions in no wise reduced any salary or put any Federal employee out of a job. They merely provide that until July 1, 1933, unless Congress in the meantime shall decide otherwise, no Government salaries shall be increased. Who can justly complain of that policy? Section 2 also specifically takes care of the man who is promoted to a higher position and instead of keeping him at the salary of the lower grade, gives him the salary of the higher place. So promotions are not interfered with. Who can within reason complain of that policy?

Section 3 provides that no vacancies shall be filled without the written approval of the President. What complaint can there be about that? If a vacancy occurs by reason of death, resignation, or otherwise, no one is thereby deprived of a job. If the necessities of the Government require that

the vacancy be filled, the President will undoubtedly approve an appointment when the reasons are laid before him.

I appreciate there is some merit to the objections of some Members that it is putting an extra burden on the Executive. I raised that identical question in the Rules Committee, but the explanation given by the chairman of the Appriations Committee satisfied me that the personal approval by the President was the safest policy to adopt.

Every Member surely is cognizant of various movements on foot for a general reduction in the salaries of all Government employees. On the other side there is a very strong determination to resist to the last such a movement. I for one have always been and shall continue to be opposed to any such general reduction of the salaries of government employees. I believe it to be false economy in these times and would result in the direct opposite of the results its proponents claim would be accomplished.

To my mind the real merit of this resolution lies in the fact that it represents a definite policy of our Appropriations Committee not to cut salaries. And I so interpret it. Every Government employee should welcome it as a definite pronouncement that he need no longer fear his salary will be reduced. This proposal he should accept gracefully and gratefully, and I am confident he will.

So the Rules Committee respectfully lays the matter before you for your consideration.

I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, to explain to you the desirability of the resolution.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, this is a part of the program of at least a majority, and, so far as I know, practically all of the members of the Committee on Appropriations. If these two sections are carried in this bill, then it is the purpose of the Committee on Appropriations to put similar sections on the other appropriation bills as they come before the House, applying to the departments for which the appropriations are made. These sections which are proposed are very plain. One applies to the question of increases of salaries. A great deal has been said about a reduction of salaries, and we are told daily through the press that later on there will be a proposition put up to Members of the House providing for a reduction at least of some of the salaries now being paid by the Government. Whether that comes before us or not or whether it be adopted, I am sure every Member will agree that under the present circumstances there ought not be any increase in salaries. This section is drawn with the view of providing that from now until July 1, and throughout the fiscal year 1933, there shall be no increase in salary given to any employee of the Government. Of course, if he is promoted to a higher grade, he goes to the minimum of that grade.

The resolution also specifically provides that in the event of such promotion there shall be no reduction in his present salary.

I think that is all that need be said on section 2.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. The gentleman spoke with reference to "Government employees." Do I understand that this is only for the Department of Agriculture or does it apply to all Government employees?

Mr. BYRNS. This resolution only provides for the Department of Agriculture. As I said a moment ago, if this section is adopted in this bill, it is the purpose of the Committee on Appropriations to bring in a similar section for every other appropriation bill, so as to make that provision uniform throughout the service, the idea of the Committee on Appropriations being that there should not be any increases of salaries in any department of this Government for the time stated.

Section 3 relates to the filling of vacancies. Some of the Members are familiar with the fact that the President has issued an order to the effect that no vacancies shall be filled unless they are absolutely essential, or words to that effect.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Will the gentleman yield.

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Is it not the practice to-day not to fill any vacancy or to make any promotions? Is that not the practice?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Then, why is it necessary to put it in a bill?

Mr. BYRNS. I will tell the gentleman if he will listen for a few moments. We have found that on some occasions, notwithstanding the issuance of that order, vacancies have been filled. There have been some few promotions.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Under the bill, could they not fill vacancies and make promotions where they found it necessary?

Mr. BYRNS. Only on the conditions set forth in this section.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is the condition that is supposed to exist to-day.

Mr. BYRNS. But I think this places an inhibition upon filling vacancies that will make effective just what the President had in mind when he issued that Executive order. This is doing no more than make effective the Executive order of the President, both as to increases and as to the filling of vacancies.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Executive order of the President does not require his personal approval, while this bill does.

Mr. BYRNS. I am coming to that, if the gentleman will pardon me.

That is the only objection I have heard urged against this section. Under the Executive order, of course, it is left to the head of a department as to whether or not the filling of a vacancy is essential. Those of us on the Appropriations Committee and you Members who have given attention to these things know that in nearly every instance when it comes to a department it is often a matter that is pro forma. A vacancy occurs; the head of the division or the head of the bureau, whatever may be the position, certifies to the head of the department that there is a vacancy and he desires to fill it, and it is filled without very much, if any, attention being given to it. That obtains, and I have found it during the years I have been on this committee, in nearly every department of the Government, not only under this administration but under previous administrations.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Is not big business to-day throughout the country doing the very same thing, and they are increasing the unemployment by so doing? Our Government, in attempting to do this thing, will not help the unemployment situation but will make it worse.

Mr. BYRNS. Well, I do not think this will seriously interfere with the unemployment, when it comes to the question of filling vacancies. If the positions are needed, if they are absolutely essential, they will be filled; but if they are not absolutely essential and not needed, then they will not be filled. Certainly under these circumstances you and I can not afford to refuse to support a proposition which means that your Government will not be put in the position of keeping places down here in the department or in the field which are not needed but which have to be paid for out of the people's Treasury. [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. SNELL. I do not see how anybody can consistently oppose the first part of this proposition. The only question in my mind is this, that it be approved in writing by the President of the United States. The gentleman well knows that the President could not personally make an investigation as to each of the individual positions. In the final analysis he must take the recommendation of the chief of the department, and as long as every man knows that, from a practical standpoint, he must do that, why is it insisted that the President should sign that order?

Mr. BYRNS. Simply to make it effective and make it mean what this committee intended it to mean that no vacancy shall be filled unless it is absolutely essential.

Now, if the gentleman will pardon me, and in direct reply to his question, the law now is that vacancies are filled by the head of the department. If we put this provision in now and leave it to the head of the department, it is no stronger than it is now, and I have just stated that the practice has grown up in these departments—and I think every member of the Committee on Appropriations will bear me out in the statement—that whenever a vacancy occurs, while in theory and under the law it is filled by the head of the department, in reality it is filled by the head of the division or the bureau chief and little, if any, consideration is given by anybody else to the question as to whether it is needed.

Now, as to the other point which the gentleman raised, as to the necessity of having the President's approval. Of course we could say that the Budget should approve it; but when we do that, I think anybody opposed to a provision of this sort would say, "You are giving to a subordinate authority and jurisdiction over a member of the Cabinet." The President is the head of this Government. No one expects him to investigate all these places. I agree that it is humanly impossible for him to do so, but the President has under him officials who can do it.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. BYRNS. The President has a multitude of matters to which he can not give personal attention. How does he dispose of them? He disposes of them through those who are under him and upon whom he relies to act wisely in the matter. He has three secretaries, two more than any President ever had before. While I do not want to become personal, I think that possibly one of those secretaries could be given a little something to do in consideration of the salary he is drawing. The President could permit one of his secretaries to do this or the President could designate the Bureau of the Budget to do it for him. If the Bureau of the Budget is doing it in his name, then no head of a department could complain.

The President could go farther. He could say, for instance, so far as this department is concerned, to the Secretary of Agriculture, "I am going to delegate you to advise me as to whether these positions are absolutely essential, and I am going to rely upon you." Now, what effect would that have? You say the Secretary of Agriculture already has that authority; but I want to say to you, gentlemen, that if the President of the United States says to the Secretary of Agriculture, "I am going to depend upon you to give attention to this matter and advise me as to whether these positions ought to be filled," you will have something more than a mere pro forma investigation on the part of the Secretary of Agriculture before he makes a recommendation.

You talk about the number of approvals the President will have to make. I do not know how many vacancies there will be in the Agricultural Department; but I dare say that if this section is placed in this bill and becomes a law, there will be very few vacancies that will ever go to the White House with the request that the President approve a recommendation that the positions be filled.

Only within the last few days, in connection with the hearings a subcommittee of which I am a member has been conducting with reference to another department, we found in one of the bureaus that a few weeks ago two vacancies occurred, one of them a stenographer and another a messenger. I asked them if they had filled those positions. They said they had filled the position of stenographer only last week. I asked those who were appearing before our committee who made the appointment, and they said, of course, the Secretary of that particular department. I said, "He does not make any investigation of those matters, does he?" They said, "No; he usually accepts our recommendations." I said, "Have you filled the position of messenger?" They said, "No." I said, "Are you going to do so?" They said, "Yes; we expect to do so in the next few days." I said, "This position of messenger has remained open for a month or two. Why can you not leave it open, why is it necessary to fill it," and no satisfactory explanation was given. I suggested to them that possibly it would be better to permit that position to remain open, especially in view of the fact that the President had issued this Executive order providing that these vacancies should not be filled except in cases where they were absolutely essential.

Now, gentlemen, the Committee on Appropriations is doing its best—and I say this with reference to gentlemen on both sides of this Chamber who are members of that committee—to save and to reduce expenditures. This is the judgment of practically all the members of that committee, and I hope that in this effort the Committee on Appropriations is making it will have the support of this House. I do not regard anything as more important than this particular provision, because it will save in the Agricultural Department alone at least $500,000, and perhaps more. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL] to use as he sees fit.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS].

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I think there will be few, if any, in this body who will disagree with the purpose it is expected will be effected by sections 2 and 3 of this bill. My objection in the committee and my objection on the floor of the House is to that proviso which makes the President of the United States determine, first, that the filling of a particular vacancy is "absolutely essential," and then makes the President of the United States determine that fact in writing. Now, there is no subterfuge, and I think it is doing the President a disservice when it is suggested that when the Congress requires that he do a specific act and make a specific finding that he pass that to some one else and do it merely as a matter of form.

Gentlemen, let me submit this to you: In this day of stress in this Nation we ought to relieve the President of many of the minor administrative details which are now placed upon him and which he is personally required to perform rather than to add to those minor administrative details, thus taking his time and energies from other important governmental problems. I do not think we should place on his shoulders a great series of administrative acts that are more or less perfunctory.

Now, gentlemen, get this picture: If a postmaster out in my district dies, and this is the proposal—and they expect to put this language in every appropriation bill—a fourth-class postmaster whose compensation is $100 a year, it will not be possible to put anybody in his place until the President of the United States signs an order and says it is absolutely essential that that place be filled. Then take the case of a charwoman who is scrubbing floors in the Department of Agriculture Building in Washington, and getting 50 cents an hour for doing it. If such a charwoman should die, they can not put another charwoman in her place until the President of the United States says it is absolutely essential.

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BURTNESS. Is it conceded by those who are proposing this that it would apply to such a postmaster if a similar provision was put on the Post Office Department bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. It says any employee of the Federal Government, and it is proposed to put this language in all the supply bills.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. It would apply to a charwoman, even, not only to a postmaster.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes. Read the language. I submit there is not a man here who can tell what that language really means.

Mr. BURTNESS. I would like to ask the chairman of the Appropriations Committee about that.

Mr. SIMMONS. I have asked the officials of the Department of Agriculture what they would do in the event a forest fire should break out 1 or 2 or 300 miles away from the line of communication in the Pacific Northwest. Must they

let that fire burn until the President of the United States determines that it is essential to put another man on the job to put out the fire? I do not know.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That would not be necessary because that would not be filling a vacancy in carrying on fire fighting.

Mr. SIMMONS. I take it those men are employees of the Federal Government and would come under that language. As the gentleman knows, the Department of Agriculture itself does not know.

We maintain a responsible marketing-news service. Out in the city of San Francisco there is a man who is at a key in a telegraph office, an employee of the Federal Government. If he dies at his job or is suddenly stricken, the Government can not fill that link in the chain of marketing-news service until the President finds it is absolutely essential that that be done.

I am willing to save money, gentlemen. I feel we should do anything to that end, and I propose before this session closes, I think, to-day, to offer amendments that will save more money than this proposition does. Let us not clutter up the desk of the President with all these minor administrative details.

You ask what is the solution. If you have not confidence in the Cabinet officers who are the heads of the departments, then let the Director of the Budget do this detail work.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEAVITT. I would like to have some one state what would happen in a case like this. The gentleman referred to fighting fires in the national forests. Suppose we have an employee who is already on the pay roll of the Federal Government stationed as a lookout on top of a mountain in the middle of a national forest in a severe fire season. In his work he wounds himself with his axe. I am speaking from practical experience, because I was in that kind of work for years. It is necessary to have a man there immediately. Under this bill, instead of having the forest supervisor in a position to put another man there on that lookout, you would have to go all the way to Washington and have the President sign the proper order.

Mr. SIMMONS. I take it that is a fair construction of the language.

Mr. LEAVITT. And there is no way in the world the President could delegate that authority?

Mr. SIMMONS. Gentlemen, relieve the President of the minor administrative details he now carries, add none to them, and permit him to devote his energy and abilities to the major problems of government.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I was not aware that this resolution was to be brought up to-day. May I inquire how much time has been consumed on this side?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has consumed 6 minutes out of 20 minutes yielded to him by the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR].

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I am against this rule, and I want to call the attention of the House to the danger of adopting a rule of this kind on the very first appropriation bill that we have under consideration.

The reason for the rule is that both sections would otherwise go out on a point of order. I regret exceedingly that my colleague from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR] is sponsoring this rule, because I have heard him state, time and time again on the floor of this House, when he was in the minority on the Rules Committee, his opposition to forcing consideration of any proposition in this manner.

Gentlemen, let me point out what you are doing here. You are setting a bad example to industry and business throughout this country to stop increases in pay, to stop promotions, and to decrease their personnel. Of course, such a policy will be followed to the detriment of wage earners.

We have a contract with every employee of the Government, or at least a moral obligation to carry out the intent of the law. He is entitled to promotion within his grade if a vacancy occurs. He is entitled to promotion to another grade if a vacancy occurs, and he is competent to do the work; but under this bill he would be promoted without any increase in pay. We remove even the hope of a small increase by automatic promotion. If industry and commerce will follow the example that Congress will set by adopting this rule and accepting these amendments, it may mean an additional 1,500,000 men out of work, if the same policy is followed by them.

The President of the United States pleaded with industry and with commerce not to reduce unduly their personnel. We have here a requirement for each department and under the pretext of economy—and I say it is a pretext, because the entire economy will not get the savings beyond the decimal point of our total appropriation—but this policy will increase unemployment. This is bringing down the standard of wages, which will necessarily be brought about by increased competition in the labor market. Congress now is asked to do the dirtiest piece of work it was ever asked to do in the history of legislation. Why, the idea of taking away the hope of promotion of $60 a year——

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield if the gentleman will give me more time.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I will give the gentleman one minute more, because I know the gentleman does not want to misrepresent anybody.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Oh, no.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman said that I sponsored this. I brought it in from the Rules Committee.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Then the gentleman is against it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman said that if a man was promoted he would be promoted without pay. That is not correct, because the pay goes with the position.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is that so? All right; the gentleman owes me a minute. [Laughter.] Let us see; this reads:

To increase the compensation of any person in any grade under such act through advancement to another position in the same grade, or to a position in a higher grade, at a rate in excess of the minimum rate of such higher grade, unless such minimum rate would require an actual reduction in compensation.

"To increase the compensation of any grade." That is the amendment and I submit that it would prevent an increase in pay, even though promoted. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZPATRICK] hit the nail on the head when he called attention to the far-reaching effect of the sections covered by this rule.

I repeat that you should beware of what you are doing. Not only are we going to be hamstrung and hog-tied in the consideration of this appropriation bill but all appropriation bills——

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield the gentleman two minutes more.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I thank the gentleman. The only vestige of a prerogative left in the House of Representatives is that of controlling appropriations. Under the pretense of economy, which will not mean the saving beyond a decimal point under this proposal, we are helping in a concerted movement to tear down the morale of our loyal Government employees. We are going to state to employers that we are going to turn out these men, and these employers in industry will be released of their promise to the President of the United States and do likewise. And then what?

I can not understand why we can not abide by the rules of the House and raise points of order when we reach these sections. The House is entitled to that. This new policy will submit to the President of the United States every time a vacancy is to be filled, every time a substitute mail carrier or a charwoman is to be appointed. Gentlemen, we will not get out of this crisis on this kind of legislation. Let us do something real and something effective. I am against this rule. I shall oppose the sections of the bill, which are

clearly not germane, and subject to a point of order, and which this rule now makes in order.

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself five minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I regret that the gentleman from New York, who is in charge of this resolution, did not notify the Republican members of the Rules Committee that it would be called up the first thing this morning.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I understood that everybody knew that it would be taken up the first thing in the morning.

Mr. PURNELL. I assumed that the resolution would not be called up until we had reached these sections in the appropriation bill which the resolution makes in order.

I am not wedded to this particular proposal, but I am in sympathy with the purpose we are seeking to accomplish. As the matter stands now, everybody understands and knows that vacancies are being filled daily by many bureau heads without any regard to our common determination to bring about further economy in their departments.

In favoring the provision that the President shall make approval in filling vacancies, I did not have in mind that the President of the United States would sit down and personally go over every one of the applications. I did, however, have this thought in mind: That the various Cabinet heads would scrutinize recommendations for filling vacancies as they come up from the bureau heads and in passing them on to the President of the United States for approval would take a serious second thought which they might not take if the department alone had power to approve.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If there was a vacancy in the comptroller's office, would the recommendation have to go to the Secretary of the Treasury and then to the President?

Mr. PURNELL. I think so.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Would not that add to the red tape?

Mr. PURNELL. Oh, at best you will have some red tape and some inequalities. Specific instances have been pointed out here which might occur, but, after all, 9 out of every 10 of them can be taken care of in the manner provided by this resolution without working any hardship to the service.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is it the understanding of the committee that under the wording of the resolution the President could delegate to the chief forester, for example, or down to the forest supervisor, authority to fill an emergency vacancy, such as I spoke of, of a lookout man in a national forest at a time of great danger to that forest?

Mr. PURNELL. I feel sure that emergency matters of that kind could be taken care of.

Mr. LEAVITT. Could that be delegated in advance so that there would be no delay, or, under the bill, would the matter have to come back to Washington first for determination?

Mr. PURNELL. I am not in a position to say definitely how that would be worked out, but the gentleman knows that in such an emergency the matter would be taken care of.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Is it not a fact that if this becomes a law Congress has found a way to reduce expenditures in personnel without reducing salaries?

Mr. PURNELL. It has found a way to hold down expenses.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is there anything in the rule that prevents amendment to these sections in the bill? They can be amended by germane amendments in the Committee of the Whole, can they not?

Mr. PURNELL. Certainly. This resolution simply makes these sections germane.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is open to the privilege of amendment, so that we can substitute the Director of the Budget or the head of the department?

Mr. PURNELL. Certainly. The Committee of the Whole may strike out both sections if it chooses, or it may adopt or amend them.

Mr. STAFFORD. This merely makes this in order.

Mr. PURNELL. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. So that one objection will not put it out of the bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD].

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that some confusion may have been created in the minds of some gentlemen with reference to the real purpose of this rule. The Committee on Appropriations, as was represented to us by the chairman of that committee, and I assume that his statement is without dispute, after full and due consideration of the problems involved with reference to the items covered by these limitations on appropriation bills, came to the unanimous conclusion that these were wise and prudent restrictions to be put on this expenditure, so that there is no political phase to be injected into this controversy whatever. The distinguished political freelance and roving statesman from New York, Major LAGUARDIA, has used some rather harsh language here this morning with reference to this resolution and calls it dirty work, which I think was a very improvident and not a very judicious statement to be made by that usually well-balanced gentleman. Here is the whole controversy: The Democratic Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, charged with the responsibility, as a matter of determined policy, to undertake to balance our National Budget, has sense enough to know that there is but one way to balance a budget, and that is to balance it, and you can balance it in only two ways. One is to increase your taxes upon the taxpayers of America to meet this tremendous deficit that has been placed upon the Federal Treasury, or to decrease, as far as possible, the legitimate and necessary expenses of running the Federal Government. The use of both expedients is now required. Our party, as far as it can consistently do so, without injury to the public service, is determined to go through with the policy of trying to get this country back on a sane business basis. We feel confident that in that attitude we will appeal to the confidence of the sober-thinking, conservative people of America of all political faiths, and here is the first step in that direction. What has this committee done? As was fully explained by the distinguished chairman of that committee, we are seeking to carry out, as far as we can, the request and earnest appeal of the Republican President of the United States that we quit squandering public funds, and that is the language that he used. Here is an effort in this bill contemplating a saving possibly of $500,000 without any apparent injury to the public service whatever. As has been explained to you, it does not put any hardship upon the personnel of these bureaus. It simply attempts to carry out in a practical way the only theory that, as sound business men and practical legislators, we can feel justified in doing; and where we have an opportunity to stop these leaks, small though they may be in amount, large in the aggregate, it is our duty to take advantage of every possible legitimate opportunity to do so. That is all there is involved in this bill. The only reason why it is necessary to bring in this rule is that we knew, being familiar with the rules of the House, that if points of order were made to the provisions in the appropriation bill under consideration, they would be good points of order, and so, in order to be fortified in advance with a vehicle by which we could submit this question to the judgment of the House, we bring in this rule.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. I am as anxious to go as far as the gentleman is on the question of economy, but does the gentleman agree with the statement made by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] that it is expected that the President will designate some other official to carry out this act?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I think the gentleman from Tennessee made a correct statement, as confirmed by the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. PURNELL]. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL], with his long experience, knows that the President does not sign every patent and every commission or every document that technically he is required by law to sign. Here is what I think the majority members

of the Committee on Appropriations had in mind: That if your President is constantly beseeching us to indulge in practical economy in the administration of public affairs and save wherever we can save some part of these public funds, then the President ought to share the responsibility with the Congress of the United States. We believe that this will be properly administered—not that the President will take his pen in hand and sign every appointment. The gentleman from New York knows—all of you know—that there are many duties imposed on the President with reference to official action that he never sees, and, of course, this will be delegated in large measure; but we want to place responsibility upon the President of the United States jointly with the Congress of the United States in trying to reduce our Government expenditures, and that is all there is to it. [Applause.]

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. LEHLBACH].

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Speaker, section 2, which is sought to be made in order in this bill by this resolution, simply provides that for people who continue to do the same work in the Government that they are now doing, there shall be no increase in salaries this year. It provides that any employee of the Government who is promoted to do more valuable and more important work shall get an increase in salary commensurate with that work. Perfectly fair; perfectly just.

Section 3 provides that vacancies occurring in the course of events be not filled, unless upon the approval of the President. I am heartily in favor of reducing the expenses of administration by not filling vacancies, and thus reducing personnel, which can be reduced throughout the departments without any impairment of the service. I am more in favor of doing that than I am in favor of throwing out of the service people who want to be employed, or of reducing their salaries.

I think the provision making the approval of the President necessary simply means that the responsibility is placed on the heads of the various departments, who, as a matter of course, if they think the vacancy should be filled, will get the President's approval. I am in favor of this rule. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Washington, Doctor SUMMERS.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I am in accord with the general purposes of this proposed cut in the number of employees, but I want to call attention to what we are doing. We are making this proposal applicable to one general supply bill only, and it will be necessary for a similar rule to be brought in to apply to each and every supply bill, about 10 in number, if we are going to carry the policy through, which I presume we are. If this is going to be adopted, certainly it ought to be amended so as to apply to all appropriation bills that come in during the present session. As it stands now, the appropriation bill for the Agriculture Department will probably be enacted soon, and some others will not be enacted until June. Thus it is made to apply to one department four or five months earlier than to another, which is not equitable.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I yield.

Mr. BANKHEAD. It is the purpose of the chairman of the committee to ask subsequently a blanket rule that will cover all subsequent appropriation bills.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. That would be a great improvement.

Now, if the President is required to sign every order for a new employee—and there are, let us say, a 4 per cent turnover in Federal employees—that will require the President to sign his name, even if he makes no investigation, some twenty-six thousand times during the year—five hundred times a week and nearly one hundred times a day. That is what he will be required to do if he makes no investigation but simply signs the orders. Certainly that provision is not reasonable. We should not consider that the President would violate the law before we have it. We should vote against section 3.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN].

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I shall probably not use all of the five minutes, but I desire to answer a few questions that have been propounded, one by my good friend the gentleman from Montana [Mr. LEAVITT], who is the friend of the Forestry Service. The gentleman put a question: "If a lookout in the Forestry Service should be subject to an accident would we have to wait until word was sent to Washington to make a reappointment?" We must do that now. All of these positions are appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, on the approval or recommendation of the Forestry Chief. So that has to come here now. What would be done would be that the chief in charge of that district, in the Forestry Service, would designate a man to fill that position at least temporarily until a permanent appointment could be made, and the Forestry Service would not suffer.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Certainly.

Mr. LEAVITT. My only object in asking these questions is to make sure that an emergency, with which I am acquainted, could be met without delay.

Mr. BUCHANAN. It can be met with only the same delay that there is now, that there has been in the past.

Mr. LEAVITT. At the present time a forest supervisor or even a ranger can put another man in there immediately on those positions.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Temporarily; yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. Many of those positions are temporary, as far as not being civil-service positions is concerned; but reading this bill literally, a man's place, even though he was a temporary employee, could not be filled without the approval of the President. Now, it is necessary in those cases to put men immediately in the places vacated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. They will have the same authority after this bill is passed as they have now, to fill it temporarily, until a permanent appointment can be made. There will be no more delay under the provisions of this bill than there has been in the past. That is merely a detail matter of administration.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. This temporary filling of vacancies will apply to all of the departments and all positions in other departments of the Government?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. But they are filled from men already in the service? These are filled by detailing men already in the service.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Generally, yes, if such are available. Yes, they must be in the service.

Now, as to merits of this bill, there is no difference between the views entertained by my colleagues on the committee, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS], unless he has changed, and the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS], as to the purposes to be accomplished by these two amendments. Those gentlemen think the purpose is commendable. They think the purpose is laudable. They think the filling of positions and vacancies has been abused in the past in the Department of Agriculture as well as in all other departments. The subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations thinks the same.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No. I do not have time right now. After I finish with this statement, if I have time, I will yield; otherwise I will not.

Now, those gentlemen think something should be done to remedy that situation. My friend the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] and, I assume also, the gentleman

from Washington, Doctor SUMMERS, objected to the power being lodged in the President or the President being required to sign the orders of appointment.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will the gentleman permit me to say that I stated I was in sympathy with the purposes of this resolution?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Then that is settled. In whom should that authority be vested and on whom should that duty be imposed? Are you going to take the management and the direction of the public expenditures of this Nation out of the hands of the President by providing that the authority shall be lodged in the Bureau of the Budget or in some other subordinate officer? The people hold the President of the United States responsible for the expenditure of this money, and as Chief Executive he is responsible. If you provide in this bill that this power shall be vested in some other authority, then you take the direction of the expenditure of that money out of his hands. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. LAGUARDIA) there were—ayes 153, noes 24.

So the resolution was agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7912, with Mr. MCCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Dairy investigations: For conducting investigations, experiments, and demonstrations in dairy industry, cooperative investigations of the dairy industry in the various States, and inspection of renovated butter factories, including repairs to buildings, not to exceed $30,000 for the construction of buildings, $648,068.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Dakota offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WILLIAMSON: On page 31, line 22, strike out the sign and figures "$648,068" and insert in lieu thereof the sign and figures "$655,133."

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is offered for the purpose of taking care of the existing dairy activities at the Government experiment station at Ardmore, S. Dak. This experiment station was organized in 1911 and has been in active operation ever since. The Government has invested at Ardmore in lands the sum of $4,800; in buildings and structures, $38,310; in farm implements and scientific equipment something better than $19,296, or a total investment of $62,406.

At the time this item was up for consideration in the subcommittee, through the courtesy of the chairman of that subcommittee, I was permitted to appear and present the facts with reference to this station, and the necessity and importance of carrying on the work during the next fiscal year. I am informed the subcommittee allowed the item which I am now proposing to insert in the bill. The increase asked is $7,065. That amount of money will keep that institution going during the next fiscal year and enable it to continue the splendid services which it has been rendering the people of South Dakota, northern Nebraska, and eastern Wyoming during these last 20 years.

Doctor Reed, who appeared on behalf of the bureau and the department, tried to make the subcommittee believe that by closing this station and removing the livestock to Mandan, N. Dak., a saving of $7,000 could be effected. We are only asking for $7,065. Of course, if Doctor Reed had stopped to think for a single minute he would have known that no such saving could be accomplished.

Upon his own testimony it is going to cost $2,250 to move this dairy herd to Mandan and to take care of it there for one year. He also contended that the herd could be taken care of more cheaply at Mandan than at Ardmore. In this the doctor was certainly mistaken. This herd can not be taken care of at Mandan any cheaper than at Ardmore, and I doubt very much whether it can be taken care of as cheaply. Ardmore produces a greater amount of corn silage, sorgo fodder, and barley per acre than the station produces at Mandan. It produces feed at a cost per ton that compares favorably with the per ton cost at Mandan. If it costs more, it is the fault of the management. Ardmore, on the average, has a greater rainfall, it is 300 miles farther south, and the soil is quite as fertile. I can see no saving in maintenance costs, and we shall save the expense of transportation if we keep the cattle where they are.

I want to call your attention to another important matter: The Mandan station now is already filled practically to capacity. Where are they going to house the 46 head of purebred Holstein cattle now at Ardmore without additional construction? They can not take these cattle, fine, purebreds, some of them worth several hundred dollars a piece, and put them out in the snowdrifts in North Dakota. So much should be evident even to this man Reed. If the herd ever is transferred, I warn him now he better keep close tab of the expense account.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. You not only must have some place in which to keep them but you must have something to feed them. The production of barley and corn silage at the Ardmore station, as already stated, is greater per acre than at the North Dakota station, and has been ever since the North Dakota station was established. In addition, Ardmore produces a heavy crop of sorgo fodder, which is not produced at Mandan. This is an important feed crop.

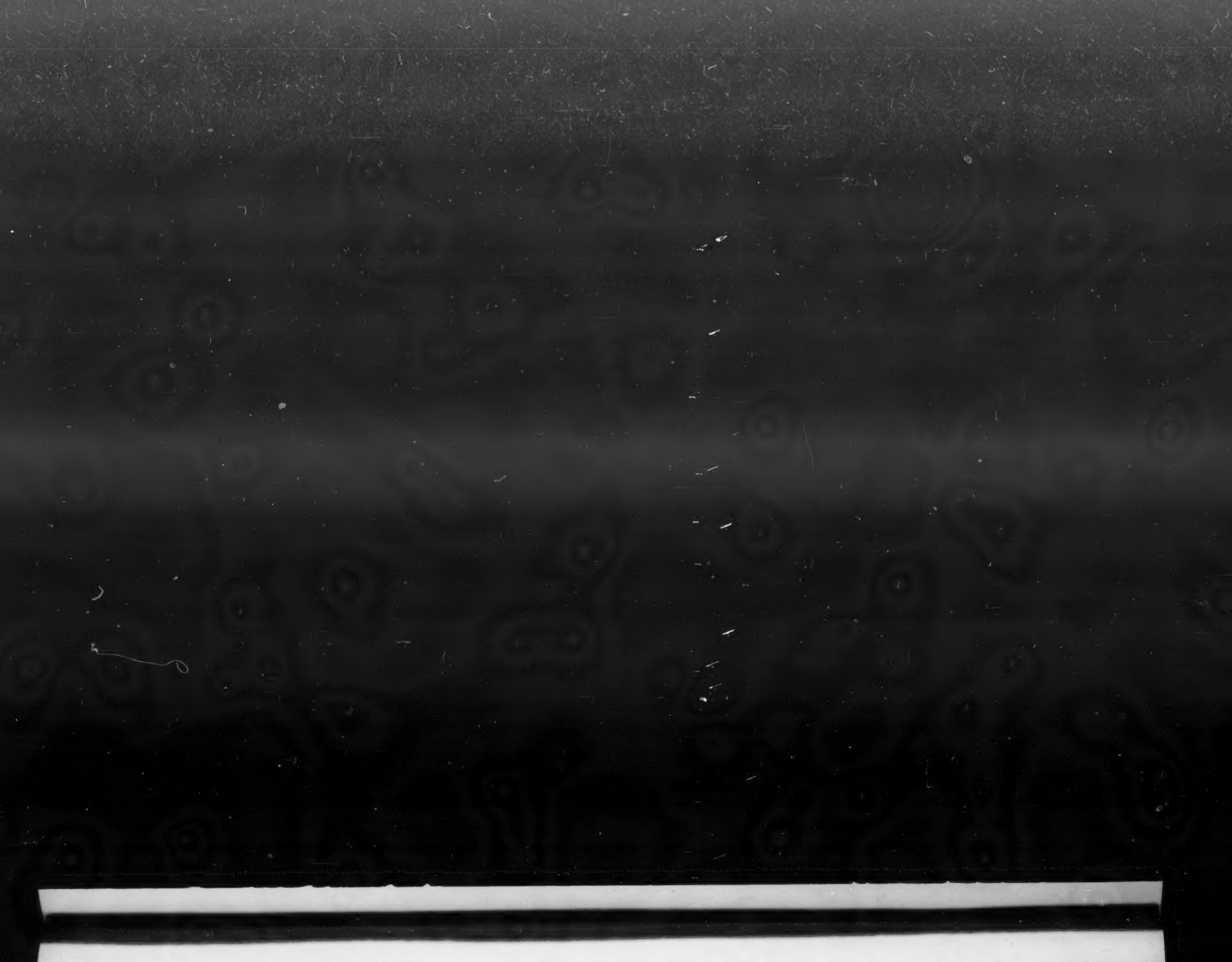
I am not against the North Dakota station. On the contrary, I am for it; but I can not see any sense in the proposal to close the station at Ardmore, where you have ample barn space and the necessary equipment now to handle these dairy cows, carry on scientific experiments, and make the information available to the farmers over all the dryland country. The experiments in connection with this herd can be carried on better at the Ardmore station than at the North Dakota station unless new facilities are provided at the latter station. Bulls from the Ardmore station have been loaned to the farmers living in South Dakota, northern Nebraska, and eastern Wyoming. This has been of large benefit in breeding up and increasing the production of the farmers' herds in that entire section.

My judgment is that these cattle can not be moved to the North Dakota station and maintained there for less than $3,000 to $3,500 for the next fiscal year unless the herd is reduced.

Another thing, you will have to leave somebody at Ardmore to take care of the buildings and structures, valued at nearly $40,000. This will cost at least $2,000 or $3,000 a year, and if you maintain these structures in repair it will cost another $1,000. Now add $3,000 for new construction at Mandan; and what becomes of the saving claimed? If the cost is not increased by closing it will be a surprising thing.

Mr. BALDRIGE. Will the gentleman yield? If they were to take this appropriation away from this station for two years or four years, then, when times got better, could they bring it back there?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Oh, yes; they can bring it back next year if they desire; and undoubtedly that will be done. In other words, they will close it, perhaps, for a year or two



and then move the cows back home and spend another considerable sum doing it.

Mr. BALDRIGE. This would not necessarily mean the end of the station just because they held off for two years or four years?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Not necessarily so; but it is destructive of every idea of economy, because it will cost you more than if you leave the station just as it is now.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. If there ever was a time in the State of South Dakota, and northern Nebraska, and eastern Wyoming, and Montana when they needed the benefit of this station, is it not the coming year?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. There is no question about that.

Mr. Chairman, when you consider the fact that department heads have reduced the overhead here in Washington only three-tenths of 1 per cent, and consider the further fact that they are going out among the farmers and taking away the very things that do them the most good, I say it is not only most unfortunate but reprehensible. I hope this House will see fit to add to the appropriation this item of $7,065 and permit the station to remain. You are going to be ahead in dollars and cents, in my judgment, if this is done.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

This is a little station and a little item out there in the West in connection with dairy-industry activities at Ardmore. This Ardmore station also carries, or has carried heretofore, activities of plant industry, which is under another appropriation. The dairy industry is moving from Ardmore because plant industry is moving from Ardmore. In other words, the dairy industry can not carry on experiments successfully and cheaply unless plant industry carries on its activities there, from which the dairy industry gets its feed or a portion of its feed and forage for the dairy herd. In other words, heretofore they have been going on hand in hand, the Bureau of Plant Industry with its activities and the dairy industry with its activities.

Now, the Budget eliminated the Ardmore station and the testimony of the Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry was that they eliminated it because it would do the least harm of any station they had in connection with dry-land agriculture.

I read you just an extract or two from the hearings. Mr. Kellerman was questioned as to whether or not this station at Ardmore duplicated the work at other stations in respect to dry-land agriculture, and replied:

> The stations do not exactly duplicate conditions, but we did feel that we were sufficiently advanced so that many of the things we are carrying on at Ardmore could be handled at the Newell station.

The Newell station is in South Dakota.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I may say that the gentleman has been very fair all the way through in this matter, but permit me to say the Newell station is upon an irrigation project and does not have a dairy department, or, rather, there are no experiments with respect to dairy work at Newell. The only work of that sort being done in my State by the Federal Government is at the Ardmore station, which is a dry-land station, whereas Newell is on irrigated land.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will say to the gentleman that the Bureau of Animal Husbandry is going to continue to conduct experiments at Ardmore, so that his argument with respect to somebody taking care of the buildings, and so forth, falls to the ground.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Where is the appropriation for that?

Mr. BUCHANAN. In the general appropriation for the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, and it is a big one, but it is not allocated to one place or another. It is a lump-sum appropriation.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I do not want the House to get the wrong idea about this. As I understand, the total appropriation for Ardmore is the appropriation for the dairy herd there and the appropriation with respect to dry-land farming. They are the only two items that go to Ardmore, so far as I can gather from the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is by specific appropriations.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. No; there is no specific appropriation.

Mr. BUCHANAN. But they are allocated. The Bureau of Animal Industry allocates its appropriation, and they are going to conduct experiments at Ardmore.

Whether or not you continue your dairy investigation at Ardmore and keep that station up will depend upon whether or not you continue the appropriation for the Bureau of Plant Industry, and Doctor Kellerman says that they have gone far enough in conducting this station and the experiments there and in solving their problems, so that they can be more economically performed at Newell, S. Dak.

Therefore they are going to move the Bureau of Plant Industry to Newell, S. Dak. Newell is a cooperative station which will be carried on by both the State and the Federal Government when this activity goes there. Is it not far better to have one well-equipped cooperative station than to have two or three scattered over the State?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will take five minutes more.

Now, I want to put this fact before the committee. I have no personal interest in discontinuing the Ardmore station. I have no personal feeling about it. The only thing I want the House to do is not to open the gate to increase Budget items so that the bill will be overloaded before its passage.

I hold in my hand a letter from Doctor Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry, setting out the reasons why he is in favor of moving from the Ardmore station.

> The Ardmore station has served important purposes both for the local region and for the wide regional studies carried on by the division of dry land agriculture of this bureau throughout the Great Plains area. With the increasing activities undertaken at this station both by the Bureau of Plant Industry and in cooperation with the Animal Husbandry Division of the Bureau of Animal Industry and with the Bureau of Dairy Industry of this department, it has been increasingly evident in recent years that the water supply of this station is inadequate and may seriously interfere with the operation of the station and jeopardize the value of the experimental results.

So the water supply is not sufficient to conduct the activities of plant industry which must go hand in hand with the other. Therefore they are to move this station 100 or 125 miles to Newell, S. Dak., which will be a proper thing to do. It was so found by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Chief of Plant Industry and the Chief of the Bureau of Dairy Industry, and therefore we struck out the item for Ardmore.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I do not understand that they propose to move anything to Newell. That station is not a dry-land station.

Mr. BUCHANAN. In the hearings it is stated that they will move the Bureau of Plant Industry to Newell.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. You have not increased the appropriation for Newell, and there is no appropriation to carry it on. They have simply eliminated it. They are moving nothing to Newell.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Let me read further from the letter of Mr. Taylor:

> While conditions in the vicinity of Ardmore are not exactly duplicated at any of the other field stations, the climatic and soil problems are not widely different from those found at the station at Newell, S. Dak., and it is contemplated that the greater part of the regional activities of this bureau now under way at the Ardmore station can be cared for satisfactorily at the station at Newell, S. Dak. These activities will deal primarily with methods of culture most suitable for the northern plains region and giving particular attention to systems of crop rotation and the utilization of the crop varieties best adapted to the region.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Let me say that the Newell station has been an irrigation project, and I do not understand that the bureau now proposes to also make it a dry-land station.

Mr. BUCHANAN. They are going to inaugurate it.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. What is to be gained by transferring it over there?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Because it is a station of the Federal Government, and it will be a saving of eighteen or nineteen thousand dollars a year.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. But you could not operate it over there without the same overhead that you have at Ardmore.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, this House to-day voted $500,000,000 out of the Federal Treasury as a part of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation activities. Fifty million dollars of that at least, so I understand, is set aside for agriculture, because of the distressed condition in the great areas of the United States. Now the House proposes to say to the group of farmers in the great Northwest, "We can not afford $7,065 to maintain at the Admore station, South Dakota, the work that the Federal Government has been doing there." This is not an appropriation for a new activity. It is a request upon the part of the men who represent those people that the activities of the Government, which it has had established at Ardmore, be continued. There is a great area there—eastern Montana, northern Nebraska, South Dakota, and Wyoming—where the farmers have been hit by three things—low prices for what they could raise, grasshoppers, and drought. The Government of the United States at the present time is maintaining for those farmers aid in their dairying, and the only pay check that those farmers are getting which looks like cash this year is the check that they get for cream they are able to sell. Are you going now to tell the farmers in South Dakota and those areas that the Government will stop on the 1st of July giving the aid that it is giving, to the amount of $7,065, to the dairying activity? That is what you are asked to do in a blind approval of this policy that has been initiated, that you will not raise any Budget estimate.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. It could not save $7,065 in any event, because they are going to maintain the herd.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; it is like some of the savings that the War Department shows in consolidating Army posts. They are going to spend $2,000 to move that herd from Ardmore, S. Dak., to Mandan, N. Dak., whereas they need not spend that $2,000 if they would leave the herd where it is. The Congress of the United States should not tell a group of farmers, "We can not afford to continue the work actually done in the field."

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. And it will be the same expense to eventually move the herd back?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; if it is moved back. I do not care about maintaining the building. What good are the buildings there unless the work is being carried on in those buildings? They need this expenditure this year. The idea that these men out in that area can not be served by their Government or that we can not afford to give them the service that we are now giving them is absurd. The University of Nebraska cooperates with that station, and the University of Nebraska desires to continue to cooperate with that station. Are you going to tell them that you can not do it? I know what some Members are saying. They are saying that they are going to support the President. I say to you that when you go back to the farmer constituents they are going to ask you why you cut off the service the Government of the United States is now rendering to the farmers.

You are not going to be able to tell the farmers of South Dakota that under the leadership of the Democratic organization in this House you cut off their appropriations at the request of the President. They are going to ask you why you cut off those appropriations, and they will hold those who opposed these appropriations responsible, because finally that decision is ours. My good friend from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] read a letter from the chief of the bureau regarding the water supply at this station. Last year, I am told, was the first year there ever has been any shortage of water there, and the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. WILLIAMSON] had never heard about it until he heard about it here, and he is in constant touch with that station. They propose to take these animals to Mandan, N. Dak., where the water supply is actually less over a period of years than it is at Ardmore. While the Department of Agriculture is asking this Congress to economize by taking $7,065 worth of service away from the farmers in the dry-land area of four States, that same bureau in the Department at Washington is not taking one nickel out of its salary rolls for the things that they do here. If we are going to economize, well and good. I will go any length with any Member in this House in a sensible restriction of Federal expenditures; but if we are going to economize, let us economize here in the expenditures for research, for investigation, for activities that do not directly touch the farmer. In this day of stress let us not take the service from the farmer in the field. That is what is involved in this amendment of the gentleman from South Dakota, and it ought to be carried. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SIMMONS) there were—ayes 37, noes 52.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and Mr. WILLIAMSON and Mr. BUCHANAN were appointed to act as tellers.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 50 and noes 75.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Barberry eradication: For the eradication of the common barberry and for applying such other methods of eradication and control of cereal rusts as in the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture may be necessary, including the payment of such expenses and the employment of such persons and means, in the city of Washington and elsewhere, and cooperation with such authorities of the States concerned, organizations of growers, or individuals, as he may deem necessary to accomplish such purposes, $196,400: *Provided*, That $75,000 of this amount shall be available for expenditure only when an equal amount shall have been appropriated, subscribed, or contributed by States, counties, or local authorities, or by individuals or organizations for the accomplishment of such purposes: *Provided further*, That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be used to pay the cost or value of property injured or destroyed.

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BURTNESS] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BURTNESS: On page 33, line 14, after the comma, strike out "$196,400" and insert in lieu thereof "$250,000."

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment to increase the item for barberry eradication by $50,000 is of tremendous importance not only to the spring-wheat States, so-called, but of importance to the entire country as well.

I do not know just how much explanation I should make to the members of the committee with reference to the connection of barberry eradication with the public interest in the maintenance of a proper food supply, as well as for the protection of agriculture, for I do not know how many members of the committee realize what effect the barberry has had upon what is called black-stem rust, which, whenever climatic conditions are favorable, comes upon us like an avalanche and sometimes absolutely destroys growing wheat crops within a few days or a couple of weeks before the maturity of the crop.

It not only injuriously affects wheat crops but also has a very serious effect upon oats, barley, rye, and other crops as well, more particularly those seeded in the spring.

Now, what are we asking for by this amendment? Some years ago the Federal Government, because of the scientific knowledge which it had obtained with reference to the barberry bush being the only host of the barberry spore during the winter time, started in on a program to eradicate barberry bushes throughout the country. It has made very marked advance in that respect; in fact, has met with great success. There is no question about that. During the last few years the number of bushes removed and destroyed each year was something like 170,000.

Some of you may wonder why this is a Federal question, rather than a local one. The issue is not directly before us, but I know that sometimes Members inquire why localities and States do not take care of it themselves. One reason for it being a Federal function in part is that we might in the spring-wheat States—Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, northern Nebraska—we might remove every barberry bush within the borders of those States and the hazard of rust would be practically just as great as it is now unless the barberry bushes are also removed from the other States practically throughout the entire country. That is the reason why in 13 States this work has been progressing under Federal leadership with very excellent results, as shown by the estimates of the Department of Agriculture on the reduction in the annual amount of crop that has been destroyed.

To illustrate, their estimate is that in the 5-year period 1916 to 1920, 57,704,000 bushels of wheat alone were destroyed by black rust. In the next 5-year period, 1920 to 1925, after work of eradication had started, the estimated annual destruction was 17,867,000 bushels; in the next 5-year period, 1926 to 1930, 9,609,000 bushels.

As many bushes are still being destroyed each year now as were destroyed in the past. The easiest work has been done up to this time. The hardest work is ahead. The finding of these bushes out in the territory where there are no cultivated crops, out in the pastures, out along the river banks and streams, in the brush land, and places like that is the most difficult work, and that is still ahead of us.

Now, what does this appropriation do? I yield to no person in the House in my efforts to effect economy, but what does my amendment do as contrasted with former appropriations?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTNESS. The appropriation for the current fiscal year is $377,140. True, with the economy program, only approximately $300,000 will be used. The field work, of course, has been done. I feel I can say advisedly that the department requested from the Budget the amount carried in my amendment, $250,000. The Budget cut the estimate to $200,000.

We appeared before the subcommittee handling this appropriation bill. Appearing before that committee, in addition to Members of Congress, were Donald G. Fletcher, representative of the private organization which raises the funds provided for in this bill in addition to the amount provided by the Federal Government, and Mr. Sydney Anderson, former Member of this House, former chairman of the very subcommittee which handled it. We made our case. We showed the facts. The subcommittee gave us a fair and impartial hearing. We occupied an entire morning session. We had samples of the grain before threshing and after threshing, so the members of the committee could see what the insidious effects, the tragic effects, of blackstem rust amount to in the destruction of a crop. We showed them pictures of the work that has been going on during the past years; and I ask now any member of the subcommittee if it is not a fact that after the hearing and when the subcommittee took up these various items they approved the increase that we had asked for. Is that not correct, Doctor SUMMERS?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. That is correct.

Mr. BURTNESS. So we have the approval of the subcommittee on its merits—the approval of those gentlemen who heard our case in the exercise of their deliberate personal judgment. We would not have to ask this relief here were it not for the arbitrary rule later adopted by the chairman of the full committee, which was accepted by the majority of the subcommittee.

Now, I want to tell you a little about the cut and its effect on the work. I believe every activity should be cut, but I believe such cuts should be reasonably consistent and fair. I say to the membership of the House that those of us who are interested in the barberry-eradication item are voluntarily taking a larger cut than is found anywhere in this bill. Under the item as it now stands we have been cut approximately, or almost, 50 per cent. It was 47 per cent as the estimate came from the Budget. I wish I could read a tabulation which I have here, giving the cuts with reference to other eradication items of various sorts, but lack of time forbids. They range from 1 or 2 per cent up to as high as 20 per cent on other activities. Contrast that with almost 50 per cent for barberry eradication. Even if my amendment is adopted giving us $250,000 for this work, we are still accepting a cut of 33⅓ per cent, approximately, a greater cut than is found anywhere else in this bill for somewhat similar activities; and I think that if the people who are interested in this bill will be as fair about other matters as we are about this, there would be no difficulty in reducing governmental expenses very substantially.

What will this cut do to the work? As so often happens, the cut will practically all fall on the effective work; that is, on the work of eradication itself, on the hiring of young men in the summer time to go out with their automobiles and with the salt and other materials they use in destroying these bushes so they will not sprout again as well as actually digging them up and destroying them in the outlying regions of the country.

When you carry an item of this sort from year to year the overhead expense must in large part be retained. Under this estimate the overhead personnel of the department is cut only from 46 to 43 men, a small cut relatively, but what happens to the field men—the men who actually do the work? Last year, with $300,000, they were able to employ 140 men. That would mean about 10 in each of the 13 States to go out and do the eradication work. If this item is to stand as carried in the bill they will be able to employ less than 50. In other words, with a nominal saving but with the same overhead, the results accomplished will, perhaps, be no more than one-third as effective.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. Gentlemen of the committee, barberry eradication is, to a considerable extent, my child. I did not originate it, but I ardently supported it for many years in this House. I joined with Sydney Anderson, when he was chairman of the subcommittee of which I am now chairman, in increasing, in 1923, the appropriation for barberry eradication by $75,000. That increase of $75,000 was supposed to be carried for a period of five years, at which time it was predicted by the department they would have completely eradicated the barberry bush and be through with the problem. That is the history. We have not been carrying as much as we carried at that time, and I can tell you what we have been carrying. In 1923, $350,000; in 1924—which was when I aided Mr. Anderson in getting an increase—it was $425,000; in 1925, $411,000; in 1926, $375,000; and then substantially $375,000 until this year, making $3,823,293 appropriated since 1923 for the eradication of the barberry bush.

The remarkable thing about this appropriation is that there is no authority of law for it to be made. When this section was read, if I had cared to do so, I could have stopped the work completely by making a point of order against it. You understand, there must be some authorization of law for Federal money to be taken out into the States for work in the States, and for the Federal Government actually to do the physical work of destroying barberry bushes, digging them up. That is what is being done in this instance. The Federal Government, without any authority, has been hiring men and has been for years and years digging these bushes up. So you will see I ardently supported this appropriation and aided in increasing it in order that we might get through with the problem, because I then felt that if the barberry bushes were eradicated the problem would be solved.

Mr. REILLY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. REILLY. The gentleman has mentioned the fact that large appropriations have been made by the National Government to carry on this work. Is it not a fact that the results secured from the work have been much greater than the appropriations made?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I do not know. In reply to that I will say this: That the department figures that heretofore the damage to the wheat crop has been about an average of 20,000,000 bushels a year, and that now it is a little over 9,000,000 bushels a year. But the gentleman must remember that they have introduced variety after variety of rust-resisting wheat. Those varieties have been extensively planted, and the department frankly says they do not know how much of the saving can be attributed to the eradication of barberry bushes and how much to other methods. So there is no way of telling.

Mr. REILLY. Is it not a fact that the Department of Agriculture reports that the destruction from rust has been reduced from 57,000,000 bushels over a period of 10 years to 10,000,000 bushels over a period of the last 5 years?

Mr. BUCHANAN. If you will take the reports on how much of a saving there has been on account of the introduction of various varieties of rust-resisting wheat you will find that that method must be considered in arriving at the total saving made.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I am not attacking this appropriation, although I could have had it stricken out on a point of order. I did not do that because I did not feel it would be doing justice to the people who are interested in spring wheat.

Now, gentlemen, how much of a reduction has been made in the proposed appropriation? They tell you it is forty-odd per cent. As a matter of fact, we appropriated last year $377,140. The department saved or did not spend at all $77,140. They impounded that much. So this year they spent $77,140 less than the amount appropriated. So the reduction is one-third.

What does the Bureau of Plant Industry say about it? That they are going to change the system; that they are going to devote their time to going out through the barberry-infested sections of the country and teaching the people, the school children, and the Extension Service how to eradicate these bushes. They state they hope to get practically the same results through this method of education that they have by the expenditure of that additional money in hiring laborers to go out and dig up the bushes. So I think we should let them go on for one year with $200,000 and let the people who are affected become so intensely interested that they will realize they have got to take an active part in the work and aid the Government in eradicating these bushes, which is essentially their own business. Then when we come to increase this appropriation again in better times the people will be in a better status to whole-heartedly assist in the eradication.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. Does not my good friend from Texas think that the farmer is less able to stand this loss from rust now than he will be when times are good?

Mr. BUCHANAN. And he is less able to stand the taxation now than when times are good. [Applause.]

I want to tell you all that I am disappointed. This hearing for the first time disclosed that if we eradicated every barberry bush in the United States we would still have this rust. This was a distinct disappointment to me.

Mr. GLOVER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. GLOVER. This is a new subject to me because we have nothing of this kind in my State. How large are these bushes that are being eradicated?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The largest are 20 feet high. They have a bloom and little red berries that the birds are very fond of. The berries are sweet, and they even say they will make wine. Suppose we try that. [Laughter.]

Mr. GLOVER. And this item carries an appropriation of more than $1 a bush?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It is costing now $2 a bush to eradicate them.

Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri. Was it not testified at the hearing that the most efficacious way to eradicate the barberry bush was to use salt?

Mr. BUCHANAN. They are adopting that method now, not because it is cheaper, but because when you eradicate a bush with salt you kill the bush, roots and all, and they can not sprout further.

Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri. And was it not further testified that of the $200,000 only about $35,000 was allocated for the actual digging up of the bushes?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Only about $35,000 for the actual hiring of men by the Federal Government and sending them up and down the creeks and into the woods hunting up these bushes and destroying them wherever they were found. Is not that going a good way without any law to authorize it?

Mr. BURTNESS. If the gentleman will permit, that is the amount that will be permissible under this bill as now proposed.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Under the $200,000 appropriation; yes.

Mr. BURTNESS. And, of course, under the former appropriation a great deal more was available.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Under the $300,000 that was spent this year there was more available; yes.

Mr. BURTNESS. In a general way, is this correct or not. With this item as carried in the appropriation bill, if $50,000 were added, with the same overhead expense you would be able to do twice as much manual eradication in the field in the cutting of these bushes or putting on salt, and so forth?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Of course; you would be able to perhaps double it.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If you think it is a pleasure for me to get up here and fight these increased appropriations, you are badly mistaken. My colleagues here in Congress who advocate these increases are my personal friends. I have the highest regard for them, and I hope for the success of their sections and for the success of every undertaking in their districts, and I would almost rather take a whipping, and that goes against the grain of a Texan, than to do what I am doing to-day.

Mr. FIESINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes; for a brief question.

Mr. FIESINGER. Are these bushes common in all wheat-growing territories?

Mr. BUCHANAN. They are common all over the eastern part of the United States.

I want to tell you what has discouraged me and then I am going to quit.

It was developed in the hearing that if you destroyed every barberry bush in the United States we would still have spring rust of wheat from this same cause, whatever it may be. Why, they testified that in the southern part of the United States these spores did not need the barberry bush to reproduce on or to multiply on, but they could multiply down there on other bushes or on wheat, and that they would be carried thousands and thousands of miles through the air; that the spores have been found 5,000 feet in the air. This may be true. Some wonderful things happen in these modern times; but how in the world they could find a spore 5,000 feet in the air, when it is so small you have to use a microscope to see it, I do not know. [Laughter.] I assume they can do it.

So I am discouraged, because when you get through with your eradication campaign, which probably will never happen, and eradicate every barberry bush you may find, you will still have spring rust of wheat.

Sometimes lately I have been afraid that the scientists in the department have been mistaken and that spring rust of wheat is a product of the weather, the wetness of the season, during which it is grown. I hope this idea is not correct.

Gentlemen, in conclusion, I am a friend of the work of eradication of the barberry bush. I am also the friend during this depression of the conduct of an economical Government. Your President, your Secretary of Agriculture, and your Budget have said that this is one of the projects that is going to continue for 10 to 20 years, and we think that during this depression we can hold up a little on it and they approve $200,000 for next year.

This is enough to keep the organization in shape, to keep the work going, and to carry on the educational campaign. Why, even Sydney Anderson said at the hearings that it is possible for them to get by with this $200,000 for two or three years; but he is afraid that the barberry bushes would increase, and that ultimately there would be a greater expense. Let us take this chance. It is scattered all over the country. The birds eat the berries and carry them hundreds and hundreds of miles, and these berries stay in the ground sometimes seven years before they sprout, and then they come up. It is an interminable task.

This is simply one of the big appropriations that we need to cut down somewhat as the years go along or until we are through this depression. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. Mr. Chairman, I think, in fairness to the wheat farmers of the country, we ought to do one of two things—either tell them that the Government is not going to help them, or we ought to help them effectively.

I have been stating on the floor of the House that repeatedly in this bill the Department of Agriculture officials—those down in the minor positions, distributing the expenditure budget—do not propose a cut in the salary in Washington in the economies they claim are to be effected, but in the field.

In this item last year, or for the present fiscal year, they have on the pay roll in the city of Washington 14.3 per cent, for the fiscal year 1933 they ask for 13.3 per cent salaries, while the appropriation as a whole is cut 47 per cent, and of the appropriation that is cut 47 per cent they propose to take one employee out of Washington. They propose to cut the salary for the city of Washington $1,620 out of the total cut of $177,000. They propose to carry 30 field salaries in 1933 out of 32 carried for the present fiscal year, a cut in the permanent salary roll in the field of $1,980, a total of about $3,500 cut in the permanent classified employees of the Department of Agriculture in the total cut of $177,000 proposed in this item. Three out of a total of 46 in all.

But get this: They propose to deduct $48,540 from the pay of men who actually go out in the field and locate and eradicate the barberry.

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman tell the House who these men are and how they are appointed and what they do?

Mr. SIMMONS. I am not a barberry expert, but these men go out into the field, scouting for barberry bushes, and removing or causing their removal.

Mr. BURTNESS. They are local men?

Mr. SIMMONS. Local men doing the work of eradication. They do not propose to take the men out of their chairs in Washington, but they do propose to take $48,000 from the appropriation in the field.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Can not the gentleman propose an amendment which will reverse that?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, if the gentleman will support me when I offer a motion to recommit. I am going to do that for all the items. This is one of the most flagrant examples in the bill.

We have been doing this work for years. Sydney Anderson, former chairman of this appropriations subcommittee, stated that his fear was that if the work was not kept up, now that the barberry was getting scarce, we would have the result that one year of slack time on expenditures the barberry would again break loose, and we would lose more than we would gain.

Gentlemen this is not an economy. I submit that the amendment of the gentleman from North Dakota ought to carry, and it ought to carry because we are not going to curtail the service in the field; but, if economy must be taken, we are going to effect it through the men who sit in the chairs in Washington.

Mr. BURTNESS. What does the gentleman say to the proposition that this can be done through the educational work?

Mr. SIMMONS. Some educational work can be effective; but many of these barberries are located in waste lands where no one is paying any attention to them and where no individual is going to see that they are removed. That is the service that the Government is rendering.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment. I am going to support the nonpartisan, unselfish effort of my colleague from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] to make every cut in expenses we possibly can in this time of depression, when we have such a large deficit in our Treasury. The suggestion he made that the barberry bush can be eradicated through education appeals to me very strongly.

I heard my colleague from Texas [Mr. KLEBERG] make an eloquent appeal for a little $10,000 item to exterminate the bitterweed. He is a close friend of Judge BUCHANAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] gladly would have been willing to accommodate him in every way possible, but he turned him down. I know something about that item of bitterweed. Whole flocks of sheep have been killed by it in Western Texas. Many cattle have died. My father-in-law, Judge J. A. Matthews, of Albany, Tex., is an old-time Texas cattleman. He has been in the business all of his life. His cattle began to die. He appealed to the Department of Agriculture. They sent an expert down there to his ranch and to several counties in Texas to investigate it, and they identified the bitterweed that was killing off the cattle. He did not ask the department to send a herd of laborers down there to exterminate that bitterweed on his ranch. He immediately employed 20 laborers himself, and kept them busy for four months until he exterminated the bitterweed on his ranch.

Mr. BURTNESS. Does the gentleman suppose his father-in-law would have been interested in destroying that bitterweed and going to the expense of destroying it if he had known that it did not do him and his property any good, and could only affect some people a thousand miles away?

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, he set an example for other stockmen.

Mr. BURTNESS. But the elimination of the barberry is in the interest of people a thousand miles away.

Mr. BLANTON. I can not yield for further interpolation in my remarks, and I do not do it. He set an example, and the cattlemen and the sheepmen of Texas have been pursuing their own methods as far as they were able to go toward exterminating this bitterweed. Eventually they will exterminate it. The help the department gave them was in sending an expert there and showing which weed it was on their ranches that wis killing the cattle. There were bunches of weeds, and they did not know which it was that was killing sheep and cattle. The Department of Agriculture sent its expert down there and identified the weed which was doing the damage and told them how to save their flocks of sheep when they were poisoned by it, and showed them how to save their cattle, and the stockmen are doing the rest.

Mr. SIMMONS. My understanding is that all his colleague from Texas asked——

Mr. BLANTON. Was $10,000. Oh, my friend from Texas, Judge BUCHANAN, was so nonpartisan and so unselfish that he turned his entire delegation from Texas down on the little $10,000 item in his efforts to balance the budget, and I applaud him for it.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I regret I can not yield further; I have only five minutes.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the gentleman does not need my help I shall be glad to withdraw it.

Mr. BLANTON. I shall vote with the gentleman from Nebraska any time he will get the proposition up here to force every department in Washington to cut its personnel down in Washington 10 per cent, and no harm will be done by it. Why was not my friend from Nebraska, during the last Congress, in here trying to decrease the Washington personnel? Why has he waited until this year? Why did he not do it last year, and why did he not do it in 1930, and why did he not do it in 1929? What has come over him all of a sudden, what light has he seen, what atmosphere is he living in now that he has not lived in heretofore?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words. The gentleman from Texas knows that this year we are facing an entirely different situation than we have in these other bills, and I say to the gentleman that if he is earnest in the statement that he has made, then before this bill passes he is going to have an opportunity to do just what he proposed. I am going to offer a motion to recommit that will take out of some ninety-odd items in this bill 5 per cent of the personnel in the city of Washington, and I submit now that the gentleman is going to vote against it.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to yield. The gentleman refused to yield to me.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman ought not to quote me, then.

Mr. SIMMONS. I am prophesying now that the gentleman will vote against my motion. I was in sympathy with the request made by the colleague of the gentleman from Texas.

I think it is a shame that the Congress of the United States refuses an appropriation of $10,000 to send scientists into Texas to help a lot of sheepmen, when that $10,000 would save the sheepmen in that area multiplied hundreds of thousands of dollars in the value of their livestock. I am one Republican who is willing to stand here and plead for an appropriation for the State of Texas, without a Republican Congressman in it. My judgment is that the President of the United States would approve that which I am doing.

Now, the gentleman stated what they were doing in Texas regarding the bitterweed. What is the situation? The bitterweed, if I understand it, is a thing that the sheep eat. Of course, if the gentleman's father-in-law keeps it off of his ranch and away from his sheep, they will not eat it and die from the effects of it, but this other disease is entirely different. There may be an entire State that is not interested in raising a bushel of wheat, and yet if the barberry is permitted to grow uncontrolled in that State it can contaminate wheat fields of States a thousand miles away. That is a Federal problem. I take it that those who come from the wheat States are not asking anything improper when they ask that their Government continue only in part that which it is now doing for the benefit of the wheat growers. The department is expending this year $300,000 on this item. These gentlemen are asking for next year only $250,000. Is there anything unfair or improper about that?

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir. I yield.

Mr. BURTNESS. In addition to that, in these wheat States that are affected, the people, private industries, and others are raising $75,000, just as much as they raised when this appropriation was twice as large as it is now, and they are glad to help and glad to pass the hat and assume that burden to help get rid of the barberry in all of these States. We could take care of it in our States if it were a local matter.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BURTNESS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BURTNESS) there were—ayes 44 and noes 79.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Blister-rust control: For applying such methods of eradication or control of the white-pine blister rust as in the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture may be necessary, including the payment of such expenses and the employment of such persons and means in the city of Washington and elsewhere, in cooperation with such authorities of the States concerned, organizations, or individuals as he may deem necessary to accomplish such purposes, and in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture no expenditures shall be made for these purposes until a sum or sums at least equal to such expenditures shall have been appropriated, subscribed, or contributed by State, county, or local authorities, or by individuals or organizations for the accomplishment of such purposes, $469,997: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used to pay the cost or value of trees or other property injured or destroyed.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, on page 23, in line 22, I move to strike out the words "blister rust."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. BLANTON: Page 23, line 22, strike out the words "blister rust."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

Because I saw fit to oppose the proposal of my friend from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS], the gentleman engages in a personal attack. I am willing to admit that the gentleman is one of the valuable Members of the House. His service has been most valuable to the Nation. I have been one of those who has worked with the gentleman shoulder to shoulder to try to save this Government money. I have followed many fights he has led, but because we will not go with him all the time the gentleman gets mad and criticizes me for frequently taking the floor and making speeches.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman admits it, does he not?

Mr. BLANTON. My speeches have been made just as the gentleman's many speeches have been—in the interest of the people.

I have been engaged along the same lines that the gentleman has been. What has incensed him is that the committee has taken away from Nebraska $25,000 for a potash investigation. If this country were in good shape financially, if we had plenty of money in the Treasury, if we had the means of getting more next year to meet the deficit, without bringing on new taxes, I would be one to vote for $25,000 for the gentleman's potash investigation.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Just a moment. I want to answer the gentleman from Nebraska, because the gentleman became personal. The only part of these remarks that I shall leave in the RECORD are the ones that are complimentary to the gentleman from Nebraska, because I am his friend, and when the gentleman says unkind things about me I do not get mad and return in kind what the gentleman says. I appreciate his situation, but I want to answer the gentleman. The gentleman said I would not vote for his economy program. If the gentleman will put in a motion to recommit that will cut the personnel in Washington in every department to the bone, I will vote with him; but when the gentleman says that I am going to vote against his amendment, I assume the gentleman is going to have

some strings attached to it that will keep me from voting for it. If the gentleman is going to attach to it some strings bringing in a lot of extra items, I will not vote for it. If the gentleman will offer a plain motion to recommit, to cut the personnel in this department 5 per cent, all through these many bureaus, I am with the gentleman and I will vote for it. Is that not plain? But the gentleman from Nebraska should be kind enough and fair enough and just enough not to assume that somebody would not go along with him when he had a just proposition, one that is a reasonable proposition. Now, when the gentleman frames that motion to recommit, if the gentleman will frame it without any strings attached to it, I will guarantee to him that the membership of this House, both on the Republican and Democratic side—although I can not speak for anybody but myself—will go along with the gentleman, because I know the Members of this House are for economy. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

My good friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON], mistakes earnestness for anger. Far be it from me to become angry at the gentleman. I assure him that I am not. However, I suggest to the gentleman from Texas that which I said on the floor the other day and now repeat: I have no apologies to offer for asking that the Government of the United States serve the people that I represent. The opposition which the gentleman expresses to the investigation of the potash resources of Nebraska, in order that we may furnish cheaper fertilizer to the farmers of several western States, not of my State alone but to several surrounding States, in an area where the testimony before our committee showed there is not now any fertilizer available, is in complete accord with the perfectly well understood Democratic policy.

That Democratic policy is to buy everything you can in foreign countries and develop no resources in the United States. Send your money abroad. If there is any place in the world outside of the United States where you can buy what you need, buy it in a foreign country rather than in the United States. That is in accord with your tariff policy, and it is in accord with your present policy in this body on this matter.

Our people now buy potash and fertilizer, and pay transportation costs on them, from Germany and ship them into the Western States; ship them into Nebraska, Colorado, into Wyoming and into Montana, as well as those other areas. They also ship them in from South America. I believe we should develop that fertilizer at home if it is possible. It will cheapen the farmers' cost of production and develop a new industry in this country.

Is it wrong, sir, that a Member of the House of Representatives should ask the Congress to investigate the possibilities of reducing the cost of production to the farmers of this country and to develop in America an industry which we now support in foreign countries? I say I apologize to no one, and I say to the gentleman now that that $25,000 item will be in my motion to recommit; also the $10,000 item for the gentleman's State of Texas will be in my motion to recommit. I propose to do for Texas that which you want done but are unwilling to do. Those things will be in my motion to recommit that our subcommittee originally favored. Yet, because I speak for my own people and because I ask that the interests of the people in my district be served, my motives are questioned. In my motion to recommit there will be another item which affects the State of Georgia, where there is no possibility that I may be serving a Republican proposal. The item which these men have asked for, the eradication of barberry bushes, will also be in my motion to recommit; the proposal of my colleague from South Dakota asking for the continuation of the Ardmore experiment station will be in it.

The proposals which, in effect, the subcommittee handling this bill once approved will be in it, and nothing else except an item of $20,000 which the National Grange and the American Farm Bureau Federation have asked. I am also going to put that in it. It will increase the expenditures under this bill $232,000, but it will take out of this bill $495,000. It will save to the taxpayers $240,000, and yet probably the gentleman from Texas will vote against it.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman remember when in this House votes for mountain tops were once traded for garden-seed votes? The gentleman seems to be trading all of these propositions for economy votes. Does the gentleman have to hold out that many baits on his hook in order to get a few economy votes?

Mr. SIMMONS. No. The gentleman from Texas is one of the most adroit gentlemen on the floor of this House. I am asking the House of Representatives, with the exception of that one item which the Farm Bureau and the National Grange have asked to have put into this bill, to include in this bill only those items which this subcommittee in its meetings approved and sent to the printer as its recommendation to this House. As I have said, even with the inclusion of those items the other item which I will put in my motion to recommit will save the taxpayers $240,000. So come along, Tom, and vote with us. [Applause.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA rose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from New York rise?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. To support the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas to strike out the word "blister."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I can not help but sympathize with the gentleman from Texas, who seeks to strike out the "blister" contained in this bill. I sympathize with the gentleman from Texas, who is very often abused by personal attacks on the floor of the House. I do so this afternoon with some feeling, because I have just survived a scathing denunciation on the floor because I undertook to express my opinion of what I believed was right. Perhaps I did use language which was too strong, but it was expressive.

Now, gentlemen, there is quite a move on in this country, under the guise of economy, to break down the functioning of our Federal Government. Just spend a few minutes in the Ways and Means Committee, where you will hear argument after argument against an increase of taxes and pleas to "balance" the Budget by taking it out of the pay of Government employees. Of course, gentlemen, the bankers of this country want you to reduce the personnel and abolish all bank examiners. They are for that. Of course, the packers want you to reduce the Department of Agriculture and remove all supervision of the packing industry. Of course, the monopolists of industry want to cripple the Federal Trade Commission. Of course, the railroads want to impair the efficiency of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Of course, the food speculators want to destroy the machinery which has been built up year after year to assist and aid the farmer, who, by the very nature of his occupation, needs such aid from his Government. The more they can impoverish the farmers and the workers of this country the easier it will be to continue the exploitation of the masses in this country. Yet when we get up to protest, I will say to my colleague from Texas, we are abused by personal attacks. However, the gentleman is too seasoned a legislator to be susceptible to any discouragement of that kind.

Why, gentlemen, to-day, with great gusto and with an exhibition of assumed constructive statesmanship, you approved a rule which will take the hope of a $60 increase from thousands and thousands of employees; and the other day, in your $2,000,000,000 reconstruction appropriation bill, you authorized the employment of help there without limit, without civil-service requirement, and without any limit as to salaries, so far as the employees are concerned. Let us be consistent about this. Is the only expression of relief we are going to hear during this session of Congress to pull this country out of the critical position it is in going to be

the reduction of salaries of Government employees 10 per cent?

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman forgets that they did put a proviso on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill providing that this army of several hundred or perhaps a thousand employees can not draw over $10,000 a year apiece.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. And that will probably be their salaries. [Laughter.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. They will get more than that, indirectly; and I shall let Mr. Herbert Hoover take the stump this fall and justify the appointment of Eugene Meyer, and Democrats who supported him will have to eat every word they said of this man in his defense.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five more minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Why, there was a kissing party that went on during the last days of the consideration of the reconstruction bill, when we were getting under the skin and were commencing to tell all the truth about the bankers and their control of the Federal reserve. There was great admiration from the gentleman from the Committee on Banking and Currency, who stood up and said that this bill was written at the Federal Reserve Board and by the big banking men of the country. It was simply nauseating to hear praise by the Members of Congress of these same miserable creatures who have brought thousands and thousands of Americans to ruin.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. And it is interesting to remember that when my colleague from Texas [Mr. WILLIAMS], who served on the committee, wrote the Federal Reserve Board the other day to please send him a list of the salaries above $5,000 that all of the employees are drawing, it replied that that was information he is not entitled to and information which they could not furnish.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. "Contrary to public interest," and you will remember my good friend from Alabama, three or four sessions ago, when he stood up here and had his report, and it was a fine report and one that was made after investigating that gang of wreckers, and they blocked him on this side and sent poor King, of Illinois, home, where he died with a broken heart; and STEAGALL could not get that report across, and finally got it in the RECORD, and they let the committee die, and then some Members got up and said, "Yes; Eugene Meyer was just guilty of a technical violation of the law." Why, Atlanta is full of technical violators of the law. [Applause.]

I want to warn young Members to keep away from the call of the sirens of the Federal Reserve Board. They never did any legislator any good, and no one should take the word of any of them unless he has corroboration.

I said at the time that the banking fraternity had not produced a man of genius or conceived an original idea during this entire crisis, and the very pathetic condition we find ourselves in is proof absolute of that charge. What has the banking fraternity or what have the banks or bankers contributed to this country during this crisis? I stand by that statement.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Since the Federal reserve bank at Richmond has indicated that it operated last year at a loss of about $470,000, I hope the gentleman from New York will help us make them give to the Congress a list of all their high-salaried employees and of all their extravagant expenses.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I will tell the gentleman right now, let us try it. We can introduce a resolution of inquiry asking for that information, and I venture the statement right now they will refuse it, although we pass the resolution. Did we not endeavor to write in the reconstruction bill that in their quarterly report they should give us information as to the names of borrowers and the amount of the loans made, and that was voted down?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. I am a member of the Appropriations Committee and have a high regard for the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA]. I think he is a very valuable legislator, and there are a great many things coming up where I propose to stand with him.

I did not hear everything that the gentleman from New York said in connection with the Banking and Currency Committee. It certainly was not said in a very complimentary way. As I said, I did not hear all that he said. But it was a criticism of a great committee, and I do not think that is in keeping with the best form in a legislative body.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I hope the gentleman will let me criticize the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Oh, I could not do that. [Laughter.] I am not going to criticize the Committee on Banking and Currency nor am I going to criticize the appointments by the President of the United States to the board of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. I am not one of those ready to criticize Eugene Meyer. He may have done a great many things with which I disagree, but I happen to know Mr. Meyer personally, and I have a very high regard for him. I knew him when he was a member of the War Finance Corporation, and I know that he is a man of character—I do not care about his politics. I am one who is willing to give credit for character, even if it is a Republican, and that is going a long way. [Laughter and applause.]

As to a man who is at the head of the Federal reserve system of this country, and who has been confirmed by the Senate of the United States, and who now in this great crisis has been selected by the President of the United States to try to help pull us out of our troubles, I say that we should not come on the floor of the House, either as Democrats or Republicans, and be willing to criticize, regardless of politics, without most compelling reasons. [Applause.]

I believe that Eugene Meyer is a man who is going to try and do his duty. There are many things Mr. Meyer stands for that I do not stand for. I do not stand with him in his policy in regard to the Federal reserve system. I think the Federal Reserve Board has been too drastic in the administration of its affairs, but I say to the Members of the Congress this is not the time when Members of this House should criticize the men put in charge of the administration of this great constructive corporation to which we are all looking for relief in this time of stress and storm when we were practically unanimous for its establishment and when our Committee on Appropriations, without a dissenting voice, and with the unanimous approval of the House, has given the President of the United States $500,000,000 to put into the capital stock of this great corporation; I say it ill behooves us to criticize at this juncture in this way the men who are going to administer it. [Applause.]

Mr. BEAM. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I listened with a great deal of attention to the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA]. I rose to ask him to yield, but he did not yield before his address concluded. He mentioned in his remarks that the bankers of the country and also the packers are trying to increase the cost of the Government.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEAM. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. What I said was that they are seeking to destroy the efficiency of the departments by this insisting to reduce personnel and pay.

Mr. BEAM. And I want to propound a question to the gentleman. I ask him wherein the packers have been instrumental in that particular regard?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I suppose they have joined in the general chorus.

Mr. BEAM. That is all the information the gentleman has—that they have joined in the general chorus? Mr. Chairman, let me echo my own sentiments in conjunction with the remarks of the gentleman from New York. We are all interested in economizing, and I join with him in saying that we are opposed to any reductions in salaries. I come from the great stockyards district of Chicago, probably the most cosmopolitan in the country, with its teeming masses of human beings. If this reconstruction measure with its $500,000,000 of capital stock will stabilize banking and currency in this Nation, if it will stabilize the packing industry or the farming industry or any other industry, then I do not think it is right in this crisis, when men are out of employment and are starving, to criticize the enactment of that measure at this time, particularly in view of the fact that it was passed by an overwhelming majority of seven to one. This is not a partisan measure. I am a Democrat, but before we are Democrats or Republicans we are American citizens. If this measure succeeds and it stabilizes the financial interests and the industrial interests of the country, then I know that it will prevent bank failures in my district and in your district, and even while we are debating here some banks in Chicago are closing. If the enactment of this law will prevent such a thing and keep those banks active and open, then the enactment of this legislation will prove one of the most beneficial things that has ever occurred in this country. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I do not take a great deal of the time of the House, but I want to go on record on some of the questions that are hanging here in this appropriation bill. It is true that it is not a good policy for the House of Representatives to say that it will not as a general rule go above the Budget that is submitted by the President. As a general rule, we should have independent ideas and should move along those lines; but when we get into a crisis, when it is absolutely necessary for confidence in the Government and its financial structure to be restored, we must come pretty close to balancing the Budget; and under those circumstances I am in full accord with the principle that has been laid down by the Committee on Appropriations that we shall not go above the Budget on any item. If you have a good case, I believe that you can go to the Budget and get a supplementary item of a small amount where it is absolutely necessary.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. As a matter of fact, we have no opportunity to go to the Budget, because we do not know in time to enable us to go to the Budget.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman will take the Budget message that is submitted to the Congress when Congress opens and turn to the items, he will find just exactly what is estimated. It is not a message that is given in confidence to the Committee on Appropriations. It is a message that is given to the whole Congress and to the whole people.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. The Budget simply reduced the item for dry-land agriculture, and we had no means of knowing where the cut was going to strike.

Mr. TABER. When the Budget strikes, if it has stricken in a place where real grief is to follow, I believe that application to the Budget will produce results. We will never get anywhere in a crisis in keeping down expenses unless we fix a principle like that and stick to it.

Mr. BURTNESS. But, as a practical proposition, how can the general public throughout the country construe the Budget message with reference to the items in which they are particularly interested when the message is not divided or so broken up that they can tell what is allowed for each particular agency? Even Members of Congress can find out little or nothing about it until it is too late to make any application to the Budget.

Mr. TABER. Is there a single item on which Members can not appear before the Committee on Appropriations during the hearings where they fear there are cuts and find out just exactly what the situation is? There never has been on a single appropriation bill that I ever sat on.

Mr. BURTNESS. That is true; and I agree that that has been the attitude of the committee up to this time. We have been given a very fair opportunity by the Committee on Appropriations to present our case; but the point is that now, regardless of the facts or how well we present a meritorious case, and although it is accepted in the judgment of the individual members of the Appropriations subcommittee, yet here we suddenly and without warning find ourselves confronted with an arbitrary ruling that, even though we have made out our case, we can get no remedy, because it is now said that no item can be increased above the Budget, regardless of merit. By so doing, do we not practically waive our rights as Members of Congress?

Mr. TABER. I do not think so. I think under exceptional circumstances we have to carry a load which under ordinary circumstances we would not and should not carry.

Mr. BURTNESS. The gentleman does agree to this, that if the Budget has cut down a former appropriation or a department estimate, it would be absolutely useless, so long as the recent rule is followed, for Members of Congress to appear before the Committee on Appropriations and ask for an increase. We would simply be wasting our time in doing so and the time of the committee.

Mr. TABER. No; I do not think that is the situation at all.

Mr. BURTNESS. Why not?

Mr. TABER. I think anyone can go to the Budget, when they have a case that is absolutely imperative, and procure consideration.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], an esteemed and valued member of the Committee on Appropriations, has made what to me is a rather novel suggestion. First, that Members of Congress should come before the Subcommittee on Appropriations of the House on these appropriation bills and ask for the expenditure of money, but before the House committee can act they must then go down to the Budget Bureau and get their permission for the House to do it. Let me say to the gentleman that Members of Congress did come before our subcommittee. We heard them. We passed upon their requests favorably. They did everything that could be done by Members of Congress, in the machinery of the House, to get these expenditures, everything which the gentleman says they should do. Then the mandate came down that no matter what the judgment of our subcommittee was, we could not grant this appropriation or recommend it to the House. I submit the gentleman would not do this actually, but the gentleman suggests that a Member of Congress must go—using an expression of Finis Garrett, a former Member of this House—"Hat in hand, a messenger boy of the Republic" to the Bureau of the Budget to ask them to permit Congress to do that which we have an inherent right ourselves to do.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; gladly.

Mr. TABER. I would not suggest that anyone go hat in hand to anybody on a meritorious measure, but go with his shoulders back.

Mr. SIMMONS. Why go to the Budget Bureau? Why say to the Congress and the committee of Congress, "You can do nothing unless some of the administrative officers in the Treasury Department give their consent"?

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. BURTNESS. If this matter is to be handled only by the Budget Bureau, and the Committee on Appropriations is not allowed to exercise any judgment with reference to the merits of a particular case, why continue hearings before the Appropriations Committee, or even the committee itself, and why endeavor to select some of our most able Members, like the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], for membership on the Appropriations Committee? As I understand it,

they are placed on that committee on the theory that the House as a whole has confidence in their judgment and their ability to analyze a case that is put before them, and also that they have the courage to stand by their convictions when they reach a judgment on the merits with reference to a particular matter.

When we present the case to the membership of the Committee on Appropriations, what reason in the world can the gentleman from New York give for then proceeding in a backward direction, going down to the Bureau of the Budget, where, if that practice is established generally, the Members of Congress would be running into each other several hundred deep, and we would never get anywhere?

Mr. SIMMONS. I think if the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] knew the breakdown of this bill as he does the bill before the subcommittee on which he serves, he would perhaps take a different attitude. I defy any Member of Congress to take the Budget message and find in it that the Ardmore, S. Dak., station has been stricken out. You can not find it until you go into the breakdown that is submitted to us in the committee, marked "confidential." Other cuts in this bill are not there. It is unfair to say to the Congress that they can come before the Committee on Appropriations and prove their case and ask for funds. It is doomed in advance to failure, and the only thing they can do is to put on their hats and make an appointment with the Director of the Budget and some of his officials and walk down to the Treasury Building and say, "Please, Mr. Director of the Budget, I am a Member of Congress; won't you let the Congress let me have some money for the service of my people?"

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I may say to the gentleman that no Member of the House can go to the Bureau of the Budget and find out what the breakdown is, because they are told that it is a confidential matter which is submitted only to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Director of the Budget will not tell a member of the Appropriations Committee what they are going to do in these estimates. I do not mean to cast any ridicule upon the Director of the Budget. As far as I know, the Budget Bureau and none of its members desire to have the House surrender this power to them. They propose to carry on their functions and expect us to carry on ours.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The several pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] desire to press his amendment?

Mr. BLANTON. That was merely to give the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] an opportunity to take the floor. So I withdraw the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Cereal crops and diseases: For the investigation and improvement of cereals, including corn, and methods of cereal production and for the study and control of cereal diseases, and for the investigation of the cultivation and breeding of flax for seed purposes, including a study of flax diseases, and for the investigation and improvement of broomcorn and methods of broomcorn production, $550,785.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOGG] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. HOGG of Indiana: On page 35, line 2, strike out "$550,785" and insert in lieu thereof "$545,785."

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, the object of this amendment is to take from the corn-borer appropriation the small sum of $5,000 at this place. Indiana is in what is known as the corn-borer district. The corn borer has done no commercial damage in Indiana, or, for that matter, in any other State. Since this corn-borer scare came upon the Republic a few years ago our National Government has expended, and much of it wastefully, the stupendous sum of $17,000,000.

The Appropriations Committee this time has acted wisely and has taken out of the bill the appropriation for installing upon a few highways of the country a few boys to stop automobiles that happen to go along those specified highways. These boys in a courteous manner ask the occupants of the cars if they have any corn. Only a few roads are thus guarded. However, there are items appearing in several places in this bill calling for additional expenditures of money to study the corn borer.

The amendment I have offered takes only $5,000 out of this amount. I want to submit to you that there is not a corn borer in the United States at the present time whose life will be shortened one minute by reason of this decrease in appropriation. The farmers of America now know how to combat the corn borer.

I was interested in what the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] said a while ago. He said there is only one way of balancing the Budget and that is by spending less. Farmers do not need such an amount of appropriation for the purpose of studying the habits of the corn borer. Every farm boy knows the effective way of killing a corn borer.

The corn borer has done no material damage in the United States, and too much of $17,000,000 has been squandered in its name.

Mr. Chairman, this depression has been brought on in part by the people spending money which they did not have. To-day we are making expenditure of money which the Government does not have and no one knows from whence it will come.

The agricultural districts do not need all of the appropriations which this bill calls for, and those of you who want economy should support my amendment. [Applause.]

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. BURTNESS. I will be glad to vote with the gentleman, but I was wondering whether he had secured the permission of the Bureau of the Budget to propose this reduction?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I will say to the gentleman from North Dakota that I do not have that permission to attempt to lower taxes.

Mr. BURTNESS. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways. If permission must be obtained to have an item increased, it seems to me the same permission should be secured in order to get a decrease.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. The Budget is a guide and not the final word. That responsibility rests upon Congress.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I want to say to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LaGUARDIA] that the farmers and taxpayers in my State are appreciative of his assistance some time ago in this matter because of a legislature maneuver by him wherein he saved the Government a few millions of dollars, and the corn borers were not affected in number thereby.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I am glad the gentleman saved me the embarrassment of talking about myself to that extent, but I want to recall the abuse that was laid upon me in that instance. I was referred to as a radical; as a farmer from the east side of New York; as a man without a party; as a bolshevik and as a radical. The only one who stood by me that day was Martin Madden. That great statesman knew and stood by me. He gave me valuable information on the subject.

The minute anyone in this House exercises the least freedom in expression of his views a half dozen men on both sides of the aisle jump up to protest. Just a minute ago we had the sad spectacle of a Member of Congress, coming from my own State, getting up and surrendering the highest legislative function of the Congress of the United States.

He would have representative government come to an end. He abjectly submits to the Budget Bureau. I can not understand anything like that. Are we all going mad? Are we all going crazy? Are we losing our good sense? The Budget Bureau is simply a fact-finding body. Its purpose is to submit facts and figures for the consideration of the House of Representatives, where all appropriation bills must originate. But when legislators express a willingness to surrender our legislative duties, when legislators are willing to permit discredited bankers to dictate legislation and control appropriations, then indeed it is a sad day for representative government.

It is becoming the popular thing now to get up and say we must balance the Budget. Our normal expenditures have not increased, but our revenues have decreased, thanks to the great genius of the financial leaders and the great industrialists of this country. These failures are now exerting every effort to take it out of the "under dog"—to make the working men and women of the country pay for it all.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Certainly.

Mr. TABER. Is it not true that we increased our expenses at least $400,000,000 for the current year over the year before?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Certainly; and we increased them $500,000,000 just a few hours ago with the flip of the finger when we appropriated $500,000,000 for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. That is a millionaire's dole and a subsidy to the larceny and incompetency of some of our bankers who are now blabbing, "Balance the Budget." That is all it is.

The Secretary of the Treasury has also increased appropriations by $40,000,000 when he issued another billion dollars of long-term bonds to make up the deficit. Of course, in that way we are increasing the expenditures; we are increasing them every minute; but it is because of the blunders and failures of the so-called "big men" and big bankers who are now trying to take it out of the wage earners. I wonder how many "balancers" of the Budget will stand up and vote for increased taxes on the higher brackets, for increased taxes on inheritance, for a real tax on gifts, so that we can break up the accumulated wealth in this country. [Applause.] There is the way to balance your Budget.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. TABER. I wonder how many will have the nerve, not only to do that but to go all along down the line and make all the people in America pay their share of the expense of running the Government?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Fine! Another great idea of the discredited bankers, "Put the burden on the poor fellow getting $25 a week; put more taxes on him; put more taxes on the man supporting a family on $35 a week." That is the insidious inspiration for these cuts. He pays more than his share of taxes now by way of indirect taxes on his rent and excise taxes on his food, his clothes, or every cigarette that he smokes. He is paying his share of taxes. My friends, let us trace the source of this drive to make the already-exploited people who are compelled to work for a living now pay for the blunders of their exploiters.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Cotton production and diseases: For investigation of cotton production, including the improvement by cultural methods, breeding, acclimatization, adaptation, and selection and for investigation and control of diseases, $218,440.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I am very much in favor of this appropriation bill, and especially do I favor the paragraph just read. It is my purpose, however, at this time to make some observations concerning this bill and concerning the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill, which became law late yesterday afternoon.

What I shall say concerning this bill is not in any sense in criticism of the bill, but just to call the committee's attention to a custom or practice which the House has fallen into.

In this bill there is carried an item, for instance, for public roads which, in the minds of the country, is charged up to the farmer. The newspapers of the country will carry large headlines in the next few days declaring that a very large amount has been appropriated for the farmers of the country. There will be included in this amount this $100,000,000 for good roads. All of us must realize that this appropriation for good roads is not for the sole use and benefit of the farmers of the Nation. We must know that except for the advent of the automobile the present good-roads program would never have been inaugurated, and that this item can as easily be charged up to the citizens of the large cities, or to any other industry, as to the farmer. To this extent it is misleading.

Another matter which I wish to call to the attention of the committee is this: Read this bill from the first page to the last, and you will find millions upon millions of dollars appropriated for the purpose of helping the farmer produce more abundantly. The item which was just read provides for money to bring about a greater production of cotton; in fact, the entire bill is made up of items to bring about a greater production of farm products. I am in favor of this, but the thing I am complaining about is that there is practically nothing in this bill, or in the law books, providing for any kind of arrangement to help the farmer market what he produces.

Large agricultural schools are established to bring about greater production. Our experiment stations are established to bring about greater production. Page after page of the appropriation bill provide for greater production. All these things are being done for the farmers of the Nation, and yet the Congress is overlooking the one great thing of marketing which we must do for the farmer if the farmer is to be placed on an equality with the manufacturer and with other businesses and with other enterprises.

Both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party promised to put the farmer on a parity with other businesses and other enterprises, and neither party has kept that promise which was made to the farmer.

A new campaign is coming on, and again this summer speakers on every stump will be making promises to the farmer to put him on a parity with other businesses and other enterprises, a promise which, unless we do better than we have done in the past, will not be kept.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. What is it the gentleman would have in this bill that is not there?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I said I did not intend to criticize this bill, but just in connection with the bill to call attention to the fact that while this bill is good and I am in favor of it and supporting it, I am still calling attention to the fact that this bill provides for helping the farmer produce more rather than help him to market what he produces.

I am criticizing Congress for not enacting some legislation to do the thing that the farmer most needs.

Mr. SIMMONS. What is that?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Some scheme whereby the farmers can get a better price for their products. The farmers can produce an abundance, but Congress has not worked out a plan to help them get a proper price for those products. In the next few days, when I have more time, I shall discuss this subject much more fully.

Mr. SIMMONS. We can not carry that in an appropriation bill, but there will be a provision in my motion to recommit extending the markets, which will be of benefit to the gentleman's territory.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. The gentleman's motion for additional money to extend marketing no doubt will be good,

but yet there is not sufficient law on the books in aid of proper marketing of the farmers' products by the farmers and not by others. And yet the farmers need better marketing facilities a thousand times more than they need production facilities or aid. Let me say just here that Congress has made an awful failure in its efforts to set up a marketing agency for the farmers. Practically nothing has been done. But this line of thought will lead to a lengthy discussion, which I wish to enter into next week rather than now.

Let me make just one other observation along this line. Why is there so much more legislation passed to help the farmer produce abundantly than there is to help him market? To my mind the answer is simple enough. The profiteering middlemen and other parasites who capitalize the farmer's toil and make unconscionable profits out of the farmers' products are anxious for him to produce to the limit and yet they oppose in every possible way all efforts to set up efficient and worth-while marketing machinery for the farmers. These unnecessary middlemen pirates want and favor legislation to help the farmers produce; they object to all efforts to help that same farmer sell without giving them a lion's share of the selling price.

Let me pass from this bill to make some observations concerning other bills. So many outrages are committed in the name of the farmer. Too often bills are labeled for the farmer but the wrapper is either changed or destroyed before time for delivery. The package is finally delivered to the wrong man.

It is a dangerous thing to judge the merits of a bill by the name or caption of the bill. The most vicious measures have the prettiest names. For instance, take the name Reconstruction Finance Corporation act. It sounds real good, does it not? Then, again, read the purposes of the bill as set out by the bill itself, beginning with this language, "To aid in financing agriculture," and so forth. One would naturally believe that the main purpose of this bill was to finance agriculture, and yet, when I offered an amendment to stop the foreclosure of loans on the lands of the farmers and render one of the greatest services possible in this hour of the farmers' dire need, it was held, and I think properly so, that my amendment was not germane and that the bill was for purposes entirely different from that of helping the farmer in the respect suggested by me. The bill as originally brought to the House was so antagonistic to the farmer and the farmer's interest until many amendments seeking to make it a bill for the farmers of the country were held to be entirely foreign to the purposes of the bill and out of order. Even an amendment by the chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, who reported the bill, was held to be too much in favor of the farmer to be germane to the purposes of the bill.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill came back to the House on yesterday after an overhauling in the Senate. It was very much improved, but yet it is in no sense a farmer's bill. It has some items that I approve very heartily, and I congratulate those who helped the bill by adding these valuable amendments and regret that more—yes, much more—could not have been added in behalf of the common people. The bill has gone to the President for his signature and has been approved without sufficient amendments to make it worthy of the support of the majority of this Congress.

The bill as it became law carried an item of $50,000,000 to be loaned to the farmers for production purposes. There is an intimation that this amount may be increased so as to make available 10 per cent of the amount made available for loans by the corporation by the issuance of bonds, and so forth. I venture the assertion that a strict construction will be given this item so as to prevent the farmers borrowing more than $50,000,000 of the funds of this corporation. This amount will be very helpful to the farmers, and I am glad that it is to become available right now and that it is not to be restricted to the purchase of seed, feed, and fertilizers, as was the case with the other similar appropriations. The farmers have been anxious about this little help. All of us have received hundreds of letters from our districts about this item. Among those I received was one from my good friend, that splendid man and farmer, Mr. D. J. Gillis, of Axson, Ga., who expressed the thoughts of his farmer friends when he urged me to insist that the loans be made available for all production purposes, be authorized at the earliest possible moment—certainly before the last of February—and that sufficient funds be appropriated to take care of the situation. Mr. Gillis's letter expressed the same sincere, earnest plea made by all the farmers of the country when he said, "Let us have some help now; please don't wait until April or May."

Last year some help was wrenched from the unwilling hands of the administration, but it came so late until it was of little or no value to the farmers of the southern part of the Nation, where some planting of corn ofttimes may be done safely during the last of February.

I am glad that the plea of Mr. Gillis and of the farmers in this respect has been answered and answered now.

I am not deceived about the matter, though. If we had been forced to wait until a special bill passed Congress to aid the farmers in this respect, it would not have been enacted for some time yet. I am glad this item was tacked on in the Senate, even if the rules of the House would not let us amend the bill in this respect here.

This item should have been enacted long ago, without it being necessary for it to be put through as a rider on the so-called Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill. This is just another case of the farmer not getting a square deal. I regret that it was necessary for an item of so great merit to be made law as a rider on a bill so unfair to the farmer. I said the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill was unfair to the farmer when it was up for consideration in the House, and I still say it is unfair, in spite of the splendid amendments which were added in the Senate.

Now, the law as signed by the President authorizes loans to the amount of $50,000,000 to the farmers, in small driblets, provided the farmer goes through all the red tape incident to securing these loans, and authorizes loans of twice this amount to only one bank or trust company without any indorsement on any sort of collateral that this big banker's board of directors may wish to accept. Think of it, a bill which in its declaration of policy mentions the farmers first as the beneficiaries of the bill, provides for loaning twice as much money to one big bank in New York or elsewhere as is to be loaned to all the farmers of the entire Nation! Some farmers' bill, is it not? Let it be remembered that the sponsors of this bill in the House fought valiantly to make the loans authorized to one single bank or trust company $200,000,000, or four times as much as is to be loaned to all the farmers of the entire United States. Again I say, some farmers' bill, is it not?

Oh, but they say the main purpose of the bill is to relieve the banks that are about to close or have closed. Now, they think they have us who are so unpatriotic and so unstatesmanlike as to oppose this bill. Let me read from the bill as approved by the President, as follows:

Provided, That not more than $200,000,000 shall be loaned for the relief of banks that are closed or in the process of liquidation.

Wonderful relief to the banks whose doors have been closed—in many, if not all, instances—as the result of crooked manipulations of the big bankers in New York; when this bill provides loans to all these closed, ruined, and wrecked institutions of an amount only equaling the amount the sponsors of this bill in the House wanted to be loaned to only one of these institutions which did this wrecking of country banks. Now, after some of us have reduced this amount to be loaned to $100,000,000, still all the broken banks of the Nation can get for all their assets only twice as much as can be loaned to only one bank or trust company that is now hoarding millions of money and wrecking the Nation. Again I say, some bankers' bill, is it not? Some closed bank bill, is it not? Some bill for the common people, is it not?

All the wrecked bankers of the country, with all the security they can muster, with all their indorsements, even by putting up collateral of the very best type and borrowing only one-tenth of the market value of their security, can not

get more than the pittance authorized by this bill, while the big bankers and trust companies can, without indorsement and by sale of notes and other paper that none of their crowd will cash, get this money to the last nickel in sums of $100,000,000.

Much consternation seems to be felt when it is suggested that these loans in this enormous amount are to be made on paper that is not at all safe and on which millions of the taxpayers' money will be lost. It is pointed out that these loans are to "be fully and adequately secured." There is no doubt in my mind that all this money of the people will "be fully and adequately secured" from this corporation by the big banking interests of the Nation.

Oh, it is so misleading to urge that this money is to be loaned on security that is gilt-edge and absolutely safe. There is no need of this corporation to handle that kind of security. It may be argued that this paper that is to be bought by this corporation is absolutely good but not payable now. That is no argument. Government bonds and any other kind of obligations that are safe and payable many, many years in the future are easily reduced to cash. I venture the prediction that millions of security that is not at all safe will be unloaded on this corporation for actual cash and that the same concerns will take that money obtained by the sale of this financial trash and buy Government bonds, or even bonds of this corporation, thus swapping their notes and obligations that are not at all safe for the obligations of the people of the whole Nation, which are safe. They will swap paper that these bankers will not indorse, for the paper or bonds of the United States indorsed by the entire population of the whole United States.

If these bankers are to make these notes safe before they obtain money on them, why did not the sponsors of this bill write into it a provision requiring the board of directors and other officials of these corporations to indorse the notes of their bank before any money was advanced on them? Again, and again, I say if this steal was not to be perpetrated, why was my amendment turned down with a whoop by the advocates of this measure?

Here is my amendment which I offered to this bill and which was ruthlessly drowned by a storm of noes. It reads as follows:

Page 7, line 13, after the word "acceptances," strike out the period and insert the following: "*And provided further*, That no bond, corporate stock, or indebtedness evidenced by promissory notes or other obligations to pay shall be bought outright from any bank, savings bank, or trust company, and can only be used as collateral security for loans for one-half the then market value of such bonds, corporate stock, notes, or other obligation to pay when indorsed unconditionally by all the directors and other officials of said bank, savings bank, or trust company."

In conclusion let me say this measure, if properly administered, can be made to be a benediction to our Nation. I very much fear it is to be administered exactly as its language permits and authorizes it to be. If it is to be administered in behalf of the whole people, why was it not worded in their behalf?

The Nation is in such dire need of help, may we even yet, in spite of the provisions of the bill, hope and pray that this money be handled for the whole people, from whose pockets it has been taken and delivered to this corporation.

The Clerk read as follows:

Dry-land agriculture: For the investigation and improvement of methods of crop production under subhumid, semiarid, or dry-land conditions, $242,260: *Provided*, That the limitations in this act as to the cost of farm buildings shall not apply to this paragraph: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used for the establishment of any new field station.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 36, line 6, strike out the figures "$242,260," and insert in lieu thereof "$262,040."

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment increases the item of $242,260 by $19,780. The purpose of the amendment is to continue the dry-land agricultural experiment work at Ardmore station.

As I understand, the chairman said there was a proposal to transfer the dry-land agriculture experiment work to Newell, which is also located in my district. For my part, I do not so understand from the hearings. What they propose is to discontinue it. How else are they going to save $19,000? If they are going to transfer it to Newell, what would be gained by the transfer? It will cost just as much to do the work at Newell as it will at Ardmore. I do not think it will make a dollar's difference.

Mr. BURTNESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes.

Mr. BURTNESS. Are the two stations located in the same type of territory?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. The territories are similar as to climate and rainfall, but the station at Newell is situated on irrigated land. It is not a dry-land station. It is on irrigated land, and the experiments conducted are in no respect similar to those conducted at Ardmore. One experiments with a view to getting the best possible crop results in a semiarid region; the other conducts similar experiments on irrigated land.

Mr. BURTNESS. Then they could not do the same class of work.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. No; they could not. They can not do the work at Newell that they do at Ardmore. Manifestly experiments on irrigated land as to crop rotation, character of crop, and cultural methods bear little or no relation to dry-land practices.

The statement was made that the Newell station was operated in conjunction with the State. That is a mistake; it is not operated in conjunction with the State. It is just as much a Federal station as the one at Ardmore. It is a mistaken notion that it is operated in conjunction with the State. The State made an appropriation of $8,000 in 1926 with which to cooperate in experiments conducted at Newell in the feeding and fattening of lambs. Of this sum, only $4,000 has been used. That is the only contribution the State has ever made to the work conducted at Newell. So do not get the idea that this is a station that cooperates with the State. The State's contribution relates to only one small item. It has nothing to do with crop production and other activities for which the station was established.

This item for dry-land agriculture has been cut $102,000, or 30 per cent. Turn back to page 32 and you will find that the overhead in the city of Washington for necessary expenses and general administration has been reduced only fourteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent, and yet they cut the appropriation for dry-land agriculture 30 per cent. I do not think that is showing very much interest in the farmer located out on the western plains.

Another matter: I do not want it to go out to the country that Members of Congress are negligent in looking after the affairs of their districts. That is the impression, I fear, that the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] will leave with the country if his remarks should go unchallenged. I call attention to the fact that the only information we had from the Budget was that the dry-land agriculture appropriation had been reduced. It was utterly impossible to know where the reduction had been made, nor could that information be obtained from the Budget by any Member of Congress. That is considered confidential, and is submitted to the Committee on Appropriations when they finally get ready to consider the appropriation bill.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. And the fact of the matter is that the subcommittee handling this bill were unable to get copies of these justifications until one or two days prior to the starting of the hearings. We could not get the information when the Budget message came up here.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is a matter well known to the Members of the House, but it is not known to the country, and I think the country should know that Members of Congress have no means of defending themselves or their districts where individual items affecting their district are concerned. In this conection I might say that it is not the practice of the subcommittees of the House to give out any information about items in one's district. On the contrary, they often conceal it so as not to be bothered with Members

who may want to be heard. That was not true of this subcommittee. The subcommittee was fair in the matter of granting a hearing and giving consideration to suggestions made by myself and others. I can remember a subcommittee in the last Congress where the chairman not only refused information with reference to items affecting my district but where he instructed Members not to give me the information essential in order that I might have a chance to present the case of my constituents. The first information I had was when the bill was reported on the floor and then only a committee print was available. I was not the only one up against that kind of a situation. Other Members were treated the same way.

Mr. BURTNESS. How long does it usually take to obtain the report of the Budget, even if the information is available? How long is it before it is printed?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. It is not available until the subcommittee goes to work upon the bill. I want now to call attention to a matter that affects the personnel. I am not going to discuss my amendment very much, because it does not seem to be of any use. In the last month the Department of Agriculture has added 48 men to the personnel here in the District of Columbia, and yet this department cuts out the small appropriation necessary to maintain a station on the prairies of South Dakota for the benefit of that State, Nebraska, and Wyoming. A little bagatelle of $19,000 will keep this station going. Cutting out a few clerks down here not needed would save enough to operate this station.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. This bureau did not get one nickel of cut in the Budget for the maintenance of the grounds and greenhouses in the District of Columbia, and they did not take one nickel of cut in the Budget for the maintenance of the experiment station at Arlington, but they did go out where there is need of service for the farmer in the gentleman's district and they said, "We will make the cut out here."

Mr. WILLIAMSON. This station has been operating for 21 years next September, and as a result of the work it has done down there it has doubled the production of barley in that territory. The average production when the station started was 19 bushels to the acre, and if you gentlemen will read my speech of day before yesterday and the report made by Mr. Taylor, of the Bureau of Plant Industry, you will find that the average production at the station now is better than 40 bushels to the acre. That shows what the station has been doing. What it has been doing for barley it has been doing in a less measure, perhaps, for a great many other crops, and yet they say the station is of no benefit and not worth $19,000 a year.

The Budget did not even consider this item. They took the word of the gentlemen down here in the department and eliminated it. They say that they are following out the recommendations of the President. The President would not cut out this item if he knew anything about it. It is simply a play on words to say, "Stand by the President." You are not standing by the President, but you are standing by the bureau in its determination not to reduce anything in Washington. I have gone over every item in this bill; and the cuts in the country, where the farmers live, run from 7 per cent to 100 per cent, while the average cut in the department, so far as Washington is concerned, is only a trifle over two-tenths of 1 per cent. Compare this with the average cut outside of Washington, which runs between 7 to 8 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. KVALE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the gentleman's time be extended for two minutes. He is developing something here that I am very much interested in, and I would like to see him go further.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. If we are going to establish a policy here as a committee of this Congress of taking everything away from the man who is out on the farm and paying taxes, who works from morning to night, not 6 to 7½ hours a day, as they do in the departments, but from 10 to 12 hours a day, and 6 days a week and a good part of Sunday, then we better abolish the department altogether. I say it is a disgrace on the part of the department to make the cuts it has in the field among the people who live on the farm and do little or nothing to economize here in Washington. [Applause.]

Mr. ALLGOOD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I believe my record of nine years' service in this body will convince anyone that I am a friend of the farmer, the real, honest-to-goodness dirt farmer, but I think the grease should be boiled out of this bill. Under conditions existing in this country at this time, I see appropriation after appropriation in this bill that seems to me not justified.

Referring to the amendment to increase this appropriation for dry-land farming, as the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANKFORD] said a moment ago, it seems that we have a surplus of practically all farm products at this time. The trouble of the farmer is not production. It is the sale of his products at a living price. I am led to believe that the farmers to-day on the dry-land farms of the Northwestern States know how to produce. They have the required information. They have had the advantage of these appropriations for years. If this Congress wants to help those farmers and the farmers of every section of this Nation, I believe the place to strike is in seeking markets, opening up new markets, and finding new uses for the farmers' products. To-day the farmer is carrying on his back two heavy burdens: One, the mass of a huge surplus, caused by underconsumption; and the other, the loss of our foreign markets caused by the enactment of the Hawley tariff bill.

On page 37 of the bill is an item, "Gardens and grounds in the District of Columbia," for which is appropriated $97,820. That is practically the same as was asked for last year.

Mr. SIMMONS. Exactly the same. I think the committee cut a little out of it, but the Budget estimate for the item is exactly the same as last year.

Mr. ALLGOOD. I imagine most of that goes to pay for labor. The farmers who are working in Alabama to-day are not receiving for their labor what they received last year or the year before. They have to sell their cotton for 5 cents a pound. The gross production of cotton per family in the State of Alabama this year was around $200. Figuring five to the family, we only have $40 for each man, woman, and child to live on for a year in these farm families. And please remember that the $200 is not net profit, for out of it he has to pay fertilizer bills and taxes, and after these are paid there are hundreds of farm homes in my State and over the Southland that have no money left, and no credit at the store or bank, and as a consequence there are many homes where it is almost impossible to send the children to school for the want of clothing and books.

We will soon be called upon here to enact a new revenue or tax bill for the purpose of levying new income taxes; however, the question of income taxation is not bothering my people because of the greater question—that of making a living and paying their debts. With farmers now getting only $25 per bale for cotton and with thousands of men who have jobs at public works getting two days of work per week, and with many of them working on reduced wages, you can readily see that the question of paying a Federal income tax is not the problem that is troubling them, for they are face to face with keeping the wolf from the door. I do not know of a farmer and but few people in my district who are making enough profits now to have to pay an income tax. This will apply practically to all merchants and people in every line of business as well.

One of the great troubles of this torn-up, panic-stricken country is the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people. During the last 10 years, and under Republican administrations, a few people have been enabled to secure a monopoly on the money of the country and we can not hope to have prosperity again until this wealth is in some

way redistributed among the producers and laborers. It is therefore impossible for these producers, these farmers and laborers and the small business men, to bring back prosperity because they have no money and no credit, and under the existing conditions of lack of confidence those who own and control the money have refused in many instances to put it into circulation. Therefore it was necessary for this Congress in a nonpartisan program, in order to bring back prosperity, to give employment to the unemployed millions, to enlarge the consumption of farm products, and to restore confidence in the banks of our country to pass the reconstruction finance bill, which this body passed by the overwhelming vote of 335 for to 56 against. We will soon be called upon, as I said a moment ago, to frame a new tax measure. I hope we can tax this idle wealth that is being hoarded; and inasmuch as it has been suggested that nuisance taxes are to be incorporated in this bill, I say here and now that I will vote to strike out taxes which come directly from the pockets of the masses, such taxes as a 2-cent charge on checks, admission taxes to picture shows, and increased postage rates.

I strongly oppose any increase of taxation by the Federal Government which will come from the masses, because my people are burdened with excessive State and county taxes already, against which the National Government or this Congress can give no relief. My people are paying as much State and county taxes with 5-cent cotton as they were when cotton was selling for $100 per bale, and they can not continue to live under the existing tax burdens. Therefore, gentlemen, it behooves us to strike from this and all other bills every useless item of expense. We must economize by cutting out every unnecessary appropriation. Our people have been driven to want and have been forced to the most rigid economy, and it behooves us, as their Representatives, to do likewise.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALLGOOD. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. That item for gardens and grounds is to take care of the grounds of the Department of Agriculture in Washington and carries the salaries of 62 permanent employees. There is practically nothing in it for what we might term per diem employees at day labor. The gentleman is hitting upon the thing I object to in this bill. They do not propose to take a man off the pay roll for maintaining gardens and grounds in Washington, but they tell the gentleman from South Dakota and the farmers that he and I represent that we have to get along without services out there in the name of economy, and the gentleman's party is supporting that proposition.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Well, I see the total for this entire section, "Bureau of Plant Industry," is $5,338,138. Personally, I will vote to cut it in two.

My people have had their incomes cut in half. From the standpoint of economy and from the standpoint of balancing the Budget, if we are going to balance it, we have to start somewhere.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ALLGOOD. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. Before this bill is passed I expect to offer a motion to recommit that will take $495,000 in salaries out of the city of Washington, and I will propose to restore some of the activities in the field which the subcommittee originally favored, which will make a net saving of $240,000 to the taxpayers. Among other items in that motion to recommit will be an item restoring the marketing-news service in Tennessee, which probably reaches the gentleman's district in Alabama, and I trust the gentleman will favor it, in taking service to the farmers rather than maintaining the service in the name of agriculture in the city of Washington.

Mr. ALLGOOD. I think that the farmers throughout this Nation realize that we have overproduction and they want something done to open up the markets and increase the price of the products which they have been producing, instead of encouraging them to produce more.

Mr. SIMMONS. Certainly the giving of market news out in the farming sections to the farmers is in accord with the gentleman's ideas of service?

Mr. ALLGOOD. Something that will increase the price of the product that the farmer is now producing is what I want.

Mr. SIMMONS. This bill cuts out two market-news service stations. I propose to put them back in, and I propose to raise the mony by taking it from about a hundred places in the different bureaus in Washington.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALLGOOD. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I hope the gentleman will not stress overproduction too much. It is perhaps more the lack of power to purchase what this country produces and what a great many of the country need for proper sustenance.

Mr. ALLGOOD. I will admit there is a close question between overproduction and underconsumption; but the farmer, who is only making $200 a year with his entire family, has no money with which to buy anything. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Forage crops and diseases: For the purchase, propagation, testing, and distribution of new and rare seeds; for the investigation and improvement of grasses, alfalfa, clover, and other forage crops, including the investigation and control of diseases, $262,005.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. The question of raising taxes entered this discussion a while ago. Since that has entered this question I want to say a few words along that line. I am sorry the gentleman who brought that question into this discussion seems to be absent from the Chamber. He spoke about courage; about the courage it would take to broaden the base of taxation in order to tax 1,700,000 more of the people of this country who receive the lower incomes; getting down to those poor people who earn $1,000. I want to say to the gentleman and to the committee that I do not feel it would take a great deal of courage to do that. That is one of the things we have been following throughout all the years. When we find ourselves in our present situation it does not take a great deal of courage to lay more taxes on the common masses of the people, but it takes a great deal of courage to do what the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] was talking about awhile ago, namely, to put more taxes on these big estates, big incomes, and to levy gift taxes in order that those people of wealth may bear their share of the burdens of this Government.

We realize that in this country to-day we face conditions which are going to haunt us from day to day until this great question is solved. And what is that question? It is the question of seeing that there is not a further concentration of wealth in this country. You can say what you please, and appropriate $500,000,000 every day without a record vote in order to back up big business, but you will not solve the problems of this country. They will not be solved in that way.

Whenever it is finally checked up it may be some temporary stimulation in order to enable bonds to go up, or something like that, and enable these big millionaires and billionaires to purchase these bonds while they are cheap, so that when they do go up there will be a further concentration of wealth. The people you need to tax in this country are those with incomes which justify taxing. The people who are studying this question know that the only way to prevent further concentration of wealth is by wise and judicious taxation, changing the burdens from the shoulders of those who are struggling to get a living to those who have immense incomes and large estates; but the present policy seems to be to encourage more of the rich to get richer and the poor pressed down more and more. As for me, I will not follow and support such a system. No; the wealth of this country should be taxed. It must be done to save the country. The more people you can have with incomes

which enable them to support their families and own a home the better off any country is. And, on the other hand, it is injurious to any country to have a few men with the wealth and income of the country in their hands while millions are in want. This condition and an unwise and inequable tax system loading the chief burdens on the masses have destroyed countries, and will again if they are carried too far. Mr. Speaker and Members of this Congress we stand at the crossroads. One road leads toward Americanism and American ideals and the other leads to economic slavery, ruin, chaos, and poverty for our people. The question to-day is which road will we take. As for me, I have already chosen, and I expect to abide by that choice.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] spoke of courage. I repeat that it does not take courage to follow an old rut and do the usual thing and lay more taxes on the masses. No; they are not here either in person or by lobbyists, for they can not be, and as for me they do not need to be, for I am trying to be their representative and shall speak for them as best I can, and shall not compromise their interest, but will try to make the same fight that I believe the heroic Andrew Jackson or the great Lincoln would make under the same circumstances. These big interests are represented here in the person of lobbyists, and I say to the gentleman from New York that it will take courage to put their fair share of the burden on them and really right some of these injustices.

I see Members stand here and talk about overproduction until it makes me almost ashamed. I say this is not the trouble with this country, but it is underconsumption. That is why those who go about to reduce further the income of the great masses of our people, whether wage earners, farmers, or the millions of others whose incomes are small, will never solve these critical problems we are in now. In fact, an unfair tax system is what has brought us to this condition.

Then we have a recommendation to raise the postal rates and still further burden the masses of the people. There is also a recommendation that we place a tax on picture shows, beginning at all admissions above 10 cents for each admission. I want to say this: I do not know what party is going to sponsor such legislation as this, but I do know that I am not going to follow any such program or the sponsors of a system which puts such an undue burden on the masses and seeks to perpetuate further such a system which has done this country inestimable harm. [Applause.]

They want to put an additional 1-cent tax on the first-class mail matter of this country and a 10 per cent tax on the 15, 20, and 25 cent ticket which a poor man buys when he goes to a moving-picture show, the man who has no opportunities of membership in clubs or anything of that kind. They also want to put a tax of $50 or some such amount on him if he buys a Ford automobile. I will say that as far as I am concerned I am with Joshua, who said, "As for me and my house, we will not serve Baal but we will serve the Lord," when it comes to that sort of thing. [Applause.]

When it comes to raising the rates on postage I can not speak for the entire Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, but I can speak for one member of it; or if it comes before the House I will say that, as far as I am concerned, I will not support any proposition to raise the rates on first-class mail matter, either on this floor or in the committee.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATTERSON. There may be some need for an increase in the rate on special postage, but there is no need for an increase on first-class mail matter or a great deal of any other important mail matter. The Secretary of the Treasury submits a recommendation to the House to raise a great deal of extra revenue by increasing the rates on first-class mail matter. That is not only unnecessary, but it will be unfair to the public and it will not do what they believe it will do. I believe it was in 1925 that you raised the rate on postal cards. At that time it was said there would be a great increase in the revenues, but you will remember that during the following year there was less revenue received from postage on postal cards than when there was a 1-cent rate. I am opposed to any such scheme of taxation.

This Congress has the greatest opportunity in its history to render a constructive service and right some of the evils which exist. It can not be done by seeking to back up and perpetuate those who have brought on these evils and have not given a single constructive idea to lead us out. It must be done by increasing the income of our people. It is known that in value some of these big favored classes are faring better right now than at any time in history. Yes; I am ready to vote the right kind of tax increase. But I will not vote to put it on those who are struggling to make ends meet.

I for one am ready for a test of courage in this matter. Give us a proper tax system and we shall see a brighter day.

Well might the present administration rejoice if they can lead the Democratic Party into the tax plan of Andrew Mellon and Ogden Mills and get us to bring out and support in toto a bill lowering the income brackets so as to include incomes of $1,000 and these other unprecedented peacetime burdens on our common people, and in this way raise the additional taxes out of the masses; but while they can rejoice, our party should put its flag at half mast if we ever undertake to put such an iniquitous burden upon the people of this country. And the country will go into mourning as it should. Oh, may the patriotism, ideals, and sacrifices of those who have given their all for this Republic that it might be an enduring monument to self-government, democracy, and justice hover close to us in these hours. Let us again look to the same supreme guidance that Washington looked to through the sufferings of Valley Forge. Yes; courage and devotion which would bring out the best and finest of our country and the masses which is our strength and hope in every crisis. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MCCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 7912, the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill, had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to—

Mr. BURDICK, for 10 days, on account of illness in his family.

Mr. NOLAN (at the request of Mr. KNUTSON), indefinitely, on account of illness.

THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION ACT

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise my remarks made on the finance reconstruction bill on January 12, and also to extend my remarks on the same bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Speaker, although I was not pleased with some of the provisions of H. R. 7360, known as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act, I nevertheless supported it after the House adopted several amendments which materially improved the measure. I was convinced, and I am still convinced, that notwithstanding some objectionable features the bill will nevertheless afford very substantial relief if wisely and sympathetically administered, and that it will both directly and indirectly help agriculture, industry, labor, banking institutions, including small country banks, and in many instances depositors of closed banks. It will aid railroads in temporary financing operations, aid in bringing about a healthy expansion of credit and per capita



circulation, reduce hoarding, help to restore confidence, and by taking over for the time being frozen credits it will enlarge the capacity of banks to lend money to their customers.

Let there be no misunderstanding as to the extent of relief this bill will provide. While it will be helpful, it will not and can not accomplish all its proponents claim, for the reason that $2,000,000,000 is not sufficient to liquefy the frozen credits in the Nation. The fund provided is only sufficient to grant partial relief, and therefore there will be much dissatisfaction and disappointment in its administration. Many banks and other financial institutions are holding assets that are not only slow and frozen but some of which are worthless. This act will not supply funds to replace such worthless securities. The assets of many banks may be of such a character as to prevent them from obtaining any substantial benefits under this act, and probably none of the banks will get as much aid as they think they are entitled to. But a half loaf is better than no bread at all. The act is obviously palliative and not a "cure-all," because it is not contemplated that the Finance Corporation will be in a position to grant all of the needed relief.

Of course, the newly created Finance Corporation will not take over frozen credits that are worthless, but assets that may now be unsalable on the market but which have substantial intrinsic values behind them will be accepted on a valuation that will afford the Government a reasonably safe margin of security and at the same time, by supplying additional funds, enable the banks to resume their normal functions of making loans to their customers.

If this act is decently administered, it will enable banks, trust companies, building and loan associations, Federal land banks, joint-stock land banks, Federal intermediate-credit banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock credit corporations, insurance companies, credit unions, and mortgage-loan companies to deposit with this corporation their slow paper or frozen assets, of course, at their fair value, and get in return funds with which to conduct their affairs, meet their obligations, and render it less necessary to force payment of principal and interest due on both bank loans and farm loans, which will enable thousands of farmers to avoid sacrificial sale of their homes.

The value of any law depends on whether or not it is wisely and sympathetically administered, and if the board of directors of this gigantic Reconstruction Finance Corporation does not prudently, honestly, and impartially administer the act, exceedingly grave consequences will inevitably result.

As no other relief plan has been offered, I did not and do not think that I should withhold my support from this bill simply because the Hoover administration favored it, especially in view of the fact that it was indorsed by practically all of the representatives of the leading vocational groups, the press, and disinterested students of public affairs. The American people, now in the pit of an unprecedented depression, have demanded that Congress meet the present emergency with a comprehensive Government-financed plan of relief. This is the only bill or plan that has been proposed. If we reject this plan what have we to offer in its place? It is easy to stand off and criticize a measure, but if the critics offer no better plan—in fact, no plan at all—their objections should not prevent us from accepting this bill, which is the only plan that has been suggested and which an overwhelming majority of Democrats and Republicans in both House and Senate believe will render less acute the present nation-wide economic distress.

This bill comes to us with the approval of the Democratic members of the Committee on Banking and Currency and with the approval of the Democratic leaders in both the House and Senate. I can consistently vote for it for two reasons: First, it has the indorsement of the Democratic committee and the Democratic leaders of the House and Senate, and second, while it is not a cure-all, it is the best and only comprehensive and constructive relief measure offered by either Democrats or Republicans. While the Federal land bank bill which we recently passed will help, it is palliative only and does not go to the root of the evil.

This reconstruction finance bill was adopted in the House by the significant and exceedingly large vote of 335 for the bill and only 55 against it. Of the 193 Democrats in the House who voted on this bill, 151 voted for the bill and 42 against it. In the Senate the vote on this bill was: Yeas 63, nays 8—almost 8 to 1. The Senate record shows that 14 additional Senators who were absent or paired favored the bill and that only 4 not voting opposed it. If all these had voted the vote would have been yeas 67, nays 12, or a more than 6 to 1 vote in favor of the bill. The attitude of the 7 Senators not voting is not disclosed by the RECORD.

Of the 47 Democratic Senators, 37 favored the bill and 3 opposed it. The attitude of 2 Democratic Senators is undisclosed. Did the 37 Democrats in the Senate betray their party or country when they favored this measure? I think not. Did the 151 Democrats in the House who voted for this bill betray their party or their country? Nay, verily. Combining the vote in both House and Senate, 188 Democrats favored the measure and 50 opposed it—79 per cent for the bill and 21 per cent against it. Approximately 4 out of every 5 Democrats in the Senate and House voted for the bill. Who will claim that the 188 Democrats are out of line and that only the 50 are keeping step with the music of Democracy? The great majority of the 188 Democrats who supported this measure have grown old in fighting the battles of Democracy. In voting for this bill I do not think they were disloyal either to their country or to their party.

I believe, in view of the grave emergency, those in control of the machinery created by this act will make an earnest effort to administer this law wisely and sympathetically, well knowing that the eyes of the American people are upon them and ready to tear them to pieces if they attempt to improperly, or with partiality, administer this act.

I do not challenge the sincerity, good faith, and patriotism of the 55 Members who voted against this bill. I am sure they were acting conscientiously, though I think they did not accurately appraise this measure and made a mistake—an honest mistake—in voting against the only bill so far proposed to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, banks, and trust companies, intermediate-credit banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock credit corporations, farmers' associations, and other bona fide financial institutions.

Now, I am sure the measure will not accomplish everything expected of it; and as is generally the case, there will be much disappointment over the way the act is administered; but I am convinced that the act will do much to improve economic conditions, afford a breathing spell, and give all vocational groups an opportunity to dig themselves out of the economic pit into which they have been plunged, very largely as the result of maladministration of our affairs by Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and the Republican Party. For 11 years we have been dancing to the music of big business and special privilege, and in the present nation-wide economic debacle we are paying the fiddler.

But I hear some Members say they do not want to vote for anything President Hoover favors. As I weigh my responsibilities as a legislator, I can not conscientiously assume that attitude. As a culmination of 11 years maladministration of our national affairs by three Republican Presidents, President Hoover has publicly confessed his impotence, the bankruptcy of the Republican Party, its miserable failure, and its inability to formulate and put over a constructive program to meet the present emergency and pierce the dark mantle of depression that envelops the Nation. The American people now realize to their sorrow that the hurly-burly, skimble-skamble witches' stew brewed by the Republican Party for the last 10 years has brought us dangerously close to irremediable disaster.

As the Republican Party has confessed its inability to deal with this situation, the Democratic Party in Congress came to the rescue of the American people by the enactment of constructive legislation, which will help bring order out of chaos and repair and rebuild our badly shattered economic structure. It is not quite accurate to say that this is a Hoover bill. The Democrats in committee and in

the House and Senate rewrote the bill and, by several amendments, have very materially altered and improved the measure. Its enactment would have been impossible without a favorable report of the Democratic committee, without the approval of Democratic leaders, and without the support of an exceedingly large majority of the Democratic Members in both House and Senate.

In these times that try men's souls, in this period of Republican failure, incompetence, and inefficiency, the Democratic Party has thrown out a life line, put over a constructive legislative program to meet the present grave emergency, thereby rendering the American people a service the importance and value of which can not be overappraised.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made a while ago.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

A bill and a concurrent resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2639. An act to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Poplar, Mont.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. Con. Res. 9. Concurrent resolution relative to the feasibility of a 6-hour day for railway employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President for his approval a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 7360. An act to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, January 25, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Monday, January 25, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

Commodity short selling.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

(10.30 a. m.)

Upper Mississippi River (House Doc. 137, 72d Cong.).

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS—SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 9

(10 a. m.)

Increase in the balance to any one person in a postal savings depository (H. R. 4524 and H. R. 7438).

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

(9.30 a. m.)

Revision of patent laws.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m. and 2 p. m.)

Administrative and general provisions.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

402. A letter from the Public Printer, transmitting a report on the operating of the Government Printing Office for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1931, and the calendar year 1931; to the Committee on Printing.

403. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report from the Pueblo Lands Board, under the act of June 7, 1924 (43 Stat. 636); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BYRNS: Committee on Appropriations. H. J. Res. 230. A joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; without amendment (Rept. No. 248). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. LANHAM: Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. H. R. 375. A bill amending the public building act approved March 4, 1931, authorizing acquisition of building sites and construction of public buildings at Hibbing, Minn., and other places; without amendment (Rept. No. 249). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. LANHAM: Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. H. R. 6739. A bill to amend the authorization contained in the act of Congress approved March 4, 1929, for the acquisition of site and construction of building in Jackson, Miss.; without amendment (Rept. No. 250). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. CARLEY: Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. H. R. 7899. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate and to enter into an agreement regarding the south boundary of the post-office site at Plattsburg, N. Y.; without amendment (Rept. No. 251). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 8235. A bill to clarify the application of the contract-labor provisions of the immigration laws to instrumental musicians; without amendment (Rept. No. 258). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DRIVER: Committee on Flood Control. H. R. 6733. A bill for estimates necessary for the proper maintenance of the flood-control works at Lowell Creek, Seward, Alaska; without amendment (Rept. No. 259). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. LANHAM: Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. H. R. 793. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the relief of contractors and subcontractors for the post offices and other buildings and work under the supervision of the Treasury Department, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1919, as amended by act of March 6, 1920; without amendment (Rept. No. 252). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COYLE: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 1700. A bill for the relief of Walter S. West; without amendment (Rept. No. 253). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COYLE: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 1804. A bill for the relief of Frank Woodey; without amendment (Rept. No. 254). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANHAM: Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. H. R. 4515. A bill extending the limit of time

within which Parramore Post, No. 57, American Legion, may construct its memorial building, and correcting street location; without amendment (Rept. No. 255). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COYLE: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 6334. A bill for the relief of Lieut. M. A. Sprengel; without amendment (Rept. No. 256). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DRANE: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 6337. A bill for the relief of Capt. Chester G. Mayo; without amendment (Rept. No. 257). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Ways and Means was discharged from the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 185) to amend the Constitution of the United States, and the same was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARTER of California: A bill (H. R. 8314) to authorize the erection of a 250-bed addition to the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Livermore, Calif.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. CHINDBLOM: A bill (H. R. 8315) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across the Fox River 5 miles west of Antioch, in Lake County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8316) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across the Fox River at Fox Lake, in Lake County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 8317) to amend section 5 of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. IGOE: A bill (H. R. 8318) to authorize additional construction at the United States Veterans' Administration hospital, Hines, Ill., and to authorize appropriations therefor; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8319) to extend the provisions of the forest exchange act to lands adjacent to the national forests in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8320) to amend subchapter 3 of chapter 18 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia, approved March 3, 1901, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. FULMER: A bill (H. R. 8321) authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain a tobacco experiment and demonstration station in Sumter County, S. C.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HOLADAY: A bill (H. R. 8322) to authorize the construction of a new kitchen at the Veterans' Administration Home, Danville, Ill., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GLOVER: A bill (H. R. 8323) to fix the compensation of Members of Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8324) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across Rock River at Byron, in Ogle County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KARCH: A bill (H. R. 8325) providing for a 33-hour week for Federal employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. BURTNESS: A bill (H. R. 8326) to authorize the construction of an administration building at the United States Veterans' Administration hospital, Fargo, N. Dak., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8327) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across Rock River at Oregon, in Ogle County, State of Illinois; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HILL of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8328) to provide funds for cooperation with the school district at Nespelem, Wash., in the construction of a public-school building to be available to Indian children of the Colville Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. KARCH: A bill (H. R. 8329) providing that six hours in contracts for labor and service be deemed a day's work and the measure or standard of a day's work; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GROSS: A bill (H. R. 8330) regulating the use of appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RUTHERFORD: A bill (H. R. 8331) to restrict general immigration into the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SIROVICH: A bill (H. R. 8332) providing for a 5-day work week for certain Government employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. SCHAFER: A bill (H. R. 8333) to authorize the erection of a 500-bed addition to the Veterans' Administration home, Milwaukee, Wis., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARLAN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 246) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KADING: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 247) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TIERNEY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 248) authorizing the issuance of a special postage stamp in honor of Brig. Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 249) directing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11 of each year General Pulaski's memorial day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Gen. Casimir Pulaski; the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CROSSER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 250) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 8334) for the relief of William Girard J. Bennett; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8335) granting a pension to Jennie M. Spaulding; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8336) for the relief of the heirs of the late George W. Soule; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8337) for the relief of William H. Fleming; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8338) for the relief of Frank O. Glover; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8339) for the relief of William H. Carter; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BACHMANN: A bill (H. R. 8340) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Spitsnagle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8341) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Landers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLANCY: A bill (H. R. 8342) for the relief of Anthony Nowakowski; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COLE of Maryland: A bill (H. R. 8343) for the relief of Norman C. Brady; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CORNING: A bill (H. R. 8344) granting an increase of pension to Mercy Cipperly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOMINICK: A bill (H. R. 8345) granting a pension to Nannie P. Blakely; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FIESINGER: A bill (H. R. 8346) granting an increase of pension to Pheba Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8347) granting a pension to Laura Slotterbeck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FISH: A bill (H. R. 8348) to provide for the advancement on the retired list of the Army of Frederick J. J. Bryde; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FREE: A bill (H. R. 8349) granting a pension to Katherine H. Wrenn; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GRISWOLD: A bill (H. R. 8350) granting a pension to Alma Travis Day; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON: A bill (H. R. 8351) for the relief of Charles A. Jones, jr.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8352) granting a pension to Mollie G. Tomlinson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KERR: A bill (H. R. 8353) for the relief of Mrs. Asa Caswell Hawkins; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 8354) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Elizabeth Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8355) granting a pension to Theodore H. Wotochek; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PARKER of New York: A bill (H. R. 8356) granting an increase of pension to Jane Pelletier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PARTRIDGE: A bill (H. R. 8357) granting a pension to Blanche L. Preble; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RUTHERFORD: A bill (H. R. 8358) for the relief of Thomas L. Ross; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCHAFER: A bill (H. R. 8359) for the relief of Henry A. Moody; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8360) granting an increase of pension to John G. Walton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8361) granting a pension to George C. Louthain; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWANK: A bill (H. R. 8362) granting a pension to Eliza J. Mason; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TILSON: A bill (H. R. 8363) for the relief of David W. Morgan; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8364) for the relief of Bertha A. Bishop; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TREADWAY: A bill (H. R. 8365) granting an increase of pension to Lucy A. Farington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 8366) granting a pension to Thomas Williams, jr.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WEAVER: A bill (H. R. 8367) for the relief of Thelma Carringer; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8368) for the relief of George J. Leatherwood; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8369) for the relief of Burt Savage; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8370) for the relief of John H. Wykle; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8371) granting a pension to Carl H. Felmet; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

735. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of citizens of Argonia, Kans., asking that the prohibition law be maintained; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

736. Also, petition of membership of First Presbyterian Church of McPherson, Kans., asking that the prohibition law be maintained; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

737. Also, petition of Chiscaskia Baptist Association of Argonia, Kans., asking that the prohibition law be maintained; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

738. By Mr. BACHMANN: Petition of Rev. H. Hughes Wagner, pastor Methodist Episcopal Church, McMechen, W. Va., and a number of members of his church, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and opposing any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

739. By Mr. BOYLAN: Letter from Charles L. O'Reilly, president of the Theater Owners Chamber of Commerce, New York City, N. Y., protesting against the proposed tax on theater tickets; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

740. Also, resolutions unanimously adopted at a convention held in Buffalo of the National Guard Association of New York, favoring an appropriation by Congress for the fiscal year 1933 which will permit accomplishment of the 48 armory drills provided by law; to the Committee on Appropriations.

741. By Mr. CORNING: Resolution adopted by the National Guard Association of the State of New York in convention held at Buffalo, N. Y., January 16, 1932, with respect to Federal appropriations for the National Guard; to the Committee on Appropriations.

742. By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Resolution of the National Guard Association of the State of New York in convention held at Buffalo, N. Y., January 16, 1932, with respect to Federal appropriation for the National Guard; to the Committee on Appropriations.

743. By Mr. FULMER: Concurrent resolution of the South Carolina House of Representatives, January 22, 1932, urging passage of legislation for the proper and adequate drainage of agricultural lands in South Carolina; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

744. Also, resolution of the South Carolina Senate, Columbia, S. C., requesting the continuance of the agricultural marketing act, amended so as to include the debenture plan, equalization fee, or any other method which will make it effective in controlling surpluses, in making tariffs effective on farm crops, and in securing for American farmers cost of production on those portions of their crops sold for consumption in domestic markets; nothing less is a remedy for agricultural marketing products; to the Committee on Agriculture.

745. By Mr. GILLEN: Petition of Western Indiana Theatre Corporation, Terre Haute; Citizens Theatre Co., Brazil; International Alliance Theatrical Stage Employees Local No. 49, Terre Haute; and Vonderschmitt Amusement Enterprises, Greencastle, all of the State of Indiana, protesting against admission tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

746. Also, petition of Terre Haute Savings Bank, Terre Haute Trust Co., and the First McKeen National Bank & Trust Co., of Terre Haute, all of the State of Indiana, protesting against increase in postal savings deposit limit; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

747. Also, petition of the American Zinc Products Co., Karl A. Werneke, Terre Haute Auto Co., John S. Cox & Son, Shanks Motor Co., Terre Haute Malleable & Manufacturing Co., Moffett Buick, Hollowell Chevrolet, H. A. Sherrill, Hartman & Hirt, King, Morrison & Foster, and Frazier & Hanks, protesting against tax on automobiles and parts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

748. By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: Petition of Wheeling Automobile Club, opposing excise tax upon automobiles and accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

749. By Mr. HOOPER: Petition protesting against compulsory Sunday observance, signed by citizens of the third district of Michigan; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

750. By Mr. HORNOR: Petition of D. E. Dean, superintendent of schools; J. I. Finlinson, banker; Millard Hinkle, merchant; W. V. Jarrett, doctor of dental surgery; T. W. Ayers, attorney; Sterling Groves; J. J. Dotson; C. Donee Cook, editor Nicholas Republican, all of Richwood, W. Va., urging that influence be used in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to

the States, or repeal, and that petition be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

751. By Mr. KENDALL: Petition of 31 members of the First Baptist Church of Brownsville, Pa., protesting against any repeal, resubmission, or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

752. By Mr. KVALE: Petition of Catherine S. Morehouse and 10 other residents of the town of Morris, State of Minnesota, urging maintenance of prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

753. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Harold Parman and 60 others, from Fairview, Kans., protesting the passage of tax on autos, trucks, accessories, and tires; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

754. By Mr. LAMNECK: Petition of A. P. Knick, F. A. Barney, Mrs. Prudie Smith, and others, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation at this time as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations commonly known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

755. Also, petition of Homer B. Pierce, Edwin R. Swan, Joseph Maher, and others, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation at this time as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

756. By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of the Automobile Club of Hartford, Conn., opposing the proposed excise tax on motor vehicles, trucks, tires, parts, accessories, and gasoline; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

757. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of National Guard Association of State of New York, with respect to Federal appropriations for the National Guard; to the Committee on Appropriations.

758. By Mr. MILLIGAN: Resolution by the legislation and taxation committee, Real Estate Board of Kansas City, Mo., protesting against the proposed stamp tax on deeds of conveyance of real estate and asking the elimination of this feature from the proposed new revenue law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

759. By Mr. O'CONNOR: Resolution of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, urging sufficient appropriations for 1933 to permit accomplishment of the 48 armory drills of the National Guard provided by law and the full-strength summer-camp training, with the understanding that the strength of the National Guard will not be increased during the fiscal year 1933; to the Committee on Appropriations.

760. By Mr. REED of New York: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Wellsville, N. Y., in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

761. Also, petition of 30 citizens of Jamestown, N. Y., in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

762. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Randolph, N. Y., in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

763. By Mr. REILLY: Petition signed by Jennie Sherwood and other citizens of Fairwater, Wis., relating to the prohibition question, urging maintenance of the law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

764. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of National Guard Association of the State of New York, favoring an appropriation for the fiscal year 1933 which will permit accomplishment of the 48 armory drills provided for by law; to the Committee on Appropriations.

765. Also, petition of Robert Donner, of Buffalo, N. Y., opposing a tax on motor cars, parts, and accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

766. Also, petition of the Fairmont Creamery Co., New York City, opposing a tax on checks and drafts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

767. By Mr. SHALLENBERGER: Petition of 83 citizens of Edison, Nebr., petitioning Congress as follows: In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

768. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of Plaza Christian Temperance Union, Plaza, N. Dak., in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

769. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of Rev. Emile Robitaille and 119 other citizens of Daigle, Me., requesting a duty on the importation of pulp and fire wood; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

770. Also, petition of F. W. Mitchell and 167 citizens of Houlton, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

771. By Mr. SPENCE: Petition of Harry Smith and others, of Covington, Ky., for maintenance of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

772. Also, petition of Alma M. Powers and others, of Covington, Ky., for maintenance of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

773. By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Naperville, Ill., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and opposing any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

774. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petition of Donora Construction Co., Donora; Sharpnack Motor Co., Waynesburg; Hoxworth Auto & Transfer Co., Canonsburg; Enterprize Garage Co. and Gradison Auto Bus Co., Burgettstown; and Charleroi Chamber of Commerce, Charleroi, all of the State of Pennsylvania, protesting against tax on automobiles and automobile parts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

775. By Mr. WELCH of California: Petition of National Beet Growers Association of Greeley, Colo., petitioning Congress to grant the Philippine Islands their independence; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

776. Also, petition of San Francisco Labor Council, opposing a reduction in the salaries of Federal employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

777. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Methodist conference, favoring disarmament; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

778. By Mr. GARNER: Petition of the Filipino National Convention, protesting against the movement in the United States for the exclusion of Filipino immigration; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

779. By the SPEAKER: Petition of W. T. Heron, chairman of the committee on precautions in animal experimentation of the American Psychological Association (Inc.) in the District of Columbia, protesting against the passing of Senate bill 2146, dated December 17, 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

780. Also, memorial of Mr. Gasque and the South Carolina House of Representatives, urging the South Carolina delegation in the Congress of the United States to secure legislation to aid drainage in this State; to the Committee on Memorials.

SENATE

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1932

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, who of Thy tender love toward mankind hast given unto us the revelation of a new life, the inspiration of a new hope, the communication of a new strength, melt our hearts with the divine glow of Thy presence, making us mindful of Thy goodness toward us and our sacred obligations to our fellow men.

Quicken our devotion, heighten our love and gratitude, and keep us from all wandering thoughts, that by the guidance of Thy Holy Spirit our minds may be enlightened. Be to our Nation a pillar of cloud by day, of fire by night; so shall the weak become strong, the sorrowful shall find comfort, and the doubting certitude. Inspire our youth with high ideals, endue the burden bearers in our midst with righteous courage for their work, and grant to the aged and infirm, as the shadows lengthen and the evening comes, that peace which the world can not give. Accept our feeble, stammering words of love, and may they prove the coming birth of man's true language, when our wistful seeking senses are fulfilled with strange delight because the King of Life through every door of flesh has entered in. We ask it in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

HUBERT D. STEPHENS, a Senator from the State of Mississippi, appeared in his seat to-day.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Friday last, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

SENATOR FROM LOUISIANA

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, the Senator elect from Louisiana, Mr. LONG, is present. His certificate of election is on file. He is ready to take the oath of office.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator elect will present himself and receive the oath of office.

Mr. LONG, escorted by Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas, advanced to the Vice President's desk; and the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

SIGNING OF AN ENROLLED BILL

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair announces that, as authorized by the Senate on Friday last, he signed on that day, after the adjournment of the Senate, the enrolled bill (H. R. 7360) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes, previously signed by the Speaker, and reported by the Committee on Enrolled Bills as having been examined and found truly enrolled, and that it was delivered to the committee to be presented to the President of the United States.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 573) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 12) relative to the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I shall be prepared to report on the joint resolution a little later in behalf of the committee. I shall have to await a little more information, but I desire to advise the Senate now that I expect to report on it a little later in the afternoon and ask for its immediate passage.

BRIDGE ACROSS CLARKS FORK RIVER, WASH.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 573) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington, which was to strike out lines 3 to 8, inclusive, and insert:

That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to Pend Oreille County, State of Washington, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Clarks Fork River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation at or near Ione, Wash., in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Mr. JONES. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

PLANNING PROGRAM FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a preliminary report (in two volumes) of the Federal Employment Stabilization Board of a 6-year Federal planning program for construction—repairs and alterations—transmitted in response to Senate Resolution 127 (agreed to January 7, 1932), which was ordered to lie on the table.

CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS UNDER EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 128 (agreed to January 7, 1932), a list of construction projects which should, in his judgment, be entered upon within the next six years under the supervision of the War Department, which, with the accompanying report, was ordered to lie on the table.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Automobile Dealers' Association and employees, protesting against the imposition of any excise tax on motor cars or the products of the motor industry, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from Charles Forney, of Norfolk, Va., relative to quotations of securities of foreign governments and sales of bonds in the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a memorial, from William MacDonald, president of the Normandy State Bank, of St. Louis, Mo., remonstrating against the passage of legislation increasing the limit of deposits of an individual in postal-savings banks to $10,000, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. BLAINE presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Manufactures:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to amend the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of beer

Whereas the eighteenth amendment does not define what is meant by "intoxicating liquors" and there is reason to believe that if Congress should amend the Volstead Act so as to permit the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 4 per cent of alcohol, such a law would be sustained by the courts; and

Whereas the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of beer has resulted in a greatly increased consumption of hard liquor and is largely responsible for the prevailing lawlessness and the great increase in crime; and

Whereas the legalization of the manufacture and sale of beer would revive a $1,000,000,000 industry and give employment to at least 1,250,000 people and would afford a profitable market for 80,000,000 bushels of grain; and

Whereas the Federal Government has virtually abandoned the enforcement of the Volstead Act as is indicated by its loan of $35,000,000 to the California grape growers and concentrate industries, and the testimony given before the House Appropriations

Committee by Prohibition Director Woodcock to the effect that the manufacture of wine and cider is legal: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That this legislature hereby respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to amend the Volstead Act so as to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 4 per cent of alcohol; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to both Houses of the Congress of the United States and to each Wisconsin Member thereof.

HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
CHAS. B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Mr. BLAINE also presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Patents:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation fundamentally changing the present patent system

Whereas one of the chief reasons for the present distress of the farmers is the high cost of farm machinery; and

Whereas the high cost of farm machinery is in turn largely due to the fact that competition among manufacturers of such machinery is prevented by the patent system: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That this legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact a law substituting for the present patent system a new system whereby no more patents running for long periods of time shall be granted, but that instead the inventors will have their inventions appraised and paid for in accordance with such appraisal; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to both Houses of Congress of the United States and to each Wisconsin Member thereof.

HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
CHAS. B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Mr. BLAINE also presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which was ordered to lie on the table:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to pass the emergency public works bill introduced by Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.

Whereas Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr., has introduced a bill in the United States Senate which contemplates the expenditure of $5,500,000,000, to be raised through a prosperity bond issue, of which $3,750,000,000 is made available for loans to States for public works and the balance is to be used for Federal projects; and

Whereas Senator LA FOLLETTE has summarized what this bill would do as follows: "The best estimates indicate that expenditure of $5,500,000,000 for construction would give jobs to 1,500,000 of the unemployed directly. At least twice the number employed directly would be given work indirectly, in the industries supplying materials and in the production of consumers' goods for those whose purchasing power is restored "; and

Whereas ex-Gov. Alfred E. Smith, in his Jackson Day dinner address, strongly supported the proposal for a large loan by the Federal Government to provide work for the unemployed, making, among others, the following statements in support of this proposal: "* * * Private funds can last only for a short time and the localities are unable to carry the burden much longer. To solve the unemployment problem, we must forget politics and regard the United States to be in a state of war. We must resort to extraordinary means in order to bring about a solution. I suggest, first: An issue of Federal bonds for necessary public improvements, as distinguished from so-called made work for carrying unemployed over the winter. * * * If these bonds were to be issued in the ordinary manner, I would say, 'No.' I believe they should be offered direct to the American public, exactly as the Liberty bonds were offered, through an appeal to their patriotism and their devotion to the country. I feel safe in venturing the opinion an offer of such bonds will loosen up the money hoarded in sugar bowls, mattresses, and safe-deposit boxes. * * * If it was not bad business to issue them for the destruction of property as they did during the World War, what's wrong with issuing them to save lives? ": Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate, the assembly concurring, That the Legislature of Wisconsin respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to promptly enact the La Follette emergency public works bill as a measure of unemployment relief and an essential step in the restoration of prosperity; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to both Houses of the Congress of the United States and to each Wisconsin Member thereof.

CHAS. B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Camino and Placerville, Calif., remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or other measures that may restrict religious liberty, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. KEYES presented the petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Manchester, N. H., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NEELY presented a resolution adopted by the Rowlesburg (W. Va.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to be ratified by State conventions or legislatures, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana presented petitions, numerously signed by sundry citizens of Elwood and Portland, in the State of Indiana, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented a resolution adopted by the Cohocton (N. Y.) Grange favoring the reduction of governmental expenditures, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented numerous petitions and letters in the nature of petitions from sundry citizens and organizations in the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and protesting against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. HASTINGS presented a memorial of members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Lebanon and Rising Sun, Del., remonstrating against a proposed referendum on the national prohibition amendment of the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of members of the executive board of the Delaware Woman's Christian Temperance Union, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CAPPER presented petitions from sundry citizens of Tyro, Great Bend, Beloit, Burlingame, Morrowville, and Burr Oak, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Baker Avenue Baptist Church, of Great Bend, the Baptist Women's Missionary Society of Ness City; the congregation of the First Christian Church of Nickerson; local chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Augusta, Liberal, Sterling, and Tyro; the Liberal Arts Club of Winfield; the University Friends Church (representing 1,000 members), of Wichita; the Free Methodist Church, of Emporia, all in the State of Kansas, favoring the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. ODDIE presented a petition signed by Mrs. Laura Bulmer and other members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Reno, Nev., which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD without the signatures, as follows:

RENO WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Reno, Nev.

To Hon. TASKER L. ODDIE,
Washington, D. C.:

In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we, the undersigned, urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the main-

tenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. BROOKHART presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Dubuque, Iowa, remonstrating against the imposition of a tax on automobiles, accessories, or motor fuels, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, remonstrating against the passage of legislation reducing the salaries of postal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Washington and University Park, Iowa, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the United Farm Federation of America, assembled at Des Moines, Iowa, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We, the United Farm Federation of America, this day assembled at Des Moines, this 4th day of January, 1932:

Recognizing and resenting the unfair allocation of wave lengths by the Federal Radio Commission, and realizing the necessity of having the voice of agriculture allowed to reach the people without the insidious injection of propaganda favorable to big business interests with its attending inequality and injustice, do by unanimous consent find that—

Whereas radio channels have been allocated to big business corporations representing trusts and monopolies to the detriment of agriculture, which has no independent agricultural radio-station representation on the air; and

Whereas independent agricultural organizations constitute those organizations whose memberships are composed of actual operating farmers, the greatest producing group in America to-day, whose only exception to membership are honorary and advisory members admitted solely because of unusual services rendered, constituting farm organizations in which representation of other industries can find no place; and

Whereas present exigent conditions demand that agriculture, its problems and interests be given a fair and impartial hearing in that forum, provided only through a radio station broadcast: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the United Farm Federation of American in annual convention assembled, By unanimous vote do hereby request that Congress through its beneficent offices set aside a clear radio channel for the exclusive use of radio stations that may be erected by or devoted to the independent farm organizations only, and do sincerely request that said channel shall be used solely and exclusively by agricultural organizations whose membership is composed of not less than 98 per cent actual operating and producing farmers; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded immediately to the present Congress, and that the said Congress be urged to take action upon the same at this session, and that this resolution be spread upon the congressional records.

THE UNITED FARM FEDERATION OF AMERICA,
By L. A. LOOS, *President*.

PENSIONS FOR ARMY PACKERS, TEAMSTERS, AND SCOUTS OF PIONEER DAYS

Mr. ASHURST presented resolutions adopted by the State Senate of Arizona, which were referred to the Committee on Pensions and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Memorial 1

Whereas without the aid and unswerving devotion of the civilian employee of the Army in the pioneer days of the West the winning of the West would have been many years delayed; and

Whereas without hope of reward, glory, or fame the Army packer, the teamster, and the scout—all unenlisted men—gave of their best years and of their lives that the soldier and fighting man could prepare the way for civilization; and

Whereas but few of these faithful men of that pioneer band now remain, and they, broken in body and health, many without funds for the mere necessities of life, are deserving of recognition from that Government which they served: It is

Resolved by the Senate of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Arizona, That the Congress of the United States be memorialized to enact such legislation as will grant to these few survivors of that heroic little band such pension as will enable them to pass their last days free from want; it is further

Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Pension Office of the United States, and a copy to each of the Members of Congress representing the State of Arizona; it is further

Resolved, That this memorial be spread upon the journal of the proceedings of the State senate.

PROPOSED FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANKS

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask that there may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency a communication I have received from the central credit organization of the savings and loan associations of the State of New York incorporating a resolution in disapproval of Senate bill 2959, and also a list of the organizations comprising the associations.

There being no objection, the matter was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK CITY, *January 23, 1932*.

Hon. ROBERT F. WAGNER,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WAGNER: I am directed to inform you that at the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Land Bank of the State of New York, which is, as you may know, the central credit organization of the savings and loan associations of the State of New York, a resolution was proposed and discussed expressing disapproval of Senate bill 2959. This is the bill (as amended) proposing to create a system of Federal home-loan banks, with which you are no doubt familiar. The meeting unanimously adopted an expression of disapproval of this measure as against public policy, and a further expression of its belief that the measure, if enacted, could not be of any service to the savings and loan associations of the State of New York. I was directed to convey the substance of these resolutions to the United States Senators and Congressmen representing our State in the Congress of the United States.

For your information I have the honor to invite your attention herewith to the accompanying list of the institutions of our State whose representatives attended the meeting in question and unanimously adopted said resolutions.

With great respect, yours very truly,

LAND BANK OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
By C. J. W. ELDRIDGE, *Secretary*.

LIST OF SAVINGS AND LOAN INSTITUTIONS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK REPRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LAND BANK OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, HELD IN NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 22, 1932

American Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, New York City.
Bank Clerks' Cooperative Building and Loan Association, New York City.
Bedford Cooperative Building and Loan Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Bushwick Cooperative Building and Loan Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Chemung Valley Savings and Loan Association, Elmira, N. Y.
Chenango Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Norwich, N. Y.
Citizens' Savings and Loan Association, New York City.
Clinton Mutual Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Community Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Hamburg, N. Y.
Cooperative Savings and Loan Association of New York, New York City.
Corning Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Corning, N. Y.
Ellicott Permanent Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Enterprise Savings and Loan Association, New York City.
Equitable Cooperative Building and Loan Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Erie Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Fillmore-Leroy Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Floral Park Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Floral Park, N. Y.
The Franklin Society for Home Building and Savings, New York City.
Freehold Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Genesee County Loan Association, Batavia, N. Y.
Geneva Permanent Loan and Savings Association, Geneva, N. Y.
Gouverneur Savings and Loan Association, Gouverneur, N. Y.
Great Kills Savings and Loan Association, Great Kills, N. Y.
Hamilton Savings and Loan Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hastings-on-Hudson Building Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y.
Hicksville Savings and Loan Association, Hicksville, N. Y.
Home Building and Loan Association of Mount Vernon, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Home Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, North Tonawanda, N. Y.
Home Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Homestead Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Industry Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Ithaca Savings and Loan Association, Ithaca, N. Y.
Kasa Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Kenmore Savings and Loan Association, Kenmore, N. Y.
Kensington Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.

Model Building and Loan Association of Brooklyn, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Medina Savings and Loan Association, Medina, N. Y.
Building and Loan Association of Newburgh, Newburgh, N. Y.
New Rochelle Cooperative Building and Loan Association, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Niagara Permanent Savings and Loan Association, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
North Main Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
North Shore Building, Loan, and Savings Association, Port Richmond, N. Y.
Olean Building, Loan, and Savings Association, Olean, N. Y.
Parkside Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Pioneer Building Loan and Savings Association, Troy, N. Y.
Port Richmond Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Port Richmond, N. Y.
Richmond County Building and Mutual Loan Association, Tottenville, N. Y.
Riverside Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Schenectady Building Loan and Savings Association, Schenectady, N. Y.
Security Savings and Loan Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Serial Building Loan and Savings Institution, New York, N. Y.
South Brooklyn Savings and Loan Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Steamship Clerks' Savings and Loan Association, New York, N. Y.
Third Ward Savings and Loan Association, Port Richmond, N. Y.
Tompkinsville Cooperative Savings and Loan Association, Tompkinsville, N. Y.
Westerleigh Building Loan and Savings Association, Westerleigh, N. Y.
Westfield Savings and Loan Association, Westfield, N. Y.
Williamsville Savings and Loan Association, Williamsville, N. Y.

THE PROHIBITION LAW

Mr. WAGNER. I send to the desk several petitions I have received in favor of the prohibition law. I request that they may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

There being no objection, the petitions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD without the signatures after the first, as follows:

To ROBERT E. WAGNER,
United States Senator:

In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we, the undersigned, urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mrs. J. E. MASTEN, *Canandaigua, N. Y.* (and others).

To Hon. ROBERT WAGNER,
United States Senator:

In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we, the undersigned, urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mrs. VAL J. IVERSEN, *Hancock, N. Y.* (and others).

SUNDAY CLOSING OF BARBER SHOPS IN THE DISTRICT

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I also present two identically worded memorials protesting against the enactment of compulsory Sunday observance laws, one of which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

There being no objection, the memorials were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and one of them was ordered to be printed in the RECORD without the signatures after the first, as follows:

PETITION TO CONGRESS PROTESTING AGAINST COMPULSORY SUNDAY OBSERVANCE

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

Believing (1) in civil and religious freedom and the American principle of a complete separation of church and state;

(2) That Congress is prohibited by the first amendment to the Constitution from enacting any law enforcing the observance of Sunday or Saturday as proposed in bill S. 1202 "solely because of religious beliefs," or any measure looking toward Government control of religion;

(3) That it is not the prerogative of the Federal Government to destroy "competition" in any "occupation or trade" on Sunday or on any other day;

(4) That such legislation is opposed to the best interests of both church and state as well as the public welfare;

(5) That all such legislation by Congress establishes a dangerous legal precedent, fraught with tremendous consequences for evil, and should be opposed by every lover of liberty of conscience and the voluntary exercise of religion: Therefore

We, the undersigned adult residents of ———, State of ———, earnestly and respectfully petition your honorable body not to pass the compulsory Sunday observance bill S. 1202, entitled "A bill providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia," or any other compulsory religious measures that have been or shall be introduced.

J. W. JAMES,
31 Washington Place, Newburgh, N. Y.

THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

Mr. COPELAND presented a letter from the president of the Bronx Board of Trade, of New York City, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRONX BOARD OF TRADE,
New York City, January 23, 1932.

Hon. ROYAL S. COPELAND,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR COPELAND: The Bronx Board of Trade, in the city of New York, recently conducted a referendum vote among its membership on four questions related to prohibition, with the following results:

1. Question. Do you favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the eighteenth amendment?
Answer. Yes, 33; no, 375; blanks, 111.
2. Question. Do you favor the modification of the Volstead law to permit light wines and beer?
Answer. Yes, 310; no, 67; blanks, 142.
3. Question. Do you favor a repeal of the prohibition amendment?
Answer. Yes, 385; no, 58; blanks, 76.
4. Question. Do you favor a national referendum?
Answer. Yes, 361; no, 45; blanks, 113.

At the January meeting of our board of directors it was voted that the results of this referendum vote be made known to the President of the United States, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the United States Senators from New York State, and the Members of Congress from the Bronx, for appropriate action along the lines indicated.

Very truly yours,

LEO J. EHRHART, *President.*

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL GUARD

Mr. COPELAND presented a letter from the National Guard Association of the State of New York, which, with the accompanying resolutions, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION,
New York, January 23, 1932.

Hon. ROYAL S. COPELAND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: By direction of the president of the National Guard Association of the State of New York there is attached hereto resolutions which were unanimously adopted at the convention held at Buffalo, N. Y., January 16, 1932, with respect to Federal appropriations for the National Guard.

It is hoped this matter will receive your favorable consideration.

Very sincerely yours,
For the president:

WM. J. MANGINE,
Major, New York National Guard, Secretary.

Whereas in an attempt at alleviating the present economic depression, curtailments are being strongly urged in appropriations for the national defense; and

Whereas this is deplored, particularly because of possible results in undermining stability of government, and should, therefore, as an economic relief be a step of last resort: Be it therefore

Resolved, That any abridgment of our regular Military Establishments through economic necessity should be offset at lesser expense by increases in the civilian components of the Army and Navy, so that reduction in active defense be minimized; and be it further

Resolved, That the honorable Members of Congress are therefore urged to make provision for drill pay and annual training duty of such civilian components as will maintain these forces at the present or greater strength.

Copies to be sent to Military and Naval Affairs Committees of both Houses in Congress, to the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments, and to the Associated Council for National Defense.

Certified correct:

WM. J. MANGINE,
Major, New York National Guard, Secretary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. WALSH of Montana, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the bill (S. 2396) to amend section 11 of the act approved February 22, 1889

(25 Stat. 676), relating to the admission into the Union of the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 139) thereon.

Mr. METCALF, from the Committee on Education and Labor, to which was referred the bill (S. 2642) to establish a commission to be known as a Commission on a National Museum of Engineering and Industry, reported it without amendment.

Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (S. 1569) for the relief of Della D. Ledendecker, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 140) thereon.

Mr. CAREY, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (S. 2894) prohibiting the sale in the District of Columbia of theater tickets in excess of the number of seats available, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 141) thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent the second time, and referred, as follows:

By Mr. JOHNSON:

A bill (S. 3243) to amend section 24 of the Judicial Code, as amended, with respect to the jurisdiction of the district courts of the United States over suits relating to orders of State administrative boards; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 3244) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital in the inland region of the State of California;

A bill (S. 3245) to authorize the erection of a 250-bed addition to the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Livermore, Calif.; and

A bill (S. 3246) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital in southern California, and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 3247) granting a pension to Bradford Hurt (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LOGAN:

A bill (S. 3248) granting a pension to Squire C. Baker;

A bill (S. 3249) granting a pension to John S. Marcum;

A bill (S. 3250) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Fowler; and

A bill (S. 3251) granting an increase of pension to Charles Steffey; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 3252) providing for a preliminary examination and survey to be made of New River Inlet and New River Sound, Fla.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

A bill (S. 3253) for the relief of Stanley E. Richardson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

A bill (S. 3254) for the relief of Thomas J. Burke; and

A bill (S. 3255) for the relief of Owen Joseph Doherty; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BLAINE:

A bill (S. 3257) for the protection of holders of industrial insurance policies in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3258) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Oregon and the Stock Slough Drainage District to construct, maintain, and operate a dam and dike to prevent the flow of tidal waters into Stock Slough, Coos Bay, Coos County, Oreg.; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 3259) to provide for the protection of employees of the Department of Agriculture in the performance of their duties;

A bill (S. 3260) to provide for the enforcement of the "Act for the preservation of American antiquities" of June 8, 1906, as amended; and

A bill (S. 3261) to provide for the enforcement of the Lacey Act of May 25, 1900, as amended, regulating interstate and foreign commerce in wild animals and birds, or parts thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana:

A bill (S. 3262) for the relief of Timothy C. Harrington; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3263) to correct the military record of Augustus Ryman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3264) granting an increase of pension to Catharine Godby (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3265) granting a pension to Paul A. Randall (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BROOKHART:

A bill (S. 3266) for the relief of William N. Fishburn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PATTERSON:

A bill (S. 3267) for the relief of the Northwest Missouri Fair Association, of Bethany, Harrison County, Mo.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WHITE:

A bill (S. 3268) for the relief of Joseph J. Fortin; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. JOHNSON (for Mr. SHORTRIDGE):

A bill (S. 3269) to provide for the appointment of two additional district judges for the southern district of California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH:

A bill (S. 3270) for the relief of Daniel S. Schaffer Co. (Inc.); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3271) for the relief of the Security Trust Co. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3272) to provide for the entry, under bond, of exhibits of arts, sciences, and industries; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 3273) granting an increase of pension to Catharine A. Sweetland; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3274) for the relief of Addison B. Hampel (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. CUTTING:

A bill (S. 3275) to permit naturalization of alien conscientious objectors; to the Committee on Immigration.

A bill (S. 3276) to amend the act entitled "An act to promote the production of sulphur upon the public domain within the State of Louisiana," approved April 17, 1926; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. HOWELL:

A bill (S. 3277) granting a pension to Edward Paul Dorner; and

A bill (S. 3278) granting a pension to Benjamin F. Staud, jr.; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3279) to amend the act of February 7, 1914, relative to offenses against public policy in the District of Columbia; and

A bill (S. 3280) to amend certain sections in the Code of Law for the District of Columbia relating to offenses against public policy; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. JOHNSON:

A bill (S. 3281) for the relief of Warren Burke; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 3282) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Bay of San Francisco from the Rincon Hill district in San Francisco by way of Goat Island to Oakland; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. GLENN:

A bill (S. 3283) to authorize the construction of personnel quarters and kitchen at the Veterans' Administration Home, Dwight, Ill., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3284) granting compensation to Ella R. Trussell; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HARRISON:

A bill (S. 3285) to amend the authorization contained in the act of Congress approved March 4, 1929, for the acquisition of site and construction of building in Jackson, Miss.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

A bill (S. 3286) providing a pensionable status for soldiers of certain companies of militia organized in the Territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico and the State of Texas for service against hostile Indians; to the Committee on Pensions.

STABILIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to protect and foster trade and commerce and to supplement the powers of the Federal Trade Commission. I ask that the bill, with an accompanying explanatory statement, be printed in the RECORD, and that the bill and statement be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The bill (S. 3256) to protect and foster trade and commerce, to supplement the powers of the Federal Trade Commission, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3256

A bill to protect and foster trade and commerce, to supplement the powers of the Federal Trade Commission, and for other purposes

Be is enacted, etc., That the act entitled "An act to create a Federal Trade Commission, to define its powers and duties, and for other purposes," approved September 26, 1914, as amended, and constituting sections 41 to 51, inclusive, of chapter 2 of title 15, Commerce and Trade, of the Code of Laws of the United States of America, be, and the same hereby is, amended and supplemented to read as follows:

"FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

"SEC. 41. Federal Trade Commission established; membership; vacancies; seal: A commission is created and established to be known as Federal Trade Commission (hereinafter referred to as the commission), which shall be composed of nine commissioners, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than five commissioners shall be members of the same political party. The commissioners now in office shall continue to hold office until the expiration of their present terms, and of the additional commissioners hereby created one shall be appointed for a term to expire September 26, 1936, two shall be appointed for terms to expire September 26, 1937, and one shall be appointed for a term to expire September 26, 1938, the term of each of said respective additional commissioners to be designated by the President, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of seven years, except that any person chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the commissioner whom he shall succeed. The commission shall choose a chairman from its own membership. No commissioner shall engage in any other business, vocation, or employment. Any commissioner may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. A vacancy in the commission shall not impair the right of the remaining commissioners to exercise all the powers of the commission. The commission shall have an official seal, which shall be judicially noticed.

"SEC. 42. Salaries; employees; expenses: Each commissioner shall receive a salary of $10,000 a year, payable in the same manner as the salaries of the judges of the courts of the United States. The commission shall appoint a secretary, who shall receive a salary, payable in like manner, and it shall have authority to employ and fix the compensation of such attorneys, special experts, examiners, clerks, and other employees as it may from time to time find necessary for the proper performance of its duties and as may be from time to time appropriated for by Congress. With the exception of the secretary, a clerk to each commissioner, the attorneys, and such special experts and examiners as the commission may from time to time find necessary for the conduct of its work, all employees of the commission shall be a part of the classified civil service, and shall enter the service under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the commission and by the Civil Service Commission. All of the expenses of the commission, including all necessary expenses for transportation incurred by the commissioners or by their employees under their orders, in making any investigation, or upon official business in any other places than in the city of Washington, shall be allowed and paid on the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the commission. The General Accounting Office shall receive and examine all accounts of expenditures of the commission.

"SEC. 43. Office and place of meeting; divisions: The principal office of the commission shall be in the city of Washington, but it may meet and exercise all its powers at any other place. Until otherwise provided by law, the commission may rent suitable offices for its use. The commission is authorized by its order to divide itself into three divisions, each consisting of three commissioners, and the senior in service of the commissioners constituting a division shall be the chairman thereof. In case of vacancy in any division or of absence or inability to serve thereon of any commissioner thereto assigned, the chairman of the commission or any commissioner designated by him for that purpose, may temporarily serve on said division until the commission shall otherwise order. The commission or the chairman of the commission may delegate any of its work, business, or functions at any time or from time to time to any division and may at any time or from time to time amend, modify, supplement, or rescind any such delegation. Each division to the extent of such delegation and subject to the powers of the commission shall have the full powers of the commission and be subject to the same duties and obligations. The secretary and seal of the commission shall be the secretary and seal of each division thereof. The commission and each division may by one or more of its members, or by such examiners as it may designate, prosecute any inquiry necessary to its duties in any part of the United States. Nothing in this section contained, or done pursuant thereto, shall be deemed to divest the commission of any of its powers.

"SEC. 44. Definitions: The words defined in this section shall have the following meaning when found in this chapter, to wit:

"(a) 'Commerce' means commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, or in any Territory of the United States or in the District of Columbia, or between any such Territory and another, or between any such Territory and any State or foreign nation, or between the District of Columbia and any State or Territory or foreign nation.

"(b) 'Person' means and includes individual, firm, partnership, company, association, joint-stock association and corporation, and any assignee for the benefit of creditors, committee, receiver, or trustee operating any business, and every other person, natural or artificial, engaged in commerce, except common carriers subject to the acts to regulate commerce and banks, and 'corporation' shall also mean and include any company or association which is organized to carry on business for profit and has shares of capital or capital stock, and any company or association, incorporated or unincorporated, without shares of capital or capital stock, except partnerships, which is organized to carry on business for its own profit or that of its members.

"(c) 'Contract' means and includes any agreement, memorandum, understanding, arrangement, charter, constitution, by-law, resolution, rule, regulation, or code to which the adherence of any person is required by reason of assent, express or implied, or by reason of membership in any association or corporation.

"(d) 'Unfair methods of competition' and 'unfair trade practices' include all methods of competition heretofore recognized as or declared to be unfair under the antitrust acts or under the common law, and all other methods of competition or trade practices from time to time recognized as unfair under changing economic, business, or industrial conditions.

"These terms specifically include discrimination in price between different purchasers of goods or commodities sold for use, consumption, or resale within the United States or any Territory thereof or the District of Columbia, or any insular possession or other place under the jurisdiction of the United States, except such proper price differentials as are due to differences in grade, quality, quantity, or cost of transportation or delivery.

"These terms also specifically include bribing buyers or other employees of customers or prospective customers; procuring the business or trade secrets of competitors by espionage or by bribing their employees, or by similar means; imitating or simulating the designs or styles of a competitor or otherwise appropriating the results of a competitor's ingenuity, labor, or expense; enticing away employees of competitors or inducing said employees to violate their contracts; procuring breach of contracts between competitors and their customers; making false or disparaging statements respecting the products, business, financial credit, or integrity of competitors; intimidating customers of competitors by threats of patent infringement suits not made in good faith or made without disclosing the rights alleged to be infringed; using concealed subsidiaries or bogus independents; selling at or below gross cost, including selling expense, overhead, and other proper charges, except sales in good faith to dispose of slow-moving or out-of-date goods.

"These terms also specifically include all acts of every kind and nature which might tend to mislead or deceive competitors, the public, or the ultimate consumer, such as misstatements, express or implied, oral or written, whether contained in letters, circulars, advertisements, or on labels, containers, or otherwise, as to the quality, purity, or condition of the goods offered for sale; or as to the weight, measure, numerical count or content thereof in any package or container; or as to the nature, character, or identity, or relative, or effective quantity of the raw materials or ingredients or the process or conditions entering into the manufacture or production thereof; or as to the capacity, equipment, or advantageous location or special ability of the manufacturer, producer, or seller thereof; or as to the State, Territory, or country in which the same has been manufactured or produced; or as to the purpose for which the same may be used; or as to the use to which the same may be applied; or as to the effect produced by the use thereof; or as to the use thereof being made by others;

or as to the tests, indorsements, or certification thereof by others; or as to the voluntary nature of paid testimonials not clearly designated as having been paid for; or as to the identity of the manufacturer, producer, or seller thereof; or as to the seller thereof being the manufacturer or producer thereof; or as to the seller thereof being the employee, agent, representative, or authorized distributor of another, whether such other be specifically named or not; or as to the usual or customary price thereof; or as to the price charged being a reduced price when it actually is not; or as to the price being actually charged therefor; or as to the giving of goods or services free or at a reduced price when the value thereof is actually included in the price of other goods or services sold in combination therewith; or as to general sale of goods at reduced prices when such reduced prices actually only affect certain items of goods known as leaders, and other goods are being sold or offered for sale by the same seller at the same time at prices in excess of the usual or the customary or the fair price thereof.

"These terms also specifically include all acts which artificially or intentionally enhance or depress prices of goods or commodities within the United States or any Territory thereof, or the District of Columbia, or any insular possession or other place under the jurisdiction of the United States; and also all sales above or below the price or prices or the resale price or prices fixed by a contract approved by the commission as hereinafter provided in this subdivision of this chapter, and also all specific methods of competition and specific trade practices which may from time to time be designated as unfair by the commission as a result of any rule, resolution, code of ethics, or statement of practices adopted at any conference that may be conducted by the commission with persons or groups of persons in any industry or any branch of any industry, or as a result of investigations conducted by the commission.

"The enumeration herein of specific acts as unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices shall not be held to limit or restrict the general meaning of said terms, and said terms shall be broadly and flexibly construed without limitation to the common-law interpretation of any specific acts enumerated herein, or of said terms, but to give full effect to the intent hereof.

"(e) 'Documentary evidence' means all documents, papers, and correspondence in existence on and after September 26, 1914.

"(f) 'Act to regulate commerce' means chapter 1 of title 49, Transportation, and all statutes supplementary thereto.

"(g) 'Antitrust acts' means sections 1 to 27, inclusive, of chapter 1 of this title.

"SEC. 45. Prevention of unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices.—(a) Unlawfulness declared: Unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices in commerce are declared unlawful.

"(b) Power to prohibit: The commission is hereby empowered and directed to prevent persons, except banks and common carriers subject to the acts to regulate commerce, from using unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices in commerce.

"(c) Procedure by commission: Whenever the commission shall have reason to believe or shall have been advised that any such person has been or is using any unfair method of competition or unfair trade practice in commerce, and if it shall appear to the commission that a proceeding by it in respect thereof would be to the interest of the public, it shall issue and serve upon such person a complaint stating its charges in that respect, and containing a notice of a hearing upon a day and at a place therein fixed at least 15 days after the service of said complaint. The person so complained of shall have the right to appear at the place and time so fixed and show cause why an order should not be entered by the commission requiring such person to cease and desist from the violation of the law so charged in said complaint. If upon such hearing the commission shall be of the opinion that the person complained of has been guilty of an unfair method of competition or an unfair trade practice, it shall make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts, and shall issue and cause to be served on such person an order requiring such person to cease and desist from using said unfair method of competition or said unfair trade practice.

"SEC. 46. Approval of contracts; revocation; amendment.—(a) Petition for approval: Whenever any person or persons shall enter into, or propose to enter itno, any contract with any other person or persons or with any group or groups of persons to merge, consolidate, acquire stock ownership, fix prices, curtail production, apportion production, apportion sales, apportion territory, pool sales, pool profits, fix resale prices of patented, copyrighted, trademarked, or otherwise identified goods, or do any act or acts which are prohibited or which might be considered prohibited by the antitrust acts, said person or persons may file with the commission a petition together with a copy of the contract or proposed contract, and a schedule of the acts intended to be performed, and a statement showing the reasons therefor. The filing of such petition shall not be construed as an admission that the proposed act or acts violate any of the provisions of the antitrust acts.

"(b) Hearing and order: Whenever any such petition is filed, the commission shall give notice of hearing to all persons who have entered or proposed to enter into the contract, which notice shall fix the day and place of hearing at least 15 days after the service of the notice, and after such hearing the commission shall make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts, and if the commission is of the opinion that the contract is in the public interest it shall issue and cause to be served on the petitioner an order approving the contract, or, failing such opinion, it shall issue and cause to be served on the petitioner an order disapproving the same. Without in any way limiting the power of the commission to determine whether the contract is or is not in the public interest, it shall be considered presumptive evidence that such contract is in the public interest if it results in a fair and reasonable compensation to producers of average ability and efficiency and to labor, and does not result in a selling price of the goods or commodities covered thereby in excess of a fair and reasonable price, based on all fair and reasonable items of cost plus a fair and reasonable profit, but the burden of proving that the contract is in the public interest shall be on the petitioner.

"(c) Exemption from antitrust acts: Nothing contained in the antitrust acts shall be construed as declaring to be illegal for any purpose any contract so approved by the commission, or any act performed pursuant to such approved contract, until and unless such approval be revoked or canceled as hereinafter provided, and as long as such approval remains in force and is not revoked or canceled any such approved contract shall be a valid contract and enforceable as such in all appropriate actions and proceedings involving any of the parties to such approved contract in all courts of the United States of competent jurisdiction.

"(d) Commission to retain jurisdiction: Whenever any contract shall have been approved as herein provided the commission shall retain jurisdiction over the subject matter of said contract, and with regard to said subject matter over all persons entering into said contract, and all persons who may thereafter become parties thereto, and the commission shall have full and unlimited power to conduct and make any and all investigations of the business of all persons who are parties to any said approved contract, and to require and direct any said persons to file with the commission any reports containing any information that the commission may prescribe in order to ascertain whether and how said approved contract is being performed, or whether it is being violated, or whether it continues to be in the public interest.

"(e) Prevention of enhancement of prices: No person a party to any contract approved as herein provided shall at any time thereafter, either by reason of said approval or in reliance thereon, enhance the price of goods or commodities in commerce beyond a fair and reasonable price based on all fair and reasonable items of cost plus a fair and reasonable profit, and any such enhancement of price is hereby declared to be contrary to the public interest and a violation of the order approving the contract, and in the event of any such violation the commission shall, without undue delay, commence proceedings for the enforcement of the order and to recover the penalties hereinafter provided.

"(f) Damages for violation of approved contract: Any person injured or damaged by any act done by any other person in violation of an approved contract may file a petition with the commission briefly stating the facts, whereupon the commission shall serve upon the person against whom the complaint is made, a copy of said petition and a notice of hearing fixing the day and place of the hearing at least 15 days after the service of the notice, and after such hearing, the commission shall make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts, and shall issue and cause to be served on all parties to the hearing an order either dismissing the petition or directing the payment of damages or directing such other action as it may deem proper. The filing of the petition by the injured person shall not be compulsory, but he may instead thereof pursue any other legal remedy. If such petition is filed, the jurisdiction of the commission shall become exclusive and its order shall be a bar to any other legal proceedings, except proceedings to enforce the order of the commission.

"(g) Revocation or cancellation of approval: Whenever the commission shall have reason to believe, or shall have been advised (1) that any contract approved by it has been availed of by the parties thereto for the purpose of selling or offering for sale goods or commodities in commerce, at prices in excess of a fair and reasonable price based on all fair and reasonable items of cost plus a fair and reasonable profit, or (2) that the conditions operating to make said contract in the public interest no longer exist, or (3) that by reason of new conditions said contract is no longer in the public interest, or (4) that the petitioner or any party to the approved contract made material misstatements or misrepresentations in the petition or upon the hearings thereunder, which materially influenced the opinion of the commission in granting the approval, the commission shall serve upon all parties to the approved contract, a notice of hearing upon at least 15 days' notice of the day and place thereof, and after such hearing the commission shall make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts, and if the commission is of the opinion that the contract is no longer in the public interest or that the approval was secured by misstatements or misrepresentations, it shall issue and cause to be served on all parties to the contract an order revoking or canceling its previous order of approval.

"(h) Effect of revocation of approval: Upon the issuance of an order by the commission revoking or canceling its previous approval, the exemption from the provisions of the antitrust acts hereinabove vested in an approved contract shall immediately cease and terminate, but no act which was lawful under said approved contract, done by any party to the contract while the approval shall have been in force shall be construed as a violation of the antitrust acts, except that if the revocation or cancellation is based on material misstatements or misrepresentations in the petition or upon the hearings thereunder, the revocation or cancellation shall date back to the date of the issuance of the order of approval, and the original approval shall not be effective as a suspension of the provisions of the antitrust acts.

"(i) Modification of contract: A contract approved by the commission shall not be amended, modified, or altered except with the approval of the commission after petition, hearings, and order, as required for an original approval. A contract disapproved by the commission may be amended, modified, or altered to conform to the opinion of the commission; and as so amended, modified, or altered may be refiled with a new petition. Before disapproving any contract or before revoking or canceling any approval theretofore issued, the commission, during the course of any hearing or after the hearings but before the issuance of its order, may, without a new petition or a new notice, permit the petitioner or the parties to the contract to amend, modify, or alter the contract so as to conform the contract to the opinion of the commission.

"SEC. 47. Rules of procedure: (a) Rules and evidence: All proceedings and hearings before the commission or a commissioner or examiner shall be governed by rules to be adopted and prescribed by the commission, and in all investigations, inquiries, or hearings the commission or the commissioner or the examiner shall not be bound by the technical rules of evidence.

"(b) Service of process: Notices, orders, and other processes of the commission under this subdivision of this chapter may be served by anyone duly authorized by the commission, either (1) by delivering a copy thereof to the person to be served, or to a member of the partnership to be served, or to the president, secretary, or other executive officer or a director of the corporation to be served; or (2) by leaving a copy thereof at the principal office or place of business of such person, partnership, or corporation; or (3) by registering and mailing a copy thereof addressed to such person, partnership, or corporation at his or its principal office or place of business. The verified return by the person so serving said notice, order, or other process setting forth the manner of said service shall be proof of the same, and the return post-office receipt for said notice, order, or other process registered and mailed as aforesaid shall be proof of the service of the same.

"(c) Notice on Attorney General: Notices of all hearings shall also be served upon the Attorney General of the United States by registering and mailing a copy thereof addressed to him at the city of Washington, or addressed to such subordinate or division at such place as the Attorney General may designate in writing.

"(d) Right to intervene: Any person may make application, and upon good cause shown may be allowed by the commission, to intervene and appear in person or by counsel in any proceeding or at any hearing.

"(e) Testimony: The testimony and evidence and all other proceedings in all investigations and examinations and at all hearings shall be reduced to writing and filed in the office of the commission, and shall be open to public inspection.

"(f) Orders of commission: All orders of the commission shall take effect within such reasonable time, and shall continue in force until its further order or for a specified period of time, as shall be prescribed in the order, unless the same shall be suspended or modified or revoked or canceled by the commission, or suspended or set aside by a court of competent jurisdiction.

"(g) Rehearings by commission; stay; decisions: After an order has been made by the commission, any party thereto may at any time make application for rehearing of the same, or any matter determined therein, and it shall be lawful for the commission in its discretion to grant such a rehearing if sufficient reason therefor be made to appear. No such application shall excuse any person from complying with or obeying any decision, order, or requirement of the commission, or operate in any manner to stay or postpone the enforcement thereof without the special order of the commission. In case a rehearing is granted the proceedings thereupon shall conform as nearly as may be to the proceedings in an original hearing, except as the commission may otherwise direct; and if, in its judgment, after such rehearing and the consideration of all facts, including those arising since the former hearing, it shall appear that the original decision, order, or requirement is in any respect unjust or unwarranted, the commission may reverse, change, or modify the same accordingly. Any decision, order, or requirement made after such rehearing, reversing, changing, or modifying the original determination shall be subject to the same provisions as an original order.

"SEC. 48. Appeal to the courts—(a) Appeal: Any party to any proceeding, feeling aggrieved by any order issued by the commission, may obtain a review of such order in the circuit court of appeals of the United States within any circuit where the aggrieved party resides or carries on business by filing in the court, within 30 days after the service of the order, a written petition praying that the order of the commission be set aside. A copy of such petition shall be served by the petitioner on the commission and on the Attorney General of the United States within five days after the filing thereof, and within 15 days after such service the commission shall certify and file in the court a transcript of the entire record in the proceeding, including all testimony taken and the report and order of the commission. Upon the filing of the transcript the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm, set aside, or modify the order of the commission, but the findings of the commission as to the facts, if supported by testimony, shall be conclusive, and a determination by the commission that a specific method of competition or a specific trade practice is unfair shall be considered a finding of fact, and as such, if supported by testimony, shall be conclusive.

"(b) Remittal for additional evidence: If either party shall apply to the court for leave to adduce additional evidence, and shall show to the satisfaction of the court that such additional evidence is material and that there were reasonable grounds for the failure to adduce such evidence in the proceeding before the commission, the court may order such additional evidence to be taken before the commission and to be adduced upon the hearing in such manner and upon such terms and conditions as to the court may seem proper. The commission may modify its findings as to the facts, or make new findings, by reason of the additional evidence so taken, and it shall file such modified or new findings, and its recommendation, if any, for the modification or setting aside of its original order, with the return of such additional evidence. Said modified or new findings as to the facts, if supported by testimony, shall be conclusive.

"(c) Jurisdiction of court: The jurisdiction of the circuit court of appeals of the United States to hear appeals from the orders of the commission and to set aside or modify the same shall be exclusive. The judgment and decree of said court shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court upon certiorari as provided in section 347 of title 28—Judicial Code and Judiciary.

"(d) Preference: Such proceedings in the circuit court of appeals shall be given precedence over other cases pending therein, and shall be in every way expedited.

"(e) Effect of affirmance of revocation of approval of contract: Upon the affirmance of an order revoking or canceling a previous approval of a contract, except a revocation or cancellation based on misstatements or misrepresentations in the petition or the hearings thereon leading to the approval, no act which was lawful under said approved contract, done by any party to the contract pending the appeal to the circuit court of appeals and prior to the date of the entry of the judgment and decree of said court, shall be construed as a violation of the antitrust acts.

"(f) Proceedings to enforce orders: If any person violates or fails or neglects to obey any order of the commission, other than for the payment of money, while the same is in effect, the commission or any person injured thereby or the United States, by its Attorney General, may apply to the appropriate district court of the United States for the enforcement of such order. Said court shall have jurisdiction to enforce obedience to such order by writ of injunction, or writ of mandamus or other proper process or mandate, to restrain said person from further disobedience of such order or to enjoin upon said person obedience to the same or commanding said person to comply with the provisions of this subdivision of this chapter or any order of the commission made in pursuance thereof.

"(g) Proceedings to enforce orders for payment of money: If any person does not comply with an order for the payment of money within the time limit in such order, the complainant, or any person for whose benefit such order was made, may file in the appropriate district court of the United States, or in any State court of general jurisdiction having jurisdiction of the parties, a petition setting forth briefly the causes for which he claims damages, and the order of the commission in the premises. Such suit in the district court of the United States shall proceed in all respects like other civil suits for damages, except that on the trial of such suit the findings and order of the commission shall be prima facie evidence of the facts therein stated, and except that the petitioner shall not be liable for costs in the district court nor for costs at any subsequent stage of the proceedings unless they accrue upon his appeal. If the petitioner shall finally prevail, he shall be allowed a reasonable attorney's fee, to be taxed and collected as a part of the costs of the suit.

"SEC. 49. Additional powers of commission: The commission shall also have power—

"(a) Trade practice conferences: To conduct and preside at trade practice conferences with persons or groups of persons in any industry or any branch of any industry in order to determine what specific methods of competition or what specific trade practices are unfair, and to adopt rules for the conduct of such trade-practice conferences.

"(b) Investigation of business: To gather and compile information concerning and to investigate from time to time the organization, business, conduct, practices, and management of any person or persons engaged in commerce (excepting banks and common carriers subject to the act to regulate commerce) and their relation to other persons.

"(c) Reports: To require, by general or special orders, persons engaged in commerce (excepting banks and common carriers subject to the act to regulate commerce) or any class of them, or any of them, respectively, to file with the commission in such form as the commission may prescribe annual or special, or both annual and special, reports or answers in writing to specific questions, furnishing to the commission such information as it may require as to the organization, business, conduct, practices, management, and relation to other persons of the respective persons filing such reports or answers in writing. Such reports and answers shall be made under oath, or otherwise, as the commission may prescribe, and shall be filed with the commission within such reasonable period as the commission may prescribe, unless additional time be granted in any case by the commission.

"(d) Investigation of compliance with antitrust decrees: Whenever a final decree has been entered against any person in any suit brought by the United States to prevent and restrain any violation of the antitrust acts, to make investigation, upon its own initiative, of the manner in which the decree has been or is being carried out, and upon the application of the Attorney General, it shall be its duty to make such investigation. It shall transmit to the Attorney General a report embodying its findings and recommendations as a result of any such investigation, and the report shall be made public in the discretion of the commission.

"(e) Investigations at request of President or Congress: Upon the direction of the President or either House of Congress to investigate and report the facts relating to any alleged violation of the antitrust acts or of this subdivision of this chapter by any person or persons, or to make any investigation reasonably calculated to afford information useful and material in framing legislation, and in any such investigation the commission shall have the full powers of the President or of the House of Congress directing such investigation, and said powers to the extent that they may be delegated, are hereby expressly delegated to the commission for the purposes of any investigation so directed.

"(f) Readjustment of business of persons violating antitrust statutes: Upon its own initiative, or upon the application of the Attorney General to investigate and make recommendations for the readjustment of the business of any person alleged to be violating the antitrust acts in order that the person may thereafter maintain his organization, management, and conduct of business in accordance with law.

"(g) Publication of information; reports: To make public, information obtained by it hereunder, except trade secrets and names of customers; and to make annual and special reports to the Congress and to submit therewith recommendations for additional legislation; and to provide for the publication of its reports and decisions in such form and manner as may be best adapted for public information and use, and such authorized publications shall be competent evidence of the reports and decisions of the commission in all courts of the United States and of the several States without any further proof or authentication thereof.

"(h) Classification of persons; regulations: From time to time to classify persons and to make rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this subdivision of this chapter.

"(i) Investigations of foreign trade conditions; reports: To investigate, from time to time, trade conditions in and with foreign countries where associations, combinations, or practices of manufacturers, merchants, or traders, or other conditions, may affect the foreign trade of the United States, and to report to Congress thereon, with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

"SEC. 50. Reference of suits under antitrust acts to commission: That in any suit in equity brought by or under the direction of the Attorney General as provided in the antitrust acts, the court may, upon the conclusion of the testimony therein, if it shall be then of opinion that the complainant is entitled to relief, refer said suit to the commission, as a master in chancery, to ascertain and report an appropriate form of decree therein. The commission shall proceed upon such notice to the parties and under such rules of procedure as the commission may fix, or as the court may prescribe, and upon the coming in of such report, such exceptions may be filed and such proceedings had in relation thereto as upon the report of a master in other equity causes, but the court may adopt or reject such report, in whole or in part, and enter such decree as the nature of the case may in its judgment require.

"SEC. 51. Information and assistance from departments: That the several departments and bureaus of the Government when directed by the President shall furnish the commission, upon its request, all records, papers, and information in their possession relating to any persons subject to any of the provisions of this subdivision of this chapter, and shall detail from time to time such officials and employees to the commission as he may direct.

"SEC. 52. Documentary evidence; depositions; witnesses: (a) Subpœnas and documentary evidence.—That for the purpose of this subdivision of this chapter, the commission, or its duly authorized agent or agents, shall at all reasonable times have access to, for the purpose of examination, and the right to copy any documentary evidence of any person being investigated or proceeded against; and the commission shall have power to require by subpœna the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all such documentary evidence relating to any matter under investigation. Any member of the commission may sign subpœnas, and members and examiners of the commission may administer oaths and affirmations, examine witnesses, and receive evidence.

"(b) Attendance of witnesses and production of documents: Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of such documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, at any designated place of hearing. And in case of disobedience to a subpœna the commission or any party to a proceeding before the commission, may invoke the aid of any court of the United States in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence.

"(c) Compelling attendance and testimony of witness: Any of the district courts of the United States within the jurisdiction of which such inquiry is carried on may, in case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpœna issued to any person, issue an order requiring such person to appear before the commission, or to produce documentary evidence if so ordered, and to give evidence touching the matter in question; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof.

"(d) Depositions: The commission may order testimony to be taken by deposition in any proceeding or investigation pending under this subdivision of this chapter at any stage of such proceeding or investigation. Such depositions may be taken before any person designated by the commission and having power to administer oaths. Such testimony shall be reduced to writing by the person taking the deposition, or under his direction, and shall then be subscribed by the deponent. Any person may be compelled to appear and depose and to produce documentary evidence in the same manner as witnesses may be compelled to appear and testify and produce documentary evidence before the commission as hereinbefore provided.

"(e) Fees of witnesses: Witnesses summoned before the commission shall be paid the same fees and mileage that are paid witnesses in the courts of the United States, and witnesses whose depositions are taken and the persons taking the same shall severally be entitled to the same fees as are paid for like services in the courts of the United States.

"(f) Immunity of witnesses: No person shall be excused from attending and testifying or from producing documentary evidence before the commission or in obedience to the subpœna of the commission on the ground or for the reason that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise, required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture. But no natural person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he may testify, or produce evidence, documentary or otherwise, before the commission in obedience to a subpœna issued by it: *Provided,* That no natural person so testifying shall be exempt from prosecution and punishment for perjury committed in so testifying.

"SEC. 53. Offenses and penalties: (a) Forfeiture for violating order: Every person engaged in commerce shall obey, observe, and comply with every order made by the commission, under authority of this subdivision of this chapter, so long as the same shall be and remain in force. Any person who knowingly violates or fails or neglects to obey any order issued by the commission shall forfeit to the United States the sum of $5,000 for each offense. Every distinct violation shall be a separate offense, and in case of a continuing violation, each day shall be deemed a separate offense. A subsequent revocation, cancellation, modification, or suspension of the order shall not constitute a defense to the penalty for any offense committed while the order was in force.

"(b) Failure to file report: If any person required by this subdivision of this chapter to file any annual or special report shall fail so to do within the time fixed by the commission for filing the same, and such failure shall continue for 30 days after notice of such default, the person shall forfeit to the United States the sum of $100 for each and every day of the continuance of such failure.

"(c) Collection of forfeitures: The forfeitures provided by subdivisions (a) and (b) of this section shall be payable into the Treasury of the United States, and shall be recoverable in a civil suit in the name of the United States brought in the district where the person has his principal office, or in any district in which he shall do business. It shall be the duty of the various district attorneys, under the direction of the Attorney General of the United States, to prosecute for the recovery of forfeitures. The costs and expenses of such prosecution shall be paid out of the appropriation for the expenses of the courts of the United States.

"(d) Remission of forfeitures: If the defendant in any such action to recover forfeitures shall prove that during any portion of the time for which it is sought to recover forfeitures, the defendant was actually and in good faith prosecuting an appeal to the courts to set aside such order, the court shall remit the forfeitures incurred during the pendency of such appeal.

"(e) Failure to attend or testify: Any person who shall neglect or refuse to attend and testify, or to answer any lawful inquiry, or to produce documentary evidence, if in his power to do so, in obedience to the subpœna or lawful requirement of the commission, shall be guilty of an offense and upon conviction thereof by a court of competent jurisdiction shall be punished by a fine of not less than $1,000 nor more than $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"(f) False entry, removal, or mutilation of evidence.—Any person who shall willfully make, or cause to be made, any false entry or statement of fact in any report required to be made under this subdivision of this chapter, or who shall willfully make, or cause to be made, any false entry in any account, record, or memorandum kept by any person subject to this subdivision of this chapter, or who shall willfully neglect or fail to make, or to cause to be made, full, true, and correct entries in such accounts, records, or memoranda of all facts and transactions appertaining to the business of such person, or who shall willfully remove out of the jurisdiction of the United States, or willfully mutilate, alter, or by any other means falsify any documentary evidence of such person, or who shall willfully refuse to submit to the commission or to any of its authorized agents, for the purpose of inspection and taking copies, any documentary evidence of such person in his possession or within his control, shall be deemed guilty of an offense against the United States, and shall be subject, upon conviction in any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction to a fine of not less than $1,000 nor more than $5,000 or to imprisonment for a term of not more than three years, or to both such fine and imprisonment.

"(g) Disclosure of information: Any officer or employee of the commission who shall make public any information obtained by the commission without its authority, unless directed by a court, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 54. Effect of subdivision on other statutory provisions: Except to the extent specifically provided in this subdivision of this chapter with reference to contracts approved by the commission and acts performed pursuant to such approved contracts, nothing contained in this subdivision of this chapter shall be construed to alter, modify, or repeal the antitrust acts or the acts to regulate commerce, or any part or parts thereof, or to prevent or interfere with the enforcement of the provisions of said antitrust act or said acts to regulate commerce, and except to the extent specifically provided in this subdivision of this chapter no order of the commission or judgment of the court shall in anywise relieve or absolve any person from any liability under the antitrust acts.

"SEC. 55. Separability clause: If any clause, sentence, paragraph, provision, or part of this subdivision of this chapter shall for any reason be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this subdivision of this chapter but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph, provision, or part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered."

The statement presented by Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts to accompany the bill introduced by him was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT EXPLAINING THE BILL S. 3256

This bill is a complete amendment and amplification of the Federal Trade Commission act in line with the almost universal demand as expressed by industrial organizations, by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and by the American Bar Association, and also in the President's message to Congress; but goes beyond most other suggestions in that it gives full protection to the public, declaring that the public interest requires fair compensation to producers and labor and a fair price to consumers.

The major features of the bill are:

First. Federal Trade Commission is empowered to give advance approval of cooperative contracts for curtailment of production and for other acts to avoid ruinous competition.

Second. The public is protected by prevention of unfair prices through such approved contracts.

Third. The antitrust laws are not repealed, but exemption is granted to approved acts. Approved contracts are declared legally enforceable.

Fourth. Approval to be revoked if it leads to unfair prices or is otherwise no longer in the public interest or if approval is secured by misrepresentation. Exemption from antitrust laws terminates upon revocation of approval.

Fifth. Penalty similar to penalty in Interstate Commerce Commission act is provided for noncompliance with commission's orders.

Sixth. Definition of unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices is clarified and amplified.

Seventh. Trade practice conferences are legalized.

Eighth. Power of commission to conduct investigations is enlarged.

The bill also generally amplifies and clarifies the procedure before the commission.

The bill is introduced in response to the almost universal demand for the stabilization of industry so as to enable producers to earn a fair profit and to pay fair wages to labor and to charge fair prices to consumers, without the hindrance of cut-throat competition, which industry claims has been imposed upon it by the antitrust laws.

The President in his message to Congress said, "In my message of a year ago I commented on the necessity of congressional inquiry into the economic action of the antitrust laws. There is wide conviction that some change should be made, especially in the procedure under these laws. I do not favor their repeal. Such action would open wide the door to price fixing, monopoly, and destruction of healthy competition."

This bill does not repeal the antitrust laws. These laws are left in full force, as they must be in order to prevent price fixing and monopoly to the detriment of the public.

Chambers of commerce and other industrial organizations have demanded advance Government approval of contracts for curtailment of production and for other acts to avoid ruinous competition, basing their demand on the proposition that under existing laws such contracts are prohibited and that this prohibition has led to overproduction in all lines of industry, which in turn has resulted in this depression with its accompaniment of unemployment, starvation, misery, and suffering.

The bill permits such advance approval by the Federal Trade Commission of contracts to curtail production, as well as many other forms of contract that may be necessary to the complete stabilization of industry, provided such contracts are in the public interest.

Industry admits that these contracts will replace competition by cooperation, and it is possible that in some instances these contracts might destroy healthy as well as unhealthy competition.

If my proposal contained nothing beyond the provision for such advance approval of cooperative contracts, it would "open wide the door to price fixing and monopoly," just as effectively as would the complete repeal of the antitrust laws.

This can not be risked. The public interest demands fair prices to all. The public as producers must receive a fair compensation and as consumers must be able to purchase goods at fair prices. Neither excessively low nor excessively high prices are in the public interest. Both extremes are equally bad. My bill therefore states that the public interest requires a fair and reasonable compensation to producers of average ability and efficiency, and to labor, and a fair price to consumers, and forbids the use of an approved contract for the purpose of enhancing prices beyond a fair and reasonable price based on all fair and reasonable items of cost plus a fair profit.

The bill grants exemption from the antitrust laws to all approved contracts and all acts performed pursuant thereto, and makes such approved contracts legal and enforceable. It provides, however, for the revocation of the approval if prices are enhanced beyond cost and a fair profit, or if the contract is no longer in the public interest or if the parties misrepresented the facts upon their application for approval, and in case of revocation of approval, the exemption from the antitrust laws is lost.

To make the commission more effective, a penalty for noncompliance with its orders is provided, similar to the penalty contained in the Interstate Commerce Commission act; the definition of unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices is clarified and amplified; trade practice conferences are expressly legalized; and the power of the commission to conduct investigations is enlarged.

The bill also provides for the increase of the Federal Trade Commission from 5 to 9 members so as to enable it to handle its enlarged functions, and the commission is authorized to divide itself into 3 divisions of 3 members each in the same manner as the Interstate Commerce Commission, each division to have the full powers of the board. In my opinion, this and the other changes of procedure which I have made will serve to expedite the work of the commission and generally make it a more efficient instrument for the welfare of industry.

This bill does not contemplate compulsory Government regulation of prices of goods or commodities, but will check those industries which voluntarily apply for Government approval of contracts that might be prohibited by the antitrust laws; and these industries must, in return, agree to submit to Government jurisdiction over the reasonableness of the prices to be charged by them, so as to protect the public against unreasonably excessive prices.

In brief, realizing that industry can not be stabilized by congressional edict, the bill permits industry to stabilize itself through cooperative agreements, and at the same time protects the public against the extortionate practices of monopolies.

RELIEF OF WATER USERS ON IRRIGATION PROJECTS

Mr. CAREY submitted an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2163) for the temporary relief of water users on irrigation projects constructed and operated under the reclamation law, which was referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation and ordered to be printed.

DEPORTATION OF ALIEN SEAMEN

Mr. COPELAND submitted an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF THE GRAIN FUTURES ACT

Mr. FRAZIER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 96) to amend the grain futures act, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed.

PROPOSED EMERGENCY CIRCULATION FUND

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2675) providing for an emergency circulation fund, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

ACTS OF THE PORTO RICAN LEGISLATURE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying documents, referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 23 of the act of Congress approved March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith certified copies of the four acts enacted by the Twelfth Legislature of Porto Rico during its second special session, from November 25 to December 8, 1931.

HERBERT HOOVER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 25, 1932.*

CALL OF THE ROLL

The VICE PRESIDENT. Morning business is closed. The calendar is in order.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Schall
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Sheppard
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Shipstead
Barkley	Fess	King	Smith
Bingham	Fletcher	La Follette	Smoot
Black	Frazier	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	George	Logan	Stephens
Borah	Glass	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glenn	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Goldsborough	McKellar	Townsend
Broussard	Gore	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Hale	Metcalf	Vandenberg
Bulow	Harris	Morrison	Wagner
Byrnes	Harrison	Moses	Walcott
Capper	Hastings	Neely	Walsh, Mass.
Caraway	Hatfield	Norbeck	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hawes	Norris	Watson
Connally	Hayden	Nye	Wheeler
Coolidge	Hebert	Oddie	White
Copeland	Howell	Patterson	
Costigan	Hull	Pittman	

Mr. WATSON. I wish to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] on account of a slight illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. JOHNSON. May I announce that my colleague [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] is ill and confined to his bed? I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] is necessarily detained from the Senate on official business. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

REDUCTION OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Chicago Daily Tribune of the 20th instant, entitled "A Solemn Warning."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, January 20, 1932]

A SOLEMN WARNING

The memorial addressed to Congress by the Federation of American Business and presented to the Senate by Mr. WATSON, of Indiana, is a statement of the paramount issue now confronting the American people. That issue is the reduction of Government expenditures. Only when the governments, Federal State, and local, have reduced their expenditures to accord with the capacity of the taxpayers to pay, can business enjoy a healthy revival. Only when governments, and especially the Federal Government, cease borrowing to meet deficits will the country feel that its currency is secure and invested funds will be safe from confiscation.

That is a thesis that can not be repeated too often, for the tendency in Congress is to assume that the rôle of Government in the emergency is to spend without stint in order to take up the slack in private employment. The memorial, signed by Mr. Charles Wilson and taken to Washington by Mr. Bernard Snow, of Chicago, asserts that, for every man placed on the Government pay rolls, one or more of the unemployed who might have found work in private industry is deprived of a job. Every dollar borrowed and spent on unproductive public works is a mortgage on the future, an assurance of still higher taxes, and a dollar taken from private industry at a critical period.

There has been and is a great deal of talk about economy. The President has given forth some resounding pronouncements on this subject. The Vice President has spoken to the same effect. Outstanding leaders of both parties in the Congress have excoriated lavish expenditure and demanded retrenchment. If one gave full credit to official eloquence, the prospect of immediate relief would seem bright.

But in Washington and throughout the country the absence of action is as conspicuous as the plenitude of words. Beneath the show of zeal for economy there is a silent resistance to its accomplishment which only the most persistent and overwhelming effort by the public can hope to overcome.

Back of every public expenditure is an incorrigible self-interest. Every bureau has its powerful friends. Every Government activity and expenditure has its beneficiaries in and out of office who will exert every ounce of influence to protect and perpetuate it. Many or most Congressmen and legislators have appointees in the public offices. Every politician is aware that out of Government expenditures his organization is maintained, to say nothing of such private benefits as he may be deriving directly or indirectly. Every job holder knows that retrenchment may endanger or reduce his livelihood. Private citizens and enterprises profiting by Government public contracts, communities in which public money may be expended on improvements, real or imaginary, swell the huge army of resistance. All give more or less sincere adherence to the cause of economy and tax relief, but favor it only at some one else's expense.

To overcome this tremendous power is as great a task as the American people ever attempted. In normal times it would be impossible. At this time it may not be. The consequences of inordinate expenditure have culminated in a crisis which has broken through the indifference of a formidable number of citizens. If they can find resolute leadership and will organize and exercise their influence, some substantial results can be achieved. The danger of failure lies in underestimating the vast covert forces of resistance, in taking words for deeds, in submitting to evasion and postponement until the pressure of necessity has passed and their own determination has been diluted by returning prosperity.

As we have said, it is now or never. If the habits of Government expenditure and the existing drain upon the productive resources of the people are not drastically checked while we are now in the crisis they have precipitated, we can hardly hope to check them in the future. The result will be that the process of exhaustion will descend once more beneath the surface of affairs, but it will go forward to produce in due time a worse crisis than the present, and one which we shall be less able to survive than we are the present.

PROPOSED TAX INCREASES

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two editorials, one appearing in the Miami Herald and the other in the Jacksonville Journal, relating to proposed increases in taxes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The editorials are as follows:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald]

SHOULD NOT BE TAXED

Everybody concedes that Congress is going to have a difficult time in satisfying every interest when it comes to imposing taxes on what are called luxuries.

Naturally, the industry that produces, say, tobacco goods, will fight any increase of taxes on that product and will offer many and substantial reasons why that industry should not be called upon to suffer from the tax. And so with producers of other items in the luxuries of the people. Each and every one will deplore any additional tax on his already-threatened industry. And so on through the long list which has been tentatively suggested in Congress as subjects for a luxury tax.

There are reasons why certain industries should be taxed, but there does not seem to be any good reason why the automobile should now be regarded as a luxury, except perhaps where the car, by reason of its weight, speed, and luxurious fittings, actually becomes a luxury obtainable only by the wealthy.

There are millions of cars in daily use owned by people of moderate means. As they become worn out they must be replaced by other machines of moderate cost. They are now necessities for a vast number of people, exactly as shelter, clothing, and food are necessities.

It is intimated that Congress has its eye upon the automobile as a convenient article upon which to fix a sales tax.

If it should finally come to the conclusion that a tax upon the family motor car is necessary, it will undoubtedly inflict injury upon two classes of people.

The ordinary citizen when he comes to replace his old car with a new one will find that the tax has made the price of the machine prohibitive, and the result will be, of course, that he will be compelled to go without a new car, thereby causing him, in most cases, an actual loss of business or loss of opportunity to work.

The other class who will suffer is the manufacturers. Fewer cars will be purchased if the price is beyond the means of the ordinary citizen. This will result, as a matter of course, in a lessening of the activities of one of the greatest of America's manufacturing industries, a lessened call for labor in the factories, and the contributing to unemployment.

It would seem that at just this time when, to all appearances, there is to be a revival in this one great industry, from which will follow gains in other lines of business, Congress ought to be very slow in imposing a tax that will inflict injury upon the citizen and that will retard the return to prosperity.

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal, January 20, 1932]

WHY PICK ON THE AUTO?

The ability to tax is the ability to destroy. This is a well-known axiom of economics. We have seen in this country in



recent years some examples of industries being partly or wholly destroyed by taxation.

Now it is proposed in Washington to slap an excise tax of 5 per cent on the purchase of automobiles, and here we have another threat of destruction by taxation.

The automobile industry is the most abused in this country. The almost-prohibitive gasoline taxes and license taxes imposed by the States, Florida notably among them, have become such a burden that a less-vigorous industry would have been crushed out of existence by them. But the auto has survived and now deserves a right to go on with something like a fair break.

It is well known all over the country that the automobile industry as a whole gives more promise of bringing back commercial activity in all lines than any other single unit. The manufacturers have all exerted every effort during the past year to put the best possible product on the market at the lowest possible prices.

The results are self-evident. The automobiles offered this year are the acme of perfection, they have every known improvement it is possible to put on them to make them useful, economical, comfortable, and durable. And the prices are down at rock bottom.

It has been the hope of leaders in the automotive industry as well as other industrial leaders that the automobile makers would stir up enough buying desire to start things moving again. There has been good reason for this hope. Great plans have been made and carefully laid out.

Now, if the Government steps in and arbitrarily adds 5 per cent to the prices that have been so laboriously whittled down to the bone, much of the effort of the entire industry will have been in vain. It will be a monkey wrench in the economic machine.

A 5 per cent tax on such an item as the price of a new automobile is no small matter. The purchaser, of course, is the one who would have to pay it, and his desire to buy would be decreased by much more than 5 per cent, probably to the vanishing point in many instances.

The automobile people are thoroughly stirred up over the proposed Federal tax, and they have a right to howl good and loud.

Why pick on the automobile all the time?

CONSERVATISM HITS BOTTOM—ARTICLE FROM THE NEW REPUBLIC

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article appearing in the New Republic of August 19, 1931, entitled "Conservatism Hits Bottom."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New Republic, August 19, 1931]

CONSERVATISM HITS BOTTOM

Those who are engaged in scanning the political horizon will readily recall the excitement and amusement raised by the inquiry which the Nye Committee on Campaign Expenditures made into the frantic attempts to defeat Senator NORRIS in Nebraska in the summer of 1930. The project for befuddling the voters by placing a second Norris, the grocer of Broken Bow, on the ticket was fully exploited in the press. They will recall also how the inquiry proceeded through last winter, revealing extraordinary operations on the part of gentlemen in charge of the Republican National Committee. In the usual fragmentary form thrilling tales of these escapades were told in the newspapers. Then, as always happens, the uproar died away and the chapter of incidents was relegated to the attic of forgotten political rubbish.

In themselves the incidents may be trivial, but as illustrations of political science they are of permanent importance. They indicate forms of mentality, standards of honor, concepts of party responsibility, and types of political performance that must be understood by those who wish to fathom "the great game of politics," as Frank Kent calls it. Something permanent should therefore be entered upon the record, and this is now made possible by the official publication of the testimony before the Nye committee in three volumes.

In Part 2 of the testimony Mr. "Grocer" George W. Norris, who was employed by political tricksters in the comedy of Broken Bow, reveals himself in a manner that makes him a likely candidate for a place in Mr. Mencken's gallery of American thinkers.

Early in the inquiry Senator NYE asked Grocer Norris how he happened to imagine himself in the toga of Daniel Webster. Had the grocer ever attended a State convention of the Republican Party? No. Had he ever served in an official capacity for the Republican Party? No. Had he been precinct committeeman? No. Had he ever had any contact with the machinery of the Republican party? "Not active." Evidently Grocer Norris was no mere party hack seeking entrance to the Senate by the route of petty service.

Therefore, Senator NYE took higher ground. He sought to disclose the grand principles of public policy which induced the grocer to brave the ardors of a campaign, and the task was not difficult. It appeared on the record that Grocer Norris was opposed to the position taken by Senator NORRIS with respect to the elevation of Charles E. Hughes to the Supreme Bench. Here was something for gentlemen to discuss, and the discussion took the following form:

"The CHAIRMAN. Did you disagree with the position that Senator NORRIS took * * *?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. I did.

"The CHAIRMAN. What did you know about the nomination of Mr. Hughes?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. Nothing but what I read in the paper, is all.

"The CHAIRMAN. Why did you feel that Mr. Hughes ought to have been confirmed?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. Well, he has always been active in politics, and he has always been putting in his time that way, and so he was entitled to it if anybody was.

"The CHAIRMAN. Then you think one of the qualifications for a justice of the Supreme Court is that he be a good live politician?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. Well, he has studied them all his life. He should be qualified."

Besides being opposed to Senator NORRIS on account of his failure to support Mr. Hughes, Grocer Norris dissented from the Senator's power policy, as revealed by this colloquy:

"The CHAIRMAN. What was your attitude with relation to the power question in general?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. Well, I have always been more or less for the power companies—or not exactly for them; I have been against municipal ownership; that is, not to show a profit.

"The CHAIRMAN. You have been against municipal ownership as a general thing, have you?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. With results to show a profit; yes, sir * * *.

"The CHAIRMAN. You would not want the Government, then, to build dams and develop power in those dams and sell the power?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. Not like it did to Muscle Shoals; no, sir.

"The CHAIRMAN. What did they do to Muscle Shoals?

"Mr. [Grocer] NORRIS. To my knowledge they spent $150,000,000; and have eight big dynamos working there or built there, and one of them working."

From this it is clear that Grocer Norris had informed himself respecting the great issues on which Nebraska respectability was intending to concentrate in its effort to oust Senator NORRIS, and that he was prepared to speak with assurance and precision. But in the end the grocer decided not to speak vociferously. After mailing his application preliminary to candidacy, he gave up his job in the store, left Broken Bow, stopped with his brother in North Platte long enough to get some cash on a Liberty bond supplied by his secret backers, and slipped over into Estes Park, Colo. He issued, it is true, a statement of his views, a kind of proclamation to the grand army of Republicans, prepared by his engineers, but he failed to rush into the forum to rally the people behind his banner of progress and prosperity.

Senator NYE was much puzzled by the action of this candidate in announcing his ambition and then secretly leaving the State. Conducting a campaign from another State was an unusual stroke of genius. So Chairman NYE asked Grocer Norris whether this brilliant idea had come to him suddenly, and the grocer answered: "Well, not in one day. It was at least three or four, I think." After all, in spite of his pretensions in statecraft, he claimed no quick flashes of illumination. He was not a genius, but it occurred to him in his deep meditations that he did not like Senator NORRIS's views on Charles E. Hughes, the august Supreme Court of the United States, and the power question, and that he would demand the seat of the Senator for himself, incidentally, as he swore in another relation, because the job paid more than that of railroad commissioner which he had once thought of seeking. Had anyone suggested the Senate to him? No. Had anyone helped him finance his campaign? No. The whole business grew out of his own inspiration, with perhaps the assistance of his wife, who, it appears, could tell the difference between the income of a grocer, a railroad commissioner, and a United States Senator. So the grocer of Broken Bow set out in the great white way that led to the Capitol in Washington.

This seemed very strange to the select committee of the Senate, but for a long time it was baffled in its efforts to explain the plot, though it early suspected the existence of a villain in the melodrama. For some reason it imagined that a Republican politician, Victor Seymour, attorney at law, in Lincoln, might throw light on the scene and, placing him under oath, it asked him many questions. What was his business? He was an attorney, not in general practice but representing some eastern trust companies. Had he had any contact with the pending senatorial campaign in Nebraska? "None whatever. No personal contact—no connection." Had he known Grocer Norris, of Broken Bow, or anything about his entry into the race for the Senate? To this Mr. Seymour replied, with due respect to his oath: "Never saw him; never heard of it until I saw it in the paper." Pressing the point, Chairman Nye asked flatly: "You had no part, then, in view of what you have said, in encouraging the candidacy of George W. Norris, of Broken Bow?" Mr. Seymour: "Not a bit." He simply knew nothing whatever about it, except from gossip on the streets. Virtue could not be more impeccable. Mr. Seymour was an attorney, busy representing certain eastern trust companies, and had taken no part in the senatorial squabble. The night thickens.

Persisting in its quest, the Senate committee called upon Mr. Walter W. Head, chairman of the board of the Omaha National Bank, chairman of the board of the Nebraska Power Co., president of the Foreman State-National Bank of Chicago, director in the New York Life Insurance Co., the Chicago & North Western Rail-

road, and "a number of other prominent corporations." He also appeared in the record as president of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America, chairman of the finance committee of the National Young Men's Christian Association, and an officer or director of several other "character-building, religious, charitable, and philanthropic organizations."

Now, Mr. Head was a gentleman and expressed his view simply and without guile. In the presence of the Senate committee he censured "business men and officers of corporations for the lack of interest they take in political campaigns and candidates for political offices." He expressed the opinion that "if there were more business men prominently identified with large corporations with a sincere desire to really assist the citizens of the city and the State in which they live to help select and elect proper candidates to office it would make unnecessary some of the things that have taken place during the year 1930." Standing on the broad platform of civic interest, Mr. Head had tried to get the Hon. GEORGE W. NORRIS out of the United States Senate. That was his right as an American citizen. He sought to induce the Hon. Samuel R. McKelvie, of President Hoover's Farm Board, to make the race and undertook to finance a survey to discover whether Mr. McKelvie could jump the hurdle. Duly unlimbered, Mr. Head transmitted the money to a Mr. Smith, who in turn bought drafts on New York and Chicago banks and sent them to a Lincoln lawyer, who delivered them to Victor Seymour (the same Victor who knew nothing about the senatorial campaign), who on his part deposited them under his name in a Lincoln bank, and checked on the account to pay his bills. The imputation that this was Power Trust money Mr. Head rejected indignantly. "During the year 1930," he said to the Senate committee, "I will have contributed $3,500 to my church, the Presbyterian Church, and its auxiliary organizations. It is just as logical to say that this represented a Power Trust contribution made for the purpose of spreading propaganda through the church pulpits. The suggestions, of course, are all perfectly ridiculous." Mr. Head was rich, to be sure, and connected with great private enterprises, but he thought that such affiliations did not interfere with his thinking as an American citizen. It was in the latter capacity that he opposed Senator NORRIS and financed a preliminary campaign to discover the best way to retire the Senator from his place in the Capitol. It was all open and aboveboard, and Mr. Head quite honorably made a clean breast of it. But, inadvertently perhaps, he had thrown light on Mr. Victor Seymour, the attorney. And the circle of light was enlarged by other testimony.

Now, in the course of his operations as representative of certain eastern trust companies and otherwise, Mr. Seymour employed as his secretary-stenographer, Miss Esther Marie Alton, of Lincoln. She testified that she thought Mr. Seymour's office was "a financial affair," but added after some questioning that quite a number of politicians connected with the ambitions of the budding statesman of Broken Bow, Grocer Norris, had been in and out of the office. Then in a single shot she exploded the works. Mr. Seymour had sworn that he knew nothing about the candidacy of the grocer until he saw it in the paper, and Mr. Grocer Norris had sworn that it was all his inspiration and that he had written his own announcement on his own little typewriter, without any help from the outside. But Miss Alton testified that several days before the grocer's proclamation to the public was issued she copied that historic document from a paper in the handwriting of Mr. Seymour (with which she was familiar). That was certainly curious. Mr. Seymour knew nothing about Grocer Norris's ambitions until the news came out in the press. Mr. Norris swore that he had written his own essay in political science. And yet the identical instrument, in Mr. Seymour's handwriting, was typed for Mr. Grocer Norris in Mr. Seymour's office several days before it was given to the people. According to all signs memories were bad in Nebraska or someone had woefully blundered.

To deepen the mystery, opponents of Senator Norris began to circulate the idea that he himself was the author of the play, that he or his friends had induced the grocer to enter the race for the subtle purpose of raising sympathy for his cause. As the game of politics was conceived by his conservative critics, combining the "wealth and talents of Nebraska," that explanation seemed plausible beyond speculation. And to clinch the rumor, W. M. Stebbins, then treasurer of the State and the principal rival of Senator NORRIS in the contest for nomination to the Senate, broadcast the glad tidings over the radio to the voters of the Commonwealth. "Both myself and my supporters," said Mr. Stebbins to the microphone, "have denounced the Broken Bow affair * * * as a scheme framed by the long-time friends and political supporters of Senator NORRIS to win for him sympathy, using his cousin as, perhaps, the unwitting tool of their evil design. * * * He who would profit politically by the violation of the election law is no better than the bootlegger who profits by the violation of the Volstead Act." If Senator NORRIS had not personally started the grocer's racket, his friends had, and he was willing to profit by this outrage against the laws and dignity of the people. That, too, seemed clear to those to whom it was not inexplicable.

Still adhering to customary political rectitude, Mr. Stebbins also informed the electorate:

"For my part I do not want a nomination by any questionable methods, but rather by a free, unbiased, intelligent expression of the Republican voters of the State. The people of Nebraska are outstanding in energy, honesty, and integrity. They should maintain their high ideals by remaining in their own parties and voting their own party ticket. If they do not do this, they encourage confusion, as above stated, and place themselves on a par with those responsible for the present confused situation."

After the court had ruled that Grocer Norris's petition had been filed too late and removed him from the fray, Mr. Stebbins expressed himself as delighted:

"I am much pleased to see the field cleared and a straight line-up brought about which everyone can understand. It is now a clear-cut contest between Senator NORRIS and myself. Nothing remains on the ballot to confuse the voters or prevent them making an intelligent choice. This is as it should be."

In other words, Senator NORRIS's project for bamboozling the voters had been defeated, and Mr. Stebbins called blessed the feet of them that brought glad tidings.

The solution of the mystery then seemed to be beyond human ken, and good citizens accustomed to condemn investigations by Senate agencies began to denounce the Nye committee as another prying and smelling body, bent on aiding Senator NORRIS in his campaign for reelection and discrediting the reputable civic leaders of the State. There was plausibility in that contention also, and later Mr. Stebbins helped to give it currency by an open statement to the press. "It has been my impression," he announced gravely, "that the primary election belonged to the people of Nebraska and to each of the parties, and that the Senate committee was going outside their rights in spending thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money in trying to assist one of their own Members to get back into the Senate. * * * I had associated with me in my campaign some of the very finest people in Nebraska. * * * The men and women who were active in my behalf were fighting for a principle. They believed that the Senator had wasted his time upon Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam when Nebraska was in need. They believed that the hands of the President should be upheld."

Had the Senate committee been less indefatigable, the comedy of Broken Bow might have remained a Sibilline Book and Mr. Stebbins would have lived in the memory of his compatriots as the veritable Horatius of the Platte. After all, he had enlisted on his side, as he said, some of the finest people of Nebraska. Among them was the Hon. S. R. McKelvie, former governor of the State and then member of the Farm Board. So deep was Mr. McKelvie's interest in the outcome of the campaign that he placed $10,000 of his own money at the disposal of Mr. Stebbins, as the principal competitor of Senator NORRIS for the Republican nomination. This he did by indirection. He handed the money to one Max V. Beghtol, who turned $2,500 over to the account of Charles T. Knapp & Co., who transmitted it to Charles T. Knapp, who transferred it through Beghtol to E. B. Stephenson, treasurer of the Stebbins campaign fund. In addition, $350 more went into that chest by a circuitous route, in the guise of a gift from one E. C. Foster.

Now, the $2,500 grant in aid advanced by Mr. McKelvie was reported under the law of Nebraska as a free-will offering of Charles T. Knapp, euphemistically designated as "personal and miscellaneous contributions." To be sure, the law of Nebraska limits contributions received from an individual to $1,000 and requires everyone contributing more than $250 to report to the proper county clerk, but Mr. McKelvie testified that he was unaware of the existence of the statute in question. Apparently, though once governor, he had never heard of it. But this oversight, if a violation of law, as alleged, was not a violation of the custom observed by his friends. For Charles A. McCloud, Republican national committeeman for Nebraska, also contributed more than $1,000 to the Stebbins fund in a circulatory fashion, giving his money to individuals, taking their checks in return, and handing these offerings to the treasurer of the Stebbins political concern. So great a virtue is necessity.

Perhaps not unnaturally the Senate committee was a bit surprised at this apparent legerdemain and asked Mr. McKelvie some questions about it, merely to receive an elucidation as entertaining as it was realistic:

"Senator DILL. What do you think of that sort of practice in politics, Governor, a man in high public position giving money to his attorney and his attorney turning it over to somebody else and contributing it under somebody else's name? * * *

"Mr. MCKELVIE. Well, as long as the money is not improperly used, I should say, Senator, there would be nothing improper about it.

"Senator DILL. You think it a practice that is not objectionable?

"Mr. MCKELVIE. Yes; I shouldn't feel it was if it was properly accounted for. * * *

"Senator DILL. * * * You think that was a practical way to use this money, I suppose?

"Mr. MCKELVIE. Well, I think that it was quite practical, in in fact, what with the information [invitation?] to contribute money to campaigns out there anyhow under any circumstances, with the impending inquiries that were at hand, it would appear that if there were a Santa Claus around who was willing to do the financing he would probably get the entire job."

As Mr. McKelvie himself stated in his announcement of May 29, 1930, appealing to the voters of Nebraska to oust Senator NORRIS for "political dishonesty": "The fortunes of men do not count when principles are at stake."

If the Senate committee had depended upon the memories of men busy with civic affairs, practical men concerned with great principles rather than petty details, the mystery of Broken Bow would have remained unsolved. But Sherlock Holmes was abroad in the land, operating on the theory that banks must keep records of checks drawn and bonds transferred. In the course of its

searches the committee got on the track of a Liberty bond on its route to Grocer Norris, who had on his own motion, if his story was true, deliberately set out on the way to the United States Senate, and in the end the committee traced the bond to the bank of W. M. Stebbins, the chief rival of Senator NORRIS in the primary campaign. This was as interesting as it was diverting, especially as Mr. Stebbins seemed to have been laboring under the impression earlier that friends of Senator NORRIS had started his alleged "cousin" on the path of glory.

As fortune would have it, Mr. Stebbins now confessed and had to come on the carpet before the Senate committee to explain the story of the wandering Liberty bond. Early in the game he was asked when he first heard that Grocer Norris was on the political war path. He was not quite sure, but he thought that it was in April or March, apparently before the grocer himself had been struck by political lightning, according to his own testimony. Mr. Stebbins had heard rumors when "they" were studying the State to find duplicate names "that they would file." At first Mr. Stebbins did not like the wicked game. "I discouraged it," he said, "because I don't approve of that kind of politics * * * although I will confess I entered into it finally because I believed it was the wise thing to do and my duty." And how did he go about doing his "duty"?

He went to see Victor Seymour, that busy lawyer representing eastern trust companies, who had nothing to do with the senatorial campaign, according to his testimony. They talked over the unknown hero of Broken Bow. Mr. Seymour promised to make an inquiry. He did so inquire and in a few days reported to Mr. Stebbins that he had a proposition from the grocer. The thrifty grocer was ready to run for the Senate, but "he wanted a $500 bond and $50 in money." After canvassing the matter with Mr. Seymour, Mr. Stebbins agreed. "I went down to the bank and got the bond," he testified, "put it in an envelope—I don't know whether it was sealed or not—and the money, and went back to his office and laid it on the table with him, and that is as far as I went; I know nothing more about it after that."

By many ardent labors the Senate committee developed the fact that the candidacy of the grocer was arranged "at a conference in Kearney, Nebr., participated in by Victor Seymour; Hugh H. Drake, a member of the Nebraska Railroad Commission, who was running for reelection; Oscar A. Drake, a brother; and A. Paul Johnson, an attorney from Broken Bow, who was representing Grocer Norris." In the course of the backstairs operation, Mr. Seymour transmitted $50 in cash, the Liberty bond, and $300 more to the budding candidate for the United States Senate from Broken Bow, who was discontented with Senator NORRIS's opposition to the confirmation of Charles E. Hughes and his stand on the power question.

When the inside history was at length revealed, Mr. Victor Seymour was serving as assistant vice chairman of the Republican senatorial committee in charge of the election campaign throughout the country and was busy in the Denver office of the committee, with jurisdiction over the election in Nebraska. In view of his previous testimony, Mr. Seymour's position was delicate. So he was graciously permitted to resign from his post, to seek "vindication before the people of Nebraska." Judging by the election results the vindication did not turn out exactly as expected.

That untoward result—the victory of Senator Norris at the polls in November—was certainly no part of the designs of the conservative Republicans who had opposed his nomination. A group of them felt that it was "treason" to the party to support such a "traitor" to the party, and so they were moved by "loyalty" to the party to support the Democratic nominee against Senator NORRIS, Gilbert M. Hitchcock, who had never made any Republican pretensions, but was deemed "sound" according to the principles of men tried and true. A conference was held in Washington, attended by S. R. McKelvie, of the Farm Board, E. B. Stephenson, formerly treasurer of the Stebbins committee, and R. H. Lucas, executive director of the Republican National Committee. At this conference a campaign was mapped out to sidetrack Senator NORRIS, apparently at all costs.

To these statesmen, who thought the fortunes of men as nothing when great principles were at stake, two brilliant ideas occurred and were carried into execution under the direction of Mr. Lucas. One took the form of a cartoon, headed "Al Smith-Raskob Idea of Happiness," portraying a barroom scene and suggesting that Senator NORRIS favored a return to this institution of wickedness. The other was "an alleged letter purporting to come from a Tammany organization urging Democratic support of Senator NORRIS." To these evidences of genius was added a booklet containing savage attacks on the Senator and reprints from hostile papers. The illuminating literature thus concocted was sent broadcast in Nebraska, not overlooking the 3,000 precinct committeemen.

To conceal the origin of this higher propaganda from the public gaze, its authors informed the publisher's staff that the order came from John M. Fetters, of Omaha, who has not yet been located. On deeper inquiry the Nye committee wrung from one Stengle, an executive of the publishing company, testimony to the effect that the order had really been placed by Mr. Lucas, who had instructed him to put it under the name of Fetters and ship the literary goods to E. B. Stephenson, treasurer of the Republican Club in Lincoln.

And where did the money come from? After the mystery of the printshop had been unveiled, Mr. Lucas testified that he had paid the printing bill out of his own funds and that he had borrowed the money. At a later stage it was discovered that when he obtained the loan for this purpose he authorized the bank in question to hold as security a covering balance from a special account of the Republican National Committee, of which he had full charge under instructions of the treasurer. This was curious, too, for Senator FESS, chairman of the Republican National Committee, had publicly declared that Senator NORRIS and all other Republican candidates at the regular election would receive the support of his committee. Apparently there was a slip somewhere in the works.

What is the moral of this tale? Many suggestions will come to the untroubled spectator. He may think that it chiefly emphasizes the broken and confused condition of the major political parties, a cleavage along economic lines, which no high-flown language of statecraft can obscure. Something is to be said for that view. But there is another upshot of greater significance: It is the intellectual bankruptcy of conservatism in the United States. Can anyone imagine George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Webster, or William McKinley so inept in action, so crude in negotiation, so little gifted with eloquence in the presence of a crisis? There was a time in our history when the conservative cause, strong, rational, appealing to practical men, was defended in grand orations of the Cicero-Pitt-Burke-Webster-Choate-Spooner tradition. Even opponents felt a sense of elevation and power in its presence. Now it has reached such a pass that its spokesmen in the forum must resort to a grocery in Broken Bow for relief, aid, and comfort. And since conservatives are lacking in flint, the radicals are also in a desperate plight themselves, for they have nothing on which to sharpen their blades. Our capacity for high enterprise seems palsied at a critical moment in our history and there appears to be no balm in Gilead. Not since P. T. Barnum and Artemus Ward departed this life has the Nation been so lacking in political talents.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

THE CALENDAR

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the first bill on the calendar.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 1861) authorizing the George Washington Bicentennial Commission to print and distribute additional sets of the writings of George Washington.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I ask that that bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1951) for the relief of Howard P. Cornick was announced as next in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, by request of certain Senators who desire an opportunity for further investigation of the bill I respectfully request that it go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 88) to authorize the Postmaster General to investigate the conditions of the lease of the post-office garage in Boston, Mass., and to readjust the terms thereof, was announced as next in order.

Mr. BLAINE. Let that bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

AMENDMENT OF IMMIGRATION ACT

The bill (S. 268) to amend subdivision (c) of section 4 of the immigration act of 1924, as amended, was announced as next in order.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS] to this bill. May I ask the Senator if he has filed the report on the bill which he promised?

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia has asked the department to report on that measure and is awaiting their reply. In the meantime I ask that the bill may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

PROHIBITION OF POSTAL FACILITIES TO UNSOLICITED MERCHANDISE

The bill (S. 1663) to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails was announced as next in order.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, reserving the right to object to the immediate consideration of that bill, I should like to have an explanation of the measure from the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], who reported it.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the terms of the bill are very simple. As stated in the committee report on the measure, it is designed to abate a widespread nuisance whereby the general public has been annoyed by a scheme of selling merchandise through the mails which is unwanted and not requested.

It is aimed at a practice which has grown up whereby people engaged in various lines of activity mail packages containing, for instance, neckties or similar articles of merchandise, without any order or even a suggestion from the person receiving them that the goods are desired. The person who receives such merchandise feels, in good conscience, that he must either go to the trouble of returning the package through the mail or of paying for it. Complaints have been made throughout the entire country about it. The Post Office Department for a number of years has recommended the enactment of this proposed legislation. The Postmaster General renews that recommendation in the report upon the bill. The practice proposed to be prohibited by the bill is a universal pest and annoyance which Congress should bring to an end.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I have received several protests from merchants evidently engaged in the practice to which the Senator refers. I ask that these letters of protest may be printed in the RECORD, and that the bill may go over.

Mr. HAYDEN. May I ask unanimous consent that following the printing of the letters mentioned by the Senator from Massachusetts the report on the bill shall also be printed in the RECORD?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order will be made. The protests presented by the Senator from Massachusetts will be printed and the report of the committee to follow them. The bill will be passed over.

The matter referred to is as follows:

BOSTON, MASS., *January 18, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We are distinctly opposed to Senate bill S. 1663, the purpose of which, as we understand it, is to prohibit the use of the United States mails to anyone for the purpose of sending any article on approval.

We have some customers who have been doing business in this manner for a number of years, and we do not consider it anything but legitimate business. We do not see any reason whatever for the passing of such a bill.

Very truly yours,

L. B. FOLSOM,
Treasurer Folsom Engraving Co.

WESTFIELD, MASS., *January 20, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WALSH: I surely appreciate the interest shown in your letter of the 15th. In these hard times it is hard enough to earn any living legitimately, and when one has built up a business that meets with the approval of thousands of customers all over the United States, naturally it is disturbing to have a bill brought before the United States Senate when it would mean the loss of a business which has endeared itself to so many customers.

I am to-day writing to the clerk of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads as you suggest, and shall appreciate your further advice in taking care of whatever may develop.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR T. WHITE,
President White's Quaint Shop.

WORCESTER, MASS., *January 19, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We are large manufacturers of envelopes for greeting-card purposes and we understand there are two bills before the House and Senate to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mail—House bill No. 484, Senate bill No. 1663.

For our protection and the protection of our customers we would like to have you protest against the passing of these bills. We can not see any real objection to this method of sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails for approval, from what we understand the methods are of the various companies whom we supply envelopes in doing business along these lines.

Thanking you for any cooperation you give us in this matter.

Yours very truly,

SHERMAN ENVELOPE CO.,
C. ST. THOMAS, *President.*

SOMERVILLE, MASS., *January 19, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Please vote against bills No. H. R. 484 and S. 1663. The purpose of these bills is to prohibit the use of the United States mails for the purpose of mailing any article to customers or any persons on approval.

We have a number of customers whose business is obtained in this manner. They in turn serve a list of well-satisfied customers.

Your objection to these bills is necessary and valuable to friends who support you in this district.

Very truly yours,

CONSOLIDATED PAPER BOX CO.,
A. C. WISWALL, *President.*

SALEM, MASS., *January 18, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Thank you most sincerely for your letter of January 15 in regard to bills H. R. 484 and S. 1663.

I would appreciate it if you could use your influence to have a hearing on these bills before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. I feel sure it would be much easier to defeat this class legislation in committee rather than on the floor of the House or Senate.

As this is legislation sponsored by our competitors in an attempt to put us out of business, I know that you will view it as unfair, and am counting on your cooperation in endeavoring to obtain this hearing.

Sincerely yours,

THE CASSINO STUDIO,
HAROLD L. CASSINO.

SALEM, MASS., *January 15, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WALSH: I understand that there are two bills, No. H. R. 484 and No. S. 1663, introduced at this session of Congress which will prohibit the sending of unordered merchandise through the mails. I have not seen the bills and do not know exactly how they are worded, but they are aimed at our class of business and are promoted by the manufacturers of greeting cards who sell the retail stores only.

I have been in business for over 10 years, and supply my customers and their friends with greeting cards each year in a perfectly legitimate manner. We do not send our cards out broadcast, but only to our customers and people to whom our customers recommend they be sent. The bills above mentioned would make so much confusion and misunderstanding in the minds of the public and the post-office employees that it would be impossible for us to continue in business. It would result in a great deal more unemployment, when you consider the manufacture of paper, envelopes, ink, printed matter, and other things entering into the production of our greeting cards, not to mention the help we ourselves employ, and the large amount of mail which is handled as a result by the Post Office Department. In these difficult days we do not believe that you are anxious to encourage any bill in Congress that will cause more unemployment. This is a purely class legislation, and I appeal to you to do everything in your power to have these bills killed in committee before they get onto the floor of the House and Senate.

Thanking you, I remain, sincerely yours,

THE CASSINO STUDIO,
HAROLD L. CASSINO.

SALEM, MASS., *January 14, 1932.*

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Will you kindly use your influence against the passing of bills H. R. 484 and S. 1663, which if passed will prohibit the sending of merchandise by mail on approval to parties who have not ordered it.

If these bills are passed it will ruin our business, as practically all our work is done for concerns in the greeting-card business, who mail their cards in this way.

They have found that a very large majority of those who receive their cards are pleased with this method of doing business, and those who do not like it are comparatively few.

We are familiar with the methods they use, and we know that they are always very courteous in all their dealings with the public.

Anything you can do to defeat these bills will be very much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

THE CASSINO PRESS.
H. E. CASSINO.

[Senate Report No. 115, Seventy-second Congress, first session]

UNSOLICITED MERCHANDISE IN THE MAILS

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, submitted the following report (to accompany S. 1663):

The Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1663) to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails, having carefully considered the same, report the bill back to the Senate with the recommendation

that the bill do pass without amendment. The text of the bill is as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter unsolicited merchandise which any person desires to send for the purpose of sale to the addressee shall not be accepted for mailing. The term 'person' when used in this act, means an individual, partnership, corporation, or association.

"SEC. 2. If such unsolicited merchandise is deposited in the mails it shall not be delivered to the addressee, but, under such regulations as the Postmaster General may prescribe, shall be returned to the sender charged with postage due at double the regular rates to be collected from him upon delivery. On failure of the sender to pay such return postage the matter shall be disposed of as other dead matter."

The object of the bill is to abate a general nuisance and annoyance to the public known as the buy it or return it plan of selling merchandise through the mails. The enactment of such legislation was recommended to the Seventieth Congress by the then Postmaster General in the following letter:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., January 9, 1928.

Hon. W. W. GRIEST,
Chairman Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. GRIEST: I have your letter of the 4th instant inclosing a copy of bill H. R. 351, to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails. This bill was introduced by Mr. WATSON. You also inclose a copy of bill H. R. 3991, a bill upon the same subject, introduced by Mr. WATSON in the last Congress.

The bill H. R. 351 makes some desirable changes from the provisions of the first bill and is approved by me.

Your attention is invited to what is said in my annual report for 1927, at pages 58 and 59, on the subject of sending unsolicited parcels of merchandise through the mails for sale. This statement described the condition as it exists in the service.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. NEW,
Postmaster General.

The following is an extract from the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for 1927, above referred to:

"UNSOLICITED PARCELS OF MERCHANDISE SENT THROUGH THE MAIL FOR SALE

"The practice of using the mails for the purpose of sending unsolicited articles through the mails for sale is increasing to an extent which demands legislation prohibiting the same. Under this practice articles and merchandise are sent to addresses unsolicited and in the absence of any order therefor for the purpose of sale and with the request to transmit a price therefor. This places upon the addressee a burden of the receipt and attention thereto without any solicitation on his part and the necessity of returning the article or remitting for it, neither of which he is under obligation to do, or of ignoring the matter altogether. Following this, he is subject to receipt of follow-up letters from the sender, all of which are annoying and some of which are abusive and threatening. The claim made by some that postage will be guaranteed or inclosed for the return of the article does not relieve the situation materially. It still puts the burden upon the recipient of keeping or returning the article, which is an uninvited annoyance to him.

"The department receives many bitter complaints from individuals who receive such merchandise and from retail merchants, also from organizations such as merchants' associations, chambers of commerce, and others.

"The Postal Service is a public service for the legitimate use of the people. It should not be made the instrument of a practice which works an uninvited hardship or inconvenience to recipients of mail matter subjecting them to annoyance and abuse. They have equal rights with the senders."

The attached letters show that Hon. Walter F. Brown, the present Postmaster General, has also favorably recommended the enactment of this legislation:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., May 6, 1929.

Hon. LAWRENCE C. PHIPPS,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR PHIPPS: Referring to your letter of the 26th ultimo, requesting my views on S. 610, being a bill to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails, I have to report as follows:

Legislation upon this subject has been pending before Congress for several years. On March 3, 1926, hearings were held before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, House of Representatives, on H. R. 3991, which had been introduced by Representative WATSON, of Pennsylvania. This bill covered the subject now embraced in S. 610 and in addition had a penal provision. The views of my predecessor upon that bill were contained in a letter addressed to the chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the House, dated January 26, 1926, such letter being printed on page 36 of the hearings above mentioned. The views of the then Postmaster General were also incorporated in his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1927, on page 58.

Representative WATSON introduced a new bill upon the subject (H. R. 351) in the Seventieth Congress, upon which hearings were held on February 2 and 3, 1928. On pages 1 and 2 of the hearings will be found a letter in which the Postmaster General said that H. R. 351 provided desirable changes from the provisions of the first bill. My predecessor also renewed his recommendation for appropriate legislation upon the subject on page 55 of his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1928. I am transmitting herewith copies of the annual reports mentioned.

On March 9, 1928, Representative WATSON introduced another bill (H. R. 11921), evidently designed as a substitute for H. R. 351, the principal change being the elimination of the penal provision contained in the bill first introduced.

I am in favor of the enactment of legislation designed to end the undesirable practice of sending merchandise for sale to people who have not ordered it.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER F. BROWN.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., January 28, 1930.

Hon. LAWRENCE C. PHIPPS,
Chairman Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR PHIPPS: Answering your letter of the 24th instant relating to S. 610, a bill to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails, I will state that in our judgment the bill would be improved by omitting therefrom the exception made in favor of religious, charitable, and eleemosynary institutions. While merchandise emanating from such sources is less objectionable than merchandise handled purely for purposes of individual profit, yet to most addresses such shipments constitute an annoyance. Moreover, the administration of the law would be rendered somewhat more difficult by having an excepted class.

Very truly yours,

WALTER F. BROWN.

The following letter from the Postmaster General shows that he is still of the opinion that this legislation is desirable:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., December 22, 1931.

Hon. TASKER L. ODDIE,
Chairman Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR ODDIE: The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 19th instant, requesting my views on S. 1663, a bill to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails.

In reply I renew my previous recommendation for the enactment of legislation to prevent the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails. The bill appears to be in acceptable form.

Very truly yours,

WALTER F. BROWN.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 58) to authorize the printing of the annual reports of the Federal Farm Board without limitation as to number was announced as next in order.

Mr. BLAINE. I ask that the joint resolution may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over.

RURAL SANITATION

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1234) to authorize an emergency appropriation for special study of and demonstration work in rural sanitation, which had been reported from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry with amendments, on page 1, line 7, after the word "supplies," to strike out "in the drought-stricken areas of 1930"; in the same line, after the word "and," to strike out the word "including"; and in line 11, after the word "municipality," to strike out the word "affected," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Treasury Department for the Public Health Service for special studies of and demonstration work in rural sanitation, including the purchase and distribution of medical supplies, and personal services for the fiscal years 1932 and 1933, $3,000,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be available for demonstration work in rural sanitation unless the State, county, or municipality agrees to pay such proportion of the expenses of such demonstration work as shall be required in regulations to be prescribed by the Public Health Service, in which due consideration shall be given to State and local economic conditions and human needs, the extent and circumstances of such cooperation in each case to be reported to Congress at the beginning of each regular session.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 209) granting an increase of pension to Mary Willoughby Osterhaus was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1207) granting an increase of pension to Helen K. Snowden was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 133) for the relief of Rosa E. Plummer was announced as next in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

DEFINITION OF COMMERCE UNDER RIVERS AND HARBORS ACT OF JUNE 13, 1902

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2334) to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment, on line 10, after the word "by," to insert "seasonal passenger craft," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first paragraph of section 3 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "As used in this section, the term 'commerce' shall include the use of waterways by seasonal passenger craft, yachts, house boats, fishing boats, motor boats, and other similar water craft, whether or not operated for hire."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 2569) authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis O. Wick was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I think the Senator in charge of the bill should make an explanation of it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That Senator does not seem to be present.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Then let the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING CO.

The bill (S. 218) authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to adjust and settle the claim of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. under contract No. TCG-1591, dated February 25, 1927, for extra cost of making certain changes directed by the Government in the design of throttle valves, and to allow not to exceed the sum of $999 in full and final settlement of said claim. There is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum not to exceed $999 for the payment of the claim.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes was announced as next in order.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, this is a very important bill, and I apprehend can not be disposed of in one day. In view of the special order for to-morrow, I ask that the bill go over, and give notice that on Wednesday next, as soon as I can secure recognition for the purpose, I shall move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I wonder if the Senator will not let the bill go over until next Monday? If it suits his convenience, I should like to have that done.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I desire to accommodate the Senator from Arkansas, and if I can secure unanimous consent to proceed with the consideration of the bill on Monday next, I shall be glad to enter into such an agreement.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Perhaps it would be just as well to let the bill go over now, and we will ascertain whether that can be done.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Very well; and I will confer with the Senator from Arkansas.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

EXAMINATION AND SURVEY OF SEASIDE HARBOR, OREG.

The bill (S. 2622) to provide an examination and survey of Seaside Harbor, Oreg., was announced as next in order.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the chairman of the committee explain that bill?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, the bill was presented by the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. STEIWER], and before the committee it was determined that it merely provided for a survey in the usual form and embodied a request that has been heretofore accorded without demur so far as such matters are concerned.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will it require an appropriation?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, let me say there is a lump sum appropriated annually by the Congress to take care of surveys. This measure provides for an economic survey to determine if at all the project is worth while.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have no objection to the bill.

Mr. WHEELER. I propose now, Mr. President, to discuss a bill which I introduced a few days ago with reference to the remonitization of silver.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. WHEELER. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. I inquire if the calendar has been finished?

The VICE PRESIDENT. No. The bill now pending is the last bill on the calendar. The Senator from Montana has asked and obtained permission to speak on it.

Mr. McNARY. Unless the Senator from Montana desires to speak especially upon the bill, I think we can conclude the calendar by acting upon it, and then the Senator from Montana may secure permission to speak.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to have that done?

Mr. WHEELER. I yield.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 1, line 1, it is proposed to strike out "examinations and surveys" and insert "examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to cause a preliminary examination and survey to be made of Seaside Harbor, in the State of Oregon, with a view to making improvements in such harbor by the construction of a breakwater extending 600 feet north from Tillamook Head thence in a line inclining shoreward for a distance of 300 feet. The cost of such examination and survey shall be paid from appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection——

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I desire to make a brief statement with regard to this measure. It has been the policy of the Senate, I think, for quite a number of years not to pass bills providing for river and harbor surveys. It is the policy of the other body of Congress not to pass such measures except as items in what may be termed a general omnibus bill covering all survey projects, and then they have been cared for in the general river and harbor bill. This bill will get no further than its mere passage by the Senate. I think that the policy we have heretofore pursued has been the wise policy, namely, that of letting measures providing for surveys be all made in one general river and harbor bill.

I want to say that the only thing we can do by the passage of measures of this kind is to embarrass the Members of another body, which has followed universally the policy of not passing bills or resolutions providing for surveys except as items in the river and harbor bill.

However, several measures similar to this passed the Senate a few days ago. If I had been on the floor at the time, I should have objected, but they were passed, and so the committee thought that we would not discriminate against any other Senator, but would let other similar measures be passed. So far as I am concerned, I do not think that we ought to pass such measures. They will never become laws until they are taken care of in the general river and harbor bill. I should like to appeal to the Senator whose bill this is to follow the policy that we have always heretofore followed, and let the Senate hereafter abstain from the passage of such bills. Under the circumstances, I am not going to object to the bill, but I have explained the situation that confronts us.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I merely wish to say that I have no objection to this bill and no objection to the proposed survey being made, but I concur in what the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] has said. The practice heretofore has been to provide for these surveys in the river and harbor bill. That bill originates in the House; it does not originate in the Senate. Provisions for surveys are put on the river and harbor bill in the House. We can amend that bill here, of course, and add to its provisions. In the last river and harbor bill, as I recall, there were over a hundred surveys provided for, and that will happen in the future. As the Senator from Washington has said, if we pass the bill here, it will go to the House and be put in a pigeonhole there to await consideration of the river and harbor bill. That will be the fate of it, I presume, but in the meantime the Commerce Committee is being loaded up, as is also the department, with reports on such bills unnecessarily and without accomplishing results, it seems to me. I wish the Senator would not insist on the passage of the bill.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. In view of the desire of the Senator from Montana to address the Senate and the controversy that has arisen regarding the pending bill, I will ask that it go over to-day without prejudice.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the bill will be passed over.

NECESSITY OF MONETARY REFORM

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, as I said a moment ago, I propose to discuss at this time a bill which I introduced a few days ago for the remonetization of silver.

I appreciate that there is very little new that can be said upon the subject; but, because of the economic conditions existing throughout the world to-day, this subject of the remonetization of silver has come to the fore once more.

A few days ago I introduced a bill on the subject, which was sent to the Committee on Finance, of which the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] is chairman. I hope that within a short time that committee will take action upon it, with a view to recommending its passage.

To-day we find that 7,000,000 of our people are unemployed. Many millions of them are being fed by charity, while thousands are walking our streets without either food or shelter. Farmers are unable to pay their taxes, much less their mortgages; schools are being closed for lack of money in rural communities; some of the larger cities are unable to meet their obligations; millions of business and professional men have seen their life savings swept away through bank failures, their property depreciated in value; the jails and insane asylums are full; huge debts hang over nations and individuals; taxes have risen until they have become confiscatory; the cry of distress is heard on every hand; business is at a standstill; and merchandise is coming across our borders because of the fact that competing countries have left the gold standard.

Our bins are overflowing with wheat, and our farmers are told by the great economists of the Farm Board that the trouble with the farmer is that there is an overproduction, and that he must reduce his acreage. This, to my way of thinking, is a new theory of economics, because I had always thought that the production of raw materials and the production of manufactured articles meant wealth rather than poverty.

If the idea of the Federal Farm Board be adopted, who is there that can say what the consumption will be a year from now if commodity prices continue to fall; or, put in another way, if the gold dollar continues to rise in value?

The truth is there is no overproduction but underconsumption, or "underproduction of ability" to pay for everything desired by the human race.

What is the cause of the present dilemma in which the people of the United States find themselves? Why do we hear so much talk about reducing wages by great corporations? Why do we hear so much complaint about taxes? Is it reparations, as some would have us believe? Is it the tariff wall that has been built around the United States and the rest of the countries of the world? Is it a combination of both of these? Or is there a shortage of gold to transact the commerce of the world?

We know, Mr. President, that there has been a decline in farm commodities since 1920. We know that there has been a sharp decline in all commodities since 1929; and we know that prices continue to fall in spite of tariffs. We know, further, that when commodities are declining the manufacturers will first cut wages to meet falling commodity prices; and we know that if they continue to drop, and the manufacturers can not continue to make profits even with reduced wages, they will close their factories.

Mr. President, what are the causes of the falling prices? Every economist of note who has written on the subject of money agrees that by failing to keep the quantity of money increasing according to population and demand, the trend of prices will be downward.

Deflation acts as a deterrent to business activity in the same way that inflation acts as a spur. If the deflation is great enough to cause a rapid fall in prices, all prospective business profits are turned into losses, industrial activities cease, and the country is thrown into a depression, if not a panic.

It was the contraction of money and credit by the Federal reserve bank in 1920 that brought about the collapse of farm prices in 1921 and 1922 throughout the Northwest.

It was a shortage of gold in the world, and the hoarding of it by France and the Federal reserve bank, together with a deflationary policy, that was largely responsible for the depression of 1929 and the panic of 1930 and 1931. Then, why do we, as legislators, join in the hue and cry of the banking-controlled industries of the country to cut wages and salaries? Why do we not have the temerity to tell the people the truth and try to remedy the situation? We can, if we will.

After the demonetization of silver in the United States in 1873, and after we, in common with most of the countries of Europe, went on the gold standard, there was a fall of prices for 20 years throughout the world, caused by a shortage of gold. Then, as now, business and political leaders said that overproduction and the invention of new labor-saving devices were the causes of the world depression. The depression of 1893 was world-wide, the same as at present, notwithstanding administration claims to the contrary. The London Economist called attention to it, and the French and other continental papers of that time admitted it.

Shortly thereafter the great discovery of gold in South Africa was made and conditions throughout the world began to improve.

When the World War broke out practically every nation went off the gold standard, and there was the greatest expansion of credit. Simultaneously with the expansion of credit throughout the world by both belligerent and neutral nations prices of commodities rose accordingly and continued throughout the war and up to 1920.

In the year 1920 there was held at Brussels an international conference, the avowed purpose of which was to get the countries of Europe to adopt the gold standard, which meant curtailment of credits and deflation.

In 1922 another financial conference was held in Genoa, which was attended by the leading international bankers of Europe and America. At this conference, as at the previous conference in Brussels, the object sought by the bankers was deflation and consequently lowering the price level of commodities.

Whenever there has been a deflation in the price of commodities the class who have to sell their products upon the world market, namely, the producers of raw material, are hurt the most. Deflation hits that class first, and it is the last to feel the effects of inflation.

The conference at Genoa, I am reliably informed, was attended by Benjamin Strong, governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Montague Norman, governor of the Bank of England; Herr Schacht, manager of the Reichsbank of Germany; and other international bankers. As a result of their efforts, the gold standard was restored in all the leading countries of Europe; and they even went so far as to loan gold in order to make it possible for some of the countries to go back to the gold standard.

It should have been readily seen that with the increase of population throughout the world and with a tremendous increase in commerce and debts, the gold of the world would be insufficient to meet the demands of international trade, to say nothing of the needs of the various countries for internal purposes. The gold stocks of the world are authoritatively stated to be $11,000,000,000, and the world trade is stated at $400,000,000,000. Assuming this to be a reasonable basis to use for calculation, the gold stocks are 2¾ per cent. A country on the gold standard is supposed to have a minimum of 29 to 34 per cent of gold.

By reason of this expansion of commerce and increase in population throughout the world there was a scramble for gold by the nations of the world.

The gold dollar—the so-called honest dollar of monometallists of years gone by—is to-day worth $1.50; and the debtor is called upon to pay the creditor an unearned increment of 50 cents upon every dollar he owes.

The enactment of the Federal reserve act, with its flexible provisions, was supposed to prevent just such a situation as confronts us to-day. I have no doubt it was prompted by the highest motives; but I am convinced it has not worked out as its authors thought and intended it should.

HOW DOES THE GOLD STANDARD AFFECT THE PRICE OF WHEAT AND COTTON?

While the Federal reserve bank can inflate, and thereby raise prices, they can not to any great extent raise the price level of commodities that have to be sold upon the world market, such as wheat and cotton, unless they inflate to the same extent as Great Britain and other countries that compete with her in the markets of the world; or, in other words, unless they go off the gold standard.

Prices generally may advance as a result of increasing the volume of money in this country without materially affecting wheat, cotton, and other products that come in direct competition with the products of India or other countries that are not on the gold standard. As the price of silver as a commodity is lowered in India it takes less gold to get silver to convert into rupees to pay for wheat and cotton. In other words, the same number of silver rupees would buy a given quantity of cotton or wheat in India regardless of the gold cost of the rupees; hence, as silver goes down, the gold cost of wheat and cotton in India is reduced; and as our surplus wheat and cotton go to Liverpool in direct competition with the wheat and cotton of India, they must go down as the gold cost of the same products in India goes down.

What is true in India is likewise true to some extent in Russia. Russia has to have gold to carry on her international trade. In order to get gold it is necessary for her to sell wheat and other raw materials which she produces in abundance, and consequently her wheat is thrown in competition with that of the wheat farmer of the United States at Liverpool. As the price of gold goes up in the world, so the price of wheat in Russia and upon the world market must go down.

India did not compete with us in the markets of Europe in wheat and cotton until the so-called decline of silver, but in reality the rise in gold made it possible for the European buyers to purchase these products with exchange bought at a heavy discount on account of the fall of silver. When silver is up or gold is cheapened, shipments of wheat from Calcutta and Odessa are checked. The high price of gold cheapens the wheat of Russia.

Again, by reason of the tremendous inflation that took place in Germany and Austria and the 75 or 80 per cent inflation in France since the World War, the farmers of those countries were able to pay off their indebtedness with cheap money. Now England, Australia, Canada, and all countries competing with our producers of raw materials which have to be sold on the world markets will be able to pay off their indebtedness with cheap money, while the American farmer, debt and tax ridden as he is, will have to pay off his indebtedness with a dollar of the value of $1.50. So his indebtedness is increased by at least one-third.

These are not simply my opinions. Let me call witnesses who are internationally known and whose views should be respected.

THE EFFECT ON LABOR

Manufacturers cut wages and close their plants when commodity prices are falling, and when, as now, they are unable to compete in the world markets by reason of the fact that foreign countries are unable to purchase our goods because in exchange for our gold they have to give more of their own products than they would otherwise do. In other words, a country off the gold standard can only trade with a country on the gold standard by the former paying to the latter such increase as is represented by the difference between the standing of its own currency as compared with that of the gold-standard country. Take the case of Great Britain. If the depreciation of sterling is 25 per cent as compared with New York, then the British purchaser of goods in America would have to pay 25 per cent more of his own currency calculated from par to purchase the said goods than would have been necessary if he had been on the gold standard. Let us suppose that an article in America is worth $100 and the value of the depreciated equivalent is only $75; then he would have to pay $133.33 of the depreciated currency to equal $100 gold.

In countries where silver is the currency as, for instance, China, where the drop in silver as between the years 1926 and 1931 is approximately 50 per cent, he would have to pay twice as much in his silver money as he would have paid in 1926, or, expressed in goods, he would have to produce twice the quantity to pay for goods purchased in the United States.

It will be seen at once that the greater the departure of the currency of a country away from the gold standard, the more difficult it becomes for that country to deal with another country which remains on it. Two countries which have both left the gold standard, however, may find that their position relative to each other is practically unchanged, and naturally the tendency would be in such cases for those countries to deal with each other rather than with gold-standard countries. Hence our loss in exports and Great Britain's increase.

If Great Britain wants to buy in New York, she must either sell securities which she holds in the United States, or she must ship gold from Great Britain to pay, or she must make up the deficiency by proportionately increasing the sums of her own money.

If America is shut out from selling her products to foreign countries, and that notwithstanding the tariff wall, countries off the gold standard can ship their goods to this country, and if the purchasing power of our farmers is curtailed by reason of having to meet the competition of silver-using countries and countries off the gold standard, how is it possible for industries in this country to be prosperous?

It is self-evident that labor fares best when industries are active, and industries are active when they are prosperous and are able to command business. Wages of labor can not be increased by making money scarce and dear. Thus while the rate of wages in some industries at the present time may have been kept up by strong labor organizations, the total

earnings of the entire labor population have been largely reduced and a tremendous lot of people thrown out of employment. Whenever and wherever there are men out of employment, wages sooner or later have to come down. The only possible way to increase the earnings of labor is to increase production, for in the last analysis wages are but the share of products which labor gets.

A condition such as we have in this country to-day, then, of money stringency tends to lessen the total production of labor and capital combined, tends to lessen earnings of labor, upon which the maintenance of the laborer and his family depends. No class, therefore, has a greater interest in maintaining conditions that promote good times than the laboring class and no class should know better than that class that stringency of money means the strangulation of industry and the starvation of labor.

In an article in the New York American of January 7 Mr. Alvan T. Simonds, president Simonds Saw & Steel Co., points to the undesirability of the United States remaining on a gold standard.

The general outlook is favorable for 1932—

Writes Mr. Simonds—

if we go off the gold standard, or in other words inflate. If we do not do so, the outlook continues unfavorable, and should continue so for at least the first six months of 1932, and perhaps even longer, depending on the rapidity of various factors getting into line with present conditions.

It must be realized—

He says—

that the prices of wholesale commodities in many cases are world prices and not United States prices * * * that no tariff and no immigration law can protect wholesale prices from fluctuating with world prices.

Then after reviewing what happened in Russia and Germany through repudiation and extreme inflation, Mr. Simonds continues:

Then came France and marked 80 per cent of their war obligations off by substituting a 4-cent franc for a 20-cent franc. Now comes England and marks off 30 per cent already, with probably more to come off their pound sterling. So that leaves the United States practically alone of all the so-called gold-standard countries to attempt to remain on the gold standard. To assume that the United States can remain on the gold standard regardless of the rest of the world is the same thing as to assume that the United States can have a large navy and other people have none or to assume that the United States can put up her tariff walls without the retaliation of other countries.

There is no authority to prove that we can live regardless of our neighbors, whether local or international, and those who assume such fallacies must be classed as either stupid or ignorant or both.

Practically every economist of note concedes that there is not enough gold in the world to-day to meet the needs of our increased population and our tremendous expansion of world commerce since the World War, and they are all agreed that what gold there is is maldistributed.

I desire to call the attention of the Members of the Senate to an article by Sir Robert Horne, chairman of the Zinc Corporation and former chancellor of the British Exchequer, who told his stockholders that at no distant time silver might have to be included in the monetary reserves of the world because of the inadequacy of the supply of gold. The following extract from his report is entremely interesting. He said:

Silver, like other commodities, has depreciated in terms of gold—only more so, because silver demonetized by governments has been added to the normal new production and has created an additional depression in the market. This fall in the price of silver has disastrously reduced the purchasing power of the two greatest aggregations of population of the world, in India and China, where silver has long been hoarded by vast masses of the people. The British export trade in every branch, but especially in cotton goods, has suffered the evil consequences.

Any rise in the price of silver adds to Britain's customers and helps our trade. The recent slight increase in its price since Mr. Hoover's declaration has already brought inquiries from the East for supplies of British goods.

He might have added that any rise in the price of silver likewise is going to help American trade and to help America, because of the fact that we are among the greatest silver-producing nations of the world. Sir Robert Horne goes on to say:

I confess to being one of those who regard the stabilization of silver at a reasonable price as one of the most important factors in reestablishing the trade of the world. Indeed, looking further ahead, it may be that the time is not far distant when the inadequacy of the available supply of gold to perform all the necessary exchange services of commerce will compel us to hold part of our monetary reserves in silver.

I also desire to call attention, Mr. President, to an article by Mr. Rene Leon, in which he said:

Repudiation is the order of the day as evidenced by the abundance of moratoria as well as by the suspension of gold payments by a majority of nations.

Ninety per cent of the world's population is off the gold standard and is now functioning on highly fluctuating currencies. The constant and continuous readjustment imposed upon commerce and industry by the ever-changing conditions is reducing trade to such a point as to destroy confidence in every direction.

DOLLARS AND FRANCS

What was true of private banking institutions has become true of central banks so that capital took flight from one center to another until the vicious circle has been narrowed to two important gold currencies, namely, dollars and francs.

These last imaginary havens of security and liquidity are now suspected of being quite as vulnerable as those which capital in its flight had abandoned, because, through the automatic functioning of the exchanges, France and the United States have become the premium dumping markets of the world and must needs readjust their commerce and industry to the new conditions with fatal consequences to their finances—yet France and America persist in treating effects and ignoring the cause.

Unlike solitaire, the game of the gold standard can not be played alone—the sooner this is recognized the better. If 10 per cent of the population of the world determines to remain on the gold standard, then it must also prepare to withstand the pressure which the other 90 per cent will, through exchange, exert on their commerce and on their industry.

Some revision of the gold standard is, therefore, inevitable under present conditions, however lofty the motives of those who oppose a revision without realizing the consequences of their failure to face realities.

To those who would consider gold sacrosanct because of their possession of it, let it be said that governments are no stronger than their component parts. That to meet their obligations governments must levy taxes on the profits from trade and industry and that if these profits disappear, capital taxation will precede repudiation. Then let them answer whether they are willing to face either of those two eventualities.

The rarefaction of gold is not a theory; on the contrary, it is a fact which it is now our turn to face; maldistribution and hoarding are irrefutable evidence of it. Now, then, shall we end them both and start the wheels of trade turning anew?

There are only two ways open to us: By adopting either paper or silver as an auxiliary to this rarefied gold. Of the two, which shall it be? In making our choice, let us bear in mind the fact that silver has been the auxiliary metal in the currency systems of the western world, even after the Occidental nations adopted the gold standard.

SERVER OF MANKIND

Let us remember that silver has faithfully served mankind from time immemorial and that, to-day, the individual status of half of humankind is peculiarly suited to its usage.

But above all, let us never lose sight of the fact that there is a limit to the production of silver while there is none to the product of the printing press.

Mr. President, I am reliably informed that the present administration intends to start out to inflate our currency and our credit. This undoubtedly will help some of the business enterprises of this country which are protected by tariffs and will do some good; but let me point to the fact that it is impossible for it to raise the prices of farm products which have to be sold in the world market unless either one of two things happens: First, that they increase the purchasing power of the silver-using nations, or that they go off of the gold standard. If we, with all the other nations of the world, go off of the gold standard, who can assure us as to the limit of the printing presses throughout the world?

The committee on finance and industry, appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, of which Lord MacMillan was chairman and whose membership included J. M. Keynes and Lord Bradbury, reputed to be two of the leading monetary experts of the world, found among other things:

The present distribution of gold is very generally held to be unsatisfactory; a maldistribution, to which is to be attributed a large measure of responsibility for the heavy fall in prices in recent years * * *.

The report added:

But this set of difficulties, too, one may hope, though with less confidence, to be a temporary phenomenon. Should it not prove so, we can scarcely expect the international gold standard to survive in its present form.

John Ford Darling, famous currency expert, a director of the Midland Bank and one of England's "big five," recently said:

The capitalist system is likely to collapse unless it can be made to resume working at a profit and this can not be done until the price of commodities is raised.

That statement was not made by any radical labor leader, it was not made by the head of any radical farm organization, but was made by one of the so-called five leading economists of Europe. He further correctly said that "the low price of commodities was one of the principal causes of economic disturbances all over the world."

How would this currency expert remedy the situation? Not by loans out of the public treasury to banks, trust companies, insurance companies, and railroads as proposed by the administration. Not by local inflation of credits which will not raise the price of farm products. How then? He urged that the ability to make a profit would be restored to them if the value of silver were materially increased and stabilized. "This," he said, "can be done most effectively through the reintroduction of bimetallism."

Here, as I said a moment ago, is one of the currency experts known as one of the big five of Great Britain, head of one of the great banking institutions, the Midland Bank of England, who said this can be most effectively done through the reintroduction of bimetallism. It would cause purchasing power to return and create demands for other commodities. Darling believes the result would be an increase in the price of those commodities, and a consequent ability of sellers to make a profit, without which the capitalist system can not function properly.

This question of raising the price of commodities—

He said—

is the most important question before the world to-day. People are producing commodities at or sometimes below cost nowadays. Brazil has dumped coffee into the sea, and there has been talk of the United States plowing cotton and destroying wheat because they can't be sold at a profit.

He had apparently been reading some of the statements of the economists of the Federal Farm Board.

The supply exceeds the means to purchase. The thing to do is to stimulate that means to purchase, and there is no more effective way of doing this than by restoring and stabilizing the value of silver as money.

Since these utterances by these English economists, England, Canada, Australia, Norway, Sweden, and practically every country which produces wheat and other farm products has gone off the gold standard.

Now, where does the American farmer find himself in that situation? He sells his wheat in Liverpool at the same price as does the wheat farmer of Canada; but when he brings the pound sterling back to the United States it is discounted here to the extent of about 20 to 25 to 30 per cent more than it is in Canada, and thus the Canadian farmer is able to pay with his bushel of wheat 25 per cent more of his debts and other obligations. Can we expect under these conditions to have prosperity return to America where the American farmer sells below cost?

We can not help the farmer with a tariff while he has a surplus which has to be sold upon the world market. That has been demonstrated to the American farmer in recent years more clearly than ever before.

The Farm Board has not raised the price of farm products and can not do so. The American farmer has had that demonstrated to his satisfaction. We can not help him materially by increasing the currency issue in the United States so long as we maintain the gold standard alone, as it will not raise the price of his commodity in the world market.

Now, to my mind, the most important factor in the whole situation is the fact that it is conceded to-day by the monometallists, bimetallists, political economists, and financiers of Europe and England, as well as independent bimetallists, or free-coinage men, and even by many of the international bimetallists of the United States, that the bullion value of silver, to a very large extent, creates, makes, and regulates the value of our cotton and wheat and, indirectly, our other cereals, on account of the fact that many of our competitors in cotton and grain are nations using silver as their yardstick, and an ounce of silver bullion, worth only 30 cents to-day in the world market, will buy exactly as much land and labor as it did when an ounce of silver bullion was worth over $1.29.

Hence, the object we wish to accomplish is to raise the bullion value of silver throughout the world, restoring it to the former value of over $1.29 per ounce, which I claim can only be accomplished by the enactment of my bill, S. 2487. Then our competitors, like India, Egypt, and Argentina, would have to settle for their land and labor upon practically the same basis that we do.

We in the United States pay for our land and labor on a gold basis but are brought into competition in the European and English markets with products which have been settled for, as far as land and labor are concerned, in depreciating silver or paper. In this connection we must recollect that the price received for our surplus fixes the price of our home market.

I fail to see how the administration's program can accomplish anything beyond temporary relief for the bankers, the railroads, and the insurance companies. Perhaps it is necessary to help the international bankers, who have done more to bring about the condition in which we find ourselves, but what about doing something to help the producers and wage workers of this country, not by some makeshift, but by doing something fundamental to help raise the price level of commodities and the purchasing power of millions of our people?

Why is it that Members of Congress are asking for an appropriation of $375,000,000 from the Treasury of the United States to help people who are out of employment to-day? It is not because of the fact that they will not work. It is not because of the fact that there is an overproduction. People are walking our streets to-day and are unable to buy the things which we produce in our manufacturing plants and are unable to buy the things that we raise upon our farms, because of the fact that there is a shrinkage in our monetary system because there is not gold enough in the world to meet the international trade. So, Mr. President, they are out of work and factories are closing.

According to the latest United States Census report, the per capita indebtedness of our State governments, not including debt obligations of counties, cities, towns, and other minor civil divisions of the State, increased from $3.75 per capita in 1915 to $15.02 in 1930. The mortgage indebtedness of the farmers alone increased from $4,000,000,000 in 1910 to more than $8,000,000,000 at the present time. How, let me ask, is it possible for him to pay this debt when in comparison with the commodities he has to sell his debt has increased one-third above its amount when it was contracted?

It should not require an expert in political science to see that the only solution possible must come through the restoration of the prices of commodities. The remonetization of silver on a basis of 16 to 1 will accomplish this purpose without injury or injustice to anyone. It will enable the debtor to liquidate in honest dollars the value of those borrowed instead of in dollars of greater value.

An attempt will undoubtedly be made by the administration to increase commodity prices through an inflation of bank credit and paper currency to help in the coming election. It has already caused to be issued about $1,000,000,000, but that has not been enough to help in the slightest degree. Objection to this plan is that it will not materially benefit the farmer who has to sell his commodities, such as wheat and cotton, upon the world market and compete with the farmer of Russia and India. It would be a positive injury to the farmer to raise the price level of the things he must

buy, while at the same time doing nothing to increase the value of his wheat and cotton, which is governed by world markets.

A few years ago in many of the eastern industrial centers if anyone had talked about it being necessary for the prosperity of the Nation to increase the commodity prices of the things the farmer was producing he would have been more or less looked upon as a fanatic and a demagogue. But to-day for the first time, I believe, the industrialists of the East are beginning to realize the importance of raising the price of commodities for the farmers before prosperity can possibly return in the country.

Much has been said of late about placing agriculture on a parity with industry. We have tried in various ways to raise the price level of the farmer's commodities. We have spent hundreds of millions through the Federal Farm Board in an attempt to peg the price of wheat and cotton. Why have these attempts failed, and why must they continue to fail as long as we remain on a single gold-standard basis? Simply because 60 per cent of the population of the world uses silver as its monetary yardstick. The remonetization of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 would raise the world commodity price level, besides making it possible for silver countries to purchase our wheat and cotton and sell in exchange their products for ours.

The remonetization of silver would raise and stabilize the price of wheat and cotton on the world market without resorting to unsound methods and without cost of one dollar to the Federal Government.

In an agricultural report of 1890 we find the following statement:

> The recent legislation looking to the restoration of the bimetallic standard of our currency, and the consequent enhancement of the value of silver, has unquestionably had much to do with the recent advance of the price of cereals.

If it be true that proposed legislation looking to a restoration of bimetallism caused an advance in the price of cereals, then surely no one can be in doubt of what the results will be when silver is again remonetized.

It is therefore imperative that the United States give some consideration to the best interests of the manufacturer, the farmer, and the wage workers in this country, regardless of the bitter opposition of the international bankers.

Mr. President, this is not primarily a question concerning the price of silver, but a monetary question vitally related, in the most direct fashion, to unemployment and the depression through which we are now passing.

We are practically the only great commercial gold standard nation to-day, and if our bankers are successful in keeping us on the gold standard, it will mean a prolonged depression, with millions suffering hunger and cold and thousands dying the slow death of malnutrition. This depression can not end while the bankers hold the price level of commodities down, with its attendant unemployment, by means of their control of the purchasing power of money and credit.

The greatest question before this country to-day is this: Is inflation desirable; and if so, how shall it be accomplished?

I assert that it is not only desirable but it must be brought about, and the best and safest way to do it is to remonetize silver.

I say this is the greatest question before America to-day because it is basic and fundamental. It is directly related to and responsible to a large extent for unemployment. It is directly related to and connected with and responsible for the low price of wheat and cotton. And as time goes on it will be apparent that it is and has been directly connected with and responsible for the lack of prosperity of our manufacturers.

In the light of what has happened in Germany, France, and England since the war, it should be evident to all that for the United States to remain alone on the gold standard and maintain the high purchasing power of the dollar, or, in other words, maintain low commodity price levels, is a handicap which industry can not hope to overcome and the farmer and the laborer can not and will not long endure.

Many commercial and industrial leaders understand this situation perfectly, but they are opposed by the selfishness and greed of great banking interests that are determined to maintain the high purchasing power of gold even if it stops all the wheels of industry and brings starvation and want to millions of our people.

When we are agreed that commodity price levels should be higher, so that the producer can hope for some profit, the next question is, How can this be brought about?

The Federal reserve can, if they so desire, raise commodity price levels in the United States by lowering their discount rate and buying on the open market.

The objection to this method of inflation is, I repeat, that it will not proportionately benefit the producer of wheat or cotton because his prices are fixed on the world market, and a local inflation will not affect world commodity prices but will increase the price the farmer pays for his machinery and for what he buys, unless the inflation goes to the extent that we are for all practical purposes off the gold standard.

It must be remembered that the present inflation in England does not benefit the American farmer, because all benefit of the inflated English price for wheat and cotton is lost to the American farmer through the exchange, which discounts the English price 25 or 30 per cent through exchanging the English price into United States gold standard money.

The Canadian farmer does not lose this benefit and so has a 30 per cent advantage in so far as paying off his indebtedness is concerned. In other words, a thousand bushels of Canadian wheat will pay off 30 per cent more of mortgaged indebtedness on his farm than 1,000 bushels of the same wheat will do for the United States farmer.

There is, therefore, no prospect of any substantial benefit to the wheat and cotton farmer through an inflation which is local in character and does not affect world commodity levels.

The remonetization of silver, however, would benefit the farmer by raising the world commodity levels which fix the price he gets for his wheat and cotton. It would increase the purchasing power of silver-using nations and their ability to purchase our surplus commodities.

It would start the wheels of industry in America, raise our price levels, and put an end to unemployment. It would make it possible for other nations to do business with us and give to the world a sufficient amount of money with which to carry on the commerce of the world.

It would be to the selfish advantage of the United States, regardless of our great amount of gold, and regardless of the fact that we are a creditor nation, for it would tend to raise and stabilize world commodity prices and give the American farmer and wage worker an equal chance with those of other countries.

The other day, Mr. President, some one wrote me a letter suggesting that because of the fact that we were a creditor nation and the countries of Europe owed us large sums of money it would be a great disadvantage to us to remonetize silver. My answer to that is that it is either a question of lowering the price of gold and thereby letting foreign countries pay us on a cheaper money basis or accepting complete repudiation of their indebtedness. I think there is very little doubt but that Great Britain will default in her next payment to be made to the United States of America if conditions should remain as they are at present.

It is apparent that independent bimetalism is rapidly coming to the fore and quite probably may develop as one of the major issues in our national election.

Any unbiased student of the money question must certainly grant that the experience of this country and the world in general proves the correctiness of the following three points:

First. That from 1803 to 1873 the free coinage of gold and silver in the United States on a fixed ratio established a par of exchange by the silver-using and gold-using countries.

Second. That after the war, as soon as the principal great commercial nations of the world adopted the gold standard, a shrinkage in the general price level became apparent,

with unemployment appearing in its wake, and likewise the overthrow of governments all over the world. That because of the falling of the price level and unemployment, England and practically every other great power in the world, excepting the United States and France, were forced off the gold standard.

Third. That from the moment the annual increment of the total metallic money supply was interfered with trade and industry have suffered, prices have fallen, capital remains idle, employment has become uncertain, strikes will become more frequent, and no one except possibly those who have actual money but no property and governmental employees on established salaries, in the long run, seems to profit from the cheapness of commodities, because it is an unhealthy and artificial cheapness.

The opponents of bimetallism have never come out in the open with their arguments; they have always depended upon ridicule and denials. The few who have entered the list of outspoken opponents have raised the following points:

First. Dishonest money—a 50-cent dollar, which, according to the gold monometallists, must result in the remonetization of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. To-day, when we are talking about the dishonest dollar, let me call attention to the present dishonest dollar so far as the debtor class in this country is concerned, because the debtor to-day is called upon to pay his debts, as I said a moment ago, with a dollar that is worth $1.50.

Second. That enormous vaults will have to be built throughout the country and additions to our Treasury to take care of the world's silver when dumped into this country.

The answer, of course, to that objection is that there was not during the time when we were on the bimetallic system in this country, from the very foundation of the country up until 1873, any dumping of silver; there was no dumping of silver into this country when England went on the gold standard; and it is incredible to think that other countries which have 60 per cent of the population of the world, and which practically know no other yardstick except silver, are going to dump upon this country silver, the only money that they have ever had or ever used.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEWIS in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WHEELER. I yield.

Mr. KING. The Senator might mention the fact that the production of silver this year is less than in preceding years, and there is no certainty that it will be augmented. The argument the Senator is just addressing himself to was suggested by Mr. Sherman and by Senator Higgins and several others in the long debate that occurred in 1894. Senator Jones, of Nevada, dealt with that subject in a masterly way, and his argument never has been refuted. He showed that even then, with a very large production of silver, if we should open the mints of our country to the free coinage of silver there would be no dumping of silver upon us. As a matter of fact, when silver went to $1.70 per ounce following the war—for a short time it reached that price in Great Britain—there was no dumping of silver; and, indeed, the Indians as well as the Chinese purchased even at that advanced price as much silver as they had purchased previously. It is absurd to contend that the remonetization of silver will cause any dumping of silver upon our shores.

Mr. WHEELER. I thank the Senator very much.

Third. It will be claimed that the silver-mine owners and workers are asking for class legislation to enhance the value of their products.

Mr. President, the answer to that is that while the silver-mine owners would gain some profit, yet the tremendous profit that would come to the farmers and the rest of the people of the world so far outweigh what little profit would come to the mine owners that it is infinitesimal in comparison.

Fourth. A single standard is easier to establish and maintain.

Fifth. A dual standard is impossible because of the irregularities in the production of the two metals.

That point I shall answer in a moment.

Sixth. Experts who have predicted a falling off in the production of gold are mistaken. There will be no such decline.

Seventh. The present gold stocks are sufficient for the world's requirements without assistance from any other metal.

Eighth. The United States is a creditor nation; and being such, we should be the last to want to go on a bimetallic basis.

Ninth. That silver is only a commodity and must find its own price level like other commodities.

Briefly stated, the answers to these questions are:

First. The historic fact is that France was able to maintain a definite ratio of 15½ to 1, and the historic fact is that the United States likewise was able to maintain a definite ratio, and we were not flooded with silver.

Second. Centuries have proved the intrinsic value of gold and silver as money to be in the ratio of 1 to 14. I think for something over 450 years that ratio has been maintained. Unless there is some major discovery in gold equal to that of South Africa, the falling off in gold production is inevitable.

Third. Present stocks of gold have been shown to be inadequate for the world's exchange business.

To-day that must be apparent to everyone.

Fourth. The inequality of distribution has emphasized this feature; and two nations to-day are able to control practically two-thirds of the world's production.

Fifth. It seems clear now if bimetallism had been adopted in the early nineties it would have been a good thing for the world and the failure to adopt it is one of the causes of the present condition.

Sixth. The remonetization of silver for currency purposes would, according to Mr. H. S. Denny, a learned English economist, immediately absorb all of the supplies and he states that there is more danger of a silver famine than a flood.

Seventh. Remonetization of silver on a basis of 16 to 1 would fix the minimum price for silver the same as it has fixed the minimum price of gold. It would increase the purchasing power of the Orient and all silver-using countries, and tend to stabilize the price of wheat and cotton.

Eighth. Gold is a commodity the same as silver, and, if we should demonetize gold, it would not be as valuable as a commodity as silver, for silver is more useful in the arts. Both metals depend upon their use as a measure of value if the demand for them is to be maintained.

Of the 16,000,000,000 ounces of silver which have been extracted by mining operations during the past 500 years, it is estimated that 50 per cent have been spread in various directions, leaving a possible 8,000,000,000 ounces available. A great deal of this is made into coins, jewelry, and domestic work; but if silver were to return to this ratio of 16 to 1, it is probable that much of it would become available for money purposes.

Taking the present price of silver at approximately 30 cents per ounce, and assuming that bimetallism would be restored, it would raise it to $1.30 per ounce. It means that the money value of available silver would be increased by $1 per ounce, or a gross of say $8,000,000,000. It will be observed that even on this basis it is $3,000,000,000 less than the gold reserves to-day, which have been stated to be $11,000,000,000.

Mr. President, when I introduced this bill numerous papers throughout the United States said that I was resurrecting the old Bryan issue; but let me call attention to the fact that bimetallism is not a partisan issue. Some of the leading Republicans of the United States in times gone by, including Jones, of Nevada; Teller, of Colorado; and even James G. Blaine, of Maine, were at one time bimetallists; and even McKinley, before he was taken in hand by Mark Hanna, was a bimetallist. The Republican National Convention, as well as the Democratic National Convention and the Populist National Convention, all went on record in favor of bimetallism; so this is not a partisan measure.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

Mr. FESS. McKinley was a bimetallist provided there could be an international agreement whereby all nations

would use silver on a parity with gold, but not an independent bimetallist from the standpoint of the United States alone.

Mr. WHEELER. My understanding was that he had made a speech in favor of independent bimetallism. I am not able to put my finger upon that speech at the present time, but I think the Senator will find that that is correct. He was a bimetallist, however. There is not any question about it.

As far as international bimetallism is concerned, I think everybody will concede that it would be well if we could have it; but the trouble is that for 50 years we have been talking about an international agreement and we have not gotten anywhere. The Senate of the United States passed a resolution at the last session of Congress, I think, asking the President of the United States to call the nations together for the purpose of discussing the question of bimetallism and kindred subjects; but up to the present time Mr. Hoover has not seen fit to act.

So, Mr. President, I wanted at any rate to call attention to the fact that we have had bimetallism in this country from the very foundation of this Nation down to 1873. Hamilton was a bimetallist. Jefferson was a bimetallist. Washington was a bimetallist; and bimetallism was written into the fundamental laws of this Nation. So I am not just digging up something that Mr. Bryan advocated. I feel that much credit is to be given to him because of the fact that he had the temerity to go out and fight for bimetallism in the face of the strong opposition of the international bankers of the country; and it is a strange thing that to-day we find some of the leading economists of England and some of the great bank presidents coming out and advocating bimetallism as the only solution of the present economic difficulties of the world.

I was talking the other night to a very learned English economist, and he said to me that unless something is done toward increasing the amount of metals available for international exchange in the world we will look back on 1930 and 1931 as exceedingly prosperous years.

We are standing here in the Senate of the United States and offering a lot of makeshifts, but we are not dealing or attempting to deal with the fundamental thing that is wrong in this country. I assert without fear of contradiction that it is not a case of overproduction of commodities. It is simply, I repeat, a case of underproduction of ability on the part of the masses of the people to buy the things that we produce. When we say that there is overproduction, and when the spokesmen of the Republican Party go out and say, as they have been saying through the press and from the platform, that this panic is different from anything else that has happened, let me call attention to the fact that if they will go back and analyze the records of the papers back in 1893 they will find that they were using at that time the identical words that they are using to-day, and everybody at that time admitted that there was a world depression.

I assert—and challenge intelligent criticism, not mere denial—of the following statements:

First. The enactment of my bill into law would immediately thereafter nearly double the volume of the world's primary money, with the resultant increased conservative credit basis of twenty times the amount of primary money thus added to the world's stock.

Second. Within one year after the enactment of this bill the world's price of wheat, cotton, and all agricultural products would be more than trebled.

Third. The purchasing power of over 50 per cent of the entire world's population now using silver as their sole yardstick of exchange and business transaction would contemporaneously be quadrupled; that is, the value of the silver stock would increase from 30 cents to $1.30, resulting in the creation of a market which would more than absorb all the surplus of our raw materials and manufactured products.

Within two years all our present agricultural land values throughout the United States would be more than quadrupled, thereby transforming the present frozen assets of the country banks in agricultural communities into liquid assets.

The unemployed labor problem would be rapidly solved.

Both labor and capital would be benefited.

Contentment, happiness, and lucrative occupation would be substituted for discontentment and despair, with their inevitable resultant tragedies to follow.

It would relieve starvation in the midst of plenty.

This legislation would do more than all suggestions heretofore combined toward reviving, encouraging, vitalizing, and resuscitating business in this country and throughout the world.

The market prices of securities, especially the common stocks of all corporations enjoying honest, efficient managements and being properly financed, where listed on some of the great stock exchanges of this country, would almost contemporaneously show increased activity and market value.

Mr. President, when we realize and when most of us know that there is a shortage of gold and what there is is maldistributed, when we realize that that is the one basic fact that is causing this depression, why is it that we do not have the courage to meet the issue squarely? Are we afraid of these international bankers in New York, who have done more than anyone else to bring about the present condition of this country? Is that the reason why we are afraid to tackle the real problem that confronts the Nation?

When we know what is wrong with the country and what we can do to remedy it, are we going to sit idly by and do nothing merely because the remedy we could apply is opposed by a little handful of bankers, who at the present time, through regulating the quantity of money, can regulate the price of commodities?

I hope the chairman of the Finance Committee, the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], will give earnest consideration to the bill which I have introduced and report it to the Senate.

Mr. BROOKHART obtained the floor.

Mr. COPELAND. Will the Senator yield to me for just one moment?

Mr. BROOKHART. I yield.

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S BIRTHDAY

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, if I am correctly advised, this is the birthday of the Vice President. I should like to express the sentiment of this side of the Chamber, that we wish him every good thing in life. He has been fair and just and generous and brotherly, and we hope that he will have many, many more birthdays.

I am not advised as to how many birthdays the Vice President has had; but as a physician, looking at him from this viewpoint, I should say he has had about 45! I hope he will have at least 55 more birthdays and be as generous and kind always as he has been during the first 45 years of his life.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Vice President greatly appreciates the kind words of the Senator from New York.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. BROOKHART. I yield.

Mr. JONES. On behalf of this side of the Chamber, I desire to emphasize the kind words of the Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND]. I want to say, however, that the Vice President does not appear to me to be much over 35. I hope that is more nearly correct than the kind suggestion of the Senator from New York.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. BROOKHART. I do.

Mr. FLETCHER. I join in the expressions which have been uttered by the Senators who have preceded me. In the many years of his public service the Vice President has demonstrated over and over again that it makes no difference how many years have passed; the question is how a

man feels, how he acts, his mental attitude and capacity; and in the case of the Vice President they appear perfectly well balanced and sound. I congratulate him on his birthday and I hope he will enjoy many of them.

RADIO ADDRESS BY JOHN A. SIMPSON, PRESIDENT NATIONAL FARMERS' UNION

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, on January 23, 1932, John A. Simpson, president of the National Farmers' Union, delivered an address over a nation-wide radio hookup. Because of the interest in the program suggested by Mr. Simpson, I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of the address printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

I am happy to greet the large audience which I am sure is listening in at this hour. I would be much happier could I bring you more cheerful news. I wish to speak the simple truth, and the truth is not cheerful.

For more than two years conditions have continued to grow worse in this country. Nineteen hundred and thirty-one saw more bank failures, more bankruptcies of business institutions, and more foreclosures than any other year in the history of our Nation. Bank failures for the first 23 days of 1932 far exceed those for the same period of 1931. A year ago there were 5,000,000 unemployed. The number has increased until to-day 8,000,000 are asking for work. In 1931 prices of farm products reached the lowest level in the history of the world.

The Farmers' Union of this Nation offers the only real remedy and it is the same we offered a year ago. With conditions even worse than a year before and with no attempt on the part of those in charge of our Government to adopt our remedy, we in our national convention restated the same program which we had adopted in the fall of 1930. Every remedy tried has proven a dismal failure.

First came the Farm Board. No more complete failure of a department of Government was ever recorded in the 150 years of the existence of this Nation than the failure of the Farm Board. They took charge of the marketing of wheat in the fall of 1929, and the price went down and the general trend has been downward ever since. They took charge of the marketing of cotton in the fall of 1929, and the minute they laid their hands on that commodity, the price shrank and continued to decline throughout the months since that time. They laid their hands on dairy and poultry products and it was a withering and blighting touch so far as the price of those products was concerned. They gambled in our products on a scale never known before. They played both sides, but most of the time they were bears on the market. They deliberately used taxpayers' money, through their wheat set-up, in an effort to control farm organizations. No farm organization could borrow money from the board without bowing the head and bending the knee. All farm organizations that refused to do this were refused the benefits of the cheap money which the Farm Board had to loan.

I hold before me the Government report of the hearings before the Committee on Agriculture of the United States Senate, held here in Washington November 24, 25, 27, and 28, 1931. On page 287 of this Government report Mr. Creekmore, head of the Farm Board's cotton set-up, admitted that for more than a year he has been drawing a salary of $75,000 a year. He has many assistants under him drawing salaries up to as high as $35,000 a year, and the saddest part of this information is that these extortionate salaries come out of the cotton farmers' 5 cents a pound cotton.

In order that you may get a realization of what such a salary means to the cotton farmers of the South, I call your attention to the fact that the average cotton family produces 10 bales of cotton per year. At the present price of cotton it requires 2,500 bales to pay Mr. Creekmore's salary for one year, which means it takes 250 cotton farmers, their wives, and children to produce enough cotton to sell for enough money at the present price to pay his salary. For Mr. Creekmore to live in the luxury of a $75,000 a year salaried man, 1,250 little boys and girls for several months in the spring of the year must go into the fields with hoe and chop cotton; and again when frost time comes these same little boys and girls must go into the fields again, up and down the rows, little fingers gathering the locks of cotton, many times barefooted and fingers bleeding on cold mornings. All of this is necessary in order that Mr. Creekmore may have $75,000 a year.

I say to you the Farm Board is a failure so far as cotton farmers are concerned. Any system or policy that develops a $75,000 salary as a burden on 5-cent cotton is a complete failure.

The Farm Board established a wheat set-up and made a country preacher president of the set-up at a salary of $15,000 a year, with an unlimited expense account. They placed a Mr. Milnor on the pay roll as an expert manager at a salary of $50,000 a year, with a number of assistants with salaries ranging from $10,000 to $35,000.

On page 217 of this report will be found a list of those who are drawing these extortionate salaries from poor wheat farmers in western Kansas, who sold their wheat on an average of less than 30 cents a bushel. The first 10 on the list average $21,000 a year in salary.

To visualize what Mr. Milnor's salary really means in wheat, I call your attention to the fact that it would take 200,000 bushels at the price these wheat farmers received to pay the salary of this man for one year. Two hundred thousand bushels of wheat would be 4 trainloads, 50 cars to the train, and 1,000 bushels of wheat to each car.

I say to you farmers listening in that the Farm Board is a failure when it establishes institutions that pay such extortionate salaries and then has no more influence on the market than to let wheat go to 25 cents a bushel. If agriculture is to be saved, we will have to change policies. You can not save it with such a system as the Farm Board adopted.

Eleven months ago over a National Broadcasting hook-up I broadcast out of Chicago and told the story of the Farm Board selling three and one-half million bushels of wheat on November 22, 1930, and stated that Mr. Legge said before an executive session of the Senate Agricultural Committee that they sold the three and one-half million bushels because the price of wheat had started to rise and they did not want to see it go up. They wanted it to remain so cheap that it would be used to feed hogs instead of corn. When I gave this statement to the press, Mr. Legge denied that they had done this. I had a letter written by a United States Senator that Mr. Legge had so testified, but in the hearings in November, 1931, Mr. Milnor, under severe cross-examination by Senator ELMER THOMAS of Oklahoma, testified—and it will be found on page 252—that on November 22, 1930, they sold 3,375,000 bushels and that in three days they sold nearly 7,000,000 bushels; and he admitted it was done to keep the price from going higher. I give you this in order that you may know that in the controversy between Senator THOMAS and me on the one side and Mr. Legge on the other, Senator THOMAS and I were not the liars.

The last advice which the Farm Board offered to the farmers of the Nation came forth in the middle of summer of last year. I am sure it was their valedictory. It must have cost them many sleepless nights, brains on fire with the strenuous work. It was a most wonderful remedy which they offered. They delivered it to 2,000,000 cotton farmers in the South, and it was for these farmers to destroy one-third of their property. The Farm Board said to plow under every third row. This was a most foolish proclamation on the part of the Farm Board. In it there was no guaranty that the price of cotton would go up after the farmers plowed under every third row; and it had in it advice that amounted to asking 2,000,000 cotton farmers to commit a penitentiary offense, for practically all of the cotton was mortgaged, and it would be a penitentiary offense to destroy it.

In my Farmers' Union work for 16 years I have been called radical, and even worse, but in my wildest moments I never asked a farmer to commit a penitentiary offense.

It is fair to say that either the Farm Board is no good or the marketing act is no good, and it is possible that both are no good.

Second. The President of the United States thought he had a remedy when he issued his famous proclamation on June 20, 1931, in which he said: "The American Government proposes the postponement during one year of all payments on intergovernmental debts. Of course, not including obligations of governments held by private parties."

Poor, foolish Congressmen and Senators, led on by the misrepresentations of the big daily press financed by the international bankers, over the wires and through the mails, pledged their support to this un-American proposition. Many of them were not able to see that this was simply a trick of the international bankers, who in the last 10 years have loaned more than $17,000,000,000 to foreign countries, to have Uncle Sam step aside and let the international bankers collect their interest first while Uncle Sam waited.

We loaned England money at 2 per cent interest. England reloaned the money she borrowed of us to Germany at 8 per cent interest and Germany loaned it to Russia at 15 per cent interest. Some high finance.

I am here in Washington doing my best to represent the farmers of America before Congress, and I want to say to you that hearings now going on are revealing the perfidy of the international bankers, even beyond the strongest accusations of a few of us who were sending out warnings a year ago. There is hardly any crime under the sun which these international bankers have not committed and practiced, and it has all been done for money. The man who, in the heat of passion, imagines he has a grievance against a fellow man and commits murder is much less a criminal than he who commits murder for hire. These international bankers have committed their crimes for hire. In the first place they sold their fellow men all over this country foreign bonds and securities at prices so much above what they paid for the same securities that one of the international bankers admitted before the Finance Committee hearings that they had made more than $14,000,000 commission.

I listened to one testify the other day who described every kind of crooked method of securing the confidence of their customers and then unloading on them securities which in a very short time dropped to less than one-half and sometimes one-tenth of what the poor customers paid for them. It mattered not to these international bankers whether the victims were men, widows, or orphans. A widow's or orphan's commission looked just as good to them as a man's. They cared not whether unloading these securities on little country banks meant the closing of those banks with the untold suffering that follows such an incident in a small town.

Nearly a billion dollars of these bonds which they unloaded among their unsuspecting friends have defaulted in payment of

both interest and principal, and another billion expected to default at next interest-due date. In the line of crimes committed by these international bankers, they corrupted, debauched, and bribed officials of foreign countries. In one South American country, the president and his son were convicted of accepting a bribe of $415,000 from one of these international bankers. It also developed that some of these loans were made on condition that individuals and concerns in this country would receive oil and other concessions. A member of the Cabinet is busy now trying to explain charges made against him.

This is a sordid story, but a true one; and the saddest part is that these international bankers, in spite of all that has been revealed, are still the most powerful influence in Government affairs in Washington. In other words, here in Washington we have a Government of the international bankers, for the international bankers, and by the international bankers. Every remedy that has a chance of passing, every remedy offered by the President of the United States, is based upon the 120,000,000 common people of this country paying more taxes to these international bankers. Every remedy is based on the Government borrowing its own money from these international bankers and paying them interest for it, instead of the Government issuing its own money and deporting the international bankers along with the other aliens.

Not a remedy has in it the element of raising the price of wheat, cotton, or any other agricultural product. Not a remedy has in it the element of furnishing farmers with money to pay off the mortgages which international bankers hold against their land at a lower rate of interest. Not a remedy has in it the increasing of the purchasing power of the 120,000,000 consumers of this country. Everything being done is to make the losses of the rich man less than they otherwise would be. It seems to be the thought of the President that when you help the big fellow that some of the benefits will trickle down to the little fellow, but such has never proved to be true. All prosperity must be built on the welfare of the little fellow, and the little fellow's prosperity will insure the prosperity of the one higher up.

OIL INFORMATION

Speaking of oil, I will give you a little information. You who have farms own not only the surface but everything beneath the surface. What is below the surface of your farm may be worth many times the value of the surface.

In those States where oil has been developed many farmers get returns from what is beneath the surface of their farms. They rent the privilege of drilling and many times get what is called a cash bonus of so much per acre for giving a rent contract. This may run all the way from a few dollars to many thousands of dollars on a quarter section of land. The rent contract, or lease, as it is called, runs for a period of years ranging from 3 to 10. The usual annual rental is $1 per acre each year. The party leasing may or may not drill. If he does drill and finds oil or gas, then the farmer receives one-eighth, which is one-eighth of all the production so long as the production lasts, which is called royalty.

Another source of revenue that comes with oil development is the sale of royalties. A farmer can deed his mineral rights in the form of a warranty deed the same as he can the surface rights of his farm. Royalty brings in price anything from a few dollars per acre up to in a proved field many thousands of dollars per acre. To you farmers listening in who do not know anything of the leasing and deeding of oil rights, let me warn you to be very careful of what papers you sign. A lease may be fair to you or it may be unfair. Sometimes unscrupulous promoters get farmers to sign royalty deeds instead of a lease contract.

The independent operator does not practice fraud of this kind, but the irresponsible promoters who expect to sell their deeds and contracts frequently do defraud and deceive in these matters. There is just one chance for a farmer to get the hidden wealth beneath the surface of the farm and that is for the independent oil operator to have a degree of prosperity that enables him to go into undeveloped territory and spend from $50,000 to $300,000 on a hole in the ground.

In this country the big fellows' idea of business and prosperity is to crush everything small. We see this going on all about us in chain stores, chain newspapers, chain banks, corporation farming, and mergers of all kinds. The big fellows in the oil business get their stocks from foreign countries largely. The imports of crude oil and crude represented in refined products average about 400,000 barrels per day. Labor and materials entering into the cost of producing oil in Mexico, South America, and Russia are so much less than in this country that our independent operators are handicapped. The big fellows for the last two years, in order to crush the independents, have reduced the price of crude from an average of more than $2 a barrel down to late in 1931 a price of 20 cents a barrel. By almost a complete shut-down and drastic action on the part of Governor Murray, of Oklahoma, the price has been pushed back to 70 cents a barrel. Many of the independents have already been forced to sell out to the big fellows at a bankrupt price.

With the prices of crude oil at 20 cents a barrel, consumers were paying practically the same price for gasoline and you were still paying 25 cents or 30 cents a quart for lubricating oil, just as you did when the producer was getting more than $2 per barrel. It is the same proposition as wheat. Bread stays the same price when the producers of wheat get 25 cents as when they got $2 a bushel. There is just one chance for the farmers of this Nation to save themselves on the oil beneath the surface of their farms and that is a tariff on oil representing the difference in cost of producing in this country and foreign countries. All of the undiscovered oil in the United States belongs to farmers. Farmers ought to be interested in protecting it. The difference in cost of producing oil in this country and in foreign countries is a little more than $1 per barrel, which means a $1 per barrel tariff would be a fair one and would probably stop the oil now coming in from Russia and other foreign countries.

GRANGE—BUREAU—UNION

At this point I am pleased to tell you that the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Farmers' Union, through a conference of their head officers, have agreed on six principal projects covering the following subjects: Marketing, taxation, money stabilization, tariff, speculation, and Philippine independence.

MARKETING

On marketing we ask that the marketing act be amended to include the debenture plan, equalization fee, of any other method that will be effective in controlling surpluses and securing cost of production on that part of farmers' crops sold for consumption in our own country. We stated, and we all agreed, that nothing less is a remedy for the agricultural marketing problem. The Government regulates the marketing of transportation and on a cost basis. It does this without buying or selling transportation. If it can do this for transportation, it can do it for agriculture. We all agreed that the Government should regulate the marketing of agricultural products on a cost basis, and in doing so we contend that it is not necessary for the Government to buy or sell agricultural products.

The thing that is destroying our farmer is the fact that his dollar is so much smaller than the dollar belonging to everybody with whom he deals. When the Kansas farmer sold wheat last summer his commodity dollar was so small that it took 4 bushels of wheat to get a money dollar. Then when that same farmer purchased a grain binder, the machinery company's dollar was so big that it took $250 to pay for it, or, in other words, 1,000 bushels of wheat to buy a binder. What actually happened in that deal was the Kansas wheat farmer transferred part of his capital to the machinery company. This is what farmers have been doing every time they purchased the other fellows' product until practically all his capital has been transferred to those in other lines of business.

TAXATION

Our program on taxation reads: "We insist that the main income of the Federal Government should be derived from personal income, corporation, and estate taxes. The upper brackets of the personal income, corporation tax, and estate tax should be increased." The last paragraph reads: "We oppose a general sales tax, or such taxes as excise taxes on automobiles, Federal gasoline tax, and a tax on bank checks. We shall continue to oppose taxation of the prorated profits of cooperative organizations."

I am sure that every farmer can get behind such a taxation program, and all other citizens, for that matter.

MONEY STABILIZATION

In our resolution on the money question we demand that: "The Federal reserve system stop credit contraction and deflation and inaugurate credit expansion to affect the price level favorably by such liberal open-market operations as will bring about this result." This is demanded so that credit contraction, bank failures, hoarding, and the other disastrous results of deflation may be halted and that the whole trend of economic affairs may be turned. Such action, in the opinion of the soundest economists, is necessary and will be effective in stopping the fall of prices, hoarding, in restoring normal values and bringing the return of normal business and employment. Unless such action is initiated we believe that even such measures as the Reconstruction Corporation are doomed to failure, for with continued contraction of credit on the part of the banking system they can not be successful.

A stable price level is paramount to prosperity. We can not exist with rubber money and iron debts. Therefore, we demand the adoption of effective measures to stabilize the purchasing power of money.

That in addition to these demands for immediate action consideration be given to the readjustment of the entire banking and fiscal policies and structures of the United States, to the end that they may function in accord with present-day knowledge and needs and the Constitution of the United States.

TARIFF

The tariff resolution is short, and reads as follows: "So long as the American protective system is maintained we favor such tariff rates as will insure the American market to the American farmer upon farm commodities which can be produced advantageously in any part of our country or substitutes therefor, and further insist that tariff schedules must be immediately revised to a basis of equalization as between agriculture and all other industries. In no case should tariff rates be granted which breed monopoly, enriching the few at the expense of the many and which encourage inefficiency rather than efficiency in American industry. We demand a 'tariff for all or tariff for none.'"

SPECULATION

Our program on short selling is as follows: "The stabilization of American business, industry, and agriculture is being retarded by short-selling operations on the commodity and other exchanges

of the country, for the reason that short selling creates a fictitious supply and so interferes with the normal operations of the law of supply and demand. We favor such legislation as is necessary to prevent short selling on commodity or other exchanges."

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

On Philippine independence we aver that the farmers are anti-imperialistic; that the Government since the close of the Spanish-American War has promised the Philippine Islands independence and that it is time to fulfill that promise.

We also state: "We insist that independence be granted the Philippine Islands at the earliest possible moment, so that the American market can be preserved for the American farmers."

I believe that all fair-minded farmers will be glad to know that these three great organizations have united on such a militant and progressive legislative program.

GETTING LEGISLATION

Getting legislation has long since become a profession. When we three farm organizations were in conference a man appeared before us and introduced himself as a professional propagandist. The reason farmers make such poor headway here in Washington is because we have not learned the profession of getting legislation. Practically all public officials want to do what they think their constituents desire. This means that the first step for an organization to take in getting legislation is to become a manufacturer, and the product to be manufactured is public sentiment. All public sentiment is manufactured just like soap, and our farm organizations must become manufacturers of public sentiment. After we have manufactured public sentiment, it is just like soap—not worth a dime unless we use it; and the work of using public sentiment is called propaganda. We must not only become manufacturers of public sentiment but we must become propagandists. We must let our public officials know about the public sentiment we have manufactured. We do this by having those whom we have convinced of the righteousness of our cause write letters, send telegrams, circulate petitions, pass resolutions, and, if necessary, appear in person before committees of Congress and departments of Government. I once heard an illustrious United States Senator say that the Members of Congress are prone to forget those who were willing to be forgotten.

I sometimes illustrate the process of getting a bill through a legislative body by describing what happens at the corner grocery in a country town on a Saturday afternoon. Peter Smith goes into this grocery about the middle of the afternoon, hurriedly lays a piece of paper on the counter, telling the clerk that he wants the things listed on that paper; that he is going out to get the Ford fixed and will be back in 20 minutes; that he is in a great hurry and to be sure to have the order made up. About 15 other farmers are present, everyone looking the clerk in the eye and asking for the things they want.

The fellow who left his list on the counter returns in 20 minutes, finds the last one of the farmers who stayed and looked the clerk in the eye going out the door with his packages, but his own order has not been touched.

The international bankers, the manufacturers, the educational forces, the labor groups, the transportation companies, the wets, and the drys are all here looking the Members of the House and Senate in the eye every day, asking the committees for a hearing on their bills, getting them reported out favorably, and then continuing their personal contact, getting their bills passed by the House and Senate, after which they personally look the President in the eye, and thus they get their packages wrapped up while the fellow back home who just sends in an order does not get his wrapped up.

Congress has a big job; the whole country is bankrupt. If the international bankers should foreclose on the factories, the railroads, the merchants, and the farmers of this country, under the hammer, the whole wealth of this country would not sell for enough to pay the debts of the Nation It is the problem of Congress to save a bunch of bankrupts.

I have more faith in the Members of the House and Senate than in any other branch of the Government. I plead with those of you who believe that a program like I have discussed here to-day must be put into effect if these bankrupts are to become solvent to write to your Congressmen and Senators, asking them to support this program. If a million letters would pour in to the Members of Congress in the next 10 days, it would give them courage to face the international bankers with defiance and write legislation in the interests of the 120,000,000 common people instead of in the interests of about 20,000 ultrarich.

THREE BILLS

There are three bills pending in Congress that carry out at least to a degree the program of the Farmers' Union. These bills cover the question of financing farmers, the monetary question, the marketing question, and are as follows:

THE FRAZIER BILL

Senator FRAZIER, of North Dakota, has introduced a bill that has much merit. It provides for refinancing of farm mortgages on a basis of 1½ per cent interest, with a payment of 1½ per cent of the principal each year, which means that a farmer would be paying 3 per cent a year and in so many years the mortgage would be paid. It also provides that the Government shall issue its own money to loan to the farmers on that basis with which to pay off the mortgages they now owe.

It is my opinion that unless farmers flood Congress with letters and petitions and come in person to appear before committees, the international bankers will defeat this bill of Senator FRAZIER.

The Frazier bill is No. S. 1197. I wish you would write to one of your Senators and ask for a copy of this bill and after receiving it, if you approve it, write to all of your Congressmen and Senators asking them to support it.

THE WHEELER BILL

Senator WHEELER, of Montana, has introduced a bill remonetizing silver. It is No. S. 2487. Everybody here agrees that there must be an increase in the volume of money. The President's program is for increasing the volume of money, but his method is through bond issues and paying international bankers interest. If Senator WHEELER's bill should become a law it would probably increase the volume of money of this country by at least $2,000,000,000, and one of the best things about it, the taxpayers of this country would not have to pay one penny of interest to the international bankers.

Another thing, three-fourths of the world uses silver as basic money, and if we were to remonetize silver it would open up avenues of trade with millions of people that we can not deal with now because we are on a gold standard.

It is my firm belief that the remonetization of silver would double the prices of wheat, cotton, pork, beef, and all other farm products within 60 days. International bankers are opposing the Wheeler bill. They are against it because it would make much more difficult their job of controlling the money of the country. The reason all international bankers are for a single gold standard is because that is the condition most favorable for their control of the volume and value of money.

I urge you, I beg of you, before this day is over to write to one of your Senators and ask for a copy of the Wheeler bill, No. S. 2487. After you have given it consideration, and if you are convinced it is right, then write both your Senators and Congressmen asking them to support the measure.

THE SWANK BILL

Congressman F. B. SWANK, of Oklahoma, has introduced a farm marketing bill in the House of Representatives. It is No. H. R. 7797. This bill has the approval of the Farmers' Union in its entirety, and in the major part has the approval of the other two farm organizations. All three organizations agree that nothing less than cost of production for that part of a farmer's products used in this country is a remedy. This bill provides for farmers getting just that thing.

Please write your Congressman to-day asking for a copy of H. R. 7797. Read it over; study it. If you believe in it, then write both your Senators and your Congressmen asking them to support it.

Write to your Congressmen and tell them to make immediate provision for setting every unemployed man to work on public works. Tell your Congressmen to pay these laborers with money signed by the Government instead of money signed by bankers. Say to these Congressmen furnish money for State and county improvements on a basis of no interest to be paid by the county or State.

The great Edison, in an interview published in the New York Times, December 6, 1921, discussed this same question as follows:

"Now, here is Ford proposing to finance Muscle Shoals by an issue of currency. Very well, let us suppose for a moment that Congress follows his proposal. Personally, I don't think Congress has imagination enough to do it, but let us suppose that it does. The required sum is authorized, say, $30,000,000. The bills are issued directly by the Government, as all money ought to be. When the workmen are paid off they receive these United States bills. Except that perhaps the bills may have the engraving of a water dam instead of a railroad train and a ship, as some of the Federal reserve notes have, they will be the same as any other currency put out by the Government; that is, they will be money. They will be based on the public wealth already in Muscle Shoals, and their circulation will increase that public wealth, not only the public money but the public wealth—real wealth.

"When these bills have answered the purpose of building and completing Muscle Shoals, they will be retired by the earnings of the power dam. That is, the people of the United States will have all that they put into Muscle Shoals, and all that they can take out for centuries—the endless wealth-making water power of that great Tennessee River—with no tax and no increase of the national debt."

"But suppose Congress does not see this, what then?" Mr. Edison was asked.

"Then Congress must fall back on the old way of doing business. It must authorize an issue of bonds. That is, it must go out to the money brokers and borrow enough of our own national currency to complete great national resources, and we then must pay interest to the money brokers for the use of our own money.

"That is to say, under the old way any time we wish to add to the national wealth we are compelled to add to the national debt.

"Now, that is what Henry Ford wants to prevent. He thinks it is stupid, and so do I, that for the loan of $30,000,000 of their own money the people of the United States should be compelled to pay $66,000,000—that is what it amounts to, with interest. People who will not turn a shovelful of dirt nor contribute a pound of material will collect more money from the United States than will the people who supply the material and do the work. That is the terrible thing about interest. In all our great bond issues the interest is always greater than the principal. All of the great public works cost more than twice the actual cost, on that account. Under the present system of doing business we simply add 120 to 150 per cent to the stated cost."



TWO SYSTEMS

In closing I want to call your attention to the two systems of running the affairs of government and business.

One is known as the capitalistic system, and the other is the cooperative system. The capitalistic system is of the devil's making. It has as its foundation principle, selfishness, greed, avarice; it leads to theft, robbery, murder, suicide, and war. It operates for profit in order that it may feed the craving for more; that all its victims have. It encourages everything that is evil; it creates in man the desire to become a selfish, greedy, inhuman creature that even ceases to be an image of his Creator. It plants a little seed in the human heart that makes such a person want more than his share of the good things of life. He wants to become a millionaire, and when he has reached that point he wants ten million, and when he is worth ten million his craving is greater than ever and he wants one hundred million. When he reaches that point he desires a billion dollars ten times more than he ever wanted one hundred million, and he cares not how he gets it. His plans may mean hungry women, starving children, but he cares no more about them than ants in the dust. His whole ambition is to become a billionaire.

The cooperative system is based on service instead of profit. It has as its attributes unselfishness and the brotherhood of man. It is of Christian origin instead of the devil. I say to you that no man who is a Christian has a right to want more than the average could have. I also just as emphatically say no man has a right to want less for himself and family than the average can have. The Bible is clear on this question. In the fifth chapter of James there is a fearful warning against the ambition to be rich. The first three verses of that chapter read:

"Go to, now ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you.

"Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten.

"Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire."

I want to give you an illustration, showing the difference between the cooperative and the capitalistic systems. As an illustration of the cooperative system, I take the family table, where father, mother, sons, and daughters, and a few friends seat themselves to eat. On this table we find soup and greens, also the delicacies and goodies. Every member of that group is cooperative in spirit. They are Christians. They do not want more than their part of all the things on the table. In fact, if some one at that table should become capitalistic in his methods and reach out and say: "I will take all the goodies, the rest of you can have the soup and greens," he would start a riot. The others gathered around that table would not stand for such greed and avarice.

But how do we behave at the national table at the close of the year? One hundred twenty million people surround the table on which lie the net profits of the year, $90,000,000,000. Under the capitalistic system 4 per cent of the people around that national table reach out with hoggish, greedy hands and say: "We will take 80 per cent of these net profits, and you 96 per cent can have 20 per cent to divide among you"; and the pity of the thing is that the 96 per cent do not rise up in righteous indignation and refuse to let the 4 per cent do it.

My radio audience, the job for us is to do our part in ridding the 120,000,000 common people of this country of the 20,000 leeches, who through the interest and profit system bleed white each year the producers of this Nation.

It is our job to see that there is a more equitable distribution of the net income of the people of this Nation at the close of each year.

It is our job to see that those who live by clipping coupons shall have their swollen fortunes clipped through income and inheritance taxes.

It is our job to make the other fellow take his hands out of the farmer's pocket and keep them out.

It is our job to carry to victory the cause that stands for equity, justice, and the principles of the golden rule to the end that there shall be established in this Nation a real brotherhood of man.

NECESSITY OF MONETARY REFORM

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I have had a number of letters on this very important subject of monetary reform. I have selected some of them, so as not to burden the RECORD. They are from thoughtful people, men who are taking an interest in the Government and in legislative matters. They contain certain suggestions which I think of value, and I ask the privilege of having them inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order will be made.

The letters are as follows:

WALLACE, IDAHO, *January 5, 1932.*

Senator DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your interesting letter of December 28, 1931, received.

Heretofore I have given considerable thought to the two important questions stated in your letter, to wit:

First. Can the United States remonetize silver on the ratio to gold of 16 to 1?

Second. Should the United States return to the double standard on the basis of 16 to 1 without agreements on the part of other large nations to adopt bimetallism?

The production of silver to gold from earliest recorded time to the present being about 14 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, and the ratio of production from 1920 to 1930, inclusive, being 12.56 to one would seem to furnish a satisfactory answer to the first question.

From 1792 to 1873 we had in the United States the double standard, and I have never been able to learn of any reason for the demonetization of silver in 1873; whether accomplished by fraud or mistake is now immaterial.

It is my firm belief that if the Congress of the United States, at the present session, remonetized silver on the ratio to gold of 16 to 1, there is not another important nation in the world that would not almost immediately following restore silver as money.

I endeavored to answer the second question in my pamphlet on remonetization in the following language:

"Our country being the second largest producer of silver in the world, self-interest demands that the American people return to bimetallism—to the use of silver as money such as existed in America for 87 years.

"If Congress remonetized silver, within one year thereafter that metal would be restored as money by the other nations of the earth, and foreign silver would not be forced upon the mints of the United States since the business of 90 per cent of the people of the world is not transacted on a gold basis, and they need their silver for money. However, the importation of silver could be forestalled by the elimination for minting purposes of the silver of other countries.

"The suggestion that the United States should defer action until England or France or any other nation has approved is not worthy of consideration. Why should those in authority at Washington take advice from those in authority in any foreign country as to what should be the monetary policy of the United States? Our Government is sufficiently resourceful, influential, and powerful to remonetize silver."

In the place of the creation of a reconstruction corporation to which there is to be furnished from the Treasury of the United States $500,000,000, to be loaned to the railroads, which sum must be eventually paid by the already tax-burdened citizens of the United States, please permit me to suggest the remonetization of silver which will enable the American people by their ordinary patronage to relieve the present financial distress of the railroads and to purchase their securities.

The people of the United States need more money, not more debts.

From this distance it appears imperative that the friends of silver in Congress should unite to remonetize silver regardless of the approval or disapproval of those in authority in any other nation.

Yours truly,

CHARLES W. BEALE.

LA HABRA, CALIF., *January 18, 1932.*

Senator FLETCHER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have just completed the reading of a speech by Senator KEY PITTMAN in the Senate on December 10, 1931, in regard to the chief cause of world depression.

I believe that you have struck the keynote of the whole question of world depression in your question to Senator PITTMAN, when you asked, "If it would not be well to increase the use of silver as money in the United States without an international agreement."

I have for several months been attempting to convince Senator PITTMAN and Senator WILLIAM H. KING that an international conference on the silver matter is not either desirable nor necessary, and that any attempt to call an international conference will only delay the return to better business conditions in the United States and throughout he world.

I can see no reasoning nor logic in Senator PITTMAN's statement that your suggestion "does not reach our exchange problem. That it does not aid us to sell to the Orient or South America or Mexico."

Inasmuch as the United States is the greatest creditor and greatest producing nation it only seems reasonable that it is our prerogative to say what commodities and at what price we will accept in exchange for the bonds which foreign nations have previously given us and for the commodities which we have to sell.

Senator PITTMAN seems anxious to retain the present high value of our money and to keep the United States from going off the gold standard.

There are two things which he apparently does not realize: First, that the present value of money in the United States is some 200 per cent greater than it was in 1920, that thus increasing the value of money in relation to commodities also increases the value of obligations, and therefore the burden of obligations on the shoulders of the producers of commodities and labor. The value of money is not determined by the amount of money in circulation nor by the amount of commodities that are in existence, but by the amount of bank credit which is used as a medium of exchange. The present high value of money is not due to the intrinsic value of gold but because the amount of bank credit available has been drastically reduced. As the obligations of the people of the United States are enormous, what we most need are valuable commodities and not valuable money.

Senator PITTMAN apparently does not realize that the United States is not, and never has been, on a gold standard; for the amount of gold in the United States in proportion to the amount of commodities in the United States does not establish the value of commodities in money. The standard of value is now, and always has been, bank credit; and the United States can not go off from a gold standard on which it has never been.

Had the United States been on the gold standard, the year 1931 should have been the most prosperous year the United States has ever had, for the stock of gold in the United States in 1931 was the largest, both in amount and in proportion to the amount of commodities, which this Nation has ever known.

It is estimated by Dr. E. W. Kemmerer, of Princeton, that the bank credit used in the United States annually as a medium of exchange amounts to more than $500,000,000,000. The 1930 annual report of the United States Treasury Department shows that on June 29, 1929, the amount of bank credit on that day was in excess of $40,000,000,000.

If the Government of the United States so desired, it could replace a small part of the bank credit used as a medium of exchange with silver certificates, which would cost nothing to put into circulation and would not be withdrawn from circulation.

Taking Senator SMOOT'S own figures, if the United States were to get all the silver in the world, which he estimates to be less than 6,000,000,000 ounces (1,000,000,000 ounces of which are now used in the monetary system of the United States), it would add but 5,000,000,000 ounces to the monetary stock of the United States. This 5,000,000,000 ounces at the present coinage value of $1.293 per ounce would add but $6,450,000,000. If the United States were to receive the entire annual world production of silver, which is only 260,000,000 ounces, it would add but $435,000,000 annually to the monetary stock of the United States.

It is apparent, then, that if the United States Government were to reestablish the "free and unlimited coinage of silver" that it would require many, many years to replace the bank credit now used as a medium of exchange, with silver.

If the coinage value of silver were established in the United States at $1.293 for all the silver we could get, the commercial value of silver in every nation in the world would automatically be established at the same price, and India and the other nations which have been melting silver money would cease flooding the market with silver.

I am very glad to see that you called this matter to Senator PITTMAN'S attention.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I am,

Respectfully yours,

H. S. HOARD.

BERKELEY, CALIF., *January 9, 1932.*

Senator D. U. FLETCHER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your favor of December 28 has been received, and in reply to your question as to coinage ratio and mint ratio would say that the mint ratio deals with pure metal, both gold and silver, 1.000 fine; that on a ratio of 16 to 1, with the value of gold set at $20.67 per fiine ounce, if you divide $20,67 by 16 you get a result of 1.2929, which is the value of a fine ounce of silver. In coining, both gold and silver are alloyed under the law of 1837 so that 1,000 parts by weight shall consist of 900 parts of pure metal and 100 parts of alloy, and that difference has to be taken into account in figuring the coinage ratio. It is, however, calculated to be approximately the same. Standard gold or silver coin means 900 parts fine metal and 100 parts alloy.

In drawing a bill to cover the matter it should provide:

1. That the value of a fine ounce of gold shall be $20.67.

2. That all silver authenticated as having been produced from the mines in the United States shall be admitted to the mints for free coinage, less the mint cost.

3. That of the silver coins, the dollar shall be of the weight of 412½ grains (900 fine), the half dollar of the weight of 206¼ grains (900 fine), the quarter dollar of the weight of 103⅛ grains (900 fine), the dimes a tenth part of a dollar, of the weight of 41¼ grains (900 fine), and that dollars, half dollars, quarter dollars, and dimes shall be legal tender of payment according to their nominal face value for any sums whatever, both public and private.

4. That the coin produced from the bullion shall be paid to the producers or their representatives in silver and gold coin as same are produced from the bullion deposited.

5. That in lieu of the payment of the coin produced to the said producers, they shall have the right to receive Treasury certificates in the sum of $10, $5, and $1 in payment.

6. That these certificates shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private, at their nominal face value, and that they shall be redeemable at the Treasury of the United States in silver coin.

7. That all acts or parts of acts heretofore passed which are inconsistent with the provisions of this act be, and the same are, hereby repealed.

I think that this will cover the ground.

Yours truly,

S. A. KNAPP.

ST. LOUIS, *January 15, 1932.*

Hon. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The daily press shows that more than $815,000,000 in foreign securities that were floated under the chaperonage of American banking houses are now in default; the press further shows that millions of dollars were pocketed by these bankers in "commissions," etc., in disposing of these securities to the American suckers, and there is no doubt that our present suffering is due in a large measure to the effects of this robbery.

The unsavory testimony coming out about the flotation of these securities brings forcibly to mind of the existence in this country of the greatest racket ever known in history, to wit: The hook-up between the New York Stock Exchange, the Investment Bankers Association, and their puppet, which is known as Better Business Bureau.

Of all rackets, those which ostensibly operate for the sole protection of the "dear public" under a title that immediately misleads the unwary into believing that anything coming from it is absolute truth; rackets that are promoted and maintained under the guise of charity and the protection of the "dear public" against fraud, when as a fact the true purpose of that racket is to assist the stock exchange and unscrupulous bankers and others in other lines who want aid in promoting crooked deals, to the end that the public is mulcted of their dollars, are perhaps the most unsavory and the most despicable and the most detestable. Their backers use the finest instincts of the human heart as capital to make for themselves a dishonest living at the expense of the unfortunate sucker and as a deterrent to the development of the natural resources of this great country. Such rackets should be blasted from the face of the earth.

The actual line-up existing, and which you can verify by an examination of witnesses coming before you, is simply this: The New York Exchange and the Investment Bankers Association, with the aid of their puppet, the so-termed Better Business Bureau; the income of the latter being derived from donations contributed by the former, first secure the passage in some forty-odd States of what we know as the "blue sky laws," and you must be familiar with them. These laws exempt securities listed on the exchange and thus permit the crooked banker and the crooked broker to sell listed securities at any price obtainable, regardless of actual value, to the unwary sucker; and no matter how utterly worthless that stock may actually be in actual money, those bankers and brokers can not be charged with fraud or the offense of obtaining money under false pretenses. You must pay tribute to one of these organizations or go to jail, a nice state of being for the people of a country supposed to be the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Private initiative and individual participation in the development of our natural resources are thus starved and no better service can be given by you than that which will fully develop the facts by a thorough investigation of these organizations.

Yours very truly,

CLARK G. HARDEMAN.

Mr. FLETCHER. There is just one other extract I desire to read from a letter which comes to me, written by a banker, one who has spent his whole life in the banking business. He has been for many years the highly successful president of a national bank and is now chairman of the board of directors of that bank. He is an expert on this subject, and I have great confidence in his judgment. He is over in Europe at present and has written this letter from there. I am not permitted to use it in full, but I think he can have no objection to having this extract from it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as coming from a man of high standing, a banker of large experience, and one whose judgment I believe is valuable in this connection.

I was particularly struck with this paragraph:

England made the mistake of trying to carry on at old rate and has now had to give it up. We stick to the old gold rate, and what is the result? The world's shortage of gold in proportion to world's debts has raised the value of gold so that now $1 will buy 3 or 4 bushels of wheat or 16 to 20 pounds of cotton.

If we stay on single gold basis, I see nothing but low prices, low wages, trouble, and despair. How can a man or a country expect to ever pay his or its debts when the product of his labor is sold for cost or less than cost? National inflation would do no good. There must be an international measure of value upon which all nations can trade.

There is not enough gold. Why not go back to bimetallism on a fixed basis of value between silver and gold agreed to by all or most all nations?

I ask to have these extracts from that letter printed with the other matters to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I was in London when the country went off the gold standard. There was no excitement, and business went on as usual. The more I see of world conditions and ours in the United States the more I am convinced that we must change our monetary standard. I mean the world must change if we are ever to pull out of the hole. Conditions are different now than they have ever been. Prior to the war the gold standard answered well enough for most of the civilized world, though prior to 1816 the whole world was bimetallic. In 1816 or 1821 England went on a single gold standard, demonetizing silver. The rest of the world was bimetallic

until 1873; then most countries, China and India excepted, went on gold. We continued to coin silver dollars until 1893. India abandoned silver in 1900; China never.

Now the value of world's goods, as measured by gold, varies with the amount of gold visible in the world. With the great influx of it in the sixteenth century from the Spanish conquests in America, prices rose. Again the same thing happened with the Australian and California gold finds. By the time the South Africa fields were discovered, world trade had so increased there was no special rise in prices. We had enough gold in circulation to take care of world's trade. National debts were light. Taxation was not heavy. Then came the World War. Capital is best described as "stored up product of labor." Billions of it was destroyed or wasted. Enormous debts were contracted by all nations. Our debt was about two billions. At end of war it was over thirty. England at end owed internally some thirty-five billions and externally over five. Other countries were even worse off. Taxation was terrific. It was impossible for all this debt to be paid in gold.

All European countries either repudiated the internal debt or revalued the amount of gold in their various currencies at a rate that practically repudiated 60 per cent of their debt. England made the mistake of trying to carry on at old rate and has now had to give it up. We stick to the old gold rate, and what is the result? The world's shortage of gold in proportion to world's debts has raised the value of gold, so that now $1 will buy 3 or 4 bushels of wheat or 16 to 20 pounds of cotton.

If we stay on single gold basis, I see nothing but low prices, low wages, trouble, and despair. How can a man or a country expect to ever pay his or its debts when the product of his labor is sold for cost or less than cost? National inflation would do no good. There must be an international measure of value upon which all nations can trade.

There is not enough gold. Why not go back to bimetallism on a fixed basis of value between silver and gold agreed to by all or most all nations?

But pardon me for inflicting this on you. It is a dry subject; but bimetallism or continued dull times is before us. Which will the nations choose?

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. BROOKHART. Yes; I yield.

Mr. PITTMAN. I do not intend to discuss this bill at the present time, because I can not trespass on the time of the Senator from Iowa. I wish to say this, however:

I do not believe there is any Member of this body who heard the speech of the Senator from Montana, whether he agrees with his method of remedying this situation or not, who does not agree with the fundamental facts that he has stated. There can be no doubt that the chief cause of the present world depression is stagnation in world trade, nor is there any doubt that the condition of the money of the world is largely responsible for that stagnation of trade. There is not any doubt that our export trade has fallen off between 50 and 60 per cent. There is no question that the throwing back on this country of that excess of production has reduced the price of the various commodities in our domestic market. It has impoverished the cotton planters of this country and all dependent on them. It has impoverished the wheat men and all dependent on them. Those producers can not sell their products at a profit. The result is that they have ceased to become purchasers. They can not buy automobiles, radios, or clothing, with the result that the capacity of plants has had to be reduced. For instance, steel plants are running on a 27 per cent capacity basis, and automobile plants on about a 40 per cent capacity basis. That reduction of capacity has caused the discharge of employees.

We will have perpetual unemployment until the capacity of manufacturing plants can be restored. It can never be restored until the purchasing power of those engaged in exporting industries has been restored. Such purchasing power can never be restored until normal production of such industries is restored at normal prices.

I will illustrate by taking cotton. Exports of cotton from 1929 down to the present time have fallen off 60 per cent. Normally, in 1929, the cotton crop brought over $3,000,000,000 into this country. In 1930 the cotton crop did not bring $1,000,000,000 into this country. If the whole $2,000,000,000 provided for the Reconstruction Corporation should be loaned to the cotton planters they would have no more money than they had in 1929, and they could spend it all in one year and would be just as badly broke at the end of the year.

The statement that the purchasing power of over 90 per cent of the people of the world depends on something besides gold is undoubtedly true. Over half of the people of the world use silver as money and nothing else but silver. Through legislation abroad the price of silver money has been beaten down over 50 per cent in the last two years.

We are more interested in restoring the purchasing power of our customers, whose money is silver, than we are in raising the purchasing power of our own money, which is too high. The bill which the Senator from Montana introduced undoubtedly would add to the currency of this country and the purchasing power of a great many of the people, but it is doubtful whether it would reach the situation in China and Mexico and South America unless those Governments were able to pursue the same course the Senator proposes.

There have been in the past many objections to the bill he introduced, and those objections still exist. In my opinion, they are largely based upon misinformation. But the education necessary to overcome them would require a long time.

There are a number of bills introduced in the Senate and in the House of Representatives all looking to the restoration of the purchasing power of our customers who use silver money. Which are right, it will be for Congress to determine in the long run, but I will say this now, that the British mission to the Far East, where they spent £80,000 to arrive at an understanding of the subject and wrote a great report, came to the same conclusion to which the Senator from Montana has come, that is, as long as the silver money of China is worth only 23 cents in our money, they would not and could not buy our products, and they would not buy British products. In their report they state unequivocally that the only remedy is the restoration of the purchasing power of silver money through international agreement, and they state that it is the duty of the British Government to initiate conferences looking to such an agreement.

The Senate of the United States, away back in February last, unanimously adopted a resolution I introduced requesting the President of the United States to call or obtain an international conference for the purpose, first, of stopping the dumping of silver derived from the melting of silver coin, which was the real cause of the fall in the price of silver money in the world; and to consider such other remedies as might be appropriate for the restoration of the purchasing power of silver money. It did not depend entirely on bimetallism. The plan which had been offered in England did not contemplate bimetallism, in the sense that it proposed a new world standard of money value, but the standard recommended was the same that we have in this country—a gold standard, with a stabilization of the silver money. We have 468,000,000 of standard silver dollars to-day. The silver in them is worth only 23 cents in gold, by the actual value of it, and yet those dollars trade on a parity with gold, which means that they trade with a value of $1.29 an ounce, or at a ratio of 16 to 1.

There are two theories. One is bimetallism. The other is the supplementing of gold money with silver money on a ratio and keeping it at a parity on that ratio.

We recall the old fight on free silver. I doubt seriously whether Congress at this time would give consideration to the question. I am satisfied, with the information I have, that legislation providing for free silver would not pass. I do believe, however, that much good may come from some of the bills which have been introduced in the two Houses. Such bills, however, together with the suggestions which Senators here are ready to offer, like that of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], and suggestions I propose to offer, we can arrive at practical legislation for our Government. I did not want to offer any of those suggestions as long as there was a chance for the President of the United States to obtain an international conference on this subject, because that is the only way in which we will effect the restoration of silver money throughout the entire world. But there has been inaction on the part of the President. He has ignored the subject. He has declined to discuss it publicly, and,

under the Constitution, he is the only person who can consider matters with foreign governments. He is the only person who could call an international conference. He is the only person who can negotiate a treaty. He has the hands of the United States tied; he has the hands of Congress tied; and if there is legislation brought before Congress which, in his mind, is radical and violent and threatening of the monetary system of the country, it is his fault, and no one else's fault.

There is no excuse for the situation. When it is said he will not call such a conference because Great Britain does not want him to call it or France does not want him to call it, it is attributing a timid attitude to the President. As a matter of fact, as I have said before, if this country had a conference with Canada, Mexico, South America, Central America, and China, we would not care whether any other nation came into it or not. We would reach an agreement, and that agreement would stop the dumping of silver, and that agreement would bring about a restoration of the purchasing power of silver money, so that we could sell our goods to silver money using people. But it is said that the representatives of those opposed to our views might be in the majority in that conference, and that they might be in favor of something we did not favor. But, as a matter of fact, the result of that conference would only be advisory.

This Government would not have to adopt any agreement any more than it had to adopt the London conference. But we would find out the ideas of every country by such a conference. There would probably be two reports. Europe might engage in one report and the rest of the world in another report, and if we liked the report joined in by the countries I have named we could put it into the form of a treaty with those countries and get somewhere.

Everything the Senator from Montana has stated is founded on the soundest reasoning. But we have had working on this matter a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations. We have been trying to reach an agreement, and the first agreement we tried to reach, and did reach, was that the President of the United States should call a conference with governments to consider this question; and he ought to call it. There is no excuse for not calling it. If he had an excuse, he would give it.

The senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS] read on the floor of the Senate the other day, as I recollect it, from the Republican platform, a statement that the Republican Party had never been opposed to international bimetallism if it could be accomplished through an international agreement. That is going a lot further, probably, than it was ever expected we would go. But under this resolution the President is allowed to appoint his own negotiators, and if he does not like what they do he can turn it down.

I thank the Senator from Iowa for yielding so much time. At this point I would like to place in the RECORD a radio speech delivered by the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], which I have read with great interest.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NECESSITY OF MONETARY REFORM

(Address of Senator WILLIAM H. KING over the Columbia network, October 10, 1931)

For a number of years the American people have been living in a fool's paradise. They were intoxicated with the thought that they were enjoying unexampled prosperity. They have been rudely awakened and now perceive that their fancied prosperity was wholly illusory.

Fortunes have been wiped out and homes and all forms of property have been lost. To meet the demands of creditors, millions of stalwart American citizens are searching for work, and want is found in every part of the land. Public and private debts remorselessly press upon the people, and no avenue of escape seems possible. The National Government owes more than $17,000,000,000; corporations of the United States have bonded and other indebtedness aggregating more than $55,000,000,000; and mortgages and trust deeds encumber real estate to the extent of more than $35,000,000,000. There are other outstanding obligations, public and private, totaling more than $30,000,000,000. All these obligations are payable in gold. Taxes—Federal, State, and municipal—wrung from the people have been increased several hundred per cent during the past 10 years, until they now amount to approximately 15 per cent of the total earnings of all the people of the United States.

During the period of so-called prosperity the people have lived upon borrowings, and they now encounter sheriffs and creditors, and the inexorable demands to meet the day of reckoning.

In all the world there are less than $11,000,000,000 of monetary gold, to meet the obligations of more than $400,000,000,000 which press so heavily upon the people of the world. There has been a lack of statesmanship in this and other countries which has materially contributed to the serious and deplorable conditions existing in this and other lands.

The devotees of the gold standard are discovering that gold, which should be only a symbol, has become a tyrant; a cruel and ruthless master. People everywhere are beginning to inquire why silver was robbed of its monetary status in the world and gold enthroned as the supreme monetary power. The gold standard as the sole measure and standard of value is being challenged, and demands are heard in every quarter that silver be rehabilitated and accorded a monetary status.

Professor Cassel, one of the outstanding financial and political economists of the world, stated that the relentless struggle for gold has brought a fall in prices the extent of which is unique, and that the crisis has resulted in a general depression resulting in heavy losses on the stock exchanges, and in economic difficulties, and has produced industrial unemployment which has assumed disquieting proportions.

Sir Henry Strakosch states that the deficiencies of monetary gold are well over 100 per cent, and this has caused a sharp fall in prices.

Sir George Paish declares that the financial situation is one of unprecedented difficulty and that the world since 1914, particularly, has "* * * lived upon credit and is indebted, both nationally and internationally, for fabulous sums of money * * *."

A recognized financial authority, Sir Josiah Stamp, states that the financial depression is largely due to the instability of money values and from "* * * the relative insufficiency of the world's stock of gold and its converse—the weakness of commodity markets * * *."

Great Britain, which more than any other country is responsible for the demonetization of silver, is now paying the penalty for its unwise and indeed destructive policy.

As humanity advanced from primitive conditions it was perceived that a medium of exchange was a necessity; that when there was a division of labor the need of money became imperative; and that gold and silver were, of all metals, best adapted for that purpose. It was discovered that in their production there was a uniform relation of ratio. For thousands of years the ratio of production was approximately 14 to 1—that is, 14 ounces of silver were produced to 1 ounce of gold. Naturally the ratio of production determined the relation of value to be ascribed for monetary purposes to each of the metals.

Aristotle declared that "* * * money exists not by nature but by law; the use of money was by necessity devised * * *."

Money is the medium of exchange, and whatever performs this function and does the work is money, no matter what its nature. Ardent gold monometallists claim for gold that it possesses intrinsic value, which silver does not have. This is a fallacy, which in part accounts for the sacrosanct character attributed to gold. The fact is that gold is a commodity, subject to changing values in relation to other commodities. Mr. Keynes, the eminent English financial expert, in his treatise on Money states that "gold as the sole standard of purchasing power is almost a parvenu," referring to the fact that for thousands of years the two metals had been standards of value and purchasing power at an accepted ratio of value. He further adds that of late years an attempt has been made to have gold "* * * envelop itself in a garment of respectability, as densely respectable as was ever met with either in the realms of sex or religion."

He further states that whether this garment of respectability "* * * was put on as a necessary armor to win the hard-won fight against bimetallism (and is still worn, as the gold advocates allege, because gold is the sole prophylactic against the plague of fiat moneys) or whether it is a furtive Freudian cloak, we need not be curious to inquire * * *."

He also states that, except during brief intervals, gold has been "* * * too scarce to serve the needs of the world's principal medium of currency * * *."

Gold fluctuates when measured by labor and commodities. If gold were to be demonetized as silver was, its value measured by commodities would have only that value which it might possess for use in the arts. Certainly measured by any standard of value or by commodities it would possess less merit or value than silver would possess. Value simply means value in exchange, and it arises out of relations which exist between things. Money intrinsically has no value. Purchasing power is of value in economics. Paper money with no intrinsic value may possess value equal to gold money if there be no overissue. There are many evidences that even irredeemable money may be kept at par with metallic money.

Students of the money question concede the validity of the quantitative theory.

The level of prices of commodities is determined by the number of units of purchasing power, hence if the number of units of purchasing power are reduced each unit immediately possesses greater value, expressed in commodity prices, and the prices of commodities measured by the monetary unit, fall. It has been said that value, like utility, has no intrinsic value of a thing, but

expresses in exchange nothing but ratio. To speak of the value of an ounce of gold is as absurd as to speak of the ratio of a given number. There must be another number in order to make a ratio. Therefore value simply means value in exchange. Human estimation placed on desirable objects, whose quality is limited, determines value.

As stated, for thousands of years gold and silver circulated as money possessing purchasing power in substantially the ratio of 12 or 14 to 1. Credits and paper currencies, whether issued by governments or banks, rested upon a metallic base consisting of gold and silver. It is apparent that such a base had greater strength than if it consisted of but one of these metals. Senator Jones, of Nevada, who was an outstanding authority upon money, frequently compared the use of gold and silver to two reservoirs connected by a pipe from which water could be drawn for the irrigation of the thirsty soil. Obviously, he stated, the farmer would be advantaged by having one instead of two reservoirs. If water were drawn from only one, the same level would be preserved in each.

The use of gold and silver furnishes to the world more units of purchasing power, more vitalizing elements for trade and commerce, than would be supplied by either gold or silver alone. Until 1816 these metals walked side by side, carrying the trade and commerce of the world. In that year Great Britain, largely at the instance of her creditors and bankers, denied silver access to the mints, and made gold the sole standard and measure of value. The effect in Great Britain was disastrous. Sir Archibald Alison, in his History of Europe, describes the appalling consequences upon trade and commerce and the entire social and economic structure. He states that the capital which had been acquired during the Napoleonic wars had been so great "* * * the interest of the money classes so powerful, that Parliament became affected by the desires of its possessors * * *."

He further adds that the demonetization of silver within a very few years thereafted added 50 per cent to the value of money and weight of debt and taxes.

"* * * Small land proprietors were ruined from the fall of prices and the magnates stood forth in increased luster from the enhanced values of their revenues. Distress was universal, and it seriously affected all branches of industry * * *."

When the bill was passed, there were more than 160,000 persons landowners in Great Britain, but the ruinous consequences of the fall in prices reduced the number in seven years to 30,000, and 15 per cent of the population became the objects of support by organized charity.

That picture is paralleled by the situation in the United States to-day. Sir Thomas Gresham, speaking of the same period, states that because of the fall in prices "* * * for every less sum owing, a greater shall be paid; that with the fall in prices farmers have no profits; the landlord no rent, the manufacturer no customers, and the laborer no employment; revolution of property and the disarrangement of the whole frame of society must necessarily ensue * * *."

Germany, after the Franco-Prussian War, exacted $1,000,600,000 of gold from France, and then adopted the gold standard. The Latin Union followed its evil example, and the United States, in 1873, reversed the policy of Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton and followed obsequiously the gold monometallic policy of Great Britain and Germany.

The first financial measure enacted by this Republic declared that 371¼ grains of pure silver should be the dollar and "unit of value," and that 23.3 grains of pure gold should be of equal value. Thus our fathers gave to us gold and silver as the units of purchasing power, and provided a metallic base of gold and silver upon which to rest our currencies and credits.

The demonetization of silver in 1873 was surreptitiously accomplished. It was denounced as a crime committed in the interest of bondholders and the gold standard. It was designed to destroy substantially one-half of the money of the people, and to make more valuable the units of gold, to increase the value of governmental and private obligations, and to affect injuriously commodity prices as those prices were expressed in gold.

The demonetization of silver in 1873 produced disastrous results. There were more than 50,000 failures in business during a period of five or six years, with losses aggregating one and one-half billion dollars. Banks failed, commodity prices sank to a low level, and ruin overtook farmers and business men everywhere. So serious were the consequences of this indefensible measure that Congress enacted within a few years the Bland and Sherman Acts, which it was hoped might relieve the situation and arrest the catastrophic decline in commodity prices. In the meantime gold monometallists in the United States and elsewhere waged an unrelenting and fierce warfare against silver with the avowed purpose of destroying it as primary money and of enthroning gold as the sole standard and measure of value throughout the world.

Great Britain, pursuant to this purpose, made war upon the financial structure of India for the purpose of forcing her to accept a gold exchange policy. Before 1816, when bimetallism prevailed throughout the world, the people of the Orient almost exclusively used silver for monetary purposes and it had substantially the same value measured by gold and commodities as that possessed by gold. The savings of nearly a billion people in the Orient consisted of silver accumulated during hundreds, if not thousands, of years. When the occidental nations demonetized silver they not only robbed their own nationals of savings and property but they robbed the people of India and China of billions of dollars. It is estimated by competent authorities that the silver holdings of China and India amount to approximately 7,000,000,000 ounces. Before the demonetization of silver, the silver of the Orient as well as the silver of the Occident constituted a part of the foundation upon which rested world currencies and credits. Silver had a value expressed in gold of approximately $1.29 an ounce. The gold-standard policy and Great Britain's assaults upon India's financial system reduced the price of silver, measured by gold, not only in the Orient but in the Occident to the low level of less than 27 cents an ounce. It is obvious that the purchasing power of the Orient has been reduced almost to the vanishing point. With silver reduced from more than a dollar an ounce to less than 27 cents an ounce, neither the United States nor other gold-standard nations may expect to find markets in the Orient for their surplus products. I might add at this point that exports from the United States to China for the last fiscal year were 30 per cent less than during the preceding year, and it is well known that Great Britain has lost most of her Indian markets, which has contributed in no small degree to her present precarious condition economically and financially

There are some who believe that the future export trade of the United States must be largely to the Orient and in Latin America. Latin American countries, like the Orient, have been largely users of silver. In their monetary transactions they have been the victims of the destruction of silver and would welcome a policy leading to its rehabilitation.

Notwithstanding the vociferous cries of some that the United States must have no commercial contacts with other countries but must be self-contained, the lesson is now being driven home that we are a part of the world and must find markets beyond our boundaries if industries are to revive and prosperity be enjoyed. If the gold-standard nations persist in their policy of destroying silver and irrevocably fasten the gold standard upon the world, other nations may follow the example of Mexico and demonetize gold, and still others will pursue the course adopted by Great Britain and other European countries and abandon the gold standard. Indeed, a statement appearing in a recent issue of The Statist, a London financial paper of influence, is little less than a threat that the demonetization of gold may prove epidemic. The Statist declares that—

"* * * it requires no very great imagination to foresee the time in the near future when an exasperated Europe will demonetize gold and throw upon the United States its gold stocks to add to the redundant gold stocks of the Federal reserve system."

That there is an inadequate supply of gold in the world to sustain currencies and credits must be obvious to all. The devastation and ruin in our own country are in part due to a policy which has deprived the world of half of its metallic base. Callieux, former French Premier, within the past few days has declared that the gold standard will not work; that the gold supply of the world is but a pin point of a pyramid upon which rest the currencies and credits of the world.

Financiers and political economists of our own country are aroused over the evils wrought by the gold standard and the dangers which menace our social and economic structure. Officials of the Government and representatives of the banking interests have had many conferences with a view to alleviating the serious situation and averting still more catastrophic consequences. Commodities are still declining, labor is still unemployed, banks are still failing, and our credit structure is greatly impaired. The relief suggested by the gold monometallists does not contemplate strengthening the gold base by adding silver thereto or by giving to silver a monetary status. Many of them, who are unwilling to employ silver to relieve the strain and tension upon gold or to give to it any monetary status, see no impropriety in issuing still more credit paper money, ostensibly resting upon the gold base, though, because of the scarcity of gold, no such base can be said to exist. They adhere to the fallacious view that gold is stable in value and is subject to no fluctuations, regardless of the fact that many economists declare that it has increased in value, measured by human toil and commodities, more than 100 per cent during the past few years, and that a continuation of the gold standard unmodified will drive all commodities to still lower levels and force bankruptcy, not only upon individuals but upon nations. They have before them tragic evidences of the disasters accompanying an increase in the purchasing power of gold; they ignore the fact that the function and not the material is what creates the value of the dollar. But there is an awakening among bankers and business men in Great Britain; they see the power and prestige of their country waning and an inevitable catastrophe if different financial and governmental policies are not adopted; they perceive that there is no advantage in balancing England's budget if commodity prices continue to fall.

Sir Hugo Cuncliffe-Owen, on outstanding industrial and political figure in England, urges an international conference in order to restore the buying power of silver.

Lord Inchcape, who has important interests in the Orient, is challenging attention to the diminishing exports of Great Britain and her lost markets in the Orient by reason of her gold-standard policy; and he demands that the purchasing power of not only the Orient but of the world be increased by giving to silver a monetary status.

Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Great Britain in 1878, referring to the propaganda for the gold standard and the destruction of silver, stated that if it continued a financial crisis would be provoked.

One of the leading bankers of Great Britain, in a recent letter to me, states that—

"* * * The momentous question that confronts the world to-day, following the catastrophic appreciation in the value of gold, is the maladjustment between prices, wages, and debts. Are wages to be adjusted to prices or prices to wages? Are debts to be adjusted to prices or prices to debts? It is difficult to see how chaos is to be avoided unless there is a material adjustment on the side of prices, so that business can once again become profitable. By the rehabilitation of silver to its time-honored position as a money metal a new factor, operating simultaneously at various points throughout the world, would be introduced into the present critical economic situation, and this should prove effective in raising the general level of commodity prices * * *."

Premier MacDonald recently asked:

"* * * Is finance to be based upon one certain metal? Is credit to be controlled by the supply, demand, and distribution of that particular metal? Is the policy, theory, and practice which we accept and express in our coinage to thwart our commercial welfare? * * *"

These questions clearly indicate that this distinguished statesman recognizes the need of utilizing silver as a part of the metallic base of Great Britain.

Aside from France and the United States, most countries of the world that have established and are trying to maintain the gold standard have been compelled to rely upon borrowed capital, and it is well known that when the fountains of credit ceased to yield there was the greatest difficulty in averting disastrous consequences. Great Britain, as I have indicated, was unable with all her resources to maintain the gold standard, and it is obvious that if there shall not be an increase in commodity prices and the development of markets for Britain's products her economic and financial condition will grow progressively worse. The gold standard is like the mythical vampire which sucked the blood of its victims and when there were none others to destroy, it destroyed itself.

But a few days ago an association was formed in Great Britain having for its object the restoration of silver to a place in the world's monetary system. Among the influential members of the organization are Sir Robert Horne, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, now prominent in the banking world, and Mr. Leopold Amery, former Colonial Secretary. Sir Robert Horne declared that the use of silver would—

"* * * bring many benefits to the trade of the world, both by mitigating the harsh decline of gold prices, which the MacMillan committee declared to be the source of most of Britain's troubles, and by increasing the purchasing power of nearly half the people in the world, whose stores of value are in silver * * *."

He referred to the report of the Indian currency commission to the effect that the fall in the price of silver inflicted—

"* * * heavy losses on the poorer classes, who have put their savings in silver ornaments and who would find their stores of value depreciated by perhaps 50 per cent by the action of the Indian Government * * *."

He also stated that—

"* * * China, where silver has been used as the store of value for 4,000 years, has lost 50 per cent of the stored wealth which it had a few years ago * * *."

And he further added that the consequence of the fall in silver prices had resulted in a decline in trade with the manufacturing establishments of both Great Britain and the United States.

The advocates of the gold standard can not be unaware of the fact that its continuance will mean a further decline in commodity prices and disaster in the economic field. If for no other reason, this result is inevitable, because the production of gold, according to accepted authorities, will diminish. All economists concede that with the normal increase in population and business there must be an addition to the gold base of from 3 to 4 per cent annually in order to maintain fairly stable prices. It is obvious that as gold diminishes in quantity it appreciates in price or value, measured by commodities. The gold standard means, of course, dear money and cheap commodities, and a diminishing volume of gold will result in declines in property values and increases in the values of securities and all forms of obligations—national, corporate, or individual. It is to the advantage of the creditor to maintain the gold standard because his rewards will be greater; each day adds to the value of his security by diminishing the value of all commodities and, of course, labor and service from which the obligation is to be liquidated. A great Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain a number of years ago said:

"* * * that the world requiring British gold must pay for it, and pay for it in cheaper commodities * * *."

But what value will there be to securities if repudiation comes, or industry is destroyed and property values are lost? Lord Bradbourne, chairman of the South African Consolidated Goldfields Co., states that the "* * * supply of gold is even now insufficient to meet the world's credit requirements, * * *" and that "* * * in 10 years' time the present gold production will have fallen from $400,000,000 to $275,000,000, and in 15 years the south African production will not exceed $50,000,000 * * *."

With the certainty of diminishing gold production it follows as the night the day that gold will appreciate in value and bring increasing economic and indeed political disasters in the world.

Sir Henri Deterding, one of the great financial figures of the world, has recently declared that the destruction of silver value will defeat trade revival. He criticizes those who declare that gold should be the only standard for fixing relative values for everything and asks whether gold in itself has any practical use. He states that just as all monopolies are certain to kill themselves "* * * if the idea of 'monopoly' is too rigorously enforced, so it is with gold. It has become an unbearable ruler who neglects all duties and even common sense. Under its rigorous rule it has tried and almost succeeded in ousting the competitor with whose assistance and from whose existence gold could hope to maintain its ruling position—namely, the other comparatively rate metal—silver * * *."

He states that so long as gold and silver were in cooperation things went well, but that governments, governed by theorists and sheltering themselves behind so-called money experts, adopted gold as their sole standard of value and have ousted silver by paper. Whether paper is represented by bankers' bills or by bank notes, the only reason for its value is credit and credit is the same as every other commodity or faculty in that the more there is of it the less valuable it becomes.

The accuracy of this statement is exemplified by the credit situation in the United States. Upon the narrow base of gold, credits have been extended amounting to tens of billions of dollars. These credits payable in gold can not be met and the creditor, through forced sales and bankruptcy proceedings, is becoming the possessor of real and personal property the value of which has shrunk to the vanishing point. I commend to those who are opposing the restoration of silver, the words of a British statesman, Earl Balfour, who, in a speech in Parliament in 1892, said:

"* * * Of all acceptable systems of currency that system is assuredly the worst which gives you a standard, steadily, continuously, and definitely appreciating and which by that very fact throws the burden upon every man of enterprise; upon every man who desires to promote the agricultural or the industrial resources of the country, and benefits no human being whatever * * *."

I have referred to the effects upon international trade with China if the present gold standard policy is pursued. If silver occupied its proper place in the money systems of the world, the Orient would purchase from the United States and other nations commodities of the value of billions of dollars annually; the standard of living of the orientals would be materially improved and their demands for commodities from occidental nations would reach enormous proportions. The oriental nations, if the gold standard is persisted in, will be driven to set up their own industrial and economic life, forced to the low level of living brought about by the destruction of silver they will accommodate themselves to the situation, and will erect factories and modern plants and enter into competition with the occidental nations. They will develop scientific and technological skill and produce commodities with their cheap labor, far below the prices of production in gold-standard countries; and sooner or later will manufacture commodities which occidental nations produce, and undersell them in the markets of the world. The gold-standard policy will drive the Orient into an economic and industrial system of its own, which will be a menace to the economic and industrial systems of occidental nations. This will result in a real "yellow peril," not political, as indicated by many Chauvinistic writers, but one which will seriously menace the industrial system of this and other nations. The people of the Orient desire contacts with the United States and other nations; they would like to buy our surplus products and find markets for commodities which this and other countries desire, but the destruction of the monetary qualities and functions of silver will create tangible and effective embargoes.

I have spoken of the inadequacy of the present gold supply. It would require several billion dollars worth of new gold in order to furnish a 33⅓ per cent of metallic gold support to the billions of dollars in currency inflation which now exists. Assuming that the confidence factor requires a gold stock of 33⅓ per cent back of currency issued by central banks, it is clear that in European banks of issue in 1929 there was an overissue of currency based on gold of nearly $9,000,000,000. Since that time there has been a further overissue of currency with diminishing gold reserves. My information is that indulging in the same assumption of 33⅓ per cent gold reserve, South American and central banks have overissued to the extent of more than $230,000,000. It is pertinent also to remark that the overissue of currency, if applied as cash reserve of 20 per cent back of loans or credits advanced by the private banks, would result in credit inflation in the banking systems of Europe and South America of many billions of dollars. The African central banks also on the basis above assumed overissued gold currency to the extent of more than $445,000,000, forming the basis for credit inflation through their private banks of more than $2,000,000,000.

With the vast mountain of paper currency and credits inadequately secured, it is to be expected that there would be dubiety and indeed lack of confidence in financial systems and that there would arise a demand for reformation in the currency and financial systems of the world.

Gold is being used to shackle the world economically and politically. The important nations of the world should take the lead in effecting such reformation. An international conference should be called for the purpose of correcting glaring defects in the fiscal systems of the world. Certainly such a conference undoubtedly would strengthen the gold metallic base by adding silver to the same.

Mr. Wagel, in his recent interesting work called "World Economic Depression," states that—

"* * * if silver is used for currency reserve, and relieves gold of part of its burden, prices will rise and there will be increased prosperity. The other alternative is collapse of prices, curtailment of commerce, and possibly reversion to barter. * * *"

Because of the present poverty, unemployment, and economic depression in the United States and because of the important position which this Republic holds materially and morally among the nations, it should call an international conference for the purpose of considering the silver question. The Senate of the United States unanimously adopted a resolution asking the President of the United States to call such conference. The International Chamber of Commerce, in May of this year, declared that—

"* * * in view of the serious consequences of the present situation, and the economic condition of the world, it is eminently desirable that a conference should be called during this year at which all interested bodies may be heard for the purpose of seeking a solution of the silver problem. * * *"

Eleven States have asked the President to call such a conference. The American Federation of Labor, and various other organizations throughout the United States, have adopted resolutions favoring an international conference for the purpose of devising a proper policy in relation to silver.

I can conceive of no valid reasons why such conference should not be called. There are many reasons which demand that it be called. Many nations are looking to the United States, because of its important position in the world, to carry the banner of monetary reform. In the United States there is a growing feeling that the administration has too long delayed action in this vital matter.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, I desire briefly to discuss the money question, about which the Senator from Montana has been speaking. I am in full enough accord with the statement of facts given by the Senator from Montana and the Senator from Nevada, but I have a little different idea as to the cause of our depression and some little different idea as to the remedy, though not different in principle. I think part of the cause of the present economic situation is the money standard. I think any arbitrary money standard would have contributed to the situation. If silver and gold had been coined together, the depression would perhaps have been less acute, but still I think we would have reached somewhat the same result, because I think the facts presented by the Senator from Montana show that silver and gold combined are not enough as a basis of the money of the world at this time.

I think the war had a good deal to do with the present depression in the world, though not that in the United States. The United States was a profiteer out of the war, and a little while after the war began we paid off five or six billion dollars of foreign debts we owed, and then we collected so many other war profits that we were able to lend other countries some $11,000,000,000 of Government loans, and private parties, out of war profits, loaned fifteen or sixteen billions more, I have seen stated. At any rate, we got into this trouble, part of it war trouble, by dissipating our profits out of the war, and lending them where they could not be collected.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BROOKHART. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator would agree, of course, that the adoption of bimetallism would increase the primary money throughout the world and would increase credits to a tremendous extent. The position the Senator takes is that that would not be of itself sufficient, even if we doubled the primary money.

Mr. BROOKHART. I think that is true, and on that proposition I am more radical than is the Senator from Montana. I think we need more than the two metals as a money basis.

Mr. WHEELER. I am not sure but that the Senator may be right about that, but I think we ought to try to get something we feel we can get. I think the Senator's proposition is perhaps a more hopeless one, while I think there is some chance of getting bimetallism adopted, which at least would relieve the situation.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, as far as I am concerned, I will support any proposition in that direction, whether it is my own or anybody else's proposition.

In order to understand a little more fully the cause of the present depression and the cure we have to consider other things besides the money standard. I think gold has appreciated in value, and, it being the sole standard of value, everything else declines in price. I think there is no doubt about that, and that has been a heavy contributing element in the present situation. But we passed a railroad law which altogether raised the farmer's rates about 60 per cent and transferred a large part of his earnings over to the pockets of the owners of railroads.

We put on a Federal reserve deflation in this country in 1920 which deflated agriculture, as the Manufacturers Record says, $32,000,000,000, $18,000,000,000 of that being in land values and the other $14,000,000,000 on the crops of 1920 and 1921.

We enacted tariff laws which enabled the protected industries to fix the prices of their products at their factories without foreign competition.

We enacted patent laws which have given absolute monopolies in the patented articles of the country.

The States have enacted corporation laws, and we permitted the corporations formed under those laws to come into interstate commerce in great combinations without any regulation as to the prices they should charge the people of this country.

All of these things, added to the money standard, must be considered, Mr. President, in determining the cause of the depression at this time.

The American wealth production in this country is only about 4 per cent in a series of years. With all our labor, all our capital, all unearned increment, all increase in property values, we are able to increase the national wealth only about 4 per cent a year.

While we do that we turn loose the railroads to go out and fight for 5.75 per cent on an immensely watered value. We turn loose the other corporations, with stocks watered five or six hundred per cent, to fight for 10 or 20, or even 100 per cent. These institutions and laws of our Government put us into a constant state of economic warfare. Economic warfare is just as dangerous to prosperity as any other kind of warfare, and 92 per cent of American business ultimately fails. That is the reason why we have had no stable business in the country for 50 years.

I had placed on the wall of the Senate Chamber a chart of the business of the country for 50 years back, prepared by Col. Leonard P. Ayers, the great statistician of big business, and the official statistician of the United States Army during the war. I tried to figure out from that chart how much of the time we had been normal during the last 50 years, and I could not find 30 minutes of such a condition in the whole 50 years. That is the condition of economics in the United States.

The gigantic inflation occurred since 1921. We reached the 1914 level, which was 33 per cent above the preceding general level. Then we had the war inflation and in 1921 dropped back approximately to the 1914 level. Then the control of credit and of the operation of all the various things I have mentioned brought on the biggest boom we ever had in the history of the world for everything except agriculture. In 1929 the boom broke and we came down again until, at the present, stock values are about 50 per cent above the 1914 level, while all commodity prices have fallen below the 1914 level.

A changing of the money standard will not cure all of this condition. A changing of the money standard will help the inflated stocks—and they are still considerably inflated. The 1914 level was too high, and stocks are still 50 per cent above that level.

If we are thinking of changing the money standard something special must be done to stop that inflation and speculation in stock values. I think the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] offered the best solution and that was a proposal for a 5 per cent sales tax on all resales of stock within 60 days after their purchase on the stock exchanges. With that done I would like to see a change in the money standard so as to restore commodity values. I have introduced a bill to bring about that condition.

The bill I introduced fixed the national wealth at $360,000,000,000. That is based on the present gold standard value. Instead of making 25.8 grains of gold 90 per cent

pure as the dollar, I have proposed to make 1/360 billionth of the whole national wealth the dollar, putting the whole national wealth behind the dollar, and at present this is the same value as the grains of gold. Then instead of making gold and silver the only articles in which that money could be redeemed, I have proposed to make all of the 550 commodities in the labor index of values the basis of redemption at their market price in any market where the redemption was desired and without expense to the Government of the United States.

That idea or plan puts the national wealth and the whole national wealth behind the dollar. It establishes a system of redemption that everybody can understand. Everybody knows the market prices and values of the 550 commodities. They are dealing in them every day. The housewife is buying them and every line of business is handling them in every way, so there is no mystery about that system of redemption.

I introduced the bill and it was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency. After it reached that committee it was sent to the Treasury Department and there it fell into the hands of Mr. Ogden L. Mills, the Under Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Mills condemned the bill and the idea of it. I now want to comment upon what he said. He said:

> The Treasury considers the measure unsound in principle since it provides for the unlimited issuance of legal tender currency backed merely by the Government's promise to pay.

Either Mr. Mills did not read the bill or else he belongs to the class of financial illiterates, and away down at the bottom of that class, because the bill not only did not provide for any unlimited issue of legal tender, but it limited the issue to the present money volume to start with. It changed the three hundred and sixty billion fraction from one three-hundred-and-sixty billionth each year by adding 4 per cent to the denominator, which represents the wealth increase of the country, as shown from a study of it from the Declaration of Independence clear down to date. So that, while a dollar on the 1st day of last July would be one three-hundred-and-sixty billionth of the national wealth, next year it would be one three hundred and seventy-four billionth of the national wealth, because that wealth increases at about that rate. When the 10-year census period comes around, the fraction will be corrected to correspond.

The bill provided for issuing only enough of this money to replace the present money issue. It was to be limited exactly as the present money issues are limited. Yet the Under Secretary of the Treasury says it was a proposal for an unlimited issuance of legal-tender currency.

I further provided in the bill that, in order to restore the ratio of prices to something near what they ought to be, we would issue over and above that limited amount enough money to pay the deficits until the ratio of prices reached the 1926 level, and then the volume issue of money would be limited and controlled in order as nearly as possible to maintain that price level, and in that way it was absolutely limited all the way through.

Mr. Mills further said:

> That the value of the proposed standard currency is defined in terms of national wealth and its redemption is provided for in terms of the national wealth does not in any sense mitigate its essential fiat character.

Mr. Mills seeks to meet the scientific ideas which I have gathered from the best economists in the country as the basis of the bill by tying to it the name of "fiat" money, so he calls it "fiat."

Mr. Mills continued:

> National wealth and the taxing power of the Federal Government always lie back of such fiat currencies, and yet the world's experience amply demonstrates the dangers of such issues.

I think the world's experience has no more clearly demonstrated the dangers of the issue of fiat money than it has demonstrated the futility of the gold standard to maintain world prosperity. We have now a stupendous depression that will compare with the fiat condition of any country in the world, all brought about upon the gold standard, the specie standard.

Mr. Mills continued:

> The authority freely to issue fiat currency has in the history of many nations led ultimately to serious inflation with its disastrous economic and social consequences. The Treasury strongly opposes the measure in question on this account and entirely apart from other of its features which would render it unworkable and impracticable.

Mr. President, Mr. Mills passes in this country as a very wise man. I discovered in a cross-examination of him recently before the Committee on Banking and Currency that he knew nothing about the great farm problem in the country in which we have such heavy discrimination. I told him then that he needed to go to night school. He needs to go to night school upon the question of fiat money quite as fully as upon the farm problem. I like to look in the dictionary once in a while, once a year or so, anyhow, so I looked in it for a definition of the term "fiat money," and here it is:

> Paper currency of government issue, which is made legal tender by fiat or law, does not represent, or is not based upon specie, and contains no promise of redemption.

The kind of money I proposed in the bill in the first place is based upon the entire national wealth and is redeemable in gold, is redeemable in silver, and is redeemable in 550 other merchantable articles contained in the labor index of value. Although it is redeemable in all of those things, Mr. Mills calls it fiat money because it is not redeemable at all. Of course, he does not know what the meaning of fiat money is. What Mr. Mills perfectly understands is the kind of money in which the financial groups can speculate. He understands that perfectly; and that it must be gold, or preferably gold. It is easier to corner gold than it would be to corner gold and silver both, but, in his opinion, it must be some definite specific article of that kind. Then when it is cornered more money is to be made and perhaps more economic advantage to be gained in the speculation in the money standard than in any other article.

Mr. President, the evil of our times, the evil of our economic situation, is speculation, speculation in everything, inflation, the resultant reaction, and then the disaster which we have met at this time. The worst speculation is in money, and yet gold money is more easily the subject of speculation than gold and silver would be, and is many times more easily the subject of speculation than would be the value of 550 articles of common and universal use.

If we want to cure the depression, we have got first to cure the discriminations that have been enacted against great bodies of the American people. We must cure the discrimination in transportation. We must cure the discrimination in prices. We must cure the unemployment situation, and then as a part of that cure we must establish a scientific money standard that will actually measure the wealth of the country. If we do that and establish a standard based on the national wealth itself, and then take the ordinary commodities for redemption, we can do that without an international conference, because, that being sound and scientific within itself, we do not have to have the consent of any other nation. I think perhaps we could get the consent of the nations of the world now to take silver back as one of the bimetallic standards of our country and of the world, but I think the business of the world has grown so enormously that we would soon be faced somewhat with the same trouble that we now have with the gold standard, though I do not think it would be so acute.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, from the Committee on Appropriations I report back favorably without amendment the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

As every Senator no doubt knows this is a measure to carry out the provisions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act, which we passed a few days ago.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. JONES. Certainly.

Mr. KING. I wish to ask the Senator if the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is cognizant of the bill and is agreeable to its consideration to-day?

Mr. JONES. I have not seen the Senator from Virginia. I am perfectly willing to have a quorum called.

Mr. KING. I do not want to resort to a quorum call, but it seems to me, in view of his position on the committee which reported the bill—I am not now speaking of the Appropriations Committee—that he ought to be cognizant of the fact that it is presented to-day, and if it is taken up for consideration he ought to be advised of that fact.

Mr. JONES. I will suggest the absence of a quorum, Mr. President.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator desire to have the joint resolution passed to-day? It is so important that that should be done?

Mr. JONES. I think so. We passed the bill for the purposes of which the appropriation is to be made as emergency legislation; the House also passed the appropriation measure very quickly, and it seems to me that the Senate ought to act very promptly on it.

Mr. KING. I will yield to the Senator, in order that there may be a quorum call.

Mr. JONES. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Schall
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Sheppard
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Shipstead
Barkley	Fess	King	Smith
Bingham	Fletcher	La Follette	Smoot
Black	Frazier	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	George	Logan	Stephens
Borah	Glass	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glenn	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Goldsborough	McKellar	Townsend
Broussard	Gore	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Hale	Metcalf	Vandenberg
Bulow	Harris	Morrison	Wagner
Byrnes	Harrison	Moses	Walcott
Capper	Hastings	Neely	Walsh, Mass.
Caraway	Hatfield	Norbeck	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hawes	Norris	Watson
Connally	Hayden	Nye	Wheeler
Coolidge	Hebert	Oddie	White
Copeland	Howell	Patterson	
Costigan	Hull	Pittman	

Mr. WATSON. I repeat the announcement previously made that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] is absent on account of a slight illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, this joint resolution is proposed in pursuance of the $500,000,000 Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill which we passed a few days ago. It has passed the House of Representatives; the Senate Appropriations Finance Committee this morning acted upon it and directed me to report it to the Senate. Before I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration I want to call attention to an amendment that the committee thought ought to be added. The amendment thus proposed reads as follows:

Provided, That of the $50,000,000 to be allocated to the Secretary of Agriculture out of the money herein appropriated so much as may be necessary shall be available for the employment of persons and means in the District of Columbia, and elsewhere.

That corresponds to a provision in the relief bill appropriating $45,000,000 which we passed last year. There seems to be no provision of that kind in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill as we passed it, and there is very serious doubt on the part of the officials of the Agricultural Department and of the Budget Bureau as to whether or not without some such provision they would be able to use employees in the District of Columbia.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. JONES. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Washington is deemed necessary in order to authorize the use of such part of the $50,000,000 fund as is required for administrative purposes here in the District of Columbia?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. There is nothing in the act already passed that covers it?

Mr. JONES. Apparently there is nothing in that act to authorize what the amendment proposes, or, at least, there is very much doubt upon the part of the officials of the Agriculture Department on that point.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, the amendment follows, does it not, the same language which was in the last year's appropriation for agricultural relief?

Mr. JONES. Yes; it is practically in the same language.

Mr. McKELLAR. Is there any change in the language? What change is there in the language from the measure passed last year?

Mr. JONES. I do not think there is any change. I have not compared the two exactly, but I will say that the clerk of the Appropriations Committee compared the amendment, and he is very efficient in preparing things of that kind.

Mr. McKELLAR. He is indeed, Mr. President.

Mr. JONES. But I have inserted three or four words that I think ought to go in. He had it read in this way, I will say to the Senator:

Provided, That the $50,000,000 to be allocated to the Secretary of Agriculture out of the money herein appropriated shall be available—

And so forth. I have inserted words so that it will read, "so much as may be necessary shall be available." I think that is a little better.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. JONES. I yield.

Mr. GEORGE. There is no limitation whatever on the amount that may be used?

Mr. JONES. No; the amendment reads, "so much as may be necessary."

Mr. GEORGE. There is no limitation on the salaries to be paid, or anything of that kind?

Mr. JONES. We used exactly the same language that was used in the seed and relief appropriation bill of last year; and I take it the force employed will be the regular force of the department, or the employees will be under the same rules and regulations.

Mr. GEORGE. The Senator's view is that very much the same organization will be employed as that which is now being used?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. JONES. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. I desire to offer an amendment to the joint resolution when the Senator from Washington will have concluded.

Mr. JONES. I was going to ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the joint resolution to-day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make pay-

ments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $500,000,000, to remain available until expended, for subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the act of the Seventy-second Congress entitled "An act to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes."

Mr. JONES. I now offer on behalf of the committee the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Washington for the committee will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the end of the resolution it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided, That of the $50,000,000 to be allocated to the Secretary of Agriculture out of the money herein appropriated so much as may be necessary shall be available for the employment of persons and means in the District of Columbia and elsewhere.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington on behalf of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I want to ask the Senator if he has made any inquiry to determine what additional force is to be employed and whether under the bill to which he referred a moment ago there were persons employed at compensation in excess of that which is provided under civil-service regulations?

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, the committee did not make any inquiries along that line. We followed exactly, in substance anyway, the language that was used with reference to the $45,000,000 which we appropriated last year for seed and relief purposes. I do not understand that any additional force was put on; at any rate, none was put on outside of the civil service, and I take it the same course will be followed in this instance. As a matter of fact, one advantage of putting this provision in the bill now is to make available the same organization which the department had in connection with the administration of the $45,000,000 relief appropriation. There is no need of their acquiring an additional force.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, it seems to me, in light of the experience we have had with the Farm Board, that we are implying a great deal of faith in the Agricultural Department to place no restrictions or limitations whatever upon the expenditure of the $50,000,000.

Mr. JONES. I have heard no criticism of the Agricultural Department in dealing with the $45,000,000 appropriated last year.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Utah that this appropriation does not come under the Farm Board. It is wholly separate from it. It is made the duty of the Secretary of Agriculture to perform the work of making these loans.

Mr. KING. I understand that.

Mr. McKELLAR. One of the offices that has been created by the Secretary of Agriculture under the seed loan act happens to be in Memphis and I chance to know something about that office. I think it has been as well-managed a Government function as any of which I have knowledge. The man in charge of it is Mr. James H. Lynch. I do not know even where he comes from—I know he is not from Tennessee—but he has managed the affairs of the office as well as any man I ever knew, and I think as economically and as successfully, I will say to the Senator. He has made a distinct success of it, and I believe if it is continued under him he will continue to make a success of this place. It is one of the very few really feasible plans in this bill. I will say to the Senator also that I believe the proposed amendment is proper. Mr. Warburton, who manages the office here in Washington, and does it well, says this language follows the language of the seed loan act, and I am sure this is so.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment, and before sending it to the desk I wish to make a very brief explanation of it.

We have heard a great deal during the last few months about balancing the Government's Budget. Various suggestions have been made. There are a number of measures pending which, if enacted into law, would greatly reduce salaries. It is, of course, necessary that the proper steps be taken to balance the public Budget. It was my opinion when the reconstruction finance bill came in before the Senate for consideration that it was not a measure in itself which looked toward the balancing of the Budget; but it has become a law. If it is proper for the Government of the United States to be called upon to balance its Budget, I can see no earthly reason why those companies that are the beneficiaries of Government tax-raised money should not be called upon to balance their budgets. In other words, if there are companies, including banks, railroads, and other organizations, that will become the beneficiaries of Government loans, it would seem to me to be wholly wrong and improper for the Government to advance money to them unless they first agree to take the necessary steps to seek to balance their own budgets.

If any individual goes to a bank to borrow money, one of the first questions they ask is, "Are you living within your income?" If a company goes to one of these banks to which credit is extended by the Government, and seeks to negotiate a loan, they will say, "Are you living within your budget? What salaries are you paying to your officers? Could you reduce those salaries so that your expenditures shall not exceed your income?"

All of us who have had experience in banking know that that is one of the first steps taken by a bank when one goes to negotiate a loan.

I have just been informed that the last report made by the railroads of this country in connection with the salaries of their executive officers showed that they ranged from $50,000 to $100,000 per year. I have been informed that the salaries in the larger banks range as high as $250,000 a year. Now, if it be true that it is anticipated that this money is to be repaid to the Government of the United States and the Government of the United States is to be the banker for these institutions, is it not proper that we should say to them, "We expect you, during these times of stress and financial storm, to seek to balance your own budget and not to pay salaries which are wholly out of line with other salaries in this country"?

The Vice President of the United States—the great institution which is supplying the $2,000,000,000 in order to carry on various business enterprises—draws $15,000 per year. When we compare $15,000 per year with $250,000 per year as a salary to executive officers in various financial enterprises which, it is said, are in such condition that it is essential that the people's money be supplied to them in order to enable them to continue to carry on their business, I ask, if it is proper to seek to bring about the balancing of the governmental Budget, why should the Government, when it bestows its beneficence and its alms, not require at least a bona fide effort on the part of the beneficiaries to balance their own budgets?

So, Mr. President, I have prepared an amendment to this appropriation which is in the nature of a limitation, and is, therefore, well within the rules, in my judgment. I send it to the desk and ask to have it read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. The Senator from Alabama offers the following amendment:

Add at the appropriate place:

Provided, That when any money is loaned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to any corporation, company, or business enterprise, the corporation, company, or business enterprise shall agree in writing with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that after such loan is made, and until such loan is paid, the corporation, company, or business enterprise shall pay no salary,

directly or indirectly, nor pay a salary which combined with any bonus shall be of greater in amount than the salary of the Vice President of the United States.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, in connection with that amendment I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the country was startled some time ago with the revelation that the president of one large company in the United States, in addition to his salary, received a bonus of $1,000,000. I was also informed that during the years that this salary and bonus were paid, dividends to the stockholders were passed. Whether or not they were passed at that particular time I can not authentically state; but we do know that they have been passed since that date. It is my judgment that an investigation of the salaries paid to the beneficiaries of this proposed $2,000,000,000 loan would be a startling revelation to the Nation.

I have been informed by a Senator on this floor that one bank pays a salary to one of its executive officers who a few years ago was making $5,000 per year, of $75,000 per year. I have also been informed that numerous members of various boards, who attend a meeting perhaps once a week or once a month, receive as much as $50,000 per year salary.

In order that my position may be absolutely clear, I desire to state that I am not one of those who primarily favor the interference of the Government with private business. I should prefer the old, original system under which this Government was founded, which left business to conduct its own affairs without the protective assistance of the Government. But we have long since passed the stage when we can say that the Government has let business alone. It has stretched out its protecting arm into every field of business activity. It has, by the enactment of tariff laws, since the very beginning of the history of this Government, selected favored business organizations and given to them a governmental monopoly upon the products of their business. Thereby the people have been compelled to pay the price.

Perhaps the most monumental single governmental act that has been passed by this country in all of its history is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill. It proposes to take $2,000,000,000 of the people's money or credit to support and sustain business enterprises, which, it is stated, without this assistance will fall under the ruthless course of business competition and commercial activity.

If it is justifiable for the Government of the United States to take the taxpayers' money to sustain a business which is in a dangerous condition, who can deny that the Government of the United States should use the same prudence and the same caution and the same foresight that business executives at the heads of banks use when they extend loans to business enterprises?

Does anyone believe for one moment that a bank of this country would lend to an industrial enterprise, for instance, $1,000,000 or $100,000,000 when it found that the salaries paid ranged as high as $250,000 per year, without first demanding that this business enterprise, which could not carry itself with such stupendous salaries, should balance its budget? Can anyone justify the position which is taken by some that we, the servants of the people of the United States, should reduce the salaries of the employees of this Government, some of whom are barely making a living wage, and at the same time dig down into the taxpayers' pockets for the purpose of lending Government funds in order to perpetuate salaries ranging from $50,000 to $250,000 per year?

As I stated in the beginning, if business is to operate itself, I favor business fixing its own salaries. That is my conception of the foundation upon which this Government rests. I have always believed that at least somewhere in this country there was enough of the old tradition of individual initiative and rugged individuality left among the people that we would say to the business enterprises of this Nation: "Conduct your own affairs. Operate your own business. Pay your own salaries; but we leave it to you to stand or to fall upon your own energy, upon your own perseverance, upon your own business cunning, and your own business acumen."

That day, however, has passed. We are now supplying the sinews of war, putting into the lifeblood of commerce and trade, as represented by individual business enterprises, not the funds that they raised by their own business activities but the funds that come from the taxpayers of this Nation. Those taxpayers have seen fit, through their duly elected representatives, to fix the salary of the Vice President of the United States—the man who ranks next to the Chief Executive, the man upon whose shoulders may fall the mantle of this great Government—at $15,000 per year.

Some one may be able to justify the theory that we can take the money out of the pockets of the taxpayers—their dimes, their quarters, their dollars, which they have made by hard toil—put it into a pool, and supply it to business enterprises that pay salaries ranging as high as $250,000 per year, but I do not believe it.

This amendment is well within the purview of this act. The Government proposes to lend money to certain business enterprises. We assume that those business enterprises need that money. We must assume it, because it has been stated time and time again that without that money there would be a collapse. We therefore must assume that all over this Nation there are business enterprises that are in such a failing condition that without this money they can not continue to operate. We must also assume that it is not the object of the Government to give away that money. We must assume that it is intended that the money shall be repaid.

Whenever any business enterprise comes under the shadow of the Capitol of this Nation and offers itself as an applicant for the benefactions of government, just that moment does that business enterprise, as a matter of right and of justice, have its mouth closed. It has no right to protest if the Government, which supplies the money for its business, insists that it shall run its business in an economical manner.

If they did not come here for that purpose I should not favor any such legislation. I believe in the old individualistic theory of government. I believe that when this Government was founded it gave to the world for the first time the greatest system of government which was ever contrived by the brain of man. But when we depart to the extent that we take Government tax-raised money and supply it to a group of enterprises which admit that without that money they can not continue on their way, then they have no right to complain if we insist that they operate their business along economical lines.

Mr. President, if this amendment shall not be agreed to—and I expect if possible to secure a record vote upon it—it is my intention to offer another amendment to the bill. It is my intention then to ask for an investigation as to the salaries paid by private business enterprises which come within the purview of the act.

The greatest noise that is being made to-day for a reduction of the salaries of the Government employees, some of whom are just barely making a living wage, is coming from the very group which will draw hundreds of thousands of dollars, and pull in the aggregate perhaps hundreds of millions of dollars, from salaries which are maintained wholly because the Government supplies some new money to run a business which could not otherwise continue to operate with the payment of any such salaries.

If they are right in their theory that the Government should balance its budget, I ask, who can defend their position and say that it is wrong to ask that they also balance their budgets?

The Vice President of the United States is selected by the people of this Nation with the knowledge that, if Providence so decree, he shall step up into the most exalted position with which the people can honor him; and shall we admit that it is correct for the people to pay him a salary of $15,000 a year and at the same time tax him; tax Government employees, who may have bought themselves little homes; tax the people with cigarette taxes and with cigar taxes and with tariff taxes on the clothes they wear and the food they eat, and take that tax-raised money and lend it to great companies to enable them to pay salaries ranging from $50,000 to $250,000 per year?

Mr. President, the amendment is very simple. It is not difficult to understand at all. It does not provide for a general regulation of salaries of private business. I would be opposed to that. I believe that any man engaged in private business should have the right to pay a salary as small or as large as he sees fit to pay. Personally, I think that wages are entirely too low in this country and that that is largely responsible for the huge concentration of wealth which has taken its toll from every precinct and nook and cranny of this Nation and unjustly and unduly enriched a certain exclusively privileged few. This amendment limits its operation to those business enterprises which come to the Government and say, "We need some taxpayers' money in order to carry on our business." It limits it to those companies which come to the Capital and say to us, "We can not continue to operate our business successfully unless the Government gives us some of the taxpayers' money in order to continue our business."

They come to us and say, "We have been paying salaries of such a tremendous amount that we could not balance our budgets." This amendment simply tells them that before the Government will give to them the benefit of the taxpayers' money they recognize the fact that it is not fair and that it is not just to take the taxpayers' money to pay salaries which are in excess of the salary which is paid to the Vice President of the United States.

Mr. President, I submit the amendment as a limitation upon the appropriation.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, without discussing the wisdom or passing on the merits of the amendment, I am going to make a point of order against it. It could very well have been offered as an amendment to the affirmative legislation providing for the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but this is certainly new legislation on an appropriation bill, and I make the point of order against it.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, permit me to suggest that this is not new legislation, as I understand it. It is simply a limitation upon the appropriation carried in the bill. The authorities are numerous that limitations may be imposed upon appropriation bills without being subject to challenge.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, I think it may also be urged that the rule applies only to general appropriation bills. This is a special appropriation bill.

Mr. KING. Exactly.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, the statement that this is a special appropriation does not apply to the point I have made. This is an appropriation bill, and the rule expressly provides that the Committee on Appropriations shall not report any bill containing new or special legislation; and if the committee can not report such a provision, certainly it could not be offered on the floor of the Senate, whether the bill is a special or a general appropriation bill.

The word "general" is not used in the second paragraph of Rule XVI, which refers to "an appropriation bill," and this is an appropriation bill. The Senate Committee on Appropriations itself can not report affirmative legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, what the Senator from Washington has said is literally true, but I think it has always been understood that the limitation upon the power of the Senate to act is a limitation to act on a general appropriation bill, not a special appropriation bill, such as the one now under consideration by the Senate.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I never understood it that way. The word "general" is used in connection with some appropriation bills, and not in connection with others. The first paragraph of Rule XVI starts, "All general appropriation bills." The second paragraph begins in this way, "The Committee on Appropriations shall not report an appropriation bill containing amendments proposing new or general legislation."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is ready to rule.

Mr. KING. If I may be pardoned, I know that frequently it has been held that a limitation in a general appropriation bill, as well as a special appropriation bill, on the amount of money to be used for certain purposes was entirely permissible, and was not subject to challenge under the rule mentioned by the Senator from Washington, or under any other rule.

Mr. JONES. I would like to suggest to the Chair that this is more than a limitation. It is affirmative, positive legislation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is satisfied that it is more than a limitation. But the present occupant of the chair happens to have been the author of the amendment to the rule which the Senator from Washington has cited. The Chair believes that Rule XVI applies to general appropriation bills and not to special appropriation bills, and therefore overrules the point of order.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Schall
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Sheppard
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Shipstead
Barkley	Fess	King	Smith
Bingham	Fletcher	La Follette	Smoot
Black	Frazier	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	George	Logan	Stephens
Borah	Glass	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glenn	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Goldsborough	McKellar	Townsend
Broussard	Gore	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Hale	Metcalf	Vandenberg
Bulow	Harris	Morrison	Wagner
Byrnes	Harrison	Moses	Walcott
Capper	Hastings	Neely	Walsh, Mont.
Caraway	Hatfield	Norbeck	Watson
Carey	Hawes	Norris	Wheeler
Connally	Hayden	Nye	White
Coolidge	Hebert	Oddie	
Copeland	Howell	Patterson	
Costigan	Hull	Pittman	

Mr. WATSON. I wish to announce the necessary absence of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] because of a slight illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK].

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I suggested the absence of a quorum for the particular purpose of seeking a record vote upon the amendment of the Senator from Alabama.

When the bill proposing to create the corporation was before the Senate it carried salaries of $12,000 a year for the directors not already officials of the Government. At that time I offered an amendment proposing to reduce such salaries to the basis of the salaries of Members of Congress. The amendment was agreed to. I had in mind at that time that in the absence of further legislation the members of the board should draw $10,000 a year. I also had in mind that in the event the salaries of Members of Congress are cut below $10,000 a year the members of the board would likewise suffer a decrease in such salaries.

Mr. President, the idea of economy that is now sweeping the country should be followed, it occurs to me, by those who are seeking loans at the hands of the Federal Government. While the salaries of Members of Congress of $10,000 per year seem a large sum of money, yet with the expenses incident to membership here the salary is little more than a reasonable living wage. Yet, in these hard times, if a proposal comes to the Senate to reduce the salaries of Members of Congress, that proposal shall have my support.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I can in my own mind at least draw a distinction between the propriety of our legislating with reference to salaries for Government employees, from the President of the United States all the way down, and under-

taking by reason of a bill before us to use it as a vehicle by which to tell all the agencies of private business throughout the country how much they shall pay their officers. I appreciate fully the sincerity of the Senator's position and what he says about it. Does the Senator think it is really quite fair to use an appropriation bill, which is enacted to result in public good, as a vehicle for telling private business throughout the country how much they shall pay their employees or their officers?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. When any corporation of the country comes to the board of this corporation and asks for a loan, at that time that corporation ceases to be a strictly private concern and becomes a public concern in that it is seeking to borrow money from the Treasury of the United States and from the people of the United States.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, the same thing is true when one of the corporations comes to a national bank for a loan, which is a national institution chartered and supervised and inspected by the National Government. Its vaults are filled from the pockets of the people. Whether it is a national bank or the Federal Treasury the money that goes into it comes from one source, and that is the people of the United States. I am wondering whether, because we are offering a bill to undertake to revive business, we ought to use it as a vehicle for instructions to private corporations and institutions of any sort engaged in business to the effect that they shall not pay salaries greater in amount than that received by the Vice President of the United States or some other public officer, which may be variable somewhat dependent upon what may happen to it hereafter.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Ordinarily, I would have no concern in the salaries paid by these gigantic corporations. Many of them are billionaire corporations. They can pay salaries of $100,000 or, perchance, $1,000,000 a year so far as I am concerned. But when they come here and ask at the hands of this Federal bank—and that is all it is, a special corporation chartered as a special bank to handle the public funds for the benefit of private industry——

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield further to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Would the Senator feel that the same sort of rider or restriction ought to be placed upon an appropriation for the Interstate Commerce Commission, which deals with railroad rates and practices, because the railroads come before it and ask for an increase in rates? Would the Senator feel that we ought to say, if the Interstate Commerce Commission takes out of the pockets of the people of the country additional money in the form of increased freight rates, that it ought to say also how much the railroads shall pay their presidents, vice presidents, general managers, and the rest of the employees of the company? If we embark upon a practice of that kind because we are undertaking to help somebody and say, "You can not get this help unless you allow us to say how much you shall pay the men who are operating your business," it seems to me we are going rather far afield.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. It is within the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission now, and I have no doubt that the commission does take into consideration the salaries paid to railroad presidents and other executives in the making of their rates.

Mr. BARKLEY. I dare say the Interstate Commerce Commission never would say to a railroad, "We are willing to increase the rates charged by you on freight for commodities hauled over the United States, but before those increases go into effect you will have to reduce the salaries of some of your executives."

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. When the Congress begins to make loans to the corporations of the country, then the amount of the salaries which those corporations pay to their executives does become a matter of national concern.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. I may say to the Senator from Oklahoma that I have telephoned the Interstate Commerce Commission and have learned that not only do they look into the salaries of the railroad executives but they have a record of those salaries and consider them as a part of the operating expenses.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, Congress has made it the duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as a general policy of the Government, to look into the efficient management of the railroads; but I dare say nobody would contend that in determining whether an increase in rates ought to be awarded to a railway company in any part of the country the Interstate Commerce Commission may say, "Before it goes into effect you must reduce the salary of your president."

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Suppose it could be shown that this money is being loaned to a railroad company to pay a salary of a quarter of a million dollars a year to its president; I would like to ask the Senator from Kentucky if he would be willing to loan money to any railroad company for that purpose?

Mr. President, if the amendment should be agreed to, I am of the opinion that it will thereby limit the number of applicants to this superbank for loans. It may be that the managing officers of some of the gigantic corporations receiving fancy salaries would prefer not to relinquish their own personal salaries merely in order to secure a loan for the corporation. That would be a protection to the funds of the corporation. The adoption of the amendment may be the means of saving millions of the funds of the corporation, and to the extent that it does it will save it to the people of the United States.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I feel that I am justified in saying that this is a matter the responsibility for which does not rest upon the Committee on Appropriations. It is not a matter of appropriation. I consider that it is a matter of very affirmative legislation which the Senate is proposing in the Senate itself. I feel that if this is not wise, it is the special responsibility of the Committee on Banking and Currency to point out the unwisdom of it and the objection to it.

I want to say frankly for myself that I have very great sympathy for the purpose of the amendment and for its terms. If it is not general legislation, I would like to have the Committee on Banking and Currency point it out. It is not a matter considered by the Committee on Appropriations and is not a matter reported from that committee. In my opinion, it is not really a proper part of an appropriation bill, but the amendment has been held in order. In my opinion, it is pretty general legislation. It is certainly new legislation, but, as I said, I think it is for the Committee on Banking and Currency to point out the unwisdom of it.

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President, I think the discussion of the subject as brought forth by the amendment is very timely. In a general way I very heartily agree with the sentiments which have been expressed by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK]. I rather doubt, however, the wisdom of placing an amendment of this character on this particular bill. We have not had an opportunity to go into its details and to estimate or appraise the probable effect on the main purpose of the original bill.

Of course, the condition of many of the financial institutions and industrial organizations is probably due more or less to the reckless and extravagant salaries they have been paying in the past. Had they conserved the funds and net incomes of their corporations which they have given in the way of extravagant salaries to their executives, many of them would not at this time be knocking at the door of the Federal Treasury begging for assistance.

A few years ago, upon a resolution I offered in the Senate, we had an investigation of the oil companies of the country. At that time they had increased the price of gasoline to an exorbitant and outrageous point throughout the entire country, claiming that it was absolutely necessary in order to

sustain the industry. Upon investigation we found that the heads and the chief executives of many of the oil companies were drawing salaries ranging from $50,000 to $150,000 per annum, and yet they were claiming poverty and the absolute necessity for an increase in the price of gasoline to the consumers of the country. We found that condition to prevail in many of the industrial activities of the country. I think the excessive-salary abuse should be corrected in some way. If the private organizations will not correct the abuse themselves, then Congress will probably have to take some action.

The banking institutions of the country are quasi-public institutions. Why should they be permitted, if in their madness they persist in paying exorbitant salaries, to secure loans from the Government Reconstruction Finance Corporation and thereby make the American people pay those salaries?

The same thing is true of the railroad systems. They have often come begging and pleading for increased railroad rates, when at the same time excessive salaries were being paid to their executive heads. I think, on account of the quasi-public nature of many of these business enterprises, if they themselves do not take warning and correct the condition which prevails, it will be necessary for some remedy, especially in view of the fact that they now come to the Congress and ask for assistance directly from the Treasury.

The legislation we have enacted creating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is going to assist only a certain class of our industrial organizations and financial institutions. Anyone else who desires any aid has got to travel a circuitous route to ever get up to the pie counter, if he ever gets there at all.

As an illustration, I had a letter this morning from a manufacturer. He had seen statements in reference to the potentialities of the newly created corporation and how it was going to help revive the business of the country. He wrote and asked me to advise him just how he should proceed to obtain benefit under it. He thought all that was necessary was to be informed as to the modus operandi of the corporation in order to obtain assistance. Of course, I was forced, as a matter of necessity, but with regret, to advise him that a manufacturing establishment had no entrée to this new governmental financial organization; that his only course of procedure would be through a bank; that if he could provide the necessary security required by the bank, and then the bank could furnish the corporation the requisite security considered acceptable by the board, then he might obtain some assistance. While I explained to him how he should proceed, I know he will never get any assistance.

The assistance to be rendered is direct assistance extended by the Federal Government largely to the financial organizations of the country. I supported the bill because I felt that if they were in a critical condition, it was best for everybody concerned that we make some contribution toward trying to steady the ship and trying to have the financial affairs of our country go along more safely than in the recent past.

Just this morning I received quite a number of communications protesting against the proposed tax on theaters. I dictated a letter in reply stating that my present inclination was to oppose such a tax, but suggested to the local concerns who were writing me that if the proposed legislation providing for such a tax on the movie tickets throughout the country was not defeated, it would be due largely to the exorbitant salaries which the large movie corporations of the country were paying their officers and the money which they were squandering in this way. I specifically mentioned the salary paid to the "czar" of the movie enterprises of the country—$100,000 or $150,000 a year.

A great many people when they consider the subject feel that if a corporation can pay exorbitant salaries and waste money in that and other ways, the industry can stand a little additional tax. My purpose is to vote against the additional tax, but we naturally feel a little inclined the other way; we feel, in dealing with industrial enterprises and financial institutions, that if they can afford to pay such enormous salaries, then the Government might, if they wish the assistance of the Federal Government, have a little to say about that aspect of the business affairs of those corporations.

But, as before stated, Mr. President, I am inclined to think that we should not place this amendment in the form it is upon this joint resolution without giving the subject more thought, yet I am tempted to vote for the amendment, and regardless of the unusual procedure would vote for the amendment if the maximum salary was fixed at $25,000, though I doubt the wisdom of attempting to legislate on the salary question in this way.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. TRAMMELL. I yield.

Mr. LOGAN. I should like to ask the Senator from Florida if it is not true that the law creating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation provides that any corporation or business enterprise which applies for a loan shall consent that its affairs may be examined by the examiners? Under that authority does not the Senator have such confidence in the directors of the corporation as to believe that they would deny a loan if exorbitant and unreasonable salaries were being paid?

Mr. TRAMMELL. I have a great deal of confidence in some of those who have been named on the board, but I would not for one moment mislead, deceive, and fool myself into the belief that the board of directors will ever investigate the question of the salaries which are being paid by the corporations which may apply for loans. I do not think they will make any inquiry whatever about that.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, it seems to me when we are taking public funds from the Treasury of the United States, which must be paid in the form of taxes by the people, and giving or loaning, if you want to put it in that way, those funds to great banking institutions and other corporations, that we have a right to say to them, "If you are going to ask for this gratuity or this loan and accept it from the taxpayers of the country, we, on the other hand, have a right to say in view of the terrible distress in which all the people of the country find themselves, that you shall practice charity at home, and before you come to us and through us to the taxpayers of the country you shall first do everything you can do within reason to cut down your expenses whether your corporation be a bank or a railroad. You shall do that before you ask the Government of the United States to go into the business of loaning you money. You are asking the Government of the United States to go farther into business than any socialist ever asked that it should go, and we have a right when you are taking our money to demand that you be careful of your money and use it to the fullest extent in carrying on your business before you ask the taxpayers of the United States to make a contribution in your behalf."

So there is nothing wrong in our saying, "You shall while you borrow this money of us not yourselves squander your money by paying salaries out of all reason and conscience," as many of these institution do—salaries running in some cases to $150,000 or $200,000 a year. In many instances officers of corporations are receiving salaries away beyond any necessity of living, even of luxury, while they are, on the other hand, undertaking to reduce the salaries of their employees and of workmen, who to begin with are receiving salaries that are as nothing compared to some of the salaries paid to those occupying high positions in various corporations.

After all, Mr. President, every dollar that we can save in the payment of salaries by these corporations is a dollar saved in reality to the taxpayers of the United States. Those taxpayers are suffering now as they never suffered before in our history. I am going to read to the Senate a letter I have received from a woman in Sutton, Nebr., which is located in one of the most fertile sections of the great West. The land there is as fertile as that of the Nile; the country

is beautiful, and the soil is easy to cultivate. That section was settled, in the main, under the homestead act. I am going to read the letter because it shows so well the hardships, the trials, and the tribulations undergone by the frontiersmen in that country years ago—hardships and trials and tribulations which, even in that beautiful section, the descendants of the original settlers have found increased to such an extent that by the hundreds they are to-day losing their homes.

I hold in my hand [exhibiting] two kodak photographs, one of the barn and the other of the house on the farm where this woman lives. The photographs show a comfortable house and a good barn. It is the place where her father and mother, as young people, came into the great West and settled. Her letter, which is quite lengthy, as Senators will see if they will examine it—and it is here to be examined—is written in a fine hand, is punctuated correctly, and no grammatical error appears in it, showing that the writer is a well-educated person. I have had my clerk copy the letter, so that as I am reading the copy any Senator who wants to examine the original, which is here, and to examine the photographs which are here, may do so.

The letter is dated January 8, 1932, so that it is just a few days old. It is directed to me at Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: A tragic situation confronts us here in the Middle West, of which I do not believe the Representatives of this section are aware. At least no solution has been proposed for it, so far as I can learn by following congressional proceedings. Yet if something is not done within the next month, it will matter little to thousands of farmers what other legislation is passed.

I refer to the farmer on the verge of losing his farm. For thousands of these, perhaps millions, March 1 will sound the death knell of their hopes. If you are not convinced of this, consult a few small-town bankers who are in touch with the situation. Bankers here are predicting that March 1 will see such times as this section has never before witnessed. Pick up some small-town newspaper and under "District Court Proceedings" note the number of foreclosures already recorded. But turn to the real-estate transfers and you will find many more listed which have escaped the foreclosure list by being settled out of court but are tantamount to the same thing.

You heard no loud wail from these, for most farmers are proud people and seek to hide their mortification and hurt from an unsympathetic public, since they have lost faith in the Government's desire to help them. Although when the country was in danger, they eagerly rushed to her rescue, forming a second line of defense while they sent their sons forth to the front lines, yet now in their hour of need that Government turns her back upon them lest they distract her while she ponders how she may save the ungrateful nations of Europe.

It apparently means little to her that the sturdy race of pioneers who, by toil and privation, converted this barren prairie into a land of comfortable farm homes, is now about to be displaced from those homes by means of foreclosures.

Would that I could make you realize what it means to those people, for behind every foreclosure is a story of heartache and bitterness that must cry out to heaven for vengeance—heartache for the loss of their homes and bitterness because of the terrible injustice of it. For rest assured that though these farmers were "too darn dumb" to prevent it, yet they are intelligent enough to know that it is because they were discriminated against that they are in their present condition. Permit me to cite our own case, for example, for it is typical of so many others.

Fifty-odd years ago our parents came here as a bride and groom, as did so many other young couples, and founded a home on the prairie. For many years they lived in a sod house, battling against grasshoppers, dust storms, and drought, until at last they were able to make a very small payment upon a farm of their own. The improvements consisted of a 2-room shack, a straw stable, and two trees. From this humble beginning they created the comfortable farmstead, of which I am inclosing a picture.

Handicapped for funds as they were, only one who has been through it could conceive of the hardships and privations entailed to make possible the transformation—the long, weary hours of hauling water wound from a windlass well to make possible the beautiful setting of trees and the planning and dreaming which preceded each planting and building. Do you wonder that they loved every inch of it and that their hearts were filled to overflowing when at last, after 30 years, they saw the fulfillment of their dreams and their homes emerged free from debt?

But their little family was now grown to maturity and the children were ready to strike out for themselves. Was it to their discredit that they responded to that instinct which God had placed in their hearts to protect their young from the hardships which they had suffered, and again placed a mortgage upon their farm? It seemed perfectly sound, for would not a load of grain or of livestock go farther than ever before toward making a payment? Was this speculation?

But they reckoned without their host, for now entered the Federal Government and almost without warning removed the fixed price from wheat, despite the huge surplus which had been piled up due to its policy of urging increased production while curtailing consumption by the enforced use of substitutes.

Let me interrupt this letter there to say that we all recognize the truth of that statement—how all the farmers of the United Sates were importuned to produce more food. "Food will win the war," we said; and to protect them from producing a crop of wheat and having the war cease in the meantime we fixed a minimum price upon wheat, and you all know the result of that.

I proceed:

This worked havoc with their plans; but there was yet more in store for them. Huge stores of meat intended for the use of our soldiers were brought back from Europe and literally given away in every city and hamlet. Down dropped the price of hogs from 20 cents to 10 cents in one week, and kept on declining. The price of cattle fell from the highest price of all time to the point where the feeder, when he shipped a carload, must agree that if the cattle did not pay the freight, he would make good the difference. Thousands went down to defeat while other thousands saved themselves only by heavily mortgaging their future. We were one of the latter.

But the end was not yet! For, as if contemptuous because of the lack of resistance, again came the Federal Government and with one foul blow termed "the courageous deflation of the currency," left us fairly gasping for breath. Though some of our statesmen cried "foul," they were overruled and we farmers were left to take the count—which count is just about ended.

Need I recall how the Federal reserve called in its loans to banks here and how these banks in turn called in their loans to farmers? The answer was the rumble of corn wagons which from daylight to dark rolled over the frosted roads—a nation's corn crop moving simultaneously to market!

The result was inevitable. Farm prices were completely demoralized. Thousands lost their homes while the remainder was struggling for dear life to hold on. Debts which he contracted with wheat at $2, corn at $1, and hogs at 20 cents he must now pay with wheat at 38 cents, corn at 28 cents, and hogs at 3½ cents. It requires no figuring to prove that it can not be done. But permit me to quote you some figures.

We had this year what is unusual for this region—both a wheat crop and corn crop above average. From our 240-acre farm, which we rent for the one-third, we have 1,000 bushels of wheat and 2,000 bushels of corn. After deducting 1,000 bushels of corn for feed, we will receive, at current prices, $600. Twelve hogs, at 3½ cents, will bring $100; or a total of $760. The interest on our loan is $907, so that if we could apply our entire income on it, it would not meet it. But after deducting $225 for taxes, living expenses for five, and the cost of production, what is there left for interest?

We have curtailed our expenditures to the point where a family of five grown-ups are living within the income of a $2 per week cream check. To do this we have given up our telephone, radio, our magazines, our clubs and amusements, most of our donations to charity and religion and are wearing our old clothes, a $1.50 hat being the extent of our expenditures for dress. I am not seeking sympathy. We can stand it if it does not hold out too long. But duplicate our case by some millions and perhaps you may have the answer as to why our factories have slowed down and so many men are idle.

Yet despite this stringent economy we are unable to stretch $760 to pay $907 interest. Then what of those unfortunate farmers less favored by fortune? I understand that in the drought-stricken areas they are giving up their farms in droves. (These will not appear as foreclosures.) Yet no doubt, like ourselves, these poor people have put into these farms the income of a lifetime. Since we placed a first mortgage on our farm in 1920 and a second in 1923 we have paid out in interest alone over $16,000. Taxes and insurance would make it well over $20,000. Yet now, because we are unable to meet one interest payment, we must lose all this and the farm; and this despite the fact that we have paid off an $11,000 second mortgage and have no other indebtedness. Do you wonder that we are bitter?

You may think I am enlarging upon this—that the loan companies will extend the interest or the banks will loan us the money. But the former has assured us that they will not, and the latter are loaning no money, regardless of what security is offered. There is an apparently authentic rumor that they bought foreign bonds, being advised by the bank examiners that they would accept these as sound investments, but would not accept farm paper as such. Be that as it may, there is something mysterious about it when farmers with good security are unable to borrow even a nickel. It leaves us completely helpless.

If ours were an isolated case, I should grin and bear it in silence, but since there are thousands of others in the same boat as we, I am pleading with you for both them and ourselves, in the hope that you will see the gravity of the situation and the need for immediate action.

There is a phrase or two pertaining to me personally that I will omit.

Prosperity will never return to this section so long as it is drained of all its resources through the channels of interest. We

must be enabled to relieve ourselves of a part of this burden. Further loans will but add to our worries, since we are unable to meet those we now have. I have thought of a plan which to me seems feasible, and I am submitting it for your approval.

Pass Senator LA FOLLETTE's bill or a similar one, providing for a bond issue similar to the Liberty loans. Place this money in the Federal land banks with the injunction that it be used to permit farmers having excessive loans to exchange them for Federal farm loans at a lower rate of interest. (It seems entirely uncalled for that the Government should be demanding 5½ per cent from farmers when it loans to Europe at a lower rate.) Provide that when these loans have been sufficiently reduced, they may be converted into Federal amortization loans.

This policy would cost the American people nothing, since the interest derived from the loans would pay the interest upon the bonds and the principal of the loans would repay the bonds. It could also be made to benefit that large class of small investors who are afraid to deposit their money in banks; would bring out the money "hidden in the sugar bowl and between the mattress," as ex-Governor Smith has said. It would also put money into circulation.

That will take care of the future, but will not avert the calamity which now confronts us and which is due entirely to the unreasonable prices of our products. Why should the gamblers be permitted to ruin the farmers simply because they have lost their nerve? Certainly, the law of supply and demand has nothing to do with it. Agricultural statisticians know to a penny just how much it costs to raise a bushel of the present wheat crop. Why not allow a reasonable margin of profit on that amount and fix the price at that? Applying only to this year's crop, it will not encourage overproduction. Compel the Farm Board to withhold their grain or to sell it abroad.

This will meet a desperate situation with no cost to the Nation. The cry of "class legislation" will be raised, but this will help all classes. That little spurt in prices last fall proved that.

Anyway, the farmer has long been the victim of class legislation, and turn about is fair play. If it is class legislation now, so was it when it was done before. And if it is unfair now, it was unfair then. If an emergency existed then, certainly an emergency exists now.

"It will increase the price of bread to the poor," will be heard; but bankers have proved conclusively that the price of wheat plays only a very small part in the price of a loaf of bread—it is wrapping, labor, etc., that costs.

With fair prices for our products we will have something to spend after paying our interest. The buying power set free will set the wheels of industry in motion and hasten the return to normalcy.

There may be some reason why this proposition is not practicable. If so, will you please point it out to me? If not, will you please do what you can to have it put into effect?

I am inclosing some clippings along the line of what I have said. Also a letter from a relative to whom I appealed for the return of a small loan I had made them. They are honest, hard-working—I should say "slaving"—people who live on a 1,400-acre ranch and rent a great deal besides. They raised 6,000 bushels of potatoes which have declined in price far below that mentioned in this letter.

It will be noted, Mr. President, that in this letter this woman refers to a small loan which in days of greater prosperity than they have now she had made to a relative. In her desperation she was writing to this relative asking her to pay the money upon that friendly loan of a few years before. She incloses to me a part of the letter she received from that relative. I have the original here, written in lead pencil, if any Senator desires to see it. I am going to read part of the letter which her relative sent her. In was written from a post office in Wyoming on September 24, 1931, as follows:

DEAR NELLIE: We are digging potatoes and it is nearly 10 o'clock, and we have to be up early in the morning, but I want to get this sent in the mail to-morrow.

Well, Nellie, Tad can't do a thing. He threshed the white beans and took them to Hereford, Lindburg, Albin, and P. B. and couldn't get but 1 cent a pound with a dock. He brought them back home again; and potatoes are 32 cents a hundred—not a bushel. Tad was thinking of sending a load to Chicago just as quick as he could get them ready, but Paulin and Elwood each sent a load and they netted them 22 cents a hundred—that is $79.20 a carload. That isn't counting the digging and picking and, I don't think, sacks. The freight rate is 11 cents a hundred more this year than last.

We are going to lend some money to the same railroad which has increased the freight rates, because all of the burden of the depression they desire to pass on to the poor toiling masses, who have to take what they are offered for their products. I continue reading:

I don't know what we will do if we can't sell them, for we can't dig them all unless we sell some, and you can't sell at the price they are offering now, for it doesn't pay the expense. The fellow that is buying for Campbell in the Bluffs told Johnnie to-day that he was going to quit if the market didn't change, and he didn't think it would before the first of the year, anyhow.

They are paying 3 cents a bushel for picking, and there are lots of pickers; you don't have to look for them. They started yesterday and it rained last night, so they picked again this afternoon.

If there was anything Tad could do, he would; you can't borrow a cent of money on anything. Tad went to the bank to see if he could get some to dig his potatoes on, and he told him he'd better sell his beans and potatoes; but if he couldn't, he would let him have $100 for 30 days. (He let him have only $50 later.) He said they had the money, but they had orders not to loan it.

I am getting awful discouraged. Every year is worse than the previous one. I try to talk Tad in the notion of quitting and let the boys go to work, and he maybe could do something he wouldn't have to work so hard at and make a living. We aren't doing that on the farm. Is Charley coming out? If he does—

And so forth. That is the end of the part of the letter which this woman inclosed.

Mr. President, as this woman says in telling her story, this must be multiplied by millions. Go all over the great West, and it will be found that the same conditions exist. So that it seems to me that when these big corporations come to us and say, "Loan us fifty or sixty million dollars in order that we may be able to operate our railroads or run our bank," we ought to say to them, "If we are going to loan the people's money, we demand of you that you cut your salaries down to somewhere within the limit of what it costs to live and keep a family. You may live even in luxury upon what we will permit you to draw, but we want these fabulous salaries you are receiving from these corporations curtailed before we take the money drawn from the man who toils and the man who follows the plough handles, or the man who, like this family, is living on $2 a week, to lend to you."

Let us say, "We can not help you, we will not stretch forth to you the hand of aid filled with taxpayers' money unless you reduce your salaries to somewhere within the limits of the actual cost of living."

Mr. President, it seems to me that we are confronted with something which is only fair. It seems to me that we have a right to say to the man who is getting $150,000 a year, probably doing nothing, his clerk, employed at $100 a month, doing all the work, "Before your corporation can reach its hand into the Federal Treasury, we want you first to use the excess money you are receiving before you call upon the taxpayers for aid."

That is about all the amendment would require of us.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK].

Mr. BLACK. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Austin	Costigan	Johnson	Pittman
Bailey	Couzens	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Bankhead	Cutting	Kendrick	Schall
Barbour	Dale	Keyes	Sheppard
Barkley	Davis	King	Shipstead
Bingham	Dickinson	La Follette	Smith
Black	Fess	Logan	Smoot
Blaine	Fletcher	Long	Steiwer
Borah	Frazier	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	George	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glass	McNary	Townsend
Broussard	Glenn	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Tydings
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Watson
Connally	Hatfield	Oddie	Wheeler
Copeland	Hebert	Patterson	White

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK].

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the amendment and ask that it may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the amendment to the amendment be read for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. The Senator from Minnesota proposes to add, at the end of the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama, the following:



Provided further, That the corporation shall immediately call the loan or loans made to any corporation, company, or business enterprise who shall, during the term of such loan, reduce the wages of its employees earning less than $2,000 per year.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I make the point of order against the amendment, regardless of the merits of it, that it is purely legislation on an appropriation bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the point of order is not well taken.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, the amendment is self-explanatory. I do not think it needs any explanation. The bill before the Senate is a bill to finance the act which was passed last week for the purpose of safeguarding and protecting capital invested in banks, railroads, and other business enterprises. There is involved here another element than merely capital, and that is the human element which is working in industry. While the Government is asked here to finance and protect these enterprises and the capital invested, it should by the same token and at the same time provide for the protection of the human element and also see to it that capital getting governmental aid shall not be permitted, after receiving a loan, to reduce wages and so reduce purchasing power, and in that way further give impetus to the deflation which is causing the descending price level, which in turn is destroying all value.

We all know that no organizations have been so persistent in the deflation drive as the banking institutions of the country. The damage which has been done to the country by deflation of the earning power of the farmer and laborer by the beneficiaries of this legislation is incalculable. The sooner the Congress takes action to stop the further descent of the price level the less we will have to pay because of the wreckage and the havoc that have been made by the so-called deflation of the credit system and of the price and wage level. I offer the amendment for the purpose of protecting the wage level and the purchasing power in so far as this corporation can be used for that protective purpose. When that has been done I would propose that the Congress take such action as will protect the earning power and the purchasing power of that other class of producers who are dependent upon agricultural income for their purchasing power.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays upon my amendment.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator if, in order that the two amendments might not be confused, he will not offer his as a separate amendment? It would be just as permissible to offer it as a separate amendment as to offer it in combination with my amendment.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. At the request of the Senator from Alabama I withdraw my amendment and offer it as a separate amendment.

Mr. BLACK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I desire to read from the statement made by the President in connection with the signing of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill. The President said:

> It is not created for the aid of big industries or big banks. Such institutions are amply able to take care of themselves. It is created for the support of the smaller banks and financial institutions and, through rendering their resources liquid, to give renewed support to business, industry, and agriculture. It should give opportunity to mobilize the gigantic strength of our country for recovery.

Mr. President, if the statement of the President of the United States is correct and this authorization is to be used to benefit the smaller industries of the Nation, the $15,000 salary limit will certainly do no injury. As a matter of fact, it is my judgment that the amendment would help us to see that the smaller institutions do get their proportionate part of this huge Federal pool. A $15,000 salary for the small industries, which the President says this legislation is to aid, is not a small salary. In most instances the salaries are less than $15,000, so that if the President is correct in his interpretation of the purposes of the bill there will be no injury on account of the adoption of the amendment.

With all due deference to my colleagues who have taken the position that this is not the proper way to present the matter, I desire to invite their attention to the fact that it is the only way it can be presented. It will insure quick action. It does not require any investigation on the part of the Banking and Currency Committee to know whether we want our money loaned to corporations that pay $150,000 salaries or whether we want it loaned to corporations that pay reasonable salaries. It requires no investigation to determine that fact. We know whether we want to loan the money to uphold exorbitant salaries in the country paid by institutions that are failing because of a lack of money. We do not need the recommendation of the Banking and Currency Committee for that purpose.

Again, if the amendment is put on this appropriation bill it goes back to the House at once. If we attempt to pass a separate bill incorporating the purpose of the amendment, the $2,000,000,000 will be gone before any action can be obtained in either branch of Congress. The only way to obtain action is on this appropriation bill. We know whether we want to fix this limit or not. The issue is very simple and here it is. There are a large number of business enterprises which say through their spokesmen that they must have money and they can not obtain it through regular banking sources. But some of them have been paying salaries running up to $100,000 and more per year. Of course, if they can continue to get some easy money from the Government they will continue to pay those large salaries. There will be no reason for economy on their part. We know how their salaries are fixed. The stockholders of the industries are scattered all over the United States. Some man buys some stock out in Wichita, Kans., or San Francisco, Calif., or Miami, Fla. He attends no stockholders' meeting.

The system of high salaries has grown into a racketeering scheme. An investigation of it would astonish the country. The salaries are fixed at exorbitant sums by a small clique in the large business centers. Those groups are now complaining to the people of the country that taxes ought to be reduced and that the only way to reduce taxes is to cut the salaries of Government employees. There is the place where the propaganda is born and from that place it emanates throughout the country. Let those who have spoken loudest for economy, let those who have boldly proclaimed that they want to reduce Government salaries, announce whether they also favor, when we begin to lend Government money, lending it to enterprises which will reduce salaries for their executives to somewhere near a reasonable basis.

That is the only issue we have here. It is not a question, as suggested by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], of attempting to regulate private salaries. I would be opposed to any such legislation. It is a question of doing exactly what the banks do. What did they do in New York as was outlined last week by the Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND]? The city of New York went to them for a loan and they said "Balance your budget." Those banks are now asking for loans from the Government of the United States out of the taxpayers' money and we should say to them, "Balance your budget." They said to the city of New York, "Raise the street-car fares for the millions of people who ride the street cars in the city of New York and we will lend you the money you need." We should say to them, "Reduce the exorbitant salaries of those who draw $50,000, $100,000 or $150,000 a year and we will lend you the money you need, but we do not intend to lend you money for the purpose of continuing to pay salaries ranging from $50,000 to $250,000 a year."

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. BLACK. I yield.

Mr. BROOKHART. I wish to ask the Senator if he has considered the bonuses such as that paid to Mr. Grace, of the Bethlehem Steel Co., who got $12,000 salary but a bonus

of $1,600,000—more than the salaries of all the Senators of the United States and all their secretaries, too?

Mr. BLACK. I have considered it by inserting in the amendment a provision that the salary and bonus combined shall not be in excess of the salary of the Vice President of the United States.

Mr. BROOKHART. Very well.

Mr. BLACK. In other words, the issue is very simple. If the Senate thinks it is all right to continue to lend Government money—tax money—to companies that will be compelled to admit under oath that they are paying huge salaries running up into the hundreds of thousands, many of those salaries being paid to persons who pay no attention to their work, but who go to their offices once in every two or three weeks, when the question comes up as to how Senators will vote on cutting the salaries of employees of the Government, let it be remembered how they voted on this question.

Personally I can see very little use in standing up and talking about cutting the salaries of the employees of the Government, ranging in many cases from but $1,500 to $2,000 a year, and then voting the taxpayers' money to be loaned to corporations in order to enable them to maintain salaries of from $100,000 to $150,000 a year. There may be an explanation; it may be forthcoming; but it will be necessary. However, let there be no mistake about this issue. This is the proper way to bring it up; it is the way to get quick action; it is the way to get action immediately; it is the way to get action which will be effective.

If we favor loaning money to corporations and business enterprises that are paying salaries of from $100,000 to $150,000 per year, then we should vote against this amendment. If we favor voting this money to be loaned to them, when they could help to balance their budgets and probably could operate within their budgets by paying reasonable salaries instead of adopting racketeering schemes for fixing high salaries by small cliques in the organizations, we should vote against the amendment; but if we want to remedy that condition, then we have here an opportunity to do so.

Mr. President, on this question I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, while I commend the object the Senator from Alabama has in mind, I wish to point out that there is grave danger involved in the establishment of such a rule as he now proposes. The best men in the country are needed during these trying times, when the value of much of the collateral which will be put up as security with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation will have to be maintained by competent and adequate management. There may be many thousands of men who are now receiving $20,000 or $25,000 a year as bank presidents or cashiers or otherwise whose services will be very much needed during this period; and to require that the salaries of men representing the best type of management, the management that has to maintain the adequacy of securities for the loans to be made, must all be cut, perhaps below the amount they could receive elsewhere for their services, would be jeopardizing the security upon which the Government will have to rely in connection with the loans. There never was a time when good management, wise management, was more needed than at present. I think it is not a question of sympathy but a question of practical judgment as to whether we should restrict the activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the extent this amendment would make necessary.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I should like to say a word, in view of the way I intend to vote on this amendment.

I very much appreciate the support which the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK] so generously and kindly gave to my amendment the other day; but, frankly, I should feel that I was quite inconsistent if I found fault with the bankers in New York for attempting to dictate the policies of that city and then should undertake to dictate their policies. I think they had no business to make the attempt they did. I said so in set terms then, and have done so since. It is not any of the business of the bankers to tell what policy shall be followed by the city of New York, whether we shall have a 5-cent fare or a free ferry or a free bridge; but, if I may say so to the Senator, I would think myself very inconsistent if now I should say, "We are going to dictate your policies." If they choose to use their money in the payment of salaries, while we may think those salaries are exorbitant, yet, after all, exercising their business sense, they determine what their duty is. Therefore I feel, in view of the fact that I said they ought not to undertake to dictate the policies of our cities, that I would be inconsistent now to say that we will dictate their business policies.

Mr. WALCOTT. Mr. President, I do not care to enter into any long argument on this subject. I think much that has been said by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK] and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] is correct; I know it is correct. There has been a great deal of abuse all over the country in paying what seem to me to be extravagant salaries; a few instances have been cited where very high salaries plus very large and outrageous commissions or bonuses have been paid; but I think from a few cases or a half dozen cases of that sort we are apt to draw false conclusions. It seems to me that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] discovered the meat in this coconut. We are employing in a great emergency at very small salaries, comparatively speaking, a few outstanding experts, men of great ability, to run the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as they may see fit. They are men of great experience, men of sound wisdom and judgment, and it seems to me incumbent upon us to trust somebody to pull us out of the slough we are in without imposing upon them what I feel are nagging conditions. This condition would put a handicap on leadership, a handicap on expert ability, and perhaps result in not having at the helm during a period of emergency and great stress such able men as otherwise would be available. The second-rate men, if you please, or in some cases, perhaps, third-rate men, would not be able to fill the shoes of the first-class men who would have been eliminated by this amendment if it were agreed to.

I am very much opposed to the amendment. I do not believe it belongs here at this time. When things are going along smoothly is the time to regulate, not when we are traveling along over a stony road and through thickets. At such a time we need the best men we can get, and, in my opinion, we must not question too much what they receive by way of compensation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FESS in the chair). The yeas and nays have been demanded. Is the demand seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAILEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE]. I am advised, however, that if present he would vote as I intend to vote. Therefore I feel at liberty to vote and vote "nay."

Mr. BARKLEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN]. I understand that if he were present he would vote as I intend to vote. Therefore I feel free to vote and vote "nay."

Mr. BROOKHART (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH]. I understand that if present he would vote as I intend to vote. I therefore feel free to vote and vote "yea."

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES (when his name was called). The senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] is necessarily absent. I have promised to take care of him during that absence, so I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. KING (when his name was called). The junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SCHALL] is absent. I agreed to take care of him for the day, and I withhold my vote.

Mr. McKELLAR (when the name of Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas was called). The senior Senator from Arkansas

[Mr. ROBINSON] is unavoidably absent. He is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH. I have a pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BROOKHART (after having voted in the affirmative). I understand there is some doubt about the way the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], with whom I am paired, would vote. I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce that the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] is paired with the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS] and that the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. KEAN] is paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. COOLIDGE].

Mr. BARBOUR. I should like to announce that my colleague [Mr. KEAN] is absent. Were he present he would vote "nay."

Mr. WATSON. I desire to announce the absence of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] on account of slight illness.

Mr. MCNARY. The junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] is absent on account of illness.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HULL], the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], and the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. COOLIDGE] are necessarily absent on official business.

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 47, as follows:

YEAS—25

Bankhead	Connally	McGill	Smith
Black	Costigan	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Blaine	Cutting	Neely	Walsh, Mont.
Borah	Frazier	Norris	Wheeler
Bulkley	Gore	Nye	
Bulow	Harris	Sheppard	
Caraway	Long	Shipstead	

NAYS—47

Austin	Dale	Hebert	Smoot
Bailey	Davis	Kendrick	Steiwer
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Thomas, Idaho
Barkley	Fess	La Follette	Townsend
Bingham	Fletcher	Logan	Trammell
Bratton	Glass	McNary	Tydings
Broussard	Glenn	Metcalf	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Goldsborough	Morrison	Wagner
Capper	Hale	Moses	Walcott
Carey	Harrison	Oddie	Watson
Copeland	Hastings	Patterson	White
Couzens	Hatfield	Pittman	

NOT VOTING—24

Ashurst	Hayden	King	Schall
Brookhart	Howell	Lewis	Shortridge
Coolidge	Hull	Norbeck	Stephens
Dill	Johnson	Reed	Swanson
George	Jones	Robinson, Ark.	Walsh, Mass.
Hawes	Kean	Robinson, Ind.	Waterman

So Mr. BLACK's amendment was rejected.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I send to the desk another amendment, which I ask to have stated, and on which I shall ask the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. The Senator from Alabama offers the following as a proviso:

Add at the proper place:

That when any money is loaned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to any corporation, company, or business enterprise, the corporation, company, or business enterprise shall agree in writing with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that after such loan is made and until such loan is paid the corporation, company, or business enterprise shall pay no salary, directly or indirectly, nor pay a salary which, combined with any bonus, shall be greater in amount than $50,000 per annum.

Mr. BLACK. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, it seems to me that amendment is clearly legislation on an appropriation bill. I am compelled to make the point of order against it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will again hold that this is not a general appropriation bill and that the amendment is in order.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I desire to say just a brief word of explanation.

I have no objection to the philosophy of these amendments, either the $15,000 amendment or the $50,000 amendment. I am voting against them because I do not believe that the Senate is in a position to run the respective businesses of the United States. Although I should like to see reduced the salaries paid by corporations that are borrowing money, I think that if the security is adequate and the kind we want, the businesses should be left to those who have been elected to run them.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, in reply to the statement of the Senator from Maryland, I will state that I thoroughly agree with him that the Government of the United States should not attempt to regulate salaries under ordinary conditions. I should vote against any such proposition. I am opposed to it. When, however, companies come and ask the Government of the United States to take the taxpayers' money to support a business which they say is about to fail, I claim that they should balance their budgets along fair and reasonable lines, as they ask us to balance the Budget of the United States of America; and I state that the whole question involved in this amendment is, Do we favor lending money to companies to enable them to continue to pay salaries of more than $50,000 per year—more than three times the salary of the Vice President of the United States and more than twice the salary of the Chief Justice of the United States?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to say just a word, somewhat in repetition of what the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] has already said.

It is not entirely certain that the predicament of many of these corporations has not been brought about, directly or indirectly, by the action of the Government of the United States. It is not as if all of them were coming here as mendicants. It is impossible to estimate how many of these institutions may be in a delicate situation financially because of some policy of our own Government, either at home or in its dealings with other nations, either diplomatically or commercially.

If this measure which we have passed is meritorious, regardless of the cause of the embarrassment in which corporations may find themselves, we have set up this lending organization in order to accommodate them. Logically, if we have the right to say that no company shall borrow any money unless Congress is allowed to fix the salaries of its officers, we might go a step further and say that they shall not borrow any money unless we fix the pay roll of the organization borrowing the money.

If we are going to go into the business of regulating the salaries of officers, I presume that the stockholders who have invested their money in enterprises are just as solicitous about them as the Congress of the United States could possibly be, and we would have the same right to legislate with reference to pay rolls. It would be just as logical to put an amendment on this bill providing that no corporation should borrow any money out of this fund unless it reduced the wages of its laboring men; and certainly neither the Senator from Alabama nor any other Senator would be in favor of that. It would be just as logical for us to do that, however, as to do what is proposed by this amendment. For that reason I shall oppose it.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, this is an extraordinary amendment, and under ordinary circumstances undoubtedly would not long be entertained by the Senate. This, however, is extraordinary legislation. There is no precedent for it, and therefore I think we may measure the amendment by something like the rule by which we measured the legislation.

Ordinarily, of course, we would not have anything to say as to the salaries or wages which business corporations should pay; indeed, we would have no power to legislate on the subject. But when we propose out of the Treasury of

the United States to finance these corporations and put them upon their feet, or enable them to recover their business position, so long as we are doing that it does seem to me that it is not extraordinary for those who loan the money, and who are responsible to the taxpayers of the United States for having done so, to have something to say as to the policies which they pursue with reference to their expenditures.

It is for that reason that I am voting for the amendment—for the simple reason that we are financing these corporations; we are taking the money from the Treasury of the United States to do so, and since we are doing that we ought to have something to say as to how they shall conduct the business. I venture to say that when a corporation goes to its bank in these days for a loan the first question the banker asks is, "How about your overhead expenses?" Here Uncle Sam is the banker, and the taxpayers furnish the money, and you and I as Senators are responsible to the taxpayers. Let us ask, therefore, about their overhead expenses. For this reason I vote for the amendment.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Idaho. It seems to me that if a corporation is paying its officers more than $50,000 a year, and its officers are earning that salary, they ought to be able to keep the concern out of a situation where it is obliged to come and seek a favor at the hands of this Government.

It seems to me that any concern that is able to pay its officials more than $50,000 a year ought to be able to get along without seeking money at the hands of the taxpayers of this country, pressed as they are. I think that ought to be a sufficient test; and if they are paying more than $50,000 a year, and will cut down their salaries to that sum, it might enable them to make repayment to this Government when pay day shall come.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK]. On that amendment the yeas and nays have been demanded. Is the demand seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAILEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE]. I am advised, however, that that Senator would vote as I shall vote, and therefore I am permitted to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BARKLEY (when his name was called). Repeating the announcement I made on a previous vote with reference to my pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN], who, I understand, would vote as I intend to vote on this amendment, I vote "nay."

Mr. BROOKHART (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as on the last vote, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "yea."

Mr. BULKLEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY], who is absent. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. GEORGE (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as on a previous vote, I withhold my vote.

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired on this vote with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] and vote "nay."

Mr. JONES (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as before, I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea."

Mr. KING (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as upon the previous vote, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. COOLIDGE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HULL], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are detained on official business.

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the following general pairs:

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS]; and

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. KEAN] with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. COOLIDGE].

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to make the same announcement as to the absence of the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] and his pair that I made on a previous vote.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho (after having voted in the negative). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] and let my vote stand.

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 43, as follows:

YEAS—24

Bankhead	Caraway	La Follette	Nye
Black	Connally	Long	Sheppard
Blaine	Costigan	McGill	Shipstead
Borah	Frazier	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Gore	Neely	Trammell
Capper	Harris	Norris	Walsh, Mont.

NAYS—43

Austin	Dickinson	Kendrick	Smoot
Bailey	Fess	Keyes	Steiwer
Barbour	Fletcher	Logan	Thomas, Idaho
Barkley	Glass	McNary	Townsend
Bingham	Glenn	Metcalf	Tydings
Bratton	Goldsborough	Morrison	Vandenberg
Broussard	Hale	Moses	Wagner
Byrnes	Harrison	Oddie	Walcott
Copeland	Hastings	Patterson	Watson
Couzens	Hatfield	Pittman	White
Dale	Hebert	Smith	

NOT VOTING—29

Ashurst	George	King	Stephens
Brookhart	Hawes	Lewis	Swanson
Bulkley	Hayden	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Howell	Reed	Waterman
Coolidge	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	Wheeler
Cutting	Johnson	Robinson, Ind.	
Davis	Jones	Schall	
Dill	Kean	Shortridge	

So Mr. BLACK's amendment was rejected.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will report the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. The Senator from Minnesota offers the following amendment, to add at the end of the bill the following:

Provided further, That the corporation shall immediately call the loan or loans made to any corporation, company, or business enterprise who shall during the term of such loan reduce the wages of its employees earning less than $2,000 per year.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, while the Chair has already ruled upon a point of order on a similar amendment before, I feel that I can make the point of order again. I call the Chair's attention to the fact that the bill now pending is an appropriation bill, though not a general appropriation bill. A general appropriation bill is not referred to in paragraph 2 of Rule XVI, and this is an appropriation bill. Under the rule the Committee on Appropriations can not report any new legislation, and there is a distinction made between new and general legislation. It seems to me that in view of that inhibition against the Appropriations Committee, an amendment of that kind would be out of order if offered on the floor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair overrules the point of order, and the question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, the Senate having just voted against a reduction of wages of men receiving $50,000 or more and the officers of corporations, companies, and business enterprises enjoying the benefits of loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, I therefore offer this amendment, in order that the Senate may protect the salaries of men earning less than $2,000 and working for corporations enjoying benefits to be received under the legislation we have just passed. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAILEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE]. I have just been advised that that Senator would vote in the negative on this amendment, and therefore I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BROOKHART (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as on the last roll call, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "yea."

Mr. BULKLEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY], who is absent. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] and vote "nay."

Mr. JONES (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as before, I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea."

Mr. KING (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SCHALL]. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MCKELLAR (when the name of Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas was called). I make the same announcement as that heretofore made as to the senior Senator from Arkansas and his pair.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. COOLIDGE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HULL], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are detained on official business.

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the following general pairs:

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS]; and

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. KEAN] with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. COOLIDGE].

Mr. LOGAN (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], who is absent. Not knowing how he would vote if present, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BARKLEY. Repeating the announcement of my pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN], who, I understand, would vote as I am about to vote, I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 49, as follows:

YEAS—20

Blaine	Couzens	Johnson	Norris
Borah	Cutting	La Follette	Nye
Bratton	Frazier	Long	Shipstead
Bulow	George	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Costigan	Harris	Neely	Wheeler

NAYS—49

Austin	Dickinson	Keyes	Thomas, Idaho
Bailey	Fess	McGill	Townsend
Bankhead	Fletcher	McNary	Trammell
Barbour	Glass	Metcalf	Tydings
Barkley	Glenn	Morrison	Vandenberg
Bingham	Goldsborough	Moses	Wagner
Black	Gore	Oddie	Walcott
Broussard	Hale	Patterson	Walsh, Mont.
Byrnes	Harrison	Pittman	Watson
Capper	Hastings	Sheppard	White
Connally	Hatfield	Smith	
Copeland	Hebert	Smoot	
Dale	Kendrick	Steiwer	

NOT VOTING—27

Ashurst	Dill	King	Schall
Brookhart	Hawes	Lewis	Shortridge
Bulkley	Hayden	Logan	Stephens
Caraway	Howell	Norbeck	Swanson
Carey	Hull	Reed	Walsh, Mass.
Coolidge	Jones	Robinson, Ark.	Waterman
Davis	Kean	Robinson, Ind.	

So Mr. SHIPSTEAD's amendment was rejected.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I tender the amendment that I send to the desk and ask that it may be stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. Add at the end of the amendment heretofore agreed to the following:

Provided, That no salary or compensation shall be paid to any person employed by said corporation in excess of that paid to or received by any employee of the Government for like or similar services.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I make the point of order against the amendment that it is legislation upon an appropriation bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, permit me to say just a word in explanation of my amendment. Upon a number of occasions, when independent organizations or bureaus have been created, we have offered amendments to the appropriation bill carrying appropriations for the activities of such organization or bureau, providing that the salary or compensation paid to and received by any employee of such organization should be no greater than that paid to other employees of the Government rendering like or similar services.

Amendments of that character were tendered in view of the revelations which were brought to our attention in connection with the Shipping Board, where it was found that attorneys and officers of the Shipping Board were being paid as high as $35,000 and, as I recall, $40,000. Attorneys were paid very large sums. Quite recently we were advised of the fact that the attorney for the Farm Board was receiving $18,000 a year, a sum in excess of that paid to the Attorney General of the United States.

The Senate upon a number of occasions provided that the salaries paid to these independent organizations should be no greater than those paid to individuals employed in the regular service of the United States for similar or like services.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. What the Senator just repeated is the language that bothers me as it appears in his amendment. I am in entire sympathy with it, but it is so indefinite. How will it be determined and who will determine about the services being like or similar? Suppose a bank had an attorney employed at $50,000 a year, would it follow that that was a similar service? The Government of the United States has no attorney who is probably rendering similar service. Why does not the Senator fix it at some definite amount instead of making it so indefinite?

Mr. KING. I am not sure that I understand the Senator. He mentions the employment of some individual by a bank at $50,000 a year. My amendment is to deal only with employees of the board which we have created. The board will have stenographic and clerical help. The amendment does not apply to those who are borrowing. It is a limitation upon the salaries which the board pays to its own employees. I agree that the language is not as definite as I should like to have it, but I can conceive of nothing that would make it more definite. It is language that has been employed repeatedly in legislation analogous to this.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Utah. [Putting the question.] The noes seem to have it.

Mr. KING. I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment was rejected.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, permit me to make just one further observation. The vote which has just been cast will be taken no doubt as an invitation by the board to pay to their lawyers and to their employees salaries greatly in excess of salaries paid to other employees of the Government rendering like or similar service.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. FESS. I have been in sympathy with every amendment that has been proposed on the matter of salaries, but they ought to come on the legislative bill. This being an appropriation bill pursuant to the declarations of the legislation relating to the creating of the corporation, it seems to

me it is not the place to insert such provisions, and that is the reason why I have voted against them. I think there has been a service done by calling attention to such unconscionable salaries. I have thought all along that we ought not to attempt on an appropriation bill to remedy the situation. I merely wanted the Senate to know why I have voted as I have.

Mr. KING. Of course, I would not criticize my friend from Ohio or any other Senator, because his vote is just as dear to him as mine is to myself; but I feel sure, judging the future by the past, that this will serve as a pretext or excuse for larger increases in salaries paid to the employees of the board. I warn my friend from Ohio to scrutinize the salary list of this organization. He will find that there will be attorneys and clerks and other employees who will receive from 25 to 100 per cent more than is paid to just as good employees, just as faithful, and just as competent, who are in the Government service. We have, in my opinion, validated increased expenditures which will be made and have encouraged the board to pay excessive salaries.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I am impressed with what the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS] said is his reason for voting against the amendments, because such provisions ought to be in the law itself. I think students of the legislation would agree with him. But they are not in the law. Under the rules of the Senate, a point of order having been made against each one of the amendments, the Chair held that they were in order. There was no appeal taken. Therefore that ruling became final. So anyone who feels any temerity about voting for an amendment of this kind on the ground that it is not on the right bill will be justified, I believe, in laying aside his fears, discarding them entirely, following the dictates of his conscience, and voting for the amendment that he believes is good; because the presiding officer, the Vice President of the United States, has held that the amendment is in order. That settles that question, and it ought to relieve our consciences so we can now vote for any amendment that we believe is proper which is held to be in order.

Moreover, Mr. President, I notice these technicalities always come up when they hit some one else. No Senator has had more respect than I have had for the rule, but I have been overruled many times by the Presiding Officer when I believed that his ruling was wrong and when my fellow Senators sitting near me would say, "Of course it is wrong," and I would hear other Senators say, "Of course that is not right." But, thereupon, enough of them have voted, whenever an appeal was taken, to sustain the Chair and to overrule me. Our Presiding Officer is conscientious. Our great parliamentarian, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES], who is honored with being the President pro tempore of this body—probably the greatest parliamentarian since Aaron Burr—has sometimes ruled against me; but, nevertheless, I think sometimes he has made mistakes.

I reached the conclusion a good while ago that it would not do to follow technicalities when one's conscience tells him that he ought to vote for something, because others do not do it. It ought to be a relief to the Senator from Ohio, when the Chair holds that an amendment is in order, to be able to follow the dictates of his great conscience and vote for it. He can defend himself and his conduct anywhere, if he is criticized, by stating, that he voted for something which the Vice President of the United States said in his official capacity as Presiding Officer of the Senate was in order under the rule.

I have heard parliamentarians say, I have heard presiding officers say, and I have heard the Vice President of the United States say that the Senate can do anything it wants to do; that when it wants to do something it can lay aside all technicalities and do it. Perhaps that is the right way to do. Lawyers usually follow precedents, to their own dismay many times, and sometimes with injustice to the people. If the courts and lawyers feel aggrieved at being criticized as being slaves to precedents, they ought to serve in the Senate a while and see how the Senate takes advantage of the situation and goes straight across lots regardless of precedents and regardless of parliamentary law and regardless of everything else when it wants to do something or to accomplish some purpose.

It is a question whether we want to do this thing or not. We have said by our votes that we are not in favor of compelling a corporation, which wants to borrow some of Uncle Sam's money, to cut down some of its salaries before we lend it the money, even though the salary involved is $50,000 a year. Then we have also said that the rule only works one way. We will not object to the lending of Uncle Sam's money to the corporation because it is paying its president $50,000 a year, but on the other hand we will not withhold that money if it cuts the laboring man's wages down to practically nothing.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. While the Senator has been referring to the action of the Senate, I have been requested by a number of Senators to reintroduce my amendment. Some Members might have thought that $50,000 was too low a limit. I have been requested to reintroduce it placing the limit at $100,000, which I am going to do when the Senator concludes his remarks.

Mr. NORRIS. I think the difference between $50,000 and $100,000 is a good deal like the difference between a man who is worth $100,000,000 and a man who is worth $50,000,000. There is no difference between them. If I had $50,000,000 and you, Mr. President, had $100,000,000, I would like to have you tell me what you could do with your $100,000,000 that I could not do with my $50,000,000, so far as living is concerned, even in the greatest luxury.

I do not believe the Senator's amendment will be agreed to and probably on the ground that this is not the place where it ought to be offered, even though the Chair holds that it is the right place.

Mr. President, it seems to me if I could say something to relieve the awful responsibility that is resting now on the head of the great Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS], to relieve his conscience and get his vote for this proposition, that all that would be necessary to say to his educated mind is that so far as the technicalities are concerned they are now waved aside by the decision of the Chair, and he has a right, even under the rule, to vote just as his convictions would dictate.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the amendment be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. Insert in the proper place in the bill the following proviso:

Provided, That when any money is loaned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to any corporation, company, or business enterprise, the corporation, company, or business enterprise shall agree in writing with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that after such loan is made, and until such loan is paid, the corporation, company, or business enterprise shall pay no salary, directly or indirectly, nor pay a salary which combined with any bonus, shall be greater in amount than $100,000.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK].

Mr. JONES. I make the point of order against the amendment that it is new legislation on an appropriation bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair again overrules the point of order. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAILEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE]. I am not advised as to how he would vote; therefore I must withhold my vote. If I were permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. BARKLEY (when his name was called). Repeating the announcement of my pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN], I understand, if present, he would vote as I intend to vote. I therefore feel free to vote and vote "nay."

Mr. BINGHAM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS]. I understand that if present he would vote as I intend to vote, so that I am free to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BROOKHART (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to my pair as on the last vote, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. BULKLEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY], who is absent. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN] and vote "nay."

Mr. JONES (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to my pair as before, I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. KING (when his name was was called). Making the same announcement as I have upon the three preceding votes, I withhold my vote.

Mr. LOGAN (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as made heretofore, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BAILEY. I am advised that the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE], with whom I am paired, if present, would vote as I intend to vote. Therefore I wish to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. GEORGE. Making the same announcement as to my pair as I have made on previous votes, I withhold my vote.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] is still unavoidably absent. He is paired with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the following general pairs:

The junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON] with the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS]; and

The senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. KEAN] with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. COOLIDGE].

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 39, as follows:

YEAS—26

Bankhead	Costigan	Long	Shipstead
Black	Cutting	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Blaine	Fletcher	McKellar	Trammell
Borah	Frazier	Neely	Walsh, Mont.
Bulow	Gore	Norris	Wheeler
Capper	Harris	Nye	
Connally	La Follette	Sheppard	

NAYS—39

Austin	Dale	Kendrick	Steiwer
Bailey	Dickinson	Keyes	Thomas, Idaho
Barbour	Fess	McNary	Townsend
Barkley	Glenn	Metcalf	Tydings
Bingham	Goldsborough	Morrison	Vandenberg
Bratton	Hale	Moses	Wagner
Broussard	Harrison	Oddie	Walcott
Byrnes	Hastings	Patterson	Watson
Copeland	Hatfield	Smith	White
Couzens	Hebert	Smoot	

NOT VOTING—31

Ashurst	George	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Brookhart	Glass	King	Schall
Bulkley	Hawes	Lewis	Shortridge
Caraway	Hayden	Logan	Stephens
Carey	Howell	Norbeck	Swanson
Coolidge	Hull	Pittman	Walsh, Mass.
Davis	Johnson	Reed	Waterman
Dill	Jones	Robinson, Ark.	

So Mr. BLACK's amendment was rejected.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I send an amendment to the desk, and ask that it may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to insert at the proper place the following:

The corporation shall immediately call the loan or loans made to any corporation, company, or business enterprise which shall, during the term of such loan, reduce the wages of employees earning less than $100 per month.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, that seems to me clearly to be legislation on an appropriation bill, and I make the point of order against it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair again holds that the pending measure is not a general appropriation bill and overrules the point of order. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. On the amendment I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the engrossment of the amendment heretofore agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the joint resolution to be read a third time. The joint resolution was read the third time and passed.

THE WORLD COURT

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a report of the American Peace Society containing arguments both for and against the ratification by the United States of the World Court protocols.

There being no objection, the report was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA JOIN THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE?

A REPORT

[These "argument" are placed in parallel columns not as statements with replies but for purposes of comparison merely.—Committee]

Certain arguments in favor of ratification

From the beginning the United States of America has believed in justice as the foundation for any abiding peace between States. Therefore, in cases of dispute involving principles of justice, the United States believes in a court of law for the final determination of such controversies.

The United States has adopted and applied the foregoing beliefs by establishing a Supreme Court for the settlement of disputes, whether or not the parties to the controversy be individuals or States of the Union.

Faith in due process of law led Americans over a century ago to advocate a court of last resort for the settlement of disputes between nations. Such a court for the nations has been urged by prominent laymen and statesmen of America, especially through the American Peace Society since its foundation in 1828. It has been known here and abroad as "The American Plan."

The establishment of an international court of justice based on law, as advocated by the American Peace Society, was proposed by delegates from the United States—instructed by John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States—to the first Hague conference of 1899; and again by delegates—instructed by Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States—to the second Hague conference of 1907. Woodrow Wilson approved the incorporation of article 14, providing for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice in the covenant of the League of Nations. Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover advocated this court.

Distinguished American jurists have urged the importance of an international judiciary; they have thus urged in South America, in councils of learned societies, in conference. They so

Certain arguments against ratification

The World Court is the League of Nations' court, and not an unfettered court with relations to the nations like unto the relations existing between the States of the American Union and the Supreme Court of the United States of America. "The hallmarks of the league are written more than 60 times into the very fabric of the statute of the court." The court was established by the league, its judges are elected and paid by the league.

The World Court rests not upon laws accepted by all but upon a League of Nations existing not as an instrument of justice but as a political agency of power.

As long as it remains undesirable for the United States to join the league it will be undesirable for the United States to be in any sense responsible for the action of its court.

This court is not a fulfillment of the "American Plan," because of its inconsistencies with American conceptions of courts and of the principles of jurisprudence.

The World Court advocated by our leading men heretofore is not the kind of court now set up at The Hague. Witness the unwillingness of its sponsors to accept the unqualified jurisdiction of the court in all really justiciable cases; and, particularly the rejection of the league of the recommendation of its own committee of jurists for the further development of international law. Presidents Harding and Coolidge advocated this court only with reservations which the League of Nations refused to accept.

In the absence of laws mutually and universally agreed upon, the World Court can hand down arbitrary and unacceptable decisions. It is unreasonable to expect the court to disavow any portion of the covenant of the league because the

urged upon the makers of the treaty of Versailles in 1918–19.

The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, organized in 1921, and holding its first session in January, 1922, is an established and successful expression of American aspiration, called by Mr. Hughes, now Chief Justice of the United States, "the absolute minimum of intelligent effort for the promotion of world peace."

The court has delivered 16 judgments, rendered 18 advisory opinions, and made 7 orders. In each of the judgments the action of this court has been accepted as final.

The court avoids the necessity of sporadic efforts toward judicial settlement, furnishing continuity, and promoting confidence.

The court rests upon foundations laid in 1920 by a committee of jurists, of which Mr. Elihu Root, assisted by Mr. James Brown Scott, both honorary vice presidents of the American Peace Society, was a member.

The organization, competence, procedure, the matter of advisory opinions and the judicial independence of the court are clearly defined in the 68 articles of the statute of the court. (The last four articles, dealing with advisory opinions, remain yet to be ratified.)

The court rests upon this statute incorporated in a treaty, commonly called the "Protocol of Signature," opened for signature December 16, 1920, and now signed by 54 powers. There is no proposal for a World Court other than this.

The court is established in accord with article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. It is, therefore, competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. It may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly. Certain States of the American Union provide for advisory opinions from their superior courts. The court is open to states mentioned in the annex of the covenant, which includes the United States.

On February 24, 1925, the House of Representatives approved by a large majority our adherence to the court, with the reservations recommended by President Coolidge.

The United States Senate voted in 1926—76 to 17—to adhere to the court, with five reservations.

These reservations were considered at Geneva in September, 1926, by a conference of signatory states. This conference drafted a protocol of eight articles. Substantial differences of opinion remaining as to the second part of the fifth reservation, Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States, opened the way in February, 1929, for further negotiations.

The League of Nations having appointed a committee of jurists to suggest amendments to the statute of the court, the council of the league requested that the committee, of which Mr. Root was a member, consider the situation relative to the accession of the United States to the protocol of signature of the statute of the court. This the committee did in March, 1929. The result was an agreement upon a protocol embodying a formula for the adjustment of differences over the five reservations of the Senate resolution of January 27, 1926. This formula is familiarly known as the protocol of accession containing the Root formula. Authorities, including Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State of the United States, agree that the United States can under this formula safely adhere to the court. Secretary Stimson holds that this protocol of accession meets the objections raised by the Senate reservations. In the language of Mr. Hughes: "In supporting the World Court in the manner proposed we lose nothing that we could otherwise preserve; we take no serious risks that we could otherwise avoid; we enhance rather than impair our ultimate security; and we heighten the mutual confidence which rests upon demonstrated respect for the essential institutions of international justice."

The pact of Paris renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Signatories to the pact, including now practically all the nations of the world, have agreed never to seek the settlement of disputes which may arise among them except by "pacific means." The court is such pacific means.

The court is an independent court, open to every nation, member of the League of Nations or not. The league has no influence over its jurisdiction or procedure, as both of these are regulated by statutes and rules outside the league. The judges are nominated by national groups in The Hague Court of Arbitration, also outside the league. The court's expenses are not paid by the league but through it. The nations simply make use of the league machinery to elect and pay the judges. The election of the judges through the league machinery is no infringement upon the independence of the court any more than the justices of our Supreme Court are dependent upon the Executive or the Senate because of their selection by those agencies.

No nation can be haled before the court without its consent, as the jurisdiction of the court is limited to cases which the parties refer to it. From the action of the court in the eastern Carelia case it is apparent no advisory opinion will be given without the consent of parties who may be nonmembers of the league. In any event, under the terms of the Root formula, the United States could withdraw from the court if it entertained a request for an advisory opinion over the objection of the United States. (The so-called Root formula appears in full as Protocol II, p. 14.)

There is already a body of law for the court. Under the statute of the court the court applies international conventions that have established rules recognized by the contesting states; the covenant is the charter of the court, the instrument from which it derives its being.

This court is not an expression of American aspiration, otherwise no reservations would have been suggested by our Government.

What the court has done is an argument neither for nor against the soundness of the court's foundations. The League of Nations officially considers the court as its "most essential part." It is fair, therefore, to ask, "How can the United States become a part of a part, without becoming a part of the whole?"

The court does not invite the confidence of a people imbued with the history and the spirit of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The court's statute was materially and vitally changed by the Council of the League of Nations. The council of the league flatly denied the proposal of the jurists that there should be recurring conferences for the advancement of international law. It refused the suggestion of the jurists as to the jurisdiction of the court.

The court is the league's lawyer, an adviser to a political organization. To impose upon a court the duty of advising a political body is to substract from it its substance as a court.

The "statute," changed by the league, never has been acceptable to the United States. Witness the general demand for "reservations" even by the friends of the court throughout the United States.

If the court be what its friends claim, why the "reservations"?

The purpose of these reservations was to protect the United States and the court itself from degenerating into a tool of a political organization. The Root formula is a proposal that the Senate rescind its own resolution for another "wordy, obscure, and ambiguous," leaving the court free to disregard our protest.

The provision for advisory opinions is particularly unwise, for such use of the court by the league means that the league may intermeddle in any controversy between sovereign states, political or otherwise. There is the best authority for holding that the advisory function of the court is "admittedly inconsistent with and potentially destructive of the judicial character" of the court.

America stands for the self-government of peoples within separate States where all are morally accountable under laws voluntarily adopted. America has courts for the settlement of controversies under such laws. America stands for the application of the same system to the relations of states. If the World Court were a real court, no sovereign state could refuse to accept its jurisdiction in any justiciable case. America is opposed to any rule of action devised and imposed by the same authority. By joining the World Court America would violate her traditional policy, place herself subject not to laws but to men, and hamper the further development of institutions of justice on the American model.

Secretary Stimson is quoted as saying that with the Root formula we may "safely" adhere to the court. Without the Root formula, evidently he thinks there would be danger. What safeguard does the Root formula provide? None but the privilege of withdrawing from the court.

Mr. Hughes is quoted as saying "we lose nothing"; but we also gain nothing, for without accepting the protocols we may make use of the court.

Although members of the League of Nations have signed the pact of Paris, by article 16 of the covenant of the league all members have explicitly agreed to violate it by making war an instrument of the league's policy in penalizing certain violators of the covenant. Furthermore, not all the adherents of the court have accepted its jurisdiction in all cases, especially the great powers. As an agency of pacific means the court is out of harmony with American practice.

The court is not independent. The League of Nations fixed both its jurisdiction and procedure. The league elects and pays the judges. It is the league's court. We are not a member of the league. If we wish to make use of the court, we can do so at any time without "joining." Partisans of the court seem more anxious that we "join" it than that we use it.

Furthermore, the refusal of a judge to accept the provisions of the covenant of the League of Nations as constituting the court's fundamental law might expose him to the disfavor of the league and render him ineligible for reelection as a judge.

If the court were the kind of court familiar and acceptable to the United States, it should be possible for any defendant to be haled before it. The limited jurisdiction is another evidence of defect in the structure of the court. Furthermore, if we "join" the court and then, for any reason withdraw, we will be face to face with another political situation serious as it would be embarrassing. The whole problem of "consent" was far from settled by the Carelia case. The court was censured by the league for its action in that case. The council believes the court is under duty to act when directed by the league to do so. If a member, the United States might find itself faced with intrusions by the league in matters of a purely political nature.

Again, is it desirable for the United States to accept in advance the jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal, and after accepting such jurisdiction to refuse to adjudicate a particular difference?

While we favor an international court with power to sit in judgment on questions of law, law for Europe is confined mainly to treaties backed by force, with many of which we are not in sympathy. The European outlook is political and military. The law upon which the World

international custom, as evidence of the general practice accepted as law; the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; judicial decisions; and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations. The decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case. The court may decide a case in accord with the principles of right and equity, if the parties agree thereto.

All three protocols have been approved unanimously by the council and by the assembly of the league, signed by practically all the member states, and December 9, 1929, they were signed on behalf of the United States. So far it appears that the majority of our press, it is hoped also of the Senate and of the American people, are disposed to follow President Hoover in his efforts to identify the United States with this expression of the world to promote the peace of justice between nations. The United States should be able to defend its legitimate international rights and interests openly and unafraid before this accredited tribunal. There are sufficient reasons, moral and practical, to warrant our adherence to this court.

It remains only for the Senate to ratify. The Senate should ratify.

Court rests has little to do with justice for the United States. The court is not a court of justice rendering decisions under rules of law. Under the covenant of the League of Nations the court would be obliged to justify war as a penalty for violation of treaty engagements.

In case we "join" the court, who shall decide whether or not a given case shall go to the court? The President, the Senate, the Congress? Who shall formulate the issue to be adjudicated? How shall it be formulated?

We are for an independent tribunal acting under just laws made with our consent, and deciding every question according to its merits. The idea of the league making laws for the court to apply means a world government opposed fundamentally to the enduring things at the heart of America. Thus far America has assumed a detached position on controversies affecting other governments. She has preferred to keep the privilege of throwing her influence, if at all, at any right time on any right side. She has retained thus far a popular and open control of her foreign policy. She has never merged her identity in a mass of political agreements to make war in circumstances not easily foreseen. She is anxious to avoid siding with this or that faction in troubled Europe, especially because of the dangers involved, not the least of which is arousing the antagonism of one section of our own population against another. She cherishes her freedom to stand by the cause of justice through "co-operation to-day—freedom of action to-morrow." She has shown her faith in courts of justice. She must stand aloof from any court to which she can not grant compulsory jurisdiction and to which she can not adhere without qualifying "reservations."

The Senate of the United States should not ratify the protocols, for the United States of America should not "join" a court about which there hangs so much misunderstanding, misinformation, and doubt.

The World Court

(A statement in favor of American adherence, by Philip C. Jessup, faculty of international law, Columbia University)

There are three World Court treaties of current interest. They are called protocols. Their support by a large body of public opinion in the United States has been made obvious. The Senate is called upon to take action in accordance with this opinion, to take action in accordance with its own conclusions, in accordance with the traditions of the United States, in furtherance of the national interests of the United States.

The first protocol is the original treaty of 1920 under which the court was brought into existence. Every President and Secretary of State who has been in office since the treaty was signed has favored our adherence to it. In 1925 the House of Representatives, by a vote of 303 to 28, approved such adherence. In 1926, by a vote of 76 to 17, the Senate added its approval subject to five reservations.

The creation of the court under this protocol was the culmination of 21 years of endeavor. The United States was a leader throughout this movement and the final success of the plans was due to American ingenuity. That we should adhere to this protocol is no longer a subject for serious debate. Over 60 per cent of the newspapers in the United States favor such action. The people of the United States, individually, through numerous organizations, through the voice of their chosen executives, and through their representatives in both Houses of Congress, have long considered this court and have found it good.

The reservations to our adherence are properly the subject of the second or Root Protocol. There is no suggestion that the Senate reservations be abandoned. There is rather insistence that they be maintained and made effective. At first their meaning and effect were not clearly understood. The other States, parties to the first protocol, invited us to attend a conference to discuss them. We declined. In our absence they searched in the dark and their proposals were not acceptable to us. In March, 1929, Mr. Elihu Root went to Europe to attend a meeting of a committee of experts to study revision of the original court protocol which he had materially helped to draft. He carried with his 84 years the experience of two Cabinet posts, six years in the Senate, and a long service at the bar and in international affairs. He drafted a protocol which he, two Secretaries of State, President Hoover, and many others, believe constitutes an acceptance of the Senate reservations as well as a method for their application. The Root Protocol opens with the words: "The States signatories of the said protocol [of 1920] accept the special conditions attached by the United States in the five reservations." No one of those signatories objects to this protocol; it meets the terms we ourselves have proposed; are we to repudiate our own conditions? How are we to carry on our international business if we reverse a decision reached after mature deliberation and exhaustive debate?

It has been asserted that the Root Protocol was not the work of Mr. Root, but of Sir Cecil Hurst. The English jurist did participate in the redrafting, but anyone who cares to examine the record will find that not one of Mr. Root's basic suggestions was abandoned or even substantially altered.

The chief argument on the Root protocol centers around the second part of the fifth reservation, whereby it was specified that the court should not, "without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." It is not always remembered that at the present time, when we are not parties to the court treaty, the court might render an advisory opinion on a question touching our interests. It has affirmed the principle that it will not, without our consent, render such an opinion on a dispute to which we are actually a party. By ratifying the Root protocol we would thus secure a right we do not now have. But it must be remembered also that advisory opinions bind no one, neither outside States nor participating States. The danger is therefore not a real one. If advisory opinions have a moral influence, that influence is as strong upon us now as it would be if we had ratified the protocol of 1920, and no stronger.

The Senate reservation contained no procedure for its application; the Root protocol provides such procedure. Obviously, there must be some way in which the United States can make known an objection if it has one; the Root protocol suggests how this may be done and gives an opportunity for negotiation explaining how our interests are affected. The language of the Root protocol is usually ignored by its opponents. The article in question begins: "With a view to insuring that the court shall not *without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest,* * * *." The italicized words are taken word for word from the fifth reservation. The procedure designed to insure this result is then set forth. If, along with this language, you consider Article I, quoted above, which stipulates that the five Senate reservations are accepted, no honest doubt remains.

The fourth reservation provided that the United States could withdraw from the court at any time. The Root protocol contains the same provision and also emphasizes one instance in which that right might be exercised. It has been erroneously alleged that the withdrawal under the Root protocol would take place if the court gave an advisory opinion without our consent on a question in which we were interested. Not at all. The Root protocol contemplates that we would withdraw if, contrary to present expectations, the use of advisory opinions should change in a manner which we did not approve.

The third protocol, for the revision of the statute of the court, contains those changes which the experience of nine years suggested might profitably be made in the court's fundamental constitution and operation. We are not under any obligation to accept these changes, but it would be to our advantage to do so. In general, they are designed to make the court more of a permanent judicial body like the Supreme Court of the United States. In particular, they supplement those regulations on the advisory opinions of the court which the Senate reservations and the Root protocol contain. They make of general and permanent application the rules that advisory opinions shall be rendered publicly after due notice and hearing. They also affirm the provisions of the Root protocol which would operate to prevent the rendering of an advisory opinion on a matter in which the United States is interested without the consent of the United States. On all these points the Root protocol suffices for the protection of the United States, but the protocol for revision of the statute formally inserts these regulations in the fundamental organization of the court, making them of general application to all States. The highly desirable doctrine of the Eastern Carelia case is perpetuated. In addition, this protocol provides improvements in many other details.

What is to be feared from the approval of the protocols? The only positive obligation we would assume would be that of contributing to the expenses of the court whatever amount Congress decided was proper. Behind the bulwarks of the Root protocol no interest of the United States could be adversely affected, no controversy in which the United States was involved could be passed upon in any way without our specific consent. Should conditions change or should the court deteriorate, our right to

withdraw at any time is freely recognized. Some pretend to fear this is a first step toward entering the League of Nations. For six years the United States considered this possibility and then went on record in favor of adhering to the court protocol, realizing that the danger was unreal and that we do not bind ourselves to some far-distant eventuality by taking an unrelated step to-day. The league issue is not involved and we are in a sorry pass if we can not consider separate issues on their separate merits. The league issue was dragged across the trail in a futile attempt to befuddle those who wish peace through justice. Of course the court has relations to the league, but it is an independent judicial body, and the history of nine years proves that those relations do not endanger the court and would not affect the policy or interests of the United States.

THE ISSUE BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SENATE

A statement opposed to American adherence by Senator C. C. DILL, of Washington

When the Senate adopted the resolution of ratification of the League of Nations court protocol five years ago, January 27, 1926, it attached five reservations, the essential parts of which are as follows:

1. That the United States would establish no legal relation to the League of Nations, nor incur any obligation under the treaty of Versailles, by joining the court.
2. That the United States would help elect the judges of the court.
3. That the United States would help to pay the expenses of the court.
4. That the United States could withdraw from the court and that the protocol could not be amended without the consent of the United States.
5. That the court could not render an advisory opinion on any subject if the United States objected.

When President Coolidge submitted those reservations to the members of the League of Nations what happened? The European statesmen, who run the league, immediately accepted the first four reservations, but they refused to accept the fifth. Let me quote that reservation in full. It is as follows:

"That the court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all states adhering to the court and to all interested states and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any state concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest."

What is the history of this reservation? How did the Senate happen to adopt it? The record of the Senate debates shows that Senator SWANSON, the chief proponent of the court at that time, offered it the day before the vote was taken in the Senate. It represented the deliberate, considered judgment of those who favored entrance into this court five years ago, after Senators had debated the subject in committee and on the floor of the Senate for many months. The Senate was practically unanimous in its support of this reservation. The President approved. The press of the country declared it a wise and proper reservation, because it gave the United States the right to protect whatever interests might be involved in decisions of the court.

Every other great nation had then, and has now, the right as members of the league to prevent consideration by the court of any case to which they make objection, but these nations now refuse to grant that right to the United States. If the United States were a member of the League of Nations it would possess that right, but because it is not a member of the league it is to be denied that right.

In other words, the European statesmen, who run the League of Nations and control the League of Nations court, now say to us "You may come into the court with us, you may sit with us, you may vote with us, you may pay bills with us, but you shall not interfere with us, you shall not have equal rights with us, you shall not prevent decisions about your affairs being made by us."

You may have noted that I refer to this court as the League of Nations court instead of as the World Court. I do that because this is not a world court at all. A world court would be a court created by the nations of the world to decide cases only in accordance with terms of international law; but the League of Nations wrote the law that established this court. The League of Nations determines what subjects this court shall consider. The League of Nations elects the judges of this court. The League of Nations pays the salaries of those judges. The supreme law of this court is not international law, but the covenant of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations created it. The League of Nations controls it. The League of Nations maintains and guides it. I repeat, it is not a world court but the League of Nations court.

When the American people voted by 7,000,000 majority to stay out of the League of Nations, they meant to stay out of the court of the league as well as out of the council and the assembly.

Surely if we are to enter the court at all, it should be only on conditions that will fully protect American rights. Had we joined the league as President Wilson urged, our rights in the court would have been protected, as are the rights of all league members, but the people vetoed that at the polls. Both President Harding and President Coolidge believed adherence to this court should be on a basis of equality with other nations. When the league refused to accept the fifth reservation, Mr. Coolidge said: "I do not intend to ask the Senate to modify its position. Unless the requirements of the Senate resolution are met by other interested nations, I can see no prospect of this country's adhering to the court."

The American people approved that statement. No member of the Senate expressed disagreement. It remained for Mr. Hoover to propose surrender. He excuses this proposed surrender in the name of peace. Millions of the American people and many Senators and Congressmen are willing to close their eyes to all objections and dangers because of their hope that the court will maintain peace. League of Nations propagandists and followers of the international bankers have made them believe this League of Nations court will prevent war. They hope this League of Nations court is the international machinery that will insure permanent peace. But let us examine this proposal.

The greatest contribution the United States can make to world peace is, first, to remain at peace itself, and second, to use its vast influence to keep other nations at peace. The United States covets no territory. Our people will not start war to secure trade in other parts of the world or to enforce our form of government upon any people. About the only causes for which the American people will fight are interference with the rights of our Government and its citizens within our own borders or upon the high seas and for the maintenance of human liberty under law.

If we enter the League of Nations court, without the power to protect our own rights against interference by that court, as was provided in the fifth reservation, we are sowing seeds of international trouble that may easily lead to war.

Let me illustrate the danger of such action. Take the immigration question. Suppose a nation proposes that all bars to immigration be abolished in all countries and asks the court to pass upon the question. We could object and the court would consider our objections. If it decided to pass on the question anyhow, we could withdraw. Then we might find ourselves in the position of having the League of Nations court, of which we had been a member, making a decision on the question at this time. Under the fifth reservation, if some nation brought forth a proposal and we objected that would be the end of it. Under which arrangement do you think the future of America would be best protected? Under which arrangement would there be less likelihood of internal complications which might lead to war?

Take the question of canceling the war debts: If some nation proposed the court should render an opinion on the question of the cancellation of all war debts, and the United States objected, and if the court decided to consider the question anyhow, we could withdraw. If the court decided the war debt should be canceled, and that is the sentiment of Europe generally to-day, we would find the League of Nations court deciding all war debts should be canceled, and the United States would be pictured as leaving the court because we feared the court would cancel the debts. Under the fifth reservation, if such a proposal were made the United States could object and that would prevent the court's consideration of the proposal to cancel the war debts. Which arrangement do you think would best protect American rights? Under which plan would there be less likelihood of international complications that might lead to war?

I have used these two illustrations because they are questions that are pressing and imminent in international affairs at this time. Nobody can foresee what new questions may arise in the years that are ahead, but with the guarantees of protection afforded by the fifth reservation, at least the United States could protect its rights and future interest without offense to other nations. Under the Root formula all it could do would be protest, and if the protest were overriden, it would mean withdrawal from the league court of which it had previously been a member. This would inevitably lead to international resentment and make war far more probable than had we never entered the league court.

The issue before the Senate and the country is not whether the United States shall enter the League of Nations court or not, but whether the United States shall enter that court under the terms of the Swanson reservation, which fully protects American rights, or whether the United States shall adopt the Root surrender, prepared and submitted with the definite purpose of making it impossible for the United States to protect its rights, without withdrawing from the court.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate several messages from the President of the United States submitting nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SCHALL, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Fred S. Hird, of Iowa,

to be United States marshal, southern district of Iowa, which was placed on the calendar.

Mr. HEBERT, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Charles C. Simons, of Michigan, to be United States circuit judge, sixth circuit, which was placed on the calendar.

Mr. AUSTIN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Charles N. Hildreth, jr., of Florida, to be United States marshal, southern district of Florida, which was placed on the calendar.

Mr. BLAINE, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Martin Brown, of Michigan, to be United States marshal, western district of Michigan, which was placed on the calendar.

He also, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Daniel W. O'Donoghue, of the District of Columbia, to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, which was placed on the calendar.

Mr. WALSH of Montana, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Harry F. Besosa, of Porto Rico, to be United States attorney, district of Porto Rico, to succeed Frank Martinez, resigned, which was placed on the calendar.

THE CALENDAR

The VICE PRESIDENT. The calendar is in order. The Secretary will state the first business on the calendar.

The treaty, Executive KK (70th Cong.), a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929, was announced as first in order.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, in the absence of the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] I suggest that the treaty go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The treaty will be passed over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of members of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, in the absence of the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] I ask that the nominations go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations will go over.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of William E. Humphrey, of Washington, to be Federal Trade Commissioner.

Mr. WHEELER. I ask that the nomination go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nomination will go over.

BOARD OF TAX APPEALS

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Edgar J. Goodrich, of West Virginia, to be member of the Board of Tax Appeals for the unexpired term of 10 years from June 2, 1926.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of James R. Beverley, of Texas, to be Governor of Porto Rico.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Oscar Mikkelsen to be assistant dental surgeon in the grade of assistant surgeon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Mark E. Bowers to be assistant dental surgeon in the grade of assistant surgeon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Franklin R. Frampton to be assistant dental surgeon in the grade of assistant surgeon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. ODDIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

THE ARMY

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry officers in the Officers' Reserve Corps and the Regular Establishment.

Mr. McNARY. I ask unanimous consent that the Army nominations may be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McNARY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate adjourn until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, January 26, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 25, 1932

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

The following-named persons to be members of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for terms of two years from January 22, 1932:

Charles G. Dawes, of Illinois.
Harvey C. Couch, of Arkansas.
Jesse H. Jones, of Texas.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Gregory H. Frederick, of Michigan, to be United States attorney, eastern district of Michigan. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment by the court.)

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

John H. Grogan, of Michigan, to be United States marshal, eastern district of Michigan. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment by the court.)

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

Frank P. Light, of Oregon, to be register of the land office at Lakeview, Oreg. (Reappointment.)

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

Dan G. Stewart, of Kansas City, Mo., to be collector of internal revenue for the sixth district of Missouri in place of Noah Crooks.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS

Andrew Wiedenmann, of Rochester, N. Y., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 8, with headquarters at Rochester, N. Y. (Reappointment.)

REAPPOINTMENT IN THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS OF THE ARMY

GENERAL OFFICER

To be brigadier general, Auxiliary Reserve

Brig. Gen. Henry Alden Shaw, Auxiliary Reserve, from February 4, 1932.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the dates stated opposite their names:

Bronson P. Vosbury, July 1, 1930.
Donald W. Loomis, November 1, 1930.
William S. Heath, December 21, 1930.

Elbert C. Rogers, January 1, 1931.
Jerauld Wright, January 23, 1931.
Harry W. Need, February 1, 1931.
Charles D. Lefler, jr., February 1, 1931.
Earle W. Mills, April 1, 1931.
Harry D. Hoffman, May 1, 1931.
Harold G. Eberhart, June 1, 1931.
Victor C. Barringer, jr., June 1, 1931.
Martin R. Derx, June 1, 1931.
Graeme Bannerman, June 1, 1931.
Henry S. Kendall, June 1, 1931.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 4th day of June, 1931.

Stanley M. Haight.	Joseph W. Bettens.
William E. G. Erskine.	Charles Antrobus.
Edward W. Wunch, jr.	Frank E. Nelson.
John D. H. Kane.	Philip S. Flint.
James W. Whitfield.	Melvin C. Kent.
Harold E. MacLellan.	Anthony Prastka.
Albert S. Marley, jr.	Raymond A. Walker.
Peter K. Fischler.	Ola D. Butler.
Harry W. von Hasseln.	Peter J. Gundlach.
Guy D. Townsend.	Albert M. Hinman.
Olton R. Bennehoff.	Stephen A. Loftus.
Arthur T. Moen.	Herbert R. Mytinger.
Ross P. Whitemarsh.	Harold A. Turner.
Ralph H. Henkle.	Curry E. Eason.
Gordon B. Woolley.	Brice H. Mack.
Albert L. Hutson.	Herbert J. Meneratti.
Walter L. Taylor.	William A. Mason.
Miles R. Browning.	John F. Murphy.
Ellis H. Geiselman.	Clarence R. Rockwell.
Ernest H. Krueger.	Paul E. Kuter.
Jack H. Duncan.	Simon L. Shade.
Watson O. Bailey.	Albert E. Freed.
Leland P. Lovette.	Harry J. Hansen.
Wallace M. Dillon.	Newcomb L. Damon.
Edmund J. Kidder.	John J. Madden.
Edward D. Walbridge.	Clyde Lovelace.
Leroy W. Busbey, jr.	Martin Dickinson.
Smith D. A. Cobb.	William H. Farrel.
Malcolm A. Deans.	George S. Dean.
Ralph S. Riggs.	Charles F. Fielding.
Carlos W. Wieber.	Judson E. Scott.
Edwin D. Gibb.	Robert B. England.
John M. Haines.	Lars O. Peterson.
William A. S. Macklin.	Omar B. Earle.
John W. Rogers.	Edwin Fisher.
Charles G. Moore, jr.	George R. Blauvelt.
Robert L. Mitten.	Chester L. Nichols.
Mays L. Lewis.	Thomas M. Leovy.
Elmer V. Iverson.	Harold F. Fultz.
Stanley C. Norton.	Benjamin W. Cloud.
Chauncey R. Crutcher.	Frederick S. Conner.
William K. Phillips.	Howard W. Kitchin.
Ralph C. Alexander.	Leland D. Webb.
Samuel H. Hurt.	William Knox.
Herbert R. Sobel.	Clyde C. Laws.
Allan P. Flagg.	Thomas E. Flaherty.
Vaughn Bailey.	Arthur R. Ponto.
Frank O. Wells.	Merwin W. Arps.
Henry Hartley, an additional number.	Jerome L. Allen.
	William A. Tattersall.
William R. Buechner.	Grover A. Miller.
Arthur B. Dorsey.	Marion C. Erwin.
Charles W. A. Campbell.	Lester M. Harvey.
Jonathan H. Warman.	Frederick A. Ruf.

The following named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the dates stated opposite their names:

Harry L. Thompson, June 18, 1931.
John F. Warris, June 30, 1931.
Francis E. Fitch, June 30, 1931.
John M. Sheehan, June 30, 1931.
George R. Henderson, June 30, 1931.
George T. Owen, June 30, 1931.
Loverne A. Pope, June 30, 1931.
Rossmore D. Lyon, June 30, 1931.
Fred C. Dickey, July 1, 1931.

The following named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the dates stated opposite their names:

David W. Hardin, May 10, 1930.
Matthew S. Q. Weiser, June 2, 1930.
William P. E. Wadbrook, June 16, 1930.
Morris Smellow, July 1, 1930.
Harry H. Keith, July 1, 1930.
Joseph T. Sheehan, July 1, 1930.
Church A. Chappell, September 1, 1930.
Harold N. Williams, September 1, 1930.
George K. Hodgkiss, October 10, 1930.
Thayer T. Tucker, October 28, 1930.
Claude H. Bennett, jr., November 1, 1930.
George W. Welker, jr., November 1, 1930.
John M. McIsaac, November 14, 1930.
Frank H. Bond, December 9, 1930.
Thomas L. Turner, December 21, 1930.
John L. Welch, December 30, 1930.
Frederick M. Trapnell, January 1, 1931.
William L. Hoffheins, jr., January 1, 1931.
Louis F. Teuscher, January 20, 1931.
William K. Mendenhall, jr., January 23, 1931.
Richard M. Scruggs, February 1, 1931.
Frederick A. Edwards, February 1, 1931.
William E. Hennigar, February 1, 1931.
Peter W. Haas, jr., February 9, 1931.
John C. Goodnough, February 20, 1931.
Joseph L. Kane, March 1, 1931.
Donald S. MacMahan, March 1, 1931.
Walter C. Russell, jr., March 1, 1931.
James H. Willett, April 1, 1931.
Philip S. Reynolds, April 1, 1931.
Ralph J. Arnold, April 1, 1931.
Henry C. Johnson, jr., April 1, 1931.
John S. Keating, April 1, 1931.
Fred W. Walton, May 1, 1931.
Leon N. Blair, May 24, 1931.
Harry D. Felt, June 1, 1931.
Percival E. McDowell, June 1, 1931.
John M. Will, June 1, 1931.
Karl G. Hensel, June 1, 1931.
Herbert M. Wescoat, June 1, 1931.
Arthur F. Dineen, June 1, 1931.
Robert H. Rodgers, June 7, 1931.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 30th day of June, 1931:

Samuel G. Fuqua.	Stanley Leith.
Charles D. Beaumont, jr.	Edwin R. Peck.
Frank E. Shoup, jr.	John C. McCutchen.
Frederick Moosbrugger.	George A. Dussault.
Francis M. Hughes.	Curtis S. Smiley.
William R. Thayer.	Murvale T. Farrar.
Alfred H. Richards.	Louis A. Reinken.
Steele B. Smith.	Balch B. Wilson, jr.
Charles R. Ensey, jr.	Howard L. Young.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1931:

Marvin M. Stephens.	Josephus A. Briggs.
Olin Scoggins.	Robert P. Wadell.
Harold Doe.	

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the dates stated opposite their names:

Thomas E. Boyce, July 31, 1931.
Richard M. Oliver, August 1, 1931.
Francis D. Hamblin, August 1, 1931.
James E. Fuller, August 1, 1931.
Harold H. Connelley, August 1, 1931.
Pleasant D. Gold, 3d, August 1, 1931.
Arthur L. Maher, September 1, 1931.
Philip H. Ryan, September 1, 1931.
Dwight H. Day, September 1, 1931.

Boltwood E. Dodson, September 1, 1931.
Henry M. Cooper, September 2, 1931.
John J. Jecklin, October 1, 1931.
Donald E. Wilcox, October 6, 1931.
Thomas J. Casey, November 1, 1931.

Lieut. Aaron P. Storrs, 3d, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 1st day of November, 1930, to correct the date from which he takes rank as previously nominated and confirmed.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 2d day of June, 1930:

John B. Taylor.
Eldon C. Mayer.
Edward N. Teall, jr.
Monro M. Riker.
Robert A. Johnson.
Edmund E. Garcia.
Henry T. Jarrell.
John Bailey.
Robert B. Morgan, jr.
Byron C. Gwinn.
Richard E. Fenton.
Fred J. Leatherman.
Daniel W. Latimore.
Henry F. Gorski.
Herbert T. Tortorich.
Winston I. Quattlebaum.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 7th day of June, 1931:

James R. Lee.
Robert E. Van Meter.
John Quinn.
Harry E. Sears.
George H. Moffett.
Harlow J. Carpenter.
Joseph Finnegan.
Wilfred J. Hastings.
Philip F. Wakeman.
William S. Pye, jr.
Thomas A. Ahroon.
John A. Bole, jr.
William A. Schoech.
William A. Cockell.
John F. Mullen, jr.
William H. Jacobsen.
David L. McDonald.
Cuthbert J. Bruen.
Theodore F. Ascherfeld.
Joseph F. Quilter.
William S. Parsons.
William J. Millican.
Wells Thompson.
Edward T. Eves.
Earle C. Hawk.
Michael P. Bagdanovich.
Milton G. Johnson.
George P. Enright.
Albert O. Momm.
Rodney B. Lair.
Norman F. Garton.
William M. Searles.
John R. Pierce.
Victor B. Cole.
Even E. Fickling.
Albert C. Burrows.
Robert O. Strange.
Robert C. Peden.
Irwin F. Beyerly.
John T. Bowers, jr.
Carl A. R. Lindgren.
Hugh R. Nieman, jr.
Daniel J. Wagner.
Allan G. Gaden.
Thurmond A. Smith.
Edwin B. Dexter.
Hurley McC. Zook.
Stephen H. Ambruster.
Elwood C. Madsen.
Michael F. D. Flaherty.
Rollo N. Norgaard.
Robert J. Archer.
Idris B. Monahan.
Thomas Ashcraft.
John L. Collis.
George E. King.
Charles H. Kendall.
Albert J. Walden.
George Fritschmann.
Matthew Radom.
John K. McCue.
James H. Brett, jr.
Francois C. B. Jordan.
Chesford Brown.
Edward A. Hannegan.
Leonard F. Freiburghouse.
Thomas W. Jones.
Neale R. Curtin.
Edwin J. S. Young.
John T. White.
Clarence M. Bowley.
Thomas A. Donovan.
Frederick E. Moore.
Joe E. Wyatt.
J. Clark Riggs, jr.
David W. Todd, jr.
Robert L. Morris.
Alan B. Banister.
John C. Alderman.
John M. Boyd.
Marcel R. Gerin.
John E. Burke.
Roger M. Daisley.
Jesse J. Underhill.
Alfred M. Aichel.
Paul R. Anderson.
Walter N. Gray.
William W. Shea.
Philip D. Gallery.
Stephen N. Tackney.
John A. Williams.
William F. Raborn, jr.
Robert T. S. Keith.
Nic Nash, jr.
Lindell H. Hewett.
George K. Huff.
Frank McD. Nichols.
Basil N. Rittenhouse, jr.
Donald A. Lovelace.
Weldon L. Hamilton.
Lex L. Black.
Jack C. Renard.
John G. Urquhart, jr.
Eugene W. Fitzmaurice.
Robert S. Hall, jr.
Guy W. Stringer.
Harry W. Richardson.
Phillip G. Stokes.
Robert A. Pierce.
Charles P. Huff, jr.
John F. Nelson.
John A. Scott.
Max L. Catterton.
Julian H. Leggett.
Earl H. Pope.

Ensign Julian H. Detyens to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 9th day of June, 1931.

The following-named midshipmen to be ensigns in the Navy from the 4th day of June, 1931:

Howard J. Abbott.
Noah Adair, jr.
Charles W. Aldrich.
Edward H. Allen.
Robbins W. Allen.
Charles R. Almgren.
Augustus H. Alston, jr.
Jay S. Anderson.
Richard K. Anderson.
Richard S. Andrews.
Richard N. Antrim.
Philip H. Ashworth.
Thomas Ashworth, jr.
Walter C. Bailey.
Horace D. Barker.
Raymond H. Bass.
Alcorn G. Beckmann.
Frederick J. Becton.
Robert P. Beebe.
Allen C. Bell.
Louis J. Bellis.
Sherman W. Betts.
James O. Biglow.
Edward M. Bingham.
Joseph D. Black.
Orrin F. Black.
Edward M. Blessman.
Charles T. Booth, 2d.
Robert M. Bowstrom.
Frederic R. Brace.
William B. Braun.
John H. Brockway.
Ward Bronson.
Charles B. Brooks, jr.
Henry E. Brossy.
Elliott M. Brown.
Frederick J. Brush.
Edward S. Burns.
Eugene V. Burt.
John W. Byng.
Bruce L. Carr.
John D. Cashman.
Hiram Cassedy.
John F. Castree.
Bryant A. Chandler.
John L. Chew.
Paul W. Clarke.
John B. Colwell.
James I. Cone.
Charles O. Cook, jr.
Lawrence B. Cook.
Eb S. Cooke.
Robert W. Cooper.
Nathaniel C. Copeland.
Thomas H. Copeman.
Warren G. Corliss.
Leo O. Crane.
Richard H. Crane.
Francis D. Crinkley.
Charles L. Crommelin.
John D. Crowley.
John W. Crumpacker.
Ralph Cullinan, jr.
Arthur A. Cumberledge.
Damon M. Cummings.
Arthur N. Daniels.
Donald V. Daniels.
DeAtley I. Davis.
James H. Davis.
Edward M. Day.
George DeMetropolis.
James C. Dempsey.
Lucian F. Dodson.
John O. F. Dorsett.
Harrington M. Drake.
William A. Dunn.
Ralph W. Elden.
Lee A. Ellis.
Ernest B. Ellsworth, jr.
Ralph N. Ernest.
Ernest E. Evans.
Rudolph J. Fabian.
Robert S. Fahle.
Robert B. Farquharson, jr.
Elwin L. Farrington.
James I. Fawcett.
John B. Fellows, jr.
Cleon H. Felton.
Edward F. Ferguson.
Reid P. Fiala.
Benjamin P. Field, jr.
Maxim W. Firth.
William W. Fitts.
John A. Fitzgerald.
William H. Fitzgerald.
Arthur I. Flaherty.
Joseph E. Flynn.
Francis J. Foley.
Joseph F. Foley.
Lorenz Q. Forbes.
Edward L. Foster.
Archie D. Fraser.
George F. Freeman.
William M. Freshour.
Robert E. Gadrow.
Winsor C. Gale.
Wilmer E. Gallaher.
John W. Gannon.
Josef M. Gardiner.
Clarence L. Gasterland.
Will M. Garton, jr.
Peter M. Gaviglio.
Benjamin Ghetzler.
Wayne F. Gibson.
Roy O. Gilbert, jr.
William J. Giles, jr.
Thomas E. Gillespie.
Ralph G. Gillette.
Harry M. S. Gimber, jr.
Frank G. Gould.
Donald S. Graham.
James D. Grant.
Albert D. Gray.
George M. Greene.
Thomas J. Greene.
Edward H. Guilbert.
Byron L. Gurnette.
Oscar E. Hagberg.
Vernon R. Hain.
Henry H. Hale.
Madison Hall, jr.
Norman Hall.
Mann Hamm.
Douglas T. Hammond.
John F. Harper, jr.
George A. Hatton.

Claude V. Hawk.
Carson Hawkins.
Richard R. Hay.
Nelson M. Head.
Robert B. Heilig.
Andrew J. Hill, jr.
Thomas W. Hogan, jr.
Harry W. Holden.
John C. Hollingsworth.
William W. Hollister.
Merrill S. Holmes.
Arnold H. Holtz.
Ernest C. Holtzworth.
Edwin B. Hooper.
Charles M. Howe, 3d.
Francis W. Hoye.
Robert E. Hudson.
George P. Huff.
John N. Hughes.
William C. Hughes, jr.
Raymond P. Hunter.
John D. Huntley.
Alden H. Irons.
Clifton Iverson.
Raymond H. Jacobs.
Clifford T. Janz.
Marvin J. Jensen.
Charles M. Jett.
William H. Johnsen.
Harlan T. Johnson.
Willis O. Johnson.
Alvin A. Jones.
Ashton B. Jones, jr.
Robert E. C. Jones.
Robert F. Jones.
Karl E. Jung.
John F. Just.
James H. Kelsey, jr.
Gerald L. Ketchum.
Joseph V. Kiehlbauch.
Robert D. King.
Victor A. King.
Charles C. Kirkpatrick.
Charles E. Kirkpatrick.
John E. Kirkpatrick.
Millard J. Klein.
Thomas R. Kurtz, jr.
Sidney J. Lawrence.
James T. Lay.
William R. Lefavour.
Joseph W. Leverton, jr.
Bafford E. Lewellen.
Burton C. Lillis, jr.
Carl A. Lizberg.
Robert E. Lockwood.
Ernest W. Longton.
Carlton C. Lucas.
Hylan B. Lyon.
Eugene S. Lytle, jr.
Donald J. MacDonald.
George K. MacKenzie, jr.
Robert W. Mackert.
George B. Madden.
Elliott E. Marshall.
Marshall T. Martin.
Forsyth Massey.
Jesse S. McAfee.
Frank C. McAllister, jr.
John S. McCain, jr.
Reginald R. McCracken.
William R. McCuddy.
Edwin A. McDonald.
William V. McKaig.
Baxter M. McKay.
Francis A. McKee.
Bernard F. McMahon.
Vincent J. Meola.
Francis B. Merkle.
Alfred B. Metsger.
Lion T. Miles.
Justin A. Miller.
Norman M. Miller.
John O. Miner.
George G. Molumphy.
John R. Moore.
Daniel S. Morris.
Charles A. Morrow, jr.
William J. Morrow, jr.
McDonald Moses.
Jesse H. Motes, jr.
Philip W. Mothersill, jr.
Carleton E. Mott.
Horace D. Moulton.
Henry Mullins, jr.
James A. Murphy.
John A. Myer.
Horace Myers.
Floyd B. T. Myhre.
Ray C. Needham.
Raymond H. Nelson.
Samuel E. Nelson.
Rathel L. Nolan, jr.
William C. Norvell.
Joseph E. O'Brien.
Michael G. O'Connor.
Edward J. O'Neill.
James M. O'Toole.
Seymour D. Owens.
Charles K. Palmer.
Lee S. Pancake.
John C. Parham, jr.
William K. Parsons.
Thomas B. Payne.
Harold Payson, jr.
Hepburn A. Pearce.
George E. Peckham.
Francis M. Peters, jr.
James M. Peters.
Richard W. Peterson.
Thomas C. Phifer.
Ransom A. Pierce.
Samuel H. Porter.
Peter G. Powell, jr.
John G. F. Prescott.
Frank R. Putnam.
Lawson P. Ramage.
Frank G. Raysbrook.
Allan L. Reed.
John S. Reese.
Henry A. Renken.
James R. Z. Reynolds.
Alvin F. Richardson.
Clark A. Ritchie.
Horacio Rivero, jr.
Berton A. Robbins, jr.
Edward L. Robertson, jr.
Bernard F. Roeder.
Anthony C. Roessler.
Thomas W. Rogers.
Albert K. Romberg.
David L. Roscoe, jr.
Harold B. Russell.
William M. Ryon.
Robert R. Sampson.
Walter P. Schoeni.
George F. Schultz.
Harry E. Seidel, jr.
Charles F. Sell.
Leland G. Shaffer.
Alfred E. Sharp, jr.
Ward T. Shields.
William B. Sieglaff.
William J. Sisko.
Andrew J. Smith.
Curtis E. Smith.
James T. Smith.
Julius E. Smith, jr.
Norman E. Smith.
Ronald K. Smith.
Victor H. Soucek.
Jerry C. South, jr.
Arthur E. Stafford.
Richard C. Steere.
Edward F. Steffanides, jr.
Frederic S. Steinke.
Andrew P. Stewart.
Walter J. Stewart.
George R. Stone.
Charles T. Straub.
Daniel A. Stuart.
Joseph B. Swain.
Eugene Tatom.
Robert L. Taylor.
Robert A. Theobald, jr.
Willis M. Thomas.
Warren R. Thompson.
Joseph T. Thornton, jr.
Donald W. Todd.
Theodore A. Torgerson.
Joseph C. Toth.
Alfred B. Tucker, III.
Thomas D. Tyra.
Gordon A. Uehling.
Schermerhorn Van Mater.
Charles S. Vaughn.
Alexander C. Veasey.
Louis F. Volk.
James B. Vredenburgh.
Ford L. Wallace.
Kinloch C. Walpole.
Nathaniel E. Warman.
Hazlett P. Weatherwax.
John A. Webster.
James B. Weiler.
Frederick U. Weir.
Charles L. Werts.
Karl R. Wheland.
Justin L. Wickens.
Henry R. Wier.
Donald T. Wilber.
Prentis K. Will.
George K. Williams.
Henry Williams, jr.
Jack B. Williams.
Lowell W. Williams.
Russell C. Williams.
Francis T. Williamson.
Albert H. Wilson, jr.
Arthur L. Wilson.
George S. Wilson.
Peyton L. Wirtz.
James M. Wood.
Lester O. Wood.
Ronald J. Woodaman.
Edward A. Wright.
Sinclair B. Wright.
John T. Wulff.
Evan W. Yancey.
Andrew L. Young, jr.
William P. Woods.

Passed Asst. Surg. David O. Bowman to be a surgeon in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, from the 1st day of July, 1926.

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, from the 4th day of June, 1931:

Harry J. Noble.
Arthur H. Pierson.
Earl E. Sullivan.
Houston B. Fite.
Gilbert H. Larson.
Samuel E. Johnson.
Daniel P. Platt.
John A. Marsh.
Reuben H. Hunt.
James K. Gordon.
Jose A. Perez.
Henry A. N. Bruckshaw.
William F. Kennedy.
Francis D. Walker.
Royal A. McCune.
Franklyn C. Hill.
Charles R. Tatum.
Maurice Joses.
Thomas F. Duhigg.
Benjamin W. Gaines.
James D. Benjamin.
Emmett J. Brady.
Harry A. Keener.
Paul F. Dickens.
Henry C. Kellers.
Lincoln Humphreys.
Albion H. Cecha.
Ernest F. Slater.
Irving E. Stowe.
Francis P. Field.
Fleete S. Steele.
Aclpfar A. Marsteller.
John A. Topper.
Edward M. Steger.
Earl E. Dockery.
Charles Wheatley.
Clarence N. Smith.
John G. Davis.
William S. Bunkley.
Gleaves B. Kenny.
Roy J. Leutsker.
George E. Mott.
Cyrus R. Currier.
Henry L. Fougerousse.
Otis B. Spalding.
David E. Horrigan.
J. Howard Branan.
Victor B. Riden.
James P. Bowles.
Clyde W. Brunson.
James D. Blackwood, jr.
John B. Bostick.

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commanders, from the 30th day of June, 1931:

Everett B. Taylor.
Dwight Dickinson, jr.
William A. Epstein.
Alfred G. Tinney.
Arthur J. White.
Ray E. A. Pomeroy.
Jonathan E. Henry.
John T. O'Connell.

Vincent Hernandez.	Samuel H. White.
Ray W. Hayworth.	Edward J. Goodbody.
Stuart J. Trowbridge.	Richard B. Blackwell.

Asst. Surg. Harry L. Goff to be a passed assistant surgeon in the Navy, with rank of lieutenant, from the 5th day of June, 1930.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 8th day of June, 1931:

Thomas M. Arnett, a citizen of West Virginia.
Malcolm W. Arnold, a citizen of Mississippi.
Lawrence E. Bach, a citizen of Kentucky.
Robert Bell, a citizen of Iowa.
Martin H. Benson, a citizen of Texas.
Reuben A. Benson, a citizen of South Dakota.
William T. Booth, a citizen of Georgia.
Weston T. Buddington, a citizen of Connecticut.
James B. Butler, a citizen of New Jersey.
Alvin R. Carpenter, a citizen of New York.
Alvin J. Cerny, a citizen of Illinois.
Harold J. Cokely, a citizen of Missouri.
William H. L. Collis, a citizen of California.
Victor G. Colvin, a citizen of Pennsylvania.
Daniel C. Corriher, a citizen of North Carolina.
Murphy K. Cureton, a citizen of Georgia.
Giffin C. Daughtridge, a citizen of North Carolina.
Adrian J. Delaney, a citizen of New York.
Lewis T. Dorgan, a citizen of Colorado.
Kenneth W. Eikenberry, a citizen of California.
Leslie D. Ekvall, a citizen of California.
William L. Engelman, a citizen of Iowa.
Benjamin G. Feen, a citizen of Georgia.
James E. Fulghum, a citizen of North Carolina.
Andrew Galloway, a citizen of Illinois.
Willard M. Gobbell, a citizen of Oregon.
Clark G. Grazier, a citizen of Pennsylvania.
Powell W. Griffith, a citizen of Georgia.
Ralph D. Handen, a citizen of Illinois.
Eugene R. Hering, jr., a citizen of Wisconsin.
George R. Hogshire, jr., a citizen of Oregon.
Clifford M. Hughes, a citizen of South Dakota.
Edward F. Kline, a citizen of New Jersey.
Frederick R. Lang, a citizen of Pennsylvania.
Frank A. Latham, a citizen of Mississippi.
William P. Locke, a citizen of New York.
Ralph M. McComas, a citizen of West Virginia.
Isaac S. McReynolds, a citizen of Tennessee.
Clarence F. Morrison, a citizen of West Virginia.
Langdon C. Newman, a citizen of Tennessee.
Roger R. Olsen, a citizen of Illinois.
Erwin H. Osterloh, a citizen of Texas.
Elbert F. Penry, a citizen of California.
Paul K. Perkins, a citizen of North Carolina.
James A. Price, a citizen of Texas.
Howard L. Puckett, a citizen of Michigan.
Edward M. Quinn, a citizen of California.
Joseph F. Rech, a citizen of Pennsylvania.
George B. Ribble, jr., a citizen of Minnesota.
James J. Sapero, a citizen of California.
Oscar Schneider, a citizen of Oregon.
Howard K. Sessions, a citizen of Georgia.
Robert E. Shands, a citizen of Mississippi.
Marcy Shupp, a citizen of Kansas.
Richard J. S. Silvis, a citizen of South Dakota.
Francis K. Smith, a citizen of Illinois.
Rudolph E. Swenson, a citizen of Minnesota.
Donald R. Tompkins, a citizen of North Dakota.
Otto E. Van Der Aue, a citizen of Illinois.
Burt O. Wade, a citizen of California.
Ernest M. Wade, a citizen of California.
John H. Ward, jr., a citizen of California.
Robert L. Ware, a citizen of Georgia.
Leon H. Warren, a citizen of Maine.
Fitz-John Weddell, jr., a citizen of Mississippi.
John J. Wells, a citizen of Massachusetts.
John M. Wheelis, jr., a citizen of California.
Thomas L. Willmon, a citizen of Texas.
James E. Wilson, jr., a citizen of Mississippi.
Donald O. Wissinger, a citizen of Indiana.
John D. Yarbrough, a citizen of Tennessee.
Isadore Zugerman, a citizen of Pennsylvania.
Joseph L. Zundell, a citizen of Utah.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 5th day of November, 1931:

Eugene R. Hammersley, a citizen of Ohio.
Charles D. Bell, a citizen of Ohio.
Paul M. Hoot, a citizen of Oklahoma.
Morris M. Rubin, a citizen of California.
John F. Register, a citizen of South Carolina.
Edward T. Gary, a citizen of the District of Columbia.
Gabriel E. Obester, a citizen of New Jersey.
Louis M. Harris, a citizen of Texas.
Charles R. Moon, a citizen of Arkansas.
Keitt H. Smith, a citizen of South Carolina.
Clifford P. Powell, a citizen of Alabama.
Thomas W. McDaniel, jr., a citizen of Arkansas.
Stephen E. Flynn, a citizen of California.
Edgar J. Easley, a citizen of Arkansas.

The following-named passed assistant dental surgeons to be dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, from the 4th day of June, 1931:

William F. Murdy.	Edmund Laughlin.
Clarence A. Chandler.	Edward J. Fitzgerald.
Ronnie A. Berry.	Charles S. Weigester.
Nicholas S. Duggan.	Carlton B. Morse.
William J. Rogers.	Rolland W. Quesinberry.
Carl E. Reynolds.	

The following-named passed assistant dental surgeons to be dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, from the 30th day of June, 1931:

Ralph P. Morse.	Harrison J. LaSalle.
Ernest C. Johnson.	Henry C. Lowry.
Claude A. Angonnet.	John L. McCarthy.
Charles H. Morris.	Patrick A. McCole.
Clifford E. Kelly.	Henry G. Ralph.
Elmer C. O'Connell.	

The following-named citizens to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 18th day of July, 1931:

George N. Crosland, a citizen of California.
Victor A. LeClair, a citizen of Wisconsin.
Robert W. Wheelock, a citizen of Texas.

The following-named citizens to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 18th day of July, 1931:

James H. Connelly, a citizen of Michigan.
Merritt J. Crawford, a citizen of Kentucky.
Adolph W. Borsum, a citizen of California.
Paul M. Carbiener, a citizen of Colorado.
Claude E. Adkins, a citizen of Missouri.
Richard H. Barrett, jr., a citizen of Rhode Island.
Erwin J. Shields, a citizen of Wisconsin.
Lauro J. Turbini, a citizen of Massachusetts.
Richard M. Bear, a citizen of Illinois.

The following-named citizens to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 21st day of October, 1931:

Max W. Kleinman, a citizen of New York.
Robert W. Moss, a citizen of Virginia.

James A. Morton, a citizen of New Jersey, to be an assistant dental surgeon in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) for temporary service, from the 1st day of November, 1931.

The following-named passed assistant paymasters to be paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, from the 4th day of June, 1931:

Gerald A. Shattuck.	Edwin D. Foster.
Melvin F. Talbot.	Walton Dismukes.

Horace D. Nuber.	Percy J. Hutchinson.
William J. Carter, jr.	Herbert C. Lassiter.
David W. Mitchell.	William R. Ryan.
Archy W. Barnes.	James C. Masters.
George P. Seifert.	William E. Lund.
Thomas M. Schnotala.	Roy E. Smith.
Charles E. Sandgren.	Lawrence C. Fuller.
Andrew J. McMullen.	Samuel V. Dunham.
Alvah B. Canham.	Stephen E. Smith.
Frank W. Hathaway.	John L. Cash.
Theodore S. Coulbourn.	Clarence W. Baker.
John H. Seifert.	Charles W. Brown.
Arthur G. King.	Allen C. Bridges.
Orville D. Foutch.	Independent W. Gorton.
LeRoy Moyer.	Arthur A. Lee.
Edward R. McKenzie.	Daniel Lynch.
William C. Colbert.	Edward H. Duane.
Benjamin Berkowitz.	Max Baum.
Edison H. Gale.	

Passed Assistant Paymaster Charles W. Stevenson to be a paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, from the 30th day of June, 1931.

Clark T. Abbott, a citizen of Connecticut, to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 2d day of May, 1931.

The following-named midshipmen to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 4th day of June, 1931:

Peyton P. Callaway.	Walter R. Wright.
Stanley Mumford.	Frederick A. Kinzie.
Joseph F. Tenney.	Sidney A. Freeberg.
Marshall H. Cox.	Edward P. Trenholme.
Ignatius N. Tripi.	William E. Moring.
Charles L. Keithley.	

The following-named citizens to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 16th day of July, 1931:

Bernhard Tieslau, a citizen of California.
Harvey C. Hope, a citizen of Connecticut.
Francis B. Risser, a citizen of Washington.
Arnold J. Carlson, a citizen of Washington.
Frederick DeB. Witzel, a citizen of California.

Warren W. Whiteside, jr., a citizen of the District of Columbia, to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 20th day of August, 1931.

The following-named pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 2d day of September, 1931:

John H. Sewell.
Harry R. Godbey.

George A. Johnson, a citizen of Illinois, to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 11th day of November, 1931.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) John H. Spiller to be an assistant naval constructor in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 4th day of June, 1928.

The following-named ensigns to be assistant civil engineers in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, from the 7th day of June, 1928:

Albert J. Fay.
Howard F. Ransford.
Horace B. Jones.

Boatswain Daryl W. Cardell to be a chief boatswain in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 9th day of August, 1930.

Boatswain Edwin M. Jacobsen to be a chief boatswain in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 19th day of March, 1931.

Gunner Harold T. Petersen to be a chief gunner in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 18th day of October, 1929.

Electrician George L. Van Slyke to be a chief electrician in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 7th day of August, 1930.

Electrician Harry F. Letts to be a chief electrician in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 7th day of February, 1931.

The following-named radio electricians to be chief radio electricians in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 1st day of April, 1931:

Albert D. Walker.	Douglas S. Green.
James M. Kane.	William J. Thompson.
Augustus L. Day.	Lee J. Delworth.
Elmer T. Stone.	William R. Morley.

Machinist Sterling P. Womack to be a chief machinist in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 10th day of July, 1930.

The following-named machinists to be chief machinists in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 30th day of July, 1930:

John J. Deignan.
Ivan L. Brown.

Machinist Walter W. Eshelman to be a chief machinist in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 22d day of September, 1930.

Carpenter Harry P. Cummings to be a chief carpenter in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 5th day of April, 1931.

The following-named carpenters to be chief carpenters in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 24th day of April, 1931:

Thomas F. Coyne.	Alfred J. Ray.
George W. Steeves.	Henry B. Britt.

Pay Clerk Philip C. Dahlquist to be a chief pay clerk in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 1st day of October, 1930.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 25, 1932

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF TAX APPEALS

Edgar J. Goodrich to be a member of the Board of Tax Appeals.

GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO

James R. Beverley to be Governor of Porto Rico.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Oscar Mikkelsen to be assistant dental surgeon in the grade of assistant surgeon.

Mark E. Bowers to be assistant dental surgeon in the grade of assistant surgeon.

Franklin R. Frampton to be assistant dental surgeon in the grade of assistant surgeon.

REAPPOINTMENT IN THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS

GENERAL OFFICER

John Hodgen Rice to be brigadier general, Ordnance Department Reserve.

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Maj. George Morris Peabody, jr., to Adjutant General's Department.

First Lieut. Frederick Eugene Coyne, jr., to Finance Department.

APPOINTMENTS, BY PROMOTION, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Guy Kent to be colonel, Cavalry.

Gilbert Marshall to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps.

Cyril Bassich to be major, Field Artillery.

Max Frank Schneider to be captain, Air Corps.

Edwin James Van Horne to be first lieutenant, Infantry.

Robert Charles Ross to be first lieutenant, Field Artillery.

Harry Purnell Storke to be first lieutenant, Field Artillery.

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

John L. Miller, Berry.
Anna M. Nabors, Boothton.
Robert B. Evans, Elkmont.



Charles W. Massengale, Greensboro.
Robert S. Cartledge, Mobile.
Frances J. Davis, Repton.
Tyler M. Swann, Roanoke.

CONNECTICUT

Frederick W. Griffin, Cheshire.
James J. Fitzpatrick, Meriden.
Allen C. Bennett, West Willington.

GEORGIA

H. Ralph Smith, Brunswick.
Eunice G. Bragg, Gray.
Cicero F. Duffee, Jonesboro.
James M. Brophy, Rhine.
George R. Burton, White Plains.

INDIANA

Fred E. Meeker, Portland.
John W. Wood, Terre Haute.
Reader J. Meroney, Topeka.
Ralph D. Gookins, Veedersburg.

KANSAS

Lynn B. Mohler, Arkansas City.
Fred C. Oehler, Coffeyville.
Loraine A. Lyon, Edgerton.
Harry W. Adams, Elkhart.
Francis M. Smith, Ford.
Griffith R. Hughes, Fort Scott.
Clarence Haughawout, Onaga.
John Quin, Ottawa.
Samuel M. Simmons, Spring Hill.

MICHIGAN

Volney W. Ferris, Allegan.
Erva J. Mallory, Albion.
Ambrose C. Pack, Ann Arbor.
John C. Davis, Battle Creek.
Aaron W. Miles, Big Rapids.
Jesse A. Hurd, Ceresco.
Murl H. DeFoe, Charlotte.
Charles F. Goetzen, Chesaning.
Lois L. Lancaster, Clinton.
Milford W. Covert, Clio.
Hugh A. McLachlan, Evart.
Walter J. Kern, Frankenmuth.
Mary E. Chadwick, Frankfort.
George L. Olsen, Grand Haven.
Henry C. Hemingsen, Grant.
Arthur A. Graves, Grosse Ile.
Ernest C. Baldwin, Hudson.
Gerald McKindles, L'Anse.
Norman E. Borgerson, Lowell.
Mark Boyd, McBain.
Sadie Wheeler, Manton.
Vaughn A. Bartlett, Marcellus.
Archie Lowry, Marion.
Lincoln Rodgers, Muskegon.
Otto L. Sprague, Owosso.
Walter G. Wykoff, St. Johns.

MINNESOTA

Thomas R. Ohnstad, Cannon Falls.
Louis C. Hebeisen, Hamburg.
Herman Herder, Jordan.
Charles A. Allen, Milaca.
Charles A. Luscher, Redwood Falls.
Axel M. Croonquist, Stillwater.
Samuel A. Nystrom, Watertown.
William G. Gish, Waterville.
Richard E. Wakefield, Wayzata.

MISSISSIPPI

Lily B. Maxwell, Camden.
Robert W. Kyzar, Columbia.
Frances H. Cooke, Coffeeville.
Nancy A. Murphey, Doddsville.
William D. Fisher, Dundee.
David C. Branham, jr., Itta Bena.
Joseph H. Dent, Lorman.
Catherine Fitzpatrick, Pass Christian.
Mary E. Holtzclaw, Utica Institute.

NEBRASKA

Carl K. McCleery, Blue Hill.
Frank E. Crawford, Wymore.

PORTO RICO

Jose D. Sanchez, Catano.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Guthrie W. Woodham, Bishopville.
Clarence J. Fickling, Blackville.
George B. Patrick, Bowman.
Tully A. Sawyer, Chesnee.
Walter L. Gettys, Clover.
Allen T. Collins, Conway.
Joseph G. Holland, Edgefield.
Paul DeL. Mazyck, Gaffney.
Murray S. McKinnon, Hartsville.
Fore J. Watson, Kingstree.
John B. Harmon, jr., McCormick.
Loka W. Rigby, Moncks Corner.
Eugene C. Jones, North.
Alonzo D. Webster, Orangeburg.

SOUTH DAKOTA

William B. Poe, Andover.
Truman C. Knott, Bristol.
Lemont C. Ashbaugh, Butler.
Charles A. Olson, Claremont.
Claud I. Force, Clear Lake.
Valentine J. Fetzner, Colome.
Ernest F. Roth, Columbia.
Frank Den Beste, Corsica.
Leland W. Willis, Custer.
John Schafer, Delmont.
William O. Johnson, Faulkton.
Lewis E. Gorder, Frederick.
Lyle E. Swift, Gettysburg.
Earl J. Meredith, Groton.
Myron J. Cannon, Hermosa.
Clyde H. Cotton, Hitchcock.
Peter E. Koistinen, Lake Norden.
Thorvald Jordeth, Lebanon.
Adolph B. Holien, Madison.
Clarence S. Johnson, Milbank.
Gustavus M. Finotti, Missionhill.
Oscar W. Coursey, Mitchell.
Garfield G. Tunell, Mobridge.
Catherine M. Kuehl, Mound City.
Eugene M. Coffield, Oelrichs.
Percy R. Miklebost, Peever.
Richard Whalen, Pine Ridge.
Justin Snyder, Stephan.
Lawrence E. Hosking, Vivian.
Clarence I. Hougen, Wilmot.
Thomas R. Worsley, Witten.

TENNESSEE

William E. Richardson, jr., Halls.
Thomas H. Edgar, Jefferson City.
Walter P. Shipley, Jonesboro.
Blanche P. Scott, Lancing.
Nona C. Armstrong, Martel.
E. Dan Smith, Mountpleasant.
Kester L. Pearson, White Pine.
Mathew M. Huling, Winchester.

WEST VIRGINIA

Willie J. Ayers, Grantsville.
William A. Meredith, Shinnston.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Blessed Lord God, we turn to the altar of prayer and bare our hearts to receive that precious influence which is inspired by Thy holy presence. We ask for wisdom that directs, for faith that surrenders, and for love that purifies. Do Thou chasten the pride of our own understanding and reveal to us a newer and a diviner strength, for before silence can become golden it must be made rich in unction and in sweetness. O Spirit of the Most High God, help us to master our own natures completely, that we may be constantly honest in purpose, sincere in demeanor, and candid in word and in action. If we have failed to hallow the gifts of life, if we have spoken Thy name with unclean lips, do Thou forgive us in the name of the world's Savior. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On January 22, 1932:

H. R. 7360. An act to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions, to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, and for other purposes.

On January 23, 1932:

H. R. 6172. An act to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal Land Banks, and for other purposes.

IMMIGRATION

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. On Saturday I introduced bill H. R. 8331, to restrict general immigration in the United States. This bill was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. My object in introducing this bill was for the purpose of having considered a permanent restriction measure. I think the time has come when, on account of the distressing condition in the country, serious consideration should be given a measure of this kind. The bill provides that 90 days after the enactment of this act, and until otherwise provided by law, no immigration visa shall be issued to any immigrant, except—

(a) An immigrant who is the unmarried child, under 21 years of age, or the wife of a citizen of the United States, or the husband of a citizen of the United States by a marriage occurring prior to June 1, 1928;

(b) An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States who is returning from a temporary visit abroad;

(d) An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of, carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university; and his wife and his unmarried children under 18 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him;

(e) An immigrant who is a bona fide student, at least 15 years of age, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary, or university particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor, which shall have agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each immigrant student, and if any such institution of learning fails to make such reports promptly the approval shall be withdrawn; or

(f) A woman who was a citizen of the United States and who, prior to September 22, 1922, lost her citizenship by reason of her marriage to an alien but at the time of her application for an immigration visa is unmarried.

The term "immigration" is defined in section 3 of the act of 1924.

Now, gentlemen of the House, this is a serious matter when we are confronted with the unemployment of six or seven million people. I have not made any exceptions in the Western Hemisphere. The law applies to every country alike. If you are interested in trying to relieve the situation in this country at this time, I wish you would give some thought to this measure and help to get it before the House for consideration. I thank you. [Applause.]

PAUL M. WARBURG

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, we read the sad news in the public prints this morning of the death of a very distinguished gentleman, Paul M. Warburg, and I take this opportunity to say a few words about this eminent gentleman. Death finds him a shining mark. He was as distinguished in banking as he was patriotic as a citizen. His was a life of genuine service.

He was beloved by all who came in contact with him. He was benign, gentle, and imbued with a kindly sympathy for the poor, the downtrodden, and oppressed. His purse was ever open to all worthy causes. He was sponsor and an earnest supporter of the Federal reserve system, and in the beginning was its directing genius. He was no impractical idealist but rather a practical realist. He always believed in the fundamental principles of banking and courageously applied them, knowing full well that financial knots always untie themselves when basic principles are applied.

The world to-day mourns the fact that he has gone through the valley of the shadow. Peoples on both sides of the Atlantic revered him. The public will not forget that in 1929, when there was that wild orgy of speculation, he voiced an admonition to the people, and particularly to the bankers, that it was necessary to put on the brakes against speculation.

His words went unheeded, but it is well to remind ourselves that at least his vision pointed the correct and proper way. The New York Times editorially, in part and splendidly, says of him this morning:

> But that public will not have forgotten the outspoken and courageous public warning which he uttered, in March of 1929, against the speculative mania which was preparing the way for the reckoning of 1930 and 1931. It was at a moment when other eminent bankers kept discreetly silent that he was truthful enough and bold enough to tell the country that the wild rise on the stock exchange was "quite unrelated to increase in plant, property, or earning power"; that it was only "sustained by a colossal volume of loans carrying unabsorbed securities," and that "the ultimate collapse," unless the craze were arrested, would not only affect the excited speculators but would "also bring about a general depression involving the entire country."

In the words of that great prophet Micah, well may we say that Paul M. Warburg loved mercy and did justice and walked humbly before his God.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMISSION, GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H. R. 5341) to provide for the incorporation of the District of Columbia Commission, George Washington Bicentennial, and ask unanimous consent to substitute therefor Senate bill 1306, an identical bill.

The SPEAKER. The lady from New Jersey calls up H. R. 5341, to provide for the incorporation of the District of Columbia Commission, George Washington Bicentennial, and asks unanimous consent to substitute therefor S. 1306, an identical Senate bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the Senate bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That during the year 1932 the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington will be celebrated in the District of Columbia, and for the purpose of preparing, sponsoring, and encouraging suitable programs, entertainments,

and demonstrations Cloyd H. Marvin, William W. Everett, John Poole, Mrs. Philip Sidney Smith, Clarence A. Aspinwall, George F. Bowerman, William W. Bride, Thomas E. Campbell, John H. Cowles, Harrison H. Dodge, Robert V. Fleming, Isaac Gans, Edwin C. Graham, Gilbert H. Grosvenor, John Hays Hammond, George C. Havenner, J. Leo Kolb, David Lawrence, Charles Moore, George Richards, A. K. Shipe, Ernest N. Smith, Edgar C. Snyder, Mrs. Virginia White Speel, Anton Stephan, Merle Thorpe, Joseph P. Tumulty, Charles Stanley White, and Lloyd B. Wilson are hereby created a body corporate and politic to be known as the District of Columbia Commission, George Washington Bicentennial, and within the limits hereinafter prescribed, subject to the supervision of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia or subject to the supervision of the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks, as the case may be, the said corporation is hereby authorized—

(a) To purchase, acquire by lease, or construct such structures, platforms, and stands for the conduct of the programs, entertainments, and demonstrations as may be deemed necessary by said corporation.

(b) To manufacture, purchase, or otherwise acquire such paraphernalia, flags, posters, stationery, badges, programs and other printed matter, and lighting facilities as may be deemed necessary by the corporation for the purposes of said celebration.

(c) To erect or contract to be erected such structures, platforms, or stands on public space in the District of Columbia as may be deemed necessary by said corporation for the purposes hereof, and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks are hereby authorized to grant such permit or permits as may be necessary for the occupation of public space in the District of Columbia under their immediate jurisdiction: *Provided*, That no structure, platform, or stand shall be erected as aforesaid unless the plans thereof be approved by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia where the same are intended to be erected on public space within their jurisdiction, or the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks where the same are intended to be erected on public space within the jurisdiction of that office.

(d) To contract for the leasing and subleasing of such structures, platforms, and stands as may be erected by said corporation to such individuals, partnerships, or corporations and to grant such concessions as may be desirable in connection with said celebration.

(e) Adopt a seal, which said seal shall be the seal of the corporation.

(f) To do all other acts and things which may be necessary and proper to carry into effect the provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. That the corporation herein formed shall cease and determine upon the filing of its final report with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

SEC. 3. That Congress hereby reserves to itself the right to alter, amend, and repeal this act or any provisions thereof.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I think perhaps the lady from New Jersey ought to tell us something about what this bill does.

Mr. HOLADAY. Mr. Speaker, a parlimentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOLADAY. At the proper time I have an amendment that I desire to offer. When may I do that?

The SPEAKER. If the lady from New Jersey yields for the purpose of offering an amendment, of course, the gentleman may offer it; but until she yields the floor, or moves the previous question, she has control of the time.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, under the present laws of the District of Columbia a corporation which enters into business must be a stock company, with stock subscribed and paid in. The purpose of the District of Columbia Commission of the George Washington Bicentennial is to perform duties assigned to it by Congress, and under these conditions necessary authority should be obtained from the Congress. In other words, it is quite a different measure from any other bill of that kind.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, will the lady yield?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. I do not just quite understand what the duties of the commission are. Is this to be a permanent commission?

Mrs. NORTON. No; it is not. It is merely for the duration of the bicentennial. I think the bill explains that fully.

Mr. SNELL. Then this is not the commission intended to be set up eventually to take over all of the various collections the present Bicentennial Commission has gathered together?

Mrs. NORTON. No.

Mr. SNELL. This is simply to operate during the time of the bicentennial?

Mrs. NORTON. Exactly.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, will the lady yield?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Can not this commission at the present time do everything that it can do under an incorporation? Is it not a fact that the incorporation relieves them of personal responsibility in damage suits under contract for the erection of stands, and so forth?

Mrs. NORTON. The object of the bill primarily is to provide for the protection of visitors to the city from being overcharged.

Mr. UNDERHILL. I know that is what the bill says, but, as a matter of fact, it is not for the protection of the incorporators?

Mrs. NORTON. The gentleman means for their personal protection?

Mr. UNDERHILL. Against liability; that is, if they build a stand and the stand should collapse and people are injured, without the incorporation each one of the individuals would be personally responsible. If they are incorporated, they would not be. They can do anything required or that they find necessary to do without incorporation. This is simply a protective measure for them, is it not?

Mrs. NORTON. Is not that a perfectly fair thing to do? Is it not fair to protect them as individuals?

Mr. UNDERHILL. If it goes no further than that and does not allow them to make a general national solicitation for funds for carrying on this District celebration, I would not object; but if the incorporation allows them the further privilege of soliciting as a nationally incorporated organization funds from all sections of the country to carry on a District celebration, I should certainly object.

Mrs. NORTON. This bill would not give them that authority.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, will the lady yield?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Referring to subsection (c) on page 2, I note that the corporation is authorized to erect stands on public spaces. I am curious to know whether it is contemplated that these stands shall be erected on the Capitol Grounds.

Mrs. NORTON. I can not answer that question, except to say that the bill provides on page 2 that the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks shall have supervision of granting that power.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Does the lady think we should grant permission to a corporation to erect these stands on the Capitol Grounds in front of the Capitol and clutter up the Plaza?

Mrs. NORTON. No. I do not think it is their intention to do that.

Mr. UNDERHILL. They can not do that.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Does not the lady think that we should except the Capitol Grounds from their jurisdiction?

Mrs. NORTON. I think I would leave that matter entirely to the Director of Public Buildings and Parks. I think he has to give a permit.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. The Capitol Grounds would be a fine place from the standpoint of getting patronage. The Capitol Grounds would be a fine place to put them up if nobody cares anything about the grounds or the Capitol and just wanted to make some money.

Mrs. NORTON. They could not do that, because it is under the Capitol Commission, and it would be impossible for them to do so.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. But any other public space in the city except the Capitol Grounds could be used as a site for these stands.

Mrs. NORTON. As I have said before, that is entirely a matter for the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks to decide.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. But under this bill it could be so used.

Mrs. NORTON. Well, if one would very widely interpret the bill, possibly so; but I do not think anyone will do that.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. May I ask the lady another question? There is no provision in this bill for any accounting. There is no requirement that the accounts of this corporation shall be filed with any public officer or be subject to any supervision. No provision is made for the disposition of any profits they may make. It is expected that they will make quite a considerable sum; I could not guess how much, but probably $100,000, by the sale of seats and flags and by the other activities they are authorized to carry on. I find nothing in the bill that requires any supervision of their accounts or that any accounting shall be made or any list of their disbursements to be filed with any public officer.

Mrs. NORTON. My understanding is that any money left over will be used for the debts contracted by the commission.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Suppose they pay their debts and have some money left over; what will they do with it?

Mrs. NORTON. I do not think there is any possibility of having any money left.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. It occurs to me that some provision should be made so that these people can not get together after this celebration is over and divide up among themselves the profits they have made. There is nothing here to prevent that. I see nothing here to prevent any use they might choose to make of their profits.

Mrs. NORTON. Is it not a fact that the commission itself must file a report?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. To whom?

Mrs. NORTON. To the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. No. That is not provided in the bill, and they do not have to do anything that they are not required by the bill to do.

Mrs. NORTON. I feel sure that the men and women who compose this corporation can be trusted to do the proper thing in connection with any accounting.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. That is generally true of all public officials, yet I know of no precedent for establishing a practice with reference to a thing like this. This is a quasi-public enterprise. These people are in morals public officials, and they should be required to be responsible to somebody for what they do, and make an accounting, it seems to me.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Will the lady yield?

Mrs. NORTON. I yield.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Is not the answer to that the fact that when it is all over this corporation makes a report? The Congress controls the situation. If there is any profit shown, then we can just pass a law under section 3 of this bill and say, "You shall turn that profit over to this body or this commission or to the United States Treasury." We control the situation all the time. It is inconceivable that these individuals are going to put any profit in their own pockets. That is beyond conception.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. But if the profit has been spent there will be no power on the part of Congress to reclaim it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Oh, we can sue them, in my opinion, for it.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Under what authority?

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman is anticipating something that is inconceivable.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I have found it very desirable, in creating corporations, to anticipate several things for the protection of the public interest.

I am asking these questions because it appears there is to be no debate on the bill. There is another question I wanted to ask. No particular period is put upon the life of this corporation. It is to have existence until it chooses to commit suicide by making a final report. That appears in section 2 of the bill, "That the corporation herein formed shall cease and determine upon the filing of its final report with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia."

They are left to choose their own time for filing that report. Whether it is to be this year or next year or 50 years from now remains undisclosed.

Mr. CELLER. Will the lady yield?

Mrs. NORTON. I yield.

Mr. CELLER. I think the lady might point out that section 3 covers almost all the objections that have been voiced this morning, "Congress hereby reserves to itself the right to alter, amend, and repeal this act or any provisions thereof."

With reference to the termination of the corporation, if we find that the members of this commission are going to unduly extend the life of the commission, we can come in and adopt some amendment to this statute which will terminate their existence.

Furthermore, relative to the argument about disbursement of funds and the collection thereof, I think the provision on page 2, line 9, was wisely put in this bill, that all of their activities shall be subject to the supervision of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the supervision of the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks. So there are two distinct brakes there upon their activities in the event they go beyond their powers.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Where is that found?

Mr. CELLER. Page 2, lines 10 and 11.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. NORTON. I want to make the further explanation that none of the proposed incorporators will benefit financially by the enactment of this bill.

It is not what is commonly known as a profit-sharing proposition, and whatever receipts fall into its treasury will be properly used and accounted for to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia at the close of this work on or about November 24, 1932. I think the bill is sufficiently safeguarded and has but one object in view—the ultimate success of the gigantic efforts now being made to produce here in Washington the most wonderful celebration in honor of our first American citizen ever planned in the history of this country.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the lady yield further?

Mrs. NORTON. Gladly.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I want to inquire whether I am correct in thinking that there is to be no general debate on the bill beyond that in which the lady indulges?

Mrs. NORTON. The bill was unanimously reported by the Senate and House committees and we did not think it was necessary to have any general debate. It seemed to be a mere permissive bill and we did not plan for any general debate.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Is it the lady's intention to yield any time to anyone?

Mrs. NORTON. I do not think debate is necessary on this bill.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. But some one else might have an idea that it should be debated. I wonder if the bill is to be passed without any adverse comment at all. I want to ask the lady one more question: Is it the purpose of the lady to yield for amendments?

Mrs. NORTON. No.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentlewoman yield for a question?

Mrs. NORTON. Gladly.

Mr. BLANTON. I notice that on page 3, line 16, the bill gives this commission a sweeping blanket authority as to the granting of such concessions as may be desirable in connection with this celebration. That is a sweeping blanket authorization to control all concessions during this year of celebration in the District of Columbia. That would permit them to control taxicab concessions.

Mrs. NORTON. Oh, no. I do not agree with the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. It says all concessions.

Mrs. NORTON. I do not think the Bicentennial Commission would have anything to do with such concessions.

Mr. BLANTON. They might hold that the taxicab concessions were within their control.

Mrs. NORTON. I think not.

Mr. BLANTON. On page 3, in line 20, they were not satisfied with the above blanket authority, so they are asking for authority, and by this bill will be granted authority, "to do all other acts and things which may be necessary and proper." That language covers everything. I want to

ask the gentlewoman from New Jersey, when the Congress of the United States, on behalf of the Nation, now has actively functioning in Washington one of the most efficient and complete organizations for this celebration, under the personal direction of our colleague, Mr. BLOOM, who is very ably managing it, when he is doing it for the whole Nation, when he is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars, and spending it where the people are getting a proper return for it, why should we have to incorporate a special corporation in the District of Columbia? I can not understand that.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentlewoman yield to me to answer that question?

Mrs. NORTON. Gladly.

Mr. TILSON. It happens that I am one of four Members of this House, in addition to the Speaker ex officio, who are members of the National Bicentennial Commission.

Mr. BLANTON. I think the gentleman from Connecticut has done well.

Mr. TILSON. At any rate I think we made a good selection of a director.

Mr. BLANTON. I think you have picked the best man in the United States, and he has organized it in a business way, and he is putting some ginger in it.

Mr. TILSON. The commission thought so when they selected him.

Referring to this bill, I wish to say in regard to the sweeping authorizations to which the gentleman from Texas refers, that if he will only look on page 2, he will find that all of these powers are subject to the supervision of the Commissioners of the District, or if the matter in question goes beyond their jurisdiction, then it is subject to the supervision of the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks, as the case may be. So that everything that is provided for here is subject to the supervision either of the Commissioners of the District or the Director of Public Buildings and Parks.

Mr. BLANTON. The thing I wanted to call to the attention of the chairman of the committee was that from years of experience in the past we know just how far the Commissioners of the District of Columbia have gone in the way of granting special concessions to private institutions, for instance, concessions around your hotels. To-day there is but one company that can put its taxicabs and sightseeing busses around the big hotels in Washington. They go all the way around the block, and not another taxicab can approach those hotels. At your Union Station it is the same way and with regard to many other places here in Washington. All of that is because of the action of your District Commissioners, and I have lost confidence in them.

Mr. TILSON. What does the gentleman propose—that we here sit as a board of aldermen of the District and attempt to handle all of the details necessarily connected with such a celebration?

Mr. BLANTON. Why provide for another corporation of this character? Why can not the gentleman's organization take care of this thing?

Mr. TILSON. Our organization is a national organization. The Bicentennial Commission is national in its scope and organization. Our activities reach all over this land, while the District of Columbia organization is acting for the District just as the several States of the Union are acting through State organizations, under the general supervision of the national commission. The national commission has no function in connection with the holding of a special celebration in the District of Columbia except a general supervision, or rather cooperation, just the same as in all the States of the Union.

Mr. BLANTON. Is there not sufficient merit in it so that it will stand open debate and amendment? If we can not debate the bill and can not amend it, we ought to vote down the previous question, which would then give us our rights under the rules.

Mrs. NORTON. It was not my intention to close debate on the question, but we have a limited time, and it did not seem necessary to have debate on a bill that has been voted unanimously by both the Senate and the House committees.

Mr. LANHAM. Will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. LANHAM. On page 2 provision is made under subdivisions (a), (b), (c), (d), and so forth, for the purchase and manufacture of certain articles for decoration, and so forth, all of which, I presume from the previous language in the section, is to be under the supervision of the officers set forth therein. Is any subsequent appropriation contemplated for the purpose of purchasing any of these things?

Mrs. NORTON. No.

Mr. LANHAM. Will the funds that have already been provided be ample for that purpose?

Mrs. NORTON. They expect the funds to be ample and no appropriation is asked.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentlewoman from New Jersey yield further?

Mrs. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, the object of this proposed incorporation is that the persons named in the bill, all outstanding, distinguished citizens of Washington, intent upon helping this celebration, may operate as a corporation. If they should go into this enterprise as individuals, as a committee, or as a partnership, there might be personal liability of a serious character arising from circumstances over which they have no control or from accidents which they could not prevent. These public-spirited citizens desire to transact the business connected with this celebration in the usual business way through the means of a corporation rather than as private individuals, and therefore have asked for this incorporation in order that they may the more efficiently and without unnecessary risk of their personal fortunes go forward and put on a celebration here in the District befitting the name of Washington and appropriate to the great Bicentennial Celebration which is being carried on all over the country during the present year.

Mr. BOWMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TILSON. Yes.

Mr. BOWMAN. Is not this the same kind or character of bill that Congress always passes in order to take care of the inaugural ceremonies?

Mr. UNDERHILL. No; not at all.

Mr. TILSON. I do not know. I do not have in mind the resolutions passed on those occasions; but if the Members of the House will look at the list of names of men and women who are here made incorporators, it will be seen that they are men and women who are desirous of making the celebration here a credit to the District of Columbia and are asking for this legislation in order that they may the more effectively carry out their purpose.

Mr. LAGUARDIA and Mr. PATTERSON rose.

Mrs. NORTON. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, the objection I have to this bill, I may say to the gentlewoman from New Jersey, is not with respect to the personnel suggested as the incorporators under the bill, but my objection is to the general proposition of creating congressional incorporations. I believe under Chapter V of the Code of the District of Columbia these same persons could incorporate, because there the scope is very broad and includes charitable, educational, literary, musical, scientific, and "mutual-improvement organizations," and it would seem to me that they could incorporate under that language rather than come to Congress for a congressional incorporation. The two suggestions I would like to offer are that, on page 1, line 7, where the purposes of the corporation are set forth with respect to "preparing, sponsoring, and encouraging suitable programs, entertainments, and demonstrations," that we insert "on a nonprofit basis," which I think would eliminate a great many objections which exist against this bill. At the end of section 2, where the bill provides for the termination of this corporation, "that the corporation herein formed shall cease

and determine upon the filing of its final report with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia," I would insert there, "but not later than January 1, 1933," in order to bring this corporation to an end.

Mrs. NORTON. I may say to the gentleman that this is a little different in that it is not a profit-making corporation, and I do not think the amendment is necessary.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman from New Jersey moves the previous question on the resolution.

Mr. HOLADAY. Will the gentlewoman yield to me? I understood the gentlewoman from New Jersey had agreed to yield to me for the purpose of offering an amendment.

Mrs. NORTON. No. I have not agreed.

Mr. HOLADAY. Will the gentlewoman yield for an inquiry?

Mrs. NORTON. I have moved the previous question.

The question was taken, and the previous question was rejected.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7912, the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 7912, with Mr. MCCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Horticultural crops and diseases: For investigation and control of diseases, for improvement of methods of culture, propagation, breeding, selection, and related activities concerned with the production of fruits, nuts, vegetables, ornamentals, and related plants, for investigation of methods of harvesting, packing, shipping, storing, and utilizing these products, and for studies of the physiological and related changes of such products during processes of marketing and while in commercial storage, $1,431,560.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, there was so much confusion in the House that I could not hear the Clerk reading. I was trying to offer an amendment to line 15, page 36. I ask unanimous consent to return to page 36 that I may offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 36, line 15, strike out the figures "$262,005" and insert in lieu thereof "$247,005."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, this is a reduction on one of the 15 corn-borer items in this bill. I want to tell you a little about the corn borer.

On page 474 of the hearings you will find 15 separate items set out for the corn borer, making a total of $1,234,300. Your committee has eliminated $500,000, leaving $734,300, which is that much more than is warranted. On the next page you will see set out, by years, the amount that has been appropriated for fighting this scare, this corn borer, which is supposed to do great damage but which as a matter of fact has never done any damage of consequence in 22 years.

If we make the appropriations included in this bill we will have appropriated eighteen and three-quarter million dollars for fighting the corn borer. Let us learn something more about it. On page 473 of the hearing, this question was asked of Doctor Marlatt, Chief of the Bureau of Entomology, who presumably knows more about this corn borer than anybody else in the United States. This question was asked him by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS]:

"Can you control it, Doctor?" Doctor Marlatt answered, "You can not." I asked him, "Can you stop its spread?" Doctor Marlatt answered, "You can not." I asked him, "Can you exterminate it?" Doctor Marlatt replied, "In my judgment, you can not."

And yet we are asked to appropriate three-quarters of a million dollars for the eradication of the corn borer.

At another point reference was made by Doctor Marlatt as to the time it came into this country. Presumably, it came in broomcorn about 22 years ago. He said it had existed in certain parts of the country for 10, 15, or 20 years, but the farmers did not know it was here. They went over to Europe to learn something about it; they found the people in Europe knew but little about it, and that it was not listed as one of the destructive pests.

The testimony before our committee was that for the past four years the corn borer had not done in the United States a hundred thousand dollars of damage in all the country, not in one single year.

As a matter of fact, the testimony in most instances has been to the effect that it has not done a hundred thousand dollars damage in the United States in 22 years, although eighteen and three-quarter million dollars have been expended fighting this fraud.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from Washington has made a very surprising, if not startling, statement when he says that we have been appropriating in the Agricultural bill yearly millions of dollars for the eradication of the corn borer, and in no single year has the damage been more than a hundred thousand dollars. How much money is carried in this bill for the eradication of the corn borer?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. For different studies, under about 15 heads, there is three-quarters of a million dollars as it comes before you at this time.

Mr. STAFFORD. And the gentleman says that we have appropriated up to date $18,000,000 for the eradication of this little pest which has done damage only to the extent of $100,000?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The figures furnished us of expenditures to the present time are $17,950,620, and then three-quarters of a million added in this bill brings the total up to eighteen and three-quarter million dollars.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then, why is the gentleman so parsimonious in his amendment reducing the amount only a few thousand dollars?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I am very glad to explain that to the gentleman. I have pleaded with the House in previous times and with my committee to eliminate this corn-borer item on the evidence presented by the bureau that has investigated it and has had corn-obrer work in charge for now these many years. This year we are taking a half million dollars off, and I wanted to take it all off. It is a waste of the taxpayers' money.

Mr. STAFFORD. Leaving how much?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Three-quarters of a million dollars in the bill for the corn borer, and it ought to all go out. I have tried many times to get this out and have failed, and at this time I am starting a series of amendments cutting off about 50 per cent from the separate amounts, of which there are several in the bill. I have adopted this plan, thinking that I might get support enough on the floor of the House to cut this needless expenditure in two, with the exception of one item, which certainly ought all to go out. If the gentleman will follow me on this we will eliminate something over $500,000 from the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will be glad to follow the gentleman.

Mr. PATTERSON. The gentleman's plan is, then, to take this organization which has been chartered for so long and operate upon it just by degrees?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I made a motion in the whole committee to strike out all of these items, amounting to $734,000, but it was voted down. I am making a motion now and shall later offer other amendments to cut the amount carried in the bill by 50 per cent, thinking we may kill the dog by cutting an inch off his tail at a time, if we can not get the consent of the House to kill him all at once.

Mr. THATCHER. Have the experts of the Agriculture Department changed their viewpoint as to the practicability

of fighting the corn borer by the means which have failed heretofore?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The testimony before our committee for the past three or four years is that they have solved the problem to this extent: If it causes trouble, which it seldom does, except in a little patch here and there, then the farmer has only to destroy the cornstalks or to plow them under. That is the effective remedy they recommend. They want $60,000 to devise some kind of a machine to crush the cornstalk and $30,000 at another place for something else and another amount at some place else. Let me quote now from page 470 of the hearings, from Doctor Marlatt's testimony:

> Over the great mass of the area now reached, for periods from 7 to 20 years, the damage, if any, has not been of such a character as to make the farmers realize that they are very much hurt, or even hurt at all.

Yet we have appropriated eighteen and three-quarter million dollars for the corn borer in the face of the many things we are in need of money for what would be beneficial to the farmer. We have gone on appropriating in this way, and the department has reminded us many times that they are not responsible for the entire amount that has been expended, because Congress gave them $10,000,000 at one time when they did not request it.

Mr. ARENTZ. Who is responsible for the discussion about the corn borer on the floor of the House in past years, when it was brought to the attention of the House that the corn-borer situation was such that it was gradually growing across the Nation and ultimately would destroy the entire corn crop of America?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. When this matter came to our attention, not to the attention of my particular subcommittee but to the deficiency committee, I happened to drop in when they were holding hearings. They had photographs there of what had occurred in some low, wet lands in Ontario that had been corned for 40 years.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. They did not clean up the stalks, and there is no question but that the corn borer did considerable damage there. They made very vivid photographs of those corn fields and brought them here before the different committees of Congress.

Mr. ARENTZ. Whom does the gentleman mean by "they"?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I do not know who did that photographing; I have never looked into it. I saw the photographs and I said to myself, "My God, is the great corn industry of America ruined? Are we doomed? Have we another boll weevil or pink bollworm of cotton, or something of that kind to deal with?" The next year it came before our Subcommittee on Agriculture and I began asking direct questions in order to get some exact information.

What I am giving you is a small part of the information that will be found in our hearings. Year after year for the past four years these scientists have appeared and testified. It would take much time for me to read to you the testimony before my committee, given year after year, all to the effect that I am now stating. What I am reading is taken from the hearings conducted a few weeks ago.

Mr. JENKINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I yield.

Mr. JENKINS. Does the amendment offered by the gentleman apply to the item of $295,000 on page 81?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I have an amendment to cut that.

Mr. JENKINS. Does the present amendment which the gentleman has offered apply to that item?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. No. The present amendment applies on page 36, line 13.

Mr. JENKINS. I think that most of the territory embraced in this corn-borer investigation is within my State.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. No; not most of it. It is in 13 States, but it does cover nearly all of Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS. Is not the State of Ohio the largest individual unit of operation?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Well there are New York and Michigan and different States.

Mr. JENKINS. We in Ohio have had occasions to observe the operations of this activity. Five or six years ago, when the first appropriation bill embracing corn-borer supervision was enacted, there was only a small territory south of Lake Erie involved in the State of Ohio. Year after year they have extended gradually until now they take in the entire State of Ohio. I would like to ask the gentleman from Washington if he remembers whether any question was asked of those who operate this activity as to why they have receded against the advances of these corn borers?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes. The entire subject is covered in the questions asked in the hearings. They have told us time and time again that they can not prevent its spread, and it travels 15 or 30 miles yearly, because the little moth that lays the eggs can fly. They have been employing 1,700 men out on the road at $4.56 a day asking 16,000,000 automobilists if they have any corn. At one time out of 10,000,000 automobiles they took 300,000 ears of corn and found 730 worms. In the meantime the moth could have flown over their heads and laid that many eggs in 15 minutes. So they have always said that they can not stop its spread.

The only thing they might possibly do would be to check its spread a little. The testimony has always been that it has done no commercial damage of any importance in the United States.

Mr. JENKINS. My observation in Ohio has been wide and extensive, inasmuch as I have passed through these cordons which they have placed around—these boys who stop us on the road and ask us if we have any corn. I have asked many of them if they have ever seen a corn borer, and I have never yet found one who has seen a corn borer; but, at the same time, I have interrogated those who have charge of this work in my State, and they are distinguished men in my State, men of great character, and they tell me it is absolutely essential. I would like to ask the gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS] if he knows whether anybody from the State of Ohio, from the organization which controls the corn-borer operation in the State of Ohio, appeared before the committee and what he stated.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Some years ago we had many from Ohio, and they were up in arms against all this work, and then we had some few who were for it. So it has continued. They were greatly frightened because they did not know the corn borer. Every farmer now knows he can control it, if, indeed, it requires control, by destroying the stalks or plowing them under.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

We want to proceed rather slowly in dealing with the corn borer. I do not advocate bringing in here a cut of $500,000 on this appropriation without making a very careful and a very thorough investigation of the corn borer, the damage he has been doing and the damage it is possible, yea, probable, he will do in certain years.

We sent two experts to Europe, the home of the corn borer, where he has been for centuries. They remained there for two years, and from their reports this is one of those pests which in some years will not do very much damage and in other years, when the climatic conditions favor its reproduction in quantities, do a great deal of damage. The report of those experts said that on the average the corn borer, in the infested areas of Europe, did about 15 per cent damage per year. I tell you now that in the corn borer you have a pest which is to the production of corn just what the cotton boll weevil is to the production of cotton. Some years

it will bring distress and misery to the great corn industry of our country. Other years it will have no appreciable effect, according to climatic conditions or favorable seasons.

This appropriation which the gentleman from Washington, Doctor SUMMERS, is seeking to reduce by his amendment is for what? It is to study culture methods, the very methods we have adopted in the control of the cotton boll weevil, and which are proving successful. It is also for the purpose of trying to find a resistant variety of corn, so that it will afford greatest resistance to that pest.

It is only $30,000 devoted to this branch of that great industry, our greatest agricultural product, produced in every State in the Union, and when we know this corn borer is destined to invade every State, this is one appropriation that ought not be decreased and it ought not be eliminated.

There are one or two others, one especially, which if the gentleman from Washington, Doctor SUMMERS, will make a motion to strike out, I will not resist. That is in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It provides twenty thousand or thirty-five thousand dollars for the study of the economical operation of machines to clean up the corn-borer area. By the time that study is completed and the bulletin is printed the farmers will have selected their own machinery and will know more about cleaning up the area than the bureau. If the gentleman from Washington will offer his amendment to that, he will find no resistance from me, but when the gentlemen aims it at one of the appropriations that go to the very foundation of the problem, which may bring forth information that will be worth millions to the United States, I shall resist it.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

I do not feel we should go any further in reducing the items for the corn borer. I am not altogether sure but that the committee has already gone too far in this item. While it is true, as the gentleman from Washington, Doctor SUMMERS, said, that the corn borer can not be stopped, it is also probably true that we have checked any rapid jump of it from one area to another. This bill eliminates from the Federal expenditures the highway quarantine control that has been heretofore carried on. I would like you to get this picture of the corn situation: In the area which the corn borer has not yet reached, there is raised, on the average, annually 1,800,000,000 bushels of corn. It is probable that the corn borer will do no damage in much of that area.

The corn borer has only hit the eastern fringe of the great corn-growing sections of the United States. I feel that the United States can afford to spend a bit of money in insuring these 1,800,000,000 bushels of corn against this pest.

The money that is being expended in these items saves the necessity of the corn-growing States placing a quarantine against the corn borer and the products of the States now infested. Ohio would have difficulty in shipping certain products of its farms into my State, into Iowa, into Missouri, and into the Dakotas if the United States Government backs out entirely from the corn-borer field, because every State would have the right, under the law, to place a quarantine if it thought there might be some infestation coming in.

We are doing this with the corn borer: They have developed one strain of dent corn that apparently is immune to the borer. If we can reach that point, we have done a great work. They are developing machinery and they are developing cultural methods of handling cornfields, in order to know how to handle this borer when it reaches the great areas not now affected.

My colleague from Washington has said the corn borer has done no commercial damage. I think in correctness what the RECORD should state is that no one has been able to prove any commercial damage from the corn borer, but from that it does not follow that damage has not been done. It has without doubt done commercial damage to sweet corn, and one gentleman from Ohio this year before our committee said he was confident it could be established that the corn borer alone had cost Ohio more money per year than our record shows it has ever cost. The scientists in the Department of Agriculture, when asked the question, Can you prove that the corn borer has done any commercial damage, said no; but it does not follow from that that no damage has been done.

I feel that in this item the committee has gone as far as it is safe to go.

Mr. JENKINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. JENKINS. I think the sentiment in Ohio against any corn-borer work comes from those who know about the stopping of people on the roadside, while the real farmers and those actively engaged in this work, like Mr. Dunlap, firmly believe it is for the best interests of the farmers that this work be carried on.

Mr. SIMMONS. The bill this year carries money for the carrying on of the corn-borer work, except that this highway checking will be stopped.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment to repeat that if this reduction in appropriations would help check the corn borer in any way, I would be the last one to oppose it. There will still be more than half a million dollars left—enough to employ more than a hundred experts to study the corn borer.

The American farmer is justly entitled to every protection the Nation can give him. He is the last one who wants to see money wasted. Waste will ruin a Nation the same as an individual. We must cut appropriations which return no good. Is not more than half a million sufficient at this time to continue a study of the pest? The responsibility will only be greater if the amount is reasonable.

My friends, $17,000,000 of the people's money has been spent. Again I say too much of it was wasted. I am for any scientific investigation which may check the corn borer, and half a million dollars of Uncle Sam's money is sufficient to do that.

I am not opposing this appropriation alone. I am emphasizing this because in the appropriation bills that are to follow I shall introduce amendments to cut down every unnecessary expense of Federal Government. I am beginning in this first appropriation bill on things that affect my own district as much as any other district in the land. The Nation demands that Congress reduce its spending.

Mr. VESTAL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I yield to my able colleague from Indiana.

Mr. VESTAL. I want to ask the gentleman if he does not think the trouble lies more in the enforcement of this provision than anything else; that is, they put some guards on one road out of a city and it is very easy for anyone to go on a byroad and go around and never pass these men at all; is not that true?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. My colleague from Indiana has well stated the loss that is involved.

Mr. VESTAL. And it is just an absolute waste of money.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Yes; it is an absolute waste of too much money.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think, in fairness to the committee, it should be stated that the things about which the gentleman is speaking now, if the gentleman is referring to the highway patrols, have been eliminated from the bill. This bill does not take a dollar from or add a dollar to the work of patrolling the roads.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I am using the patrol as an illustration of how the people's money has been squandered under the guise of helping the farmer.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. If we are not going to patrol the roads, maybe they are going to have index cards for each one of these corn borers.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. The gentleman knows of the waste.

My friends, the most bloodthirsty wars in civilization have been fought in the name of the church. So now, under the guise of helping the farmers, it is further proposed to waste hundreds of thousands of dollars of the people's money.

Not one bit of scientific research will be curtailed by this limitation. If it would be, I would be the last one to object. The American farmer demands real economy. The country needs it. [Applause.]

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I rise simply for the purpose of calling to the attention of the House and the country the fact that this morning the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House by a vote of 18 to 0, two members voting "present," voted to favorably indorse and recommend to the House what is known as bringing the Navy up to its treaty strength, in accordance with the provisions of a bill which I introduced; at the same time, the committee decided that we would not for the time being submit our report to the House.

Soon after the meeting of Congress in December last, as chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, I publicly announced that the committee would prepare and present a program for naval construction which, when appropriations therefor were approved by Congress, would give to the Nation, within a reasonable number of years, a navy of the full strength which the welfare and defense of the country require in accordance with the London treaty.

After extended hearings a majority of the committee are convinced that the welfare and security of the Nation demand that the Navy be built up to the limitations prescribed in the London and Washington treaties, and have voted accordingly.

In view, however, of the very abnormal economic conditions which now confront us at home and abroad, and in the hope that some substantial results may be achieved at Geneva, the committee, in agreement with the chairman, has voted for the time being not to report the bill to the House. [Applause.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington) there were—ayes 17, noes 32.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Page 38, line 3, strike out "$1,431,560" and insert "$1,446,560."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I have tried to be consistent during the time I have been on the agricultural appropriation committee in supporting the items that are worth while and beneficial to agriculture. The testimony of my good friend the chairman recently was to that effect. I have tried to save money where I thought it was being wasted, and spend money where the farmers would be greatly benefited.

So I am going to talk about an industry which runs into the hundreds of millions of dollars and is worth while. Let me call attention to this small Delicious apple which I hold in my hand. Here is another Delicious apple, large but not well colored, and here is another, large, well colored, beautiful, and tempting. There is still another Delicious apple that is a better-looking apple than the one I hold before you. Here is a small Stayman winesap, and here is another, large and attractive, and here is a plain apple that nobody wants. This matter concerns every producer of apples, pears, and peaches in the United States, and it concerns every consumer of fruit in the United States.

If you buy high-quality fruit, you have a pleasing flavor, fine dessert qualities, and good keeping qualities. If you produce a scrub, it is not a pleasure, nor is it satisfactory to anybody.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that fruit from the gentleman's State of Washington?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. No; this measly little scrub is from the gentleman's State. [Laughter.]

Mr. PARSONS. We grow the finest fruit, much better than apples out there, and Members of the House, I have no doubt, would like to have them for general distribution. [Laughter.]

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes. But I am speaking seriously. The State of Washington is one of the great apple-producing States in the Nation, and there are many others. This concerns also the producers of pears and peaches. It is a small appropriation to have the Department of Agriculture help the producers and the consumers of fruit over the country. The fruit men want a study of "bud spots" or "bud variations" or "bud selection."

We have been helping the citrus growers for the past 22 years. As a result you have the best oranges and the best grapefruit and the best lemons and satsumas, all of which have been developed in that time by the help of the Bureau of Plant Industry.

Every fruit grower knows that if he has to ship his fruit far the freight eats up the whole receipts, so he must produce the highest grade of fruit possible. Orchards planted years ago to poor varieties must be removed, and they have to pay a high price for new trees to plant in those orchards.

Now, a nursery salesman comes along—and I do not cast any reflection upon the nurserymen—and he shows a fine picture and says, "Here are the trees that you ought to plant," and he convinces the farmer that he should put out 10 or 15 acres of that particular tree. In seven years from then the farmer will find out whether he has made a mistake or not. He will have invested at the rate of $500 an acre in the experiment and may find himself ruined.

So we take out the old apple, pear, or peach trees, and we want the highest quality of trees and best varieties that we can put in their place. We want to let the fruit grower know positively. At present the farmer has no place, no source of information, other than the man who wants to sell him the trees. To give unbiased, dependable information is the purpose of this amendment.

Now, this beautiful apple that I show you is developed from something not as good looking as the one I hold in my hand.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. It is just as you breed up stock. Without any reflection upon the great State of Florida, I have seen down there cows so small that you could almost pick one up under your arm. The farmers of the country do not want that sort of cattle. The Department of Agriculture has spent millions of dollars in helping the farmer get the best breed of cattle, the best breed of hogs and horses and chickens, the best kind of oranges and lemons and satsumas and grapefruit, and now the fruit men of the United States, whether they are in my State or any other State, want a little scientific work done along that same line in their behalf, in order that they may produce a profitable crop instead of an unprofitable crop I am asking that there be added to this bill, which carries $175,000,000, the small amount of $15,000 so the department may carry on this work in behalf of an industry that runs into hundreds of millions of dollars annually and concerns everybody that grows or eats fruit in the United States.

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes.

Mr. BURTNESS. Has some of this work been carried on heretofore?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes. This is not an entirely new item. A little work is being done, but not in a way that would lead to valuable advice till a great many years have gone by. Meanwhile, many farmers will have been ruined by putting out the wrong variety of fruit.

Mr. BURTNESS. Did the subcommittee of which the gentleman is a member have hearings on this item?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. We did. I asked Doctor Taylor to discuss the item. He discussed it in detail, and I have put in the hearings statements of scientific and practical orchardists, about 12 of them, men who know exactly what they are talking about, and I would be glad to have Members read their statements so that they may have the whole case before them. If they do, I will then be willing to risk what the vote will be on my amendment.

Mr. BURTNESS. Following that hearing, did the subcommittee reach any conclusion as to the advisability of inserting the item?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The subcommittee unanimously inserted this item. But in this general move to abrogate our functions as legislators it was eliminated. At first I did not think as a member of the committee that I would bring this matter to the floor. I reconsidered. I feel it is of so much importance to a great industry all over the country, especially to those who are not able to ship anything but the highest quality of fruit that I must plead with you for this amendment. I feel that I would not be doing right by the fruit industry if I did not present the facts to the House and let the House vote on it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. The Bureau of Plant Industry is granted $200,274, allocated out of this large appropriation the gentleman seeks to amend, for deciduous fruit production and investigations, in which apples are included. This is an old story.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The statement was also made that that was so closely budgeted for other items that it did not permit the carrying on of this work.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is always the story that comes from a bureau chief. If you want a little extra work done on a new project they will tell you that the appropriation is all allotted and they can not possibly do it without disturbing those allotments, and that therefore you must give them another appropriation, and thus increase the appropriations and the burdens of Government. They have over $200,000 for this purpose. The Plant Bureau is supposed to allot that money on the most important projects. This is a budding business, it takes years to accomplish any results, and if you start this appropriation at $15,000 now, it will grow as the years go by and it will be 10 or 15 years before you can possibly get results. Is this the time to start new projects that are not an emergency in any sense of the word? Doctor Taylor was asked the identical question as to whether this was an emergency and he said no, that it is not an emergency, and my colleague, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS], replied, as shown by the hearings, that he did not know what other members of the committee thought about it, but as for him he did not believe in increasing any estimate of the Budget unless it was a real emergency.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. And no matter what the hearings may show, the fact remains that the subcommittee did include this item in its original recommendation to the main committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Oh, yes; the subcommittee included it, but after further thought and consideration and considerable discussion a majority of the subcommittee came to the conclusion that during this crisis we should eliminate every increase of the Budget, and we should eliminate every new item. The people of this country are struggling under the burden of taxation; they are grumbling; they are dissatisfied; they are getting so that they have not that amount of confidence in their Government that they ought to have. We have an opportunity right now to take a long step toward securing the confidence of the people in the Government in Washington. During this depression, during the time that they are groaning and struggling under the burdens of taxation and low prices, if they could see in their newspapers reports to the effect that the Congress has slashed the Budget estimates of the President like thunder, and that the House and the Senate are sustaining him, not only sustaining him but going one step farther for economy, that fact would go a long way toward making them retain confidence in their Government.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. This is an entirely new item, is it not?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It is an entirely new item.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. Then I shall agree with the chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I was moved by the remarks of Mr. BUCHANAN, the chairman of the subcommittee, when he indicated that we must save money. I agree with that sentiment exactly, and I always vote accordingly. I come from a county which produces probably as many apples as any county in the United States—Lawrence County, Ohio, and I am in favor of the small additional appropriation covered by the amendment under consideration, for it may help the orchardists in my section, who need every reasonable help that they can get.

I noticed the fine apples produced by my friend the gentleman from Washington, Doctor SUMMERS. We produce fine Delicious apples in my county in Ohio, but we can not produce as good color on our Delicious apples as the gentleman from Washington; but we do produce the best Rome Beauty apples that are produced anywhere in the world.

Three of the largest apple growers in our county failed in the last four or five years. The apple-growing business has not been prosperous with us for a few years. This year we sold thousands of bushels of apples at 10 cents a bushel. Our best apples, graded and packed, brought only about 75 cents. Thousands of bushels of fine apples were not picked this year. We had the largest crop in our history, but the poorest price.

I want to tell you a little story, a true story, which may soften the hearts of our good Democratic friends who are opposing this amendment.

The Rome Beauty apple originated in Rome Township, Lawrence County, Ohio. An old gentleman, a Mr. Gillette, was an apple raiser of considerable reputation. One day he received a shipment of nursery stock, and when he sorted them out he found a small, crooked apple tree in the group. This old gentleman was a rank, partisan Republican. [Laughter and applause.] He was a good Republican. He threw this little crooked apple tree to his boy and said, "Lad you can have that tree. That is a little Democrat tree." The lad took that little Democrat tree and planted it, and from that little Democrat tree came the wonderful Rome Beauty apple. [Laughter and applause.] This story is true. The tree grew near the present site of the Lawrence County fair grounds, and a monument has been erected on the fair grounds to commemorate this famous tree. The Rome Beauty apple is generally considered to be the best general-purpose apple. Nowhere in the country does it grow better than in its native soil and climate. [Applause.]

Mr. HOLADAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JENKINS].

On Friday or Saturday of last week the House was considering the item of appropriation for Government publica-

tions in the Department of Agriculture. At that time I made a statement that, in my opinion, a considerable amount of money was being wasted by those publications. The accuracy of that statement was questioned by some Members who complained that they could not get enough publications to meet the demands in their districts. Since that item was considered, I have received the report of the Public Printer, which came to my hands on Saturday morning last. In that report the Public Printer says:

First rank as a publisher is an easy honor of the Department of Agriculture, whose publications are about treble the number issued by any other department or establishment of the Government.

Then, on page 39 of that report, in speaking of the system of sending publications to libraries over the Nation, he says:

Government publications sent by the Superintendent of Documents to 498 designated depository libraries during the fiscal year 1931 totaled 1,966,469 copies, an increase of 31,310 over the preceding year.

Now, I ask you to listen to this:

It is worthy of consideration to note that during the fiscal year 1931 the depository libraries returned to the Superintendent of Documents 1,199,979 Government publications, which evidently were no longer of service to their readers.

Then, on page 41, he says:

Libraries are not the only places from whence comes the avalanche of obsolete and unserviceable publications which have to be disposed of as waste paper to make room for the incoming millions of newer publications that fill to overflowing the 100,000 square feet of storage space in the Government Printing Office. During the last 10 years 10,503,405 copies of publications ordered by various departments and establishments of the Government for official use or free distribution have failed of that purpose and have been sold as waste paper. In the same period 7,470,935 copies of publications available for sale by the Superintendent of Documents have likewise become obsolete or otherwise unsalable.

These useless publications, mostly pamphlets, added to the 5,925,499 returned by depository libraries, make the total waste of publications recorded by the Government Printing Office during the last 10 years amount to 23,899,839 copies.

That is not all—

In addition, there has been a great waste in the thousands of publications annually allotted to Members of Congress regardless of the special needs of their respective States or districts. A number of years ago the Senate and House folding rooms sold as waste paper approximately 2,000,000 publications that had never been removed from their wrappers. Undoubtedly, tons of other useless publications are now stored in and about the Capitol.

I call this official report to the attention of the Members of the House who have felt that decreasing the amount appropriated for publications was inadvisable, when, according to the official report, millions upon millions of Government publications are never opened, are never used, and are disposed of as waste paper, losing not only the cost of the paper and printing but the cost of sending out to these libraries and having returned a million or more copies annually of these useless publications.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I am going to object to any extension of time for remarks concerning anything except this bill and the amendments under consideration. I want to say to my colleagues that we are trying to finish with this bill to-day. There is another bill on the docket for to-morrow. Unless we stop this debate we will never get through. We have been very liberal, but the time has come now when we must confine our discussions to the bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I hope the gentleman will not object, because we have the key man who can give us a little information on this tremendous waste in Government printing, and I wish to interrogate the gentleman.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman has asked for two additional minutes?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will not object to that.

Mr. FREAR. I wish to talk about apples later on. Does the gentleman intend to cut me out of that?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Any Member who desires to discuss a bona fide amendment I do not intend to cut off, because I want the most liberal discussion possible of this, because it is a pioneer action in the House, and we ought to be liberal in the discussion of the merits of the bill. Otherwise, I am going to cut it off.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I am very glad the gentleman has pursued his inquiry and offered certain statistics as to this tremendous waste in governmental printing. The gentleman knows, as does every Member who is here now and who has served in previous Congresses, that there is entirely too much printing which we as Members can not use. But what I rose to ask the gentleman was this: He is a member of the Appropriations Committee; he has seen the work of the Budget system since 1920 or 1921; how can this printing be reduced? Where is the cure? I served on the Joint Committee on Printing and made a tremendous effort to find some system by which we would only have that printing done that was needed. For a little while that rule was observed. Then it began to climb, until there is this great waste to which the gentleman refers and until we have in every warehouse, storehouse, and room in this Capitol a tremendous amount of printed matter and until we find they are using books with which to stop doors in Alaska. I hope the gentleman will see that some effort is made to reduce by at least 50 per cent all of the documents sent out by the Federal Government, and that would mean an economy that would not hurt anybody.

Mr. HOLADAY. Replying to the gentleman, I would say that in my opinion the only place this saving can be had is by the action of Congress.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Where is the Budget? The Budget has been doing all of this. The Budget has carried us off our feet. The Budget was established, and then this great committee of 35, and the rest of the Members of the House were told to go along. But these things have climbed and climbed until they hit everybody in the face all at once. I will be glad to join the gentleman in any attempt to slash some of these things which bring about such a tremendous amount of waste.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the gentleman will permit, I think the answer to the gentleman from Washington is this: That if Congress had the time to go into all of the expenditures for the printing of reports made to Congress, reports made by secretaries, Budget chiefs, and bureau chiefs, we could save some printing; but let me say again what I said the other day, that I object to the curtailment of services which actually go to the farmer. If you want to curb expenditures for printing—and the gentleman from Washington will find that this committee has done it quite materially—all right, but let us not take from the farmer that which we are now giving him and which he needs.

Mr. HOLADAY. We are not taking anything from the farmer under this bill except the printing of Government publications which he does not want and which we are compelled to burn at the end of the year.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the gentleman can find any way of getting relief in that connection, I am for him.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. If the gentleman will permit, I think we could eliminate Julius Klein's bedtime stories and save money.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington. I rise especially to speak relative to an apple industry that reaches into hundreds of millions of dollars and also to speak in favor of an item of $15,000 for its aid which I understand the subcommittee unanimously approved but which I now understand the chairman opposes. Of course, the chairman is within his rights in opposing it, and whatever he opposes will probably carry in the House because of the size of the great committee.

But let me suggest this: We have just had before the committee a statement that $18,000,000 has been wasted on the corn borer. The chairman of the subcommittee defends an item of $750,000 for corn-borer investigation and said it should not be cut out of the bill. Now, if I understand it correctly and if that be true and we can not cut down the corn-borer waste, did the President of the United States, whom the gentleman from Texas is trying to support, insist that the corn-borer item should remain in? Of course not. The gentleman made a splendid argument for economy, and I shall support him in everything that seems just. But when it is stated that $18,000,000 has been wasted on corn-borer investigations, why should the gentleman complain about this $15,000 apple-investigation amendment? The gentleman from Washington made an excellent statement in regard to the necessity for that amount in support of his amendment, and I hope the gentleman from Texas will answer that. What is the reason for supporting the corn-borer proposition of $18,000,000 in past years—which has been supplemented to the extent of $750,000 in this bill—and refuse to make reduction in that item, and yet oppose the fruit proposition that has been proposed by the gentleman from Washington?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman understands, of course, that our committee brought in a $500,000 reduction in the corn-borer item in question, a reduction over the amount recommended by the Budget.

Mr. FREAR. Well, why did the gentleman include anything if only $100,000 damage occurred in all these years has been done by the corn borer?

Mr. BUCHANAN. If the gentleman pleases, there is a controversy about the amount of damage done by the corn borer. That was the statement of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS], and he has some evidence in the record to support him, but there is other evidence in the record on the other side. The gentleman must understand that I can not afford to go into all of these things against everybody who wants an increase in an appropriation and also read the record. It is simply too much.

Mr. FREAR. I am in entire sympathy with the gentleman, as chairman responsible for the bill; but when a member of the committee has shown a certain wasteful situation to exist and then asks for $15,000 approved by the subcommittee, it seems to me that is not a proper subject for the committee to oppose on the ground that it is going to bring about economy in the Nation.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I hope the gentleman will not misunderstand me. I never oppose any of these research items. I am a great advocate of research; but what I say is that unless it is an imperative emergency, let us postpone it until the country gets in a better financial condition. There is no immediate benefit coming from this study. It will be 8 to 10 years before you can get any benefit from such a study, because it is a matter of breeding up. They take a very fine-looking tree which has on it what they call "sports," and they take the buds from such a tree and put them on some other kind of tree and wait until a second tree breeds to see if it will bear the same kind of sports.

Mr. FREAR. That is just the reason I am in favor of the proposed amendment.

Mr. BUCHANAN. It may be a valuable study to make. I do not know about that, but it will take 10 or 15 years to make it, and for that reason let us postpone such projects until the country is in a better condition financially.

Mr. FREAR. But the point the gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS] raises, which is a good one, is that for seven years they will be buying poor trees from dealers without any knowledge of the right kind of tree to buy. This is the reason he is asking for an appropriation of $15,000; otherwise, the farmers who are raising these apples will be proceeding blindly and without any needed knowledge on the subject.

If the policy be, as the chairman has just said, with respect to the corn borer or with respect to anything of that kind, why not start needed apple investigations now?

I do not know anything about the merits of this particular matter. I do not raise apples, but it seemed to me that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS] made a good argument in that, if it is true apple growers are wasting their money in poor apples, the sooner they learn the proper way to proceed, what trees to buy, the better it will be, and in the meantime, during the seven years of cultivation unless that is done the fruit growers are going to waste all the money that they might save if they had invested in a better class of fruit trees.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes. Certainly.

Mr. BUCHANAN. What I want to know is why the gentleman is directing his remarks to me and pointing to me when speaking about money he thinks has been wasted in the corn-borer work? The Committee on Appropriations did not originate that work. That was done by the Legislative Committee of the House.

Mr. FREAR. Since the gentleman has asked me the question, the reason is because the gentleman made such a strong argument in favor of conservation of our money. We think that is right, if generally exercised.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I made an argument in favor of conservation of public money where I thought it was intelligent economy to cut out appropriations; but wherever it is intelligent economy to make an appropriation and spend money that will bring great results, I advocate it regardless of the section that may be served.

Mr. FREAR. In this case it is a difference between $18,000,000 for wasted corn-borer appropriations, as has been stated, and $15,000 for a needed fruit-tree investigation, and it seems to me that this matter must appeal to every member of the committee, although I know that this committee of 35 has a large vote to begin with that makes difficult passage of any amendment.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes; certainly.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. It is a question of whether we are going to be penny-wise and pound-foolish and whether we are going to permit farmers to grow unprofitable orchards, when it will take them from 5 to 7 or 8 years to find out their mistake, or whether we are going to appropriate a very small sum in order to let them know that they are growing fruit that will be profitable and that the people will buy and appreciate.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BARTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I think this is entirely useless. The only message that you need get across to your constituency is the fact that the people should do as did the man that raised that good apple, come to a Missouri nursery and buy stock, and then they will be all right. [Laughter and applause.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to experiment and to make and continue investigations and report on forestry, national forests, forest fires, and lumbering, but no part of this appropriation shall be used for any experiment or test made outside the jurisdiction of the United States; to advise the owners of woodlands as to the proper care of the same; to investigate and test American timber and timber trees and their uses, and methods for the preservative treatment of timber; to seek, through investigations and the planting of native and foreign species, suitable trees for the treeless regions; to erect necessary buildings: *Provided*, That the cost of any building purchased, erected, or as improved, exclusive of the cost of constructing a water supply or sanitary system and of connecting the same with any such building, and exclusive of the cost of any tower upon which a lookout house may be erected, shall not exceed $2,500; to pay all expenses necessary to protect, administer, and improve the national forests, including tree planting in the forest reserves to prevent erosion, drift, surface wash, and soil waste and the formation of floods, and including the payment of rewards under regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture for information leading to the arrest and conviction for violation of the laws and regulations relating to fires in or near national forests, or for the unlawful taking of, or injury to, Government property; to ascertain the natural conditions upon and utilize the national forests; to transport and care for fish and

game supplied to stock the national forests or the waters therein; to employ agents, clerks, assistants, and other labor required in practical forestry and in the administration of national forests in the city of Washington and elsewhere; to collate, digest, report, and illustrate the results of experiments and investigations made by the Forest Service; to purchase necessary supplies, apparatus, office fixtures, law books, reference and technical books and technical journals for officers of the Forest Service stationed outside of Washington, and for medical supplies and services and other assistance necessary for the immediate relief of artisans, laborers, and other employees engaged in any hazardous work under the Forest Service: *Provided further*, That the appropriations for the work of the Forest Service shall be available for meeting the expenses of warehouse maintenance and the procurement, care, and handling of supplies and materials stored therein for distribution to projects under the supervision of the Forest Service and for sale and distribution to other Government activities, the cost of such supplies and materials, including the cost of supervision, transportation, and handling, to be reimbursed to appropriations current at the time additional supplies and materials are procured for warehouse stocks from the appropriations chargeable with the cost of stock issued; to pay freight, express, telephone, and telegraph charges; for electric light and power, fuel, gas, ice, and washing towels, and official traveling and other necessary expenses, including traveling expenses for legal and fiscal officers while performing Forest Service work; and for rent outside of the District of Columbia, as follows:

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order to the language on top of page 43, beginning in line 1 and ending with the word "issued," on line 11. That particular language is new. If I remember correctly, we had some discussion in the consideration of the last appropriation bill. May I ask the Chairman?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I did not catch what the gentleman said.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. On page 43, the proviso at the top of the page is entirely new. There must be some purpose in it, and I have raised the point of order to get some information.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We have recently constructed a warehouse in the West forest region. This is to give them a mobile fire apparatus to meet emergencies in big fires.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. How much would this take out of the appropriation?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It is utterly impossible to tell. It would depend upon the number of fires. The gentleman will understand that this is one appropriation where the Government has authorized them to incur a deficiency to such an amount as the emergencies may demand. There is no other way to do it.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. And this is to carry out further the scheme?

Mr. SIMMONS. This is merely to give legislative authority to what has been done in the past. It has resulted in a great saving of money in the fighting of fires.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. It is to give legislative authorization.

Mr. SIMMONS. The language is designed to meet the objections of the Comptroller to what has been done heretofore. It is nothing new. It only provides that what has been done heretofore with satisfactory results may be continued with legislative authorization.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

In national forest region 2, Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Oklahoma, $695,548: *Provided*, That not to exceed $1,000 of this appropriation may be expended for the maintenance of the herd of long-horned cattle on the Wichita National Forest.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. This pro forma motion is made for the purpose of inquiring of the committee in regard to the appropriation for the Forest Service as it affects the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains in the State of Colorado. The members of the board of water commissioners of the city and county of Denver, which is the congressional district which I have the honor to represent, have understood from the statements in the press and otherwise that the reduction in the appropriation for the activities of the Forest Service will interfere with the water supply of the city of Denver.

In looking at such part of the details which go to make up the appropriation amounts, I find that the amount for research in forest management is the same as last year; the amount for continuing sanitary and fire protection in connection with public camp grounds has not been changed; the amount for protection of improvements has been decreased $16,000, leaving $631,000 for the year; the amount for planting in the national forests has been decreased $87,000, or practically one-third, but I take it that this merely postpones that amount of the work to a later time. The apparent reduction of over $1,000,000 for fighting forest fires, as I understand it, is not in fact a reduction, but merely a nominal appropriation which, under the authorization, will be increased to the necessary amount as fire-fighting activities indicate the amount of money needed. Then it appears that the appropriation for work on protection of roads and trails has been decreased to the extent of $1,229,200, which, as I have understood the debate, merely means that this amount of work will be postponed, but not entirely discontinued. But further than those details I am unable to obtain sufficient information to answer the water board whether the decreases mentioned and others will operate to interfere with the water supply of the city of Denver, which flows from the Pike and Leadville National Forests.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I am satisfied that the gentleman's constituent is laboring under a misapprehension. The idea is that where the trees have been removed and they have a rainfall, the water rushes off rapidly without soaking into the ground and giving a supply through the underground strata. This constituent has probably read that the Budget stopped for a year the purchasing of land for the national-forest watershed. If the Government purchases a tract of land surrounding the water supply where your constituent lives, and the grass grows up, it will retain the water that falls and allow it to soak down to the underground strata.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. The gentleman probably does not understand, because that question does not arise in these forests and would not be a material question there at the present time. My constituent is not an individual but the board of water commissioners, whose duty it is to continue to provide ample water for the domestic and other needs of the city and county of Denver, a city of over 287,000 people.

Mr. BUCHANAN. There is nothing in this bill that tends to reduce any water supply.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. If I may have the attention of the chairman of the subcommittee, I think what is concerning these people in the vicinity of the national forests, especially where there are large cities, is not the stopping of any purchasing program of new national forest lands. That is confined almost entirely at the present time to the Eastern States and does not apply to the Western States to any great degree. What they are concerned about is a reduction in the amount of money available for fire protection through the stopping of certain improvement work in the way of trails and roads and improvements of that kind. They feel that the forests will be endangered to a greater degree, and that the burning off of those areas will be more likely if we stop the improvement program, and that that will interfere not only with the purity but with the amount of their water supply.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Is it my understanding that the amount of money for fire protection is not reduced at all; that it is contingent on the number of fires; and whenever a fire occurs, whatever is necessary to be done is done, and then at a later time they come in and get the money to pay for it?

Mr. LEAVITT. That is another matter that is seemingly only partially understood. It is true that $100,000 has always been carried in these appropriation bills for actual fire fighting and is still here, and that when emergencies arise deficiencies are created by the expenditure of money to meet the situation; but what the people of the West in the national forests and in their vicinity, such as the gentleman's own people in Denver, are concerned about particularly is that this bill carries a great reduction in the amount of money that is available for the improvement of the forests, which means largely roads and trails, which in turn have a great bearing upon the possibility of controlling

fire when it breaks out. Their fear is that the slowing down of these expenditures will result in the burning over of great areas of mountain country, with the result that the water supply and other forest values will be greatly depleted. I might say to the chairman that I do not intend to offer any amendment, because I do not want the House to go on record as opposed to any of these increases. I would rather have it taken up in the other body and brought back into conference, because I know the stage here is set against any amendment of these items. I speak only because I think the House should understand what is concerning the people, that it is not the reduction in the fire-fighting item, or a reduction in the purchasing item, but it is a fear that the reduction in the improvement item will make fires more difficult to handle and will result in greater damage.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

In national forest region 6, Washington, Oregon, and California, $1,211,023.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman of this committee the total amount which the Department of Agriculture spends every year in traveling expenses, and to what extent that amount has been reduced by the gentleman's committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I can tell the gentleman the total amount for traveling expenses in a short time. I have the papers here, but it will take some time to go through them. Perhaps the gentleman from Nebraska has them at hand.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think I have it here. The Budget estimate for 1932 was $4,504,000 and for 1933, $3,737,824, a net reduction by the Budget of $766,230. That, on the average, is a cut of 17 per cent in traveling expenses, and the committee have cut that still further.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to the gentleman for supplying this information. If we had the exact total expenditures of the Government of the United States for traveling expenses of its officials, we would find that the sum is amazing. In my opinion too much of the Government's money is wasted in needless traveling over the United States by Government employees. The only source of raising these funds is taxes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman has made a blanket charge against all of the departments with respect to traveling expenses. That might have merit in it so far as the Agricultural Department is concerned, but does he know whether it has merit in respect to the other departments? For instance, take the Post Office Department, of which I have some knowledge. Their expenditure for traveling is nothing comparable to the extravagant amount stated by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] as being spent for traveling expenses by the Agricultural Department. It is the same with the Treasury Department. I think the criticism should be leveled more against the extravagance, not only of traveling but of everything else in respect to this wasteful Department of Agriculture.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that I can permit to go unchallenged the statement just made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] that the Department of Agriculture is an extravagant department, nor to permit to go unchallenged the statement made by him that the Treasury Department and the Post Office Department spend less in proportion to their total budget than the Agricultural Department does. I think the gentleman will admit that the Treasury Department, with all of its officials whose duties must be traveling duty, and the Post Office Department, with all of its inspectors who are on the road all of the time in the carrying on of their duties, expend as much for traveling, or even more.

Mr. STAFFORD. I say "no" in so far as Post Office expenditures for traveling expenses of the Post Office Department are concerned. I would say that would apply also to the Treasury Department.

Mr. SIMMONS. Probably the Department of Agriculture has spent money in traveling men who could well be left at home. The Budget has thought that, and the department itself has thought that, because these estimates have been cut $700,000 by the Budget, and our committee has cut them some more. I do not think the Department of Agriculture ought to be charged as the only extravagant spending agency of the Government. I do not think the department merits that at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would be happy to have the gentleman look into the expenditures of the other departments and controvert the assertions I have made.

Mr. SIMMONS. I suggest the gentleman should bear out the statement he has made.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. The gentlemen from Wisconsin and Nebraska have been generous to themselves with my time. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman asked about traveling expenses. The reduction in traveling expenses for all other departments of the Government under this Budget is 4.5 per cent. The reduction in traveling expenses for the Department of Agriculture under this Budget is 14.9 per cent.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I congratulate the chairman of the subcommittee on the showing he has made. I make no charge against the expenditures for traveling expenses where such expenses are needed. The Post Office Department sets a wholesome example in this regard. I assert that millions of dollars of taxes are wasted in useless expenditures for travel. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

Improvement of the national forests: For the construction and maintenance of roads, trails, bridges, fire lanes, telephone lines, cabins, fences, and other improvements necessary for the proper and economical administration, protection, and development of the national forests, $993,440, of which amount $100,000 is reserved for expenditure for the Angeles, Cleveland, Santa Barbara, and San Bernardino Forests in southern California: *Provided*, That such sum of $100,000 shall not be expended unless an equal amount is contributed for such work by State, county, municipal, and/or other local interests, to be paid, in whole or in part, in advance of the performance of the work for which this appropriation provides: *Provided further*, That where, in the opinion of the Secretary of Agriculture, direct purchase will be more economical than construction, telephone lines, cabins, fences, and other improvements may be purchased: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $116,000 may be expended for the construction and maintenance of boundary and range division fences, counting corrals, stock driveways and bridges, the development of stock watering places, and the eradication of poisonous plants on the national forests: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $1,000 of this appropriation may be used for the repair and maintenance of the dam at Cass Lake, Minn.: *Provided further*, That not less than $500,000 of this appropriation shall be available only for the construction and maintenance of roads and trails during the fire-hazard season.

Mr. SWING. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have sent to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. SWING] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SWING: On page 48, line 6, strike out "$993,440" and insert in lieu thereof "$1,250,000" and strike out, in the same line, "$100,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$150,000."

Mr. SWING. Mr. Chairman, this proposed increase over what is contained in the bill simply puts the amount back to what it was last year. It seems to me this item is one which we can ill afford to cut, because the work which is to be done under this appropriation, the building of protective roads and trails, the establishment of telephone lines, lookout structures and firebreaks, are those things which are necessary to be done in advance, in order to restrict and control fires when they break out. If we wait until the fire breaks out and if it is in an inaccessible part of the national forests, many times this amount of money will be burned

in the devastation of valuable timber lands without the fire fighters being able to get to the fire.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SWING. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Is it not a fact that because of lack of appropriation for this purpose in years gone by there have been millions of dollars worth of standing timber destroyed every year because of the inaccessibility of the fire?

Mr. SWING. Every year the greatest national waste the country suffers is the burning of valuable timber through forest fires, which, if the fires could not have been actually prevented, could by fire lanes and proper preventive methods have been localized so as to greatly restrict the damage. Our forests belong to that vanishing factor which has contributed so much to American life in the past. Those States that do not have forests will be the States that will feel the loss most and will feel the loss first as these forests disappear. If we do not provide the necessary money to protect these forests, perhaps when another year has arrived for making appropriations the forests which we would like to have protected will have been destroyed by fire.

The test of whether this is a good, economical proposal is in the fact that the people who are nearest to a part of this work are proposing to match dollar for dollar the United States money for building these fire-preventive factors on the national forests. It is very unusual that the local people contribute money to help build improvements on United States Government lands and in its national forests, but the people of my State appreciate what this means and they are willing to match dollar for dollar the money appropriated by the United States. The people of my State are interested in economy, but they are prepared to increase their expenditures if the United States Government will increase its expenditure. Eighty-five per cent of this appropriation will be used in payment for labor, and our President has repeatedly urged an expansion of the national building program as the best and the soundest method of furnishing relief for unemployment. So, in addition to preserving and protecting the forests of the United States Government, we at the same time can provide the employment of labor to the extent of every dollar that we are proposing to appropriate here.

I hope this amendment will be adopted.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Of course, the Budget reduced this appropriation something over $1,313,000. The Budget had a reason for that. I will explain the reduction from the standpoint of the Budget. I am reading now from the testimony of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Dunlap. He said, in explaining that reduction:

> There is appropriated for 1931, $2,500,000 for forest protection. In addition to that there is appropriated $3,000,000 emergency money available, and practically every dollar of it spent under this item.
>
> In 1932 there was $2,359,200 and for 1933 there is $1,045,000, which makes a grand total of $8,905,000 for forest improvement in the period of three years, including next. Dividing that by three, we find that the average for the three years will be $2,968,436 per year.

When in 1930 and previous years they had only $1,000,000, so that the Secretary of Agriculture, the Budget, and the President concluded that for one year this item could stand the reduction they made, because the emergency appropriation and the speeding up of the other appropriations put the program far ahead of itself as planned.

I am not fighting items for the improvement of the forests and the construction of roads and trails. I think it is essential that they be constructed, and the sooner they are constructed the better; but it is a long program, and if the administration which is administering these forests says it can reduce this appropriation for one year on account of the financial depression I am going with them, and I have followed their figures as outlined in this Budget.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. MAY. I am one of these fellows who always supports my party when it is in power as a matter of patriotism, and when the other party is in power I always support it as a matter of necessity. I like to support the committees of the House, but I think if the gentleman will examine this bill as a whole he will find that in the allocations to the different forest reserves there has been quite a discrimination in favor of the northwestern territory as against the Appalachian Mountain Range and the Southern States.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman means in the districts?

Mr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We have passed that item.

Mr. MAY. No; the gentleman is now finishing that subject.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We have passed the district item.

Mr. MAY. We are now reading on page 49.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We are reading now on page 49, which provides for the improvement of the national forests, and the amounts carried there can be shifted by the Secretary of Agriculture to any place he desires in that particular region.

Mr. MAY. But that is all under the national forest administration. On page 45 there is allocated to 25 States in the Northwest $6,008,714, and to 17 States in the East and South only $542,190.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. MAY. Does not the gentleman think there ought to be some exchange of those items?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will state to my friend that the amount required to administer the forests in those districts has been ascertained by long practice. It has been found that some districts are more difficult than others, some districts are larger than others, and some districts require more than others. Your committee has endeavored to bring back only that amount for each district that is actually necessary for its proper administration.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Further replying to my friend who offered this amendment, next year—1933—the department will have for forest improvement $3,000,000, which it must spend on forest roads and trails, and $500,000, which comes from 10 per cent of the forest receipts; therefore, it has $3,500,000 for forest roads and trails in the national forests, which the Secretary and the President have thought was sufficient.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. I wish to address myself particularly to the chairman of the subcommittee. I stated that I did not intend to offer any amendment to this item, because, while I feel a case could be made to increase the amount, it would be better for the House not to go on record by a vote against those increases at this time, so that if the other body should bring back some increases we can go to conference with a better chance of securing more money. But that does not change my position at all with regard to one thing. The gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the subcommittee, made his argument just now with regard to following the Budget. It is true they have followed the Budget, but they went away beyond where the Budget stopped on this particular item and many others. My position is that while that might have been justified on some items in the bill, as to this particular item it will be difficult to justify going beyond the Budget. In my judgment the Budget itself went too far. They made a recommendation of $1,045,840 for the improvement of national forests, and the committee brings that out in the bill that is now before us the amount of $993,440. That is a decrease over the amount of money available for this purpose last year.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. There was not a single cut in the United States. The cut is merely made in that portion of the fund that was apportioned to Alaska.

Mr. LEAVITT. I am reading from the committee's report that there is a decrease in the item for the improve-

ment of the national forests of $52,400 below the amount that was recommended by the Budget.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That was a 5 per cent cut on supplies and equipment, stationery, and such things as that, and that cut was put on in every department.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is it the gentleman's position that there is really in this bill no reduction at all below the estimate of the Budget in the amount that can be used for roads, trails, fire lanes, and lookout cabins?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Aside from that 5 per cent cut on supplies—administrative supplies—there is no other cut below the Budget.

Mr. LEAVITT. So that the cut which is shown in the record is entirely an administrative cut?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. So it is not a cut below the Budget estimate in the amount that is to be spent for roads, trails, lookout cabins and matters that have to do with the protection of the forests from fire?

Mr. BUCHANAN. And to be perfectly frank with the gentleman I think some of those administrative cuts will probably have to be restored.

Mr. BOILEAU. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes.

Mr. BOILEAU. I would like to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the Bureau of the Budget has eliminated from this appropriation anything for roads and trails. They have left that out entirely.

The recommendation of the department of one million six hundred and some thousand dollars was ignored, and there is not one cent in this appropriation of $993,000 that goes for roads and trails in the inaccessible areas.

Mr. LEAVITT. That does not fit in with the statement just made by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] that there is no decrease in these amounts.

Mr. BUCHANAN. There is no decrease in these funds below what was intended by the Budget.

Mr. LEAVITT. There is a great decrease, then, on the part of the Budget below what was recommended by the department.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes; $1,139,000.

Mr. LEAVITT. That means, does it, that the item that is now in the bill has no money in it for roads and trails for protective purposes?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It has an allotment out of the general appropriation for forest highways of $3,000,000 for roads and trails.

Mr. LEAVITT. In a different item.

Mr. BUCHANAN. And it has in addition to that, $500,000, which would be the amount of 10 per cent of the forest sales of timber and income from leases, and so forth. So they will have $3,500,000 for forest protection by way of roads and trails.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. CELLER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Is it not true that the $3,000,000 item for forest roads and trails is an entirely different matter and in an entirely different administrative situation from the money for improvement of fire roads and trails? They are two distinct funds.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No; they are complementary items.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. They may be complementary, but if you take money from the administrative provision you are either cutting out the administrative roads and trails or else the fire roads and trails.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We took only 5 per cent from the administrative provision, which is the same as that taken from practically all other similar items in the bill; and as I say, in some services this may have worked an injustice. I do not know. The committee did not go into every one of them and I was not entirely satisfied with it, and I am not entirely satisfied with it yet.

Mr. LEAVITT. I can see very plainly that there is some cloud here and the vision of the House is not exactly clear on this particular point. It is true that there are two items that are complementary one to the other. At the same time there is a very distinct difference in the purposes of the two items.

The item we have before us for the improvement of the national forests has in it, presumably, money for roads and trails that are strictly protective in their purpose. There is another item that has to do with the construction of highways within national forests that is quite different.

This is the point I am making, and I want to explain again why I have offered no amendment to the bill at this point. I do not believe that the subcommittee, just as has been stated by the gentleman from Texas, went particularly into this item, but simply applied a general 5 per cent cut on all such items, and it may very well be that that position will be overcome in conference.

I do not want the House to go on record now as against any increase that may be placed in the bill in the other body. I would like to have the committee uninstructed so it can carry out its own judgment, which I know is that this item in the bill should not be reduced.

If the gentleman will permit me just a moment, here is the situation. I do not like to weary the House with a repetition of this statement, but I was in this forestry work for 11 years as a ranger and as a forest supervisor and I know what the effect is of this reduction. If you go back two or three pages in the bill, you will find an item that is carried there to-day on page 44 providing—

> The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to use not to exceed $500 in caring for the graves of fire fighters buried at Wallace, Idaho; Newport, Wash.; and St. Maries, Idaho.

The loss of about 80 lives in the fires of 1910 was to some extent due to the fact that these men were caught in an isolated place without egress in the form of roads or trails. The severity of that fire was very largely due also to the fact that it broke out in a section of the national forests that could not be reached without constructing trails during the period of the emergency. It took days to get fire fighters and supplies back to where those fires were burning in the midst of the Rocky Mountains, and during that period of time and in the midst of this extreme fire danger, the fires became so severe they could not be controlled. They cost the lives of something like 80 men.

During the last summer there was another severe fire situation as bad as has existed at any time. There was one in a national forest where I was at one time supervisor. It occurred in an isolated place, and four men lost their lives.

The purpose of this improvement item in these appropriation bills is that there shall be, as rapidly as possible, constructed throughout the national forest areas a system of roads and trails and lookout stations and fire lanes and other improvements that will make it possible for us to quickly detect fires, and, when they are detected, to get men on them immediately, so that they can be held while they are still small. It is false economy to postpone the construction of such improvements.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BOILEAU. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment, which I have at the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. BOILEAU as an amendment to the amendment offered by Mr. SWING: Strike out "$1,250,000" in the Swing amendment and insert in lieu thereof "$1,993,440."

Mr. BOILEAU. Mr. Chairman, the Department of Agriculture, in its recommendation to the Bureau of the Budget, has included for the coming fiscal year the sum of $2,800,000 in this particular item for the improvement of the national forests. Of that amount it has set aside $1,600,000 for protection roads and trails. The Bureau of the Budget eliminated this entire item, not leaving one cent for the purpose



of the construction of protection roads and trails through the national forests.

It seems to me that if we are going on with this policy we are going a long way from the present reforestation program.

I believe, also, it will have a bad effect, for the reason that during the last fiscal year we appropriated $2,359,000 for the improvement of the national forests, and we had approximately 1,700 men building roads and trails, and for forest protection when the fires broke out. It was a mobile force, very helpful in fighting forest fires.

If this bill passes as recommended, it will mean that we will not have the 1,700 men in the forests where they would be able to take care of a fire in an emergency. Seventeen hundred men would be out of employment.

Now, in 1931, in the emergency relief fund there were $3,000,000 added to the appropriation of two and one-half million dollars; or, in other words, in 1931 there was about five and a half million dollars for this same purpose.

The Government recognized at that time that there was no better way to give employment to men than in this particular kind of service, which is mainly an expenditure for labor. We spent $3,000,000 more that year than we would if it stood at the two and a half million dollars in the appropriation bill.

Now, when the times are so bad, when there is need of employment, we are reducing the amount to be used for the construction of protection roads and trails.

I believe we would be actually saving money if we had a million dollars appropriation added for that particular purpose in preventing fire losses.

I believe that the members on the subcommittee recognize the importance of this work, and I believe that the testimony shows that they hesitated in making this reduction. I think it is entirely due to the fact that the Bureau of the Budget did not include anything for the item.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOILEAU. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman realizes the condition that the service will have $3,500,000 under the appropriation carried in this bill to construct roads and trails, and out of that they can keep a mobile force in the fire-fighting season.

Mr. BOILEAU. I recognize that, but that is something that we would have in addition, if my amendment should prevail. I also call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that this fund out of which the $3,000,000 is coming has already suffered a decrease in appropriation to the extent of $3,360,000.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOILEAU. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. There is another thing to be said on that same point. The money that is included under the protection item we are now discussing is scattered out through the back country, where strictly protection trails are being built. The men are there on the ground equipped with shovels and axes and picks and mattocks that they use in building trails, the very tools that they need in fighting fire. They are there ready to go to a fire immediately.

Mr. BOILEAU. And is it not a fact that this $3,000,000 the gentleman spoke of will not be used for the same type of road and trail construction that has been eliminated from this particular appropriation?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The $3,500,000 can be used for that same type of construction. They can use it in any section of that forest that the Secretary of Agriculture directs or the Forester determines.

Mr. BOILEAU. I would remind the gentleman of the testimony of Mr. Stuart before the committee, in which he spoke of the $3,000,000 item referred to. He said that the roads built from that fund are not exclusively protection roads, but that they served that purpose in the main; and also I want to call the gentleman's attention to the testimony of Mr. Stuart when he was questioned by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, who asked how much of that fund remained. Mr. Stuart asked, "For protection of roads and trails?" and Mr. BUCHANAN replied, "Yes." Mr. Stuart replied, "Nothing." So far as this particular kind of road is concerned, for the inaccessible part of the forests, that is entirely eliminated from the appropriation bill.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOILEAU. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. The item to which the gentleman refers is carried on page 89 of this bill, and it says very definitely that that appropriation is for carrying out the provisions of section 23 of the Federal highway act, approved November 9, 1921, and the purpose of the Federal highway act is not to construct these protective roads and trails that are scattered back in the interior of the national forests. The location of those roads is made partly through an agreement with the State highway commissions. Those moneys are largely spent on through roads.

Mr. BOILEAU. If any money out of this $3,000,000 goes for roads in inaccessible areas, it will be by luck rather than by intention.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words for the purpose of calling the attention of the committee to the language on the top of page 49. As I read this whole section, $993,440 has been appropriated under this particular subdivision, and then the language which follows allocates large portions of that sum to various specific purposes. I have just made a footing of those allocations and I find that it totals $817,000 out of an appropriation of $993,000. Specific allocations are made for various forest purposes of $817,000, leaving about $175,000 for the general purposes of the section. I am wondering if that is not a bit too much.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That sentence on the top of page 49—

> That not less than $500,000 of this appropriation shall be available only for the construction and maintenance of roads and trails during the fire-hazard season—

is a clerical error in the printing of the bill. It should be eliminated. If the gentleman will make a motion to eliminate it, I will agree to it, and if he does not, I shall.

Mr. KETCHAM. I shall leave that to the committee.

Mr. LEAVITT. Does the gentleman mean that the three lines at the top of page 49 are to be eliminated?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. Those are the three lines that make it certain during the fire-hazard season a half million dollars will be used in the construction of trails in the national forests.

Mr. BUCHANAN. To be frank with the gentleman, that language was put into the bill by the subcommittee before it had its reconsideration of not increasing any item of the Budget or adding a new item, but by some mistake it was never taken out. The money was taken out of the amount of the appropriation, but that clause was not taken out. That clause will not increase the appropriation at all.

Mr. LEAVITT. I understand that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If the gentleman wants it to stay in, I am willing to have it.

Mr. LEAVITT. I think it should stay.

Mr. BUCHANAN. All right.

Mr. LEAVITT. Because it guarantees some of those roads and trails will be built back where they are needed.

Mr. KETCHAM. May I submit, Mr. Chairman, that the language ought to go out for this reason, that if it remains as it is, then a large part of the appropriation under the language of this particular sentence will have to go for that particular purpose, and leave all of the other desirable items mentioned with practically no provision at all, because the language is "shall be available only for the construction and maintenance of roads and trails during the fire-hazard season."

I do not want the gentlemen who favor that appropriation to understand that I do not believe that all due precautions ought to be taken. Under the language of the bill I understand that in case of emergency 10 per cent of the total appropriation available here, $7,000,000, which would make about $700,000, might be taken by the Secretary of Agriculture and used for this specific purpose, but there are other forests aside from those in which the fire hazard is so great for which some of us are interested in having protection provided. Consequently, I certainly think that that particular restrictive language should go out, because that sum will be available for certain sections of the country, and that will not be available to the department in other sections of the country where other kinds of improvements are desired. I will offer an amendment unless the chairman of the subcommittee offers it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I have told my colleague I did not care what he did. So, if the gentleman desires to offer the amendment, he should do so.

Mr. KETCHAM. Then, Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of bringing the question squarely before the committee, I offer an amendment to strike out lines 1, 2, and 3 on the top of page 49.

In explanation of that amendment I want again to call the attention of the committee to the fact that this does not change the total, but it prevents a very high percentage of all the money provided in this bill being allocated to a definite purpose, which, under the general language of the appropriation, the Secretary of Agriculture has within his power in any event. If it is written in the bill, then desirable improvements in national forests which this item covers generally will suffer by reason of the specific allocation, when the money itself may not be used, because if that language remains in the bill it must be reserved for that purpose only, and nothing else.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KETCHAM] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. KETCHAM: Beginning on line 1, page 49, strike out all of lines 1, 2, and 3.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I suggest to my colleague the gentleman from Michigan that he go back further and include the last two words on the previous page, "*Provided further.*"

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I ask permission to include that in my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will again report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. KETCHAM: On line 25, page 48, beginning with the words "*Provided further,*" strike out the remainder of the paragraph.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KETCHAM] addressed the committee before the amendment was reported, and now I rise in opposition.

I can state my opposition to the amendment very briefly. This is an allocation of $500,000 for the construction and maintenance of roads and trails during the fire-hazard season. That means that if this language remains in the bill, it is certain there will be a force of men in the national forests in the danger sections, equipped with shovels and picks and axes and mattocks and camping equipment, ready immediately to go to the place where a forest fire breaks out. That language makes it absolutely certain. That does not apply to the forests of just one section. In giving my illustrations I spoke of forests with which I am particularly acquainted, but I have visited the national forests of many States, and this provision does not apply to the national forests of any one particular State.

When this bill goes over to another body undoubtedly that body will increase the total under this section. I do not think there is any doubt about that. I think, if the general policy had not been adopted by the committee of refusing to increase Budget estimates or adding new items and of reducing 5 per cent, these items would have been retained in the bill. They have not made any arguments against the merits of this proposition, and I know they are at heart good conservationists and that they want this amount increased. But they do not want to take the responsibility for it.

If this allocation of a half million dollars is left in the bill, we insure these fire-fighting forces back in the interior of the national forests, where they can be ready in all emergencies. If this requirement is taken out, it is possible that the money may be used in other ways and the fire-fighting force will be reduced. It is just as necessary as the fire department of the District of Columbia.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield.

Mr. KETCHAM. Is it not a fact that if this $500,000 remains in the bill it can be used only for that purpose?

Mr. LEAVITT. That is the reason I want it left in.

Mr. KETCHAM. On the contrary, if it does not remain in the bill, under the general language, when need arises would not the Secretary of Agriculture be there on the job with sufficient funds, more than has been provided by this limitation, for this very purpose?

Mr. LEAVITT. No. The value of this particular item is that it makes certain that a sufficient force of men on the roads and trails will be there, ready to go to work immediately. Unless this language is left in the bill there will be no certainty of it. It is being taken for granted that they may be put in there from other funds.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. What do these men do when not engaged in fighting fires? Just wait with their mouths open, or sleep?

Mr. LEAVITT. No. They are not waiting at all. They are building roads and trails, and that in itself makes it possible to get the fire-fighting forces and equipment back to the fires. They are always at work doing something that is extremely necessary for the protection of United States property, the forest areas, the homes of people and the lives of people.

Mr. BOILEAU. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield.

Mr. BOILEAU. Is it not a fact that they are practical road builders and they fight fire when the fire comes along?

Mr. LEAVITT. That is true, and they are men who are trained in fighting fire.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Is it not true that if this provision is taken out these men will not be kept in those areas and will not be building trails?

Mr. LEAVITT. I have no doubt that would be the result. We should vote down this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BOYLAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words. Under the provisions of this bill a part of the appropriation will go toward the administration of the Pure Food Bureau. In that connection, and before we reach it, I want to call the attention of the committee to the fact that a very pitiful condition has arisen throughout the United States due to people, who have been accustomed to use alcoholic beverages, having had their tastes, in order to satisfy them, diverted to other channels. For instance, when they can not obtain the beverages which they usually indulge in, we find they are now drinking tonics of various names and kinds, hair oils, shoe polishes, bay rum, cough medicines of all kinds, all kinds of cleaning fluids, and extracts of ginger. All of these concoctions contain a high percentage of alcohol, particularly this extract of fluid ginger. According to the United States Pharmacopœia it runs from 78 to 83 per cent of the entire fluid content. So you can see that if you indulge in a beverage that contains 78 to 83 per cent of alcohol you can get a pretty good amount of alcohol into your system.

But what I want to get down to particularly is this: There are over 30,000 sufferers in the United States from cases of what is known as ginger paralysis. There are so many of them that they have formed an organization in order to try to seek some cure. A convention of them was held at Oklahoma City and at Wichita, Kans., on November 25, 1931, and they adopted resolutions citing to the Congress the thousands of these cases existing and asking for a stricter supervision over the Bureau of Pure Foods in order that the spread of these paralysis cases might be retarded.

We are all for or against the use of alcohol, but those of us who are in favor of the use of alcohol as a beverage do not believe that those who are opposed to it should be in favor of the use of such concoctions as I have already enumerated to you. We say this savors of hypocrisy. I recall a case that came under my own observation. At a luncheon cocktails were going around. A gentleman was asked if he would have a cocktail. He said, "No; I do not care to have any." But later on they served some pudding with hard sauce, which had plenty of Jamaica rum in it, and I noticed that that gentleman licked that right up; yet he would not take the cocktail. Now, I believe we ought not to have any hypocrisy about this thing.

Of course, a certain political bishop has said that while it is all right for you to take it as a sauce or as a tonic, it is all wrong for you to take it as an alcoholic beverage. But he says you can take it under the subterfuge and under the camouflage of being Tom Jones's Elixir of Life.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for two additional minutes in order that I may ask him a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. BOYLAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last six words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOYLAN. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman has just made reference to hypocrisy and dual names, and he has referred to a political bishop. Who is that political bishop?

Mr. BOYLAN. I thought the gentleman knew the political bishop—the Rev. James Cannon.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. My point of order is that discussions under the 5-minute rule, under the rules of the House, must be confined to the section of the bill under discussion, and no other.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman who has been recognized by the Chair will proceed in order.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I was asking the gentleman a question. The gentleman said Bishop Cannon. I want to ask the gentleman this: When he talks about dual names, who is this man Stephen Trent, recently in the prints?

Mr. BOYLAN. I do not know the gentleman.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Talking about dual names, is not that the pseudonym used by Bishop Cannon, and are not Bishop James Cannon, jr., and Stephen Trent one and the same person?

Mr. BOYLAN. That is information to me. I did not know that.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman knows it now.

Mr. BOYLAN. I thank the gentleman. But, gentlemen, I believe that trails in the forests are essential and necessary. [Laughter and applause.] But we do not want the trails of alcohol covered by the trails of extract of fluid ginger. Now, Mr. Chairman, I believe we should take such measures as are absolutely necessary to prevent an increase in the large number of paralysis cases due to the use of the fluid extract of ginger.

This is a serious thing. Just imagine 30,000 people——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the same point of order.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. McCORMACK). The gentleman's point of order is sustained. The gentleman from New York will proceed in order.

Mr. BOYLAN. Mr. Chairman, I am just getting to the forest trails, which is the subject of the paragraph, but I am doing it by devious routes. I am trying the alcoholic route.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will proceed in order.

Mr. BOYLAN. I may say that some of the most pleasurable days of my life have been spent in following the trails in the beautiful Adirondack forests in the northern part of the State of New York. On every one of these trails the guides always had something that had a very high percentage of alcoholic content [laughter], and on these trails they carried this fluid extract that they called "white mule." This "white mule" was used by the guides in case of an emergency, and, mind you, only in case of an emergency. It consisted of 50 per cent alcohol and 50 per cent boiled water, with a little sugar thrown in and mixed up. If you fell down on the trail you got a couple of shots of "white mule"; this resuscitated you, to pursue the trail to the bitter end. [Laughter and applause.]

I am in favor of trails, Mr. Chairman, if they lead in the right direction and to the right place.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Tell us something more about the political bishop. Did he ever hit the trail?

Mr. BOYLAN. We do not want to get away from the forest trails.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Did he ever hit the trail?

Mr. BOYLAN. I believe he has hit the ecclesiastical trail.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Did he ever get off the trail?

Mr. BOYLAN. I believe he is on and off all the time. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOYLAN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Can the gentleman tell me the politics of this bishop?

Mr. BOYLAN. Well, they are unknown. I think he is a kind of middle-of-the-road man. He is with whoever has the power, I think.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Is the gentleman talking about Bishop Cannon or Stephen Trent?

Mr. BOYLAN. Both gentlemen.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I hope something will be done to keep down the number of cases of paralysis caused by the drinking of fluid extract of ginger. This can be accomplished by the Department of Agriculture increasing its vigilance, by frequent inspections and examination of shipments of fluid extract of ginger. Prompt proceedings against adulterators would also help to prevent an increase in the number of victims of this deadly disease. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

FOREST-FIRE COOPERATION

For cooperation with the various States or other appropriate agencies in forest-fire prevention and suppression and the protection of timbered and cut-over lands in accordance with the provisions of sections 1, 2, and 3 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the protection of forest lands, for the reforestation of denuded areas, for the extension of national forests, and for other purposes, in order to promote continuous production of timber on lands chiefly valuable therefor," approved June 7, 1924 (U. S. C., title 16, secs. 564–570), as amended, including also the study of the effect of tax laws and the investigation of timber insurance as provided in section 3 of said act, $1,611,580, of which $48,320 shall be available for departmental personal services in the District of Columbia and not to exceed $2,500 for the purchase of supplies and equipment required for the purposes of said act in the District of Columbia.

Mr. SWING. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have sent to the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. SWING: Page 51, line 9, strike out "$1,611,580" and insert "$1,760,920."

Mr. SWING. Mr. Chairman, this amendment proposes an increase over the amount that is carried in the bill of $149,000 but does not increase the amount over what it was last year.

This increase is necessary if we are to comply with the provisions of our own act, commonly known as the Clarke-McNary Act, under which we pledged the good faith of the Federal Government to cooperate with the States in the amount of money which they were to appropriate and put up to carry on this cooperative fire-prevention work.

Thirty-seven States and one Territory are directly affected by the provisions of this act and by this appropriation.

It is important, it seems to me, that we ought not to fail the States that have acted at our solicitation and in cooperation with us and have made these appropriations.

I want to call attention to the fact that this House a few days ago, in passing the first deficiency bill, carried an item of $4,400,000 for fighting fires. How much of that money might have been saved if the proper preventive work had been done in advance of these fires, and not only how much of that appropriation might have been saved but how much of the forests might have been saved, which is more important, if the necessary preventive work had been done as contemplated between the States and the Federal Government.

This is the cheapest insurance we can get for the protection of our forests, because the local States put up dollar for dollar, and therefore I think it very important that we ought not to fail to make this appropriation when we have asked the States to meet us and they have already matched us with a fund equal to the amount which will be in the bill if my amendment is adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the acquisition of additional lands under the provisions of the act of March 1, 1911 (U. S. C., title 16, secs. 513–519), as amended by the act of June 7, 1924 (U. S. C., title 16, secs. 564–570), $200,000 as authorized by the act of June 2, 1930 (46 Stat., p. 491), of which amount not to exceed $35,000 may be expended for departmental personal services and supplies and equipment in the District of Columbia.

Mr. BOILEAU. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 52, line 8, strike out the figures "$200,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$1,500,000."

Mr. BOILEAU. Mr. Chairman, I recognize the fact that this is a large appropriation, but I wish to call the attention of the Members of the House to the fact that last year this same item carried an appropriation of $2,000,000. The amendment I have offered would make it $1,500,000, a decrease of $500,000 from last year's appropriation, but it would be $1,300,000 more than provided for in this bill.

As it is, the bill brought out by the committee is $1,800,000 less than it was last year. There is $200,000 carried in this item for the acquisition of forest lands. The fact is that this appropriation will be used for administration expenses and expenses in connection with making investigations in connection with lands to be purchased in future years, but not one cent will be used to buy one acre of land in the next fiscal year. I believe that we should not retrench in our policy of forest preservation.

I want to call attention to the fact that several States of the Union and my own State are vitally interested in this. I am here to say that I believe it to be a matter of vital importance to my State. We have millions of acres of land which are unproductive and can not be used for agricultural purposes. They are lying there, put to no use whatever. I believe that the Government should acquire this land, so that it can be put to the use of reforestation purposes.

The people of the State of Wisconsin are doing the best they can to acquire these cut-over lands. The State makes large appropriations every year for reforestation. Some individuals and companies are doing what they can. One paper company in my district every year plants about 3,000 acres of land. They now have to go to other States and other countries to get their pulpwood and timber that they use in the paper-making industry. I do not believe that we should retrench. I think that $200,000 is not sufficient. I know some counties in my State and other States that own large tracts of cut-over land. The county owns these lands because it is forced to take them for taxes. One county has about 175,000 acres of cut-over land which it is forced to take in the last few years. It is necessary for the Government to get behind this project and take over these lands from which the timber has been cut off and replant them. The Government can now buy them at a nominal price, because the counties or municipalities have received them on tax sales. [Applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, in 1923 we appropriated in the neighborhood of $13,000,000 for the purchase of forest land.

The Bureau of the Budget, and the President's policy, thought that this was one of the activities where we could economize. The land will not run away, it will be there to be purchased when better times return to the country. So the Budget cut off all of the money for the purchase of these lands during the next fiscal year, and left $245,000 to wind up the purchases and take care of the land that had already been purchased. We appropriated $200,000, and that in the opinion of the committee is ample for that purpose. I do not think that under any conditions this Congress should indorse and increase an item of this kind.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. This is another one of the items that I have been objecting to. The Budget sent in a cut from $2,000,000 down to $245,000. At the same time they ask us to appropriate for salaries to continue on the pay roll in Washington 65 men next year who are there this year. They do not propose taking out one man from the city of Washington in this respect.

Mr. BUCHANAN. My only reply to that is that it is the intention of the department and the Budget to keep together what they call a skeleton organization for resuming these activities when times get better, and to use that skeleton organization in some other service where they will be of value.

Mr. YON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. YON. The organization that they have in the bureau here is generally used in the administration of the Forest Service, anyway, it is not?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No; heretofore it has been exclusively occupied on the land purchase, because we have been making appropriations every year for the purchase of land, and it has been built up around that project. However, a certain percentage of that organization, under the testimony in the hearings, can be used even for fire fighting in the forests.

Mr. YON. And the gentleman says there are 65 men in this purchasing division?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Agricultural chemical investigations: For conducting the investigations contemplated by the act of May 15, 1862 (U. S. C., title 5, secs. 511, 512), relating to the application of chemistry to agriculture; for the biological, chemical, physical, microscopical, and technological investigation of foods, feeds, drugs, and insecticides and substances used in the manufacture thereof, including investigations of the physiological effects of such products; for the investigation and development of methods for the manufacture of sugars and sugar sirups and the utilization of new agricultural materials for such purposes; for investigation of the action and changes produced by microorganisms, including molds and fungi; for investigation and development of methods for the utilization of agricultural wastes and residues, in cooperation with the Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce, without duplication of work; for investigation and development of methods for the prevention of heating of agricultural products and the prevention of farm fires and fires in cotton gins, cotton-oil mills, grain elevators, and other structures, and to cooperate with associations and scientific societies in the development of methods of analysis, $453,690.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Page 54, line 3, strike out "$453,699" and insert "$446,699."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, this is another corn-borer item. The bill before us carries three-quarters of a million dollars for various corn-borer items listed in about 15 different places. Some gentlemen are here on the floor now who were not here when I discussed the corn borer a while ago. We appropriated for the years 1919 to 1926, $1,765,000 for the corn borer. In 1927 we appropriated $10,485,000; in 1928, $685,000; in 1929, $1,114,980; in 1930, $1,125,320; in 1931, $1,352,320; in 1932, $1,422,400, making in all, $17,950,620. Let us learn some more about this corn borer. On page 473 of the hearings for the 1930 bill, with Doctor Marlatt on the stand, the Chief of the Bureau of Entomology, we find the following in respect to the corn borer:

Mr. SIMMONS. Can you control it, Doctor?
Doctor MARLATT. You can not.
Mr. SUMMERS. Can you stop its spread?
Doctor MARLATT. You can not.
Mr. SUMMERS. Can you exterminate it?
Doctor MARLATT. In my judgment you can not.

At another time Doctor Marlatt was asked about the corn borer and probability of controlling it, and he said:

"Probability" is too strong a term to apply generally—locally and occasionally, yes. Such probability is based on the fact that the insect has done this type of damage to sweet corn, and to a much less extent to field corn, in portions of New England and in western New York and northern Ohio. We have also the picture of what it did in Ontario. That indicates a possibility of damage, but not necessarily a probability. On the other side is the fact of its occurrence for some 20 years in central New York without commercial damage; that is, any heavy or noticeable commercial damage. In northern Ohio, other than sweet corn in limited areas along the lake, there has not been any noticeable commercial damage to corn of any type.

At another time he said that in some of the areas where it had gone it had caused considerable damage, notably, in the small trucking areas about Boston before the present controls were known and in force. At another point he said:

Over the great mass of the area now reached, for periods from 7 to 20 years, the damage, if any, has not been of such a character as to make the farmers realize that they are very much hurt or even hurt at all.

At another time I said that I wanted his opinion whether there has been in the United States a total of $100,000 damage by the corn borer, and Doctor Marlatt answered that he thought not. At another time reference was made to a careful investigation made some time ago, and he said "it indicates losses well under $100,000," and that "the losses subsequent to that time have been much reduced." He said that there have only been minor instances of damage to field corn.

This bill carries 15 different items amounting to three-quarters of a million dollars for dealing with the corn borer. Going back to our hearings on the 1932 bill Doctor Marlatt says:

In central New York where the insects have been present for 19 years or more, around Schenectady, Albany, and Troy, many of the farmers have probably never seen the corn borer and few, if any of them, have experienced any losses there.

And still you squander the taxpayers' money on the corn borer!

At another time Mr. DICKINSON last year asked, "There has been a great deal of discussion about this corn-borer situation, and for the purposes of having the record self-explanatory, I want you to state whether or not in any of the infested areas the corn borer has reached a stage of being damaging commercially to the crop."

Mr. Strong, in charge of quarantine in the United States Department of Agriculture, answered: "As far as economic damage is concerned over the area as a whole, there has not been any. There are certain places in New England where sweet corn is produced for the early market where there has been considerable damage in isolated spots, sporadic. There has not been a continuing, constant damage in any place that could be considered an economic damage."

This is the thing we are spending $18,000,000 on.

At another time Mr. Strong said:

We inspected this year approximately 16,000,000 automobiles going out of the regulated areas, taking out more than 300,000 ears of corn. Very few ears of corn were found to be infested, but in maintaining these lines we unquestionably discouraged many attempts to bring infested products out.

At another time they stated that in examining 10,000,000 automobiles they took out 730 corn borers, 1 innocent little corn borer to every 13,000 autos. At the same time the corn-borer moth flies along over the quarantine and keeps going, and has continued until, as shown on the map shown by our chairman the other day, it extends 15 to 30 miles year after year, and the testimony each year is to the effect that they can not prevent its spread; they can not destroy it; they can not eliminate it from this country, and over and over again that it has not done any commercial damage of any importance.

They do say that it "might do some damage" some time.

At another time Doctor Marlatt said:

We all believe that the corn borer can be controlled by the use of farm methods.

These methods are already known to the farmers.

At another time Doctor Marlatt said:

The New York commissioner of agriculture told me two weeks ago that there has not been any serious commercial damage in his section in all of the 17 years.

I want the Members who are present at this time to know that I grew up and lived most of my life in a corn-producing area. I am deeply interested in that section of the country yet. The RECORD shows that I have stood for everything that was needed to help the farmers fight the pests in their particular sections, whether it was East, West, North, or South, and I stand so to-day. I visit my relatives in the Corn Belt of Illinois every year. I would not for a moment attempt to strike out an appropriation that was useful or beneficial; but if we appropriate three-quarters of a million dollars included in this bill, we will then have appropriated $18,725,000 for the corn borer, which the testimony repeatedly shows has not done $100,000 worth of damage in any one year, if indeed it has done that amount of damage in 22 years it has been in this country.

It seems very questionable by the testimony whether it has ever done a total of $100,000 damage in all the United States in the 22 years it has been here. The testimony is that once in a while, especially in wet land and perhaps in sweet corn, where there are a lot of weeds where they can hibernate, where they have not destroyed the stalks, it might cause some damage, but it has not done great damage, according to the testimony. Not more damage than a little wind storm would do in one township, and I am asking you to strike $7,000 from this item. You now know the facts. Do not waste the taxpayers' money.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, there has been a lot of loose talk around the House about the corn borer and the appropriations which have been made to stamp it out.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will the gentleman yield briefly?

Mr. PURNELL. I yield.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I have quoted from the records. If the statements are loose statements, they were made by scientists in the department.

Mr. PURNELL. I realize the gentleman has quoted from the record. I have not read the hearings, but the gentleman from Washington has read a few extracts or enough of the hearings to justify me in believing that if I were to go over them I could find many statements there in support of the appropriation. Otherwise, the subcommittee would not have written it in the bill.

I introduced the original corn borer bill, and I have never had occasion to regret it. The fact that it is not possible to

point out $100,000 worth of damage in any particular year——

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. It can not be pointed out in 20 years.

Mr. PURNELL. I do not know how much damage has been done, but the fact that $100,000 worth of damage in any one particular year or in the whole period of time can not be pointed out, is a tribute, I believe, to the effective work that has been done by those who set about assiduously to stamp it out under the first corn-borer appropriation.

In my State of Indiana, where we think we know something about the corn borer and its activities, permit me to tell you what happened last year. Eleven counties with 66 townships were added to the list of known infested areas during the past year. When the corn borer was discovered in Indiana in 1926 it was found in 40 townships, in 6 counties on the northeastern tier, adjoining Michigan and Ohio. In 1927, one year later, it has spread to 91 more townships in 10 additional counties. At the end of 1931 the known territory infested comprised 376 townships in 44 counties of our State. In other words, that line of infestation has grown and traveled from the northeast corner of our State until now 44 counties are affected. I grant there is no serious damage, but the fact that there is no serious damage, the fact that it is retarded is due almost entirely to the preliminary precautionary methods which were adopted by the department in the beginning, in burning the corn stalks, in cleaning up the fence corners, and in teaching the farmers in the area and bordering on the area how to combat the spread of the corn borer.

I have the greatest confidence in the world—and I direct the attention of my colleague [Mr. WOOD] to this—I have the greatest confidence in the world in Dean J. H. Skinner, of Purdue University, one of the great educators of one of the great agricultural schools of the United States. I received a telegram from him yesterday concerning this matter, in which he says:

> The cut in corn-borer fund is a serious blow to corn growers. Will mean the abandoning of quarantine. Can you not do something to have it restored?

I have great confidence in Dean Skinner's judgment, if I had no personal knowledge of the situation myself.

Now, to prevent the spread of the corn borer through shipments of green corn from infested to uninfested areas, the department in Indiana, in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture in Washington, last summer maintained a number of patrol stations on the principal highways passing through infested zones. A total of 1,697,240 vehicles were stopped and inspected last year in Indiana along the line of infestation. A total of 4,813 of those cars carried green corn. In those 4,813 vehicles which carried green corn was a total of 85,254 ears. Some 16,000 ears were returned as the corn was not being taken from the infested zone.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection.

There was no objection.

Mr. PURNELL. Now, the 70,000 ears of corn which were taken from these automobiles were destroyed.

Mr. HOLADAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURNELL. I yield.

Mr. HOLADAY. Was this corn found in the 4,000 machines all in the ear?

Mr. PURNELL. The boys were only confiscating that which was in the ear; corn in any other form was probably on its way to the gentleman's district. In the 70,000 ears of corn taken by these patrolmen there were found 138 corn borers. I have no doubt that will not represent one-third of the corn borers that were actually in the green corn taken from these cars which were going across the quarantine line.

I say to you that 138 corn borers, taken indiscriminately into zones throughout the United States which heretofore have not been infested, constitute a great potential danger. The corn borer is one of the hardest things in the world to kill. It will live all winter in a cake of ice. It will hibernate in almost any place and turn up in the spring with a fine family to attack and destroy growing corn.

Let me suggest something else to my good friend from Washington, who got his early training in Indiana. I want to call his attention to a few further facts gathered by our entomologist in the State of Indiana, Mr. Frank Wallace, who is second to none in the whole United States. While the borer continued its march down the State along the line I have indicated, it likewise increased in number. According to the report which our State entomologist has submitted, there were 23.75 infested hills per acre for the year 1930, while in 1931 it averaged 55.82 infested hills per acre. That is to say, 2.35 times as many borers were present in 1931. It is this steadily increasing infestation per hill that causes alarm. That ought to make it very clear, at least it does to me, that the infestation in our State is rapidly reaching the point where heavy commercial damage may and probably will be the result.

I regret, gentlemen, that this appropriation has been reduced as much as it has in this bill, but I also recognize that we are all trying to and must practice economy. I am not now asking to have the appropriation increased, but I am appealing to you to vote down the gentleman's amendment or any other amendment that he or anyone else may offer, in order that we may at least maintain in this bill the amounts which the Appropriations Committee has reported to the House for fighting the European corn borer.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. PURNELL] told you that he introduced the first bill appropriating $10,000,000 for this corn borer. He might have told you that he introduced a second bill for $10,000,000 more, but that did not get very far.

As has already been stated, we have spent very nearly $18,000,000, and in all the years the corn borer has been known it has not produced commercial damage to the extent of $100,000. All of these scientific gentlemen tell us it is impossible to check its spread. It is going along at the rate of about 20 miles a year. It started in New England but the people of New England have forgotten there ever was such a thing as the corn borer. Next to the Mediterranean fly this can be designated as the biggest fraud that was ever perpetrated on a credulous Congress. [Applause.]

I received the same telegram which Mr. PURNELL received from Dean Skinner. There is no one who has a higher regard for Mr. Skinner than I have. He has proven his worth by his works, but I can not agree with him on this corn-borer proposition.

Another gentleman connected with Purdue University, Professor Christie, I think, is more largely responsible for this Congress being taken in and making this appropriation of $17,000,000 than anyone else. He is no longer connected with Purdue University.

These scientific gentlemen get bent upon a given idea, and you can not get them out of it until they have spent millions of dollars. Why, you will remember the fight we had about the Mediterranean fly; and if these scientific gentleman had had their way about it, they would have expended more than $40,000,000 and accomplished nothing. I am glad to say that the gentlemen who were then so anxious for an appropriation for the extermination of the Mediterranean fly have acknowledged that it was a fraud and that they themselves were imposed upon.

If there has not been $100,000 of damage in all these years by the corn borer, I want to say to you that we are very foolish, indeed, to appropriate a single cent further for its control, especially when they tell us its spread can not be controlled.

They say this is for research. We have been researching about the corn borer now for a great many years, but we spent most of this first $10,000,000 not for research but for patrols and, in large part, in paying the farmers to clean up their own fields. This was the first time in the history of this Congress, so far as I know, that the farmers were ever paid for doing what was a duty they owed to them-

selves, their neighbors, their States, and their country, yet we did that very thing.

So I say it is time for us to call a halt upon this character of appropriation, and, to my mind, every additional dollar you put into the corn-borer work is simply that much more money wasted, and God knows we have enough proper uses for our money instead of spending it for something that is futile and will prove to be as futile in the future as this so-called extermination has been in the past.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. Has it been determined as yet just how the corn borer spreads? Does it spread by the borer itself being carried i nthe ears of corn or is it spread in the moth stage while it can fly?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. It crawls a little and flies a little; but it can not fly very far, so they tell us. At any rate, it has been coming from New England, and it has been 20 years since it started down there. We never heard anything about the corn borer to any great extent until about four years ago, when the initial appropriation was made and they got $10,000,000 by scaring the Congress, like they got the first $5,000,000 for the Mediterranean fly.

You can be assured that whenever the Agricultural Department tells us that a certain bug or worm can not be exterminated or controlled, you may depend upon it, for they do love to spend money experimenting and researching.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. MILLIGAN). The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington) there were—ayes 26, noes 34.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insecticide and fungicide investigations: For the investigation and development of methods of manufacturing insecticides and fungicides, and for investigating chemical problems relating to the composition, action, and application of insecticides and fungicides, $117,300.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report:

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Page 54, line 12, strike out "$117,300" and insert "$108,300."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, my amendment proposes to reduce the corn-borer appropriation at this point $9,000. It will still leave $9,000 for the particular purpose for which this item carries an appropriation for the corn borer. It still leaves three-quarters of a million dollars in the bill for the corn-borer work.

I want to be very careful in what I say, so I am going to read from the record, and I am again quoting Doctor Marlatt:

The corn borer is a pest which has caused a great deal of alarm in this country and some damage. What it is going to mean in the future is still more or less of an enigma, because it has caused so far little general damage in the United States.

We do not know how dangerous it is, because it has never caused any damage so far.

It has caused some injury in spots, but in some areas where it has been present 15 or 20 years, as, for instance, in New York State, the farmers hardly know it exists.

Skipping a few lines and quoting again:

It was brought in from Europe in importations of broomcorn in about 1908 or 1910, and when we came to look for the European records we found there were only a very few records of the insects. It was not even catalogued among the leading injurious pests of European corn or farm lands.

And still we have expended $18,000,000, and unless you support some of these amendments you are going to call on the taxpayers for three-quarters of a million dollars more to fight something that, according to the testimony of the scientific men of the Department of Agriculture who have had this matter in charge for many years, has never caused $100,000 of damage in the United States in any one year, if, perchance, it has in the 22 years that it has been in the United States.

Mr. JONES. Have you any assurance that in this amount the reduction would be taken from the corn-borer item rather than from some other item?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The discussion we have had here would be taken as notice to the Department of Agriculture in the allocation of this fund.

Now, if there are some here who were not here when I spoke before, I want to call attention that the bill has $141,000 for one purpose in the eradication of the corn borer, $123,000 for another, $132,000 for another, $105,000 for another, $62,000 for another, $299,000 for another, $97,000 for another, $107,000 for another, and then $10,000, $30,000, $25,000, $7,000, $18,000, which is the item my amendment applies to, $35,000, $60,000, making a total of $1,234,300.

The committee has eliminated $500,000, leaving three-quarters of a million dollars for the eradication for the corn borer in one way or another.

Of these different items, I am trying to eliminate and reduce 50 per cent, because of the testimony, and I refer you to the hearings in the last four years, that just as I am telling you they could not control the corn borer; they can not prevent it from spreading; it will spread from 20 to 30 miles a year, but has never done any damage of consequence. They have kept 1,700 men along the road at $4.56 a day, inquiring if you have any corn in your car. The committee has eliminated the quarantine provision, but there are other items that ought to come out. I beg of you, sirs, do not waste this money.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I want gentlemen to know what we are talking about. This item is for the Bureau of Chemistry, and its sole purpose is to study poisons that will be effective in getting rid of the corn borer. It is a small appropriation. We are trying to be prepared for that time, if it ever comes, when it will amount to something. Some years the damage from the corn borer is going to be considerable. Climatic conditions have a wonderful influence upon their reproduction. In seasons that are favorable they multiply rapidly and do considerable damage; other years they do not prosper and do no damage. The corn borer will ultimately be to corn what the boll weevil is now to cotton. Let us have this poison prepared and ready for them when the menace comes.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Certainly.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. How do you think you are going to apply poisons to a corn borer that is in the weeds, the cornstalks, and various plants over 13 States?

Mr. BUCHANAN. You can apply it to the eggs that are deposited on the corn leaf. Then when the eggs hatch, the baby borer crawls down the leaf to the cornstalk and eats into the stalk. You can reach it there with poison. If the gentleman thinks it impossible, 40 years ago he would never believe that human beings could fly through the air.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Naval-stores investigations: For the investigation and demonstration of improved methods or processes of preparing naval stores, the weighing, handling, transportation, and the uses of same, $68,406, of which $10,000 shall be available for continuing the establishment of a field laboratory for naval-stores research work in the pine regions of the South, including erection of buildings.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order on the word "continuing," line 22, page 54. Was that laboratory a temporary proposition, and you now want to make it permanent?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will read the purpose of it from the hearings:

The original estimate for the construction of a naval-stores-research laboratory was $55,000; $40,000 was made available,

which is insufficient as the program now develops, and authority to expend an additional $10,000 for "continuing" the establishment of this laboratory is necessary.

I think you could use the word "completion" just as well as "continuing." I do not think it would make any difference.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Is not it true that the Forest Products Laboratory at Madison does not carry on this kind of investigation, and that $3,000 was stricken from that appropriation?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It does not carry on naval-stores investigation. Naval stores is a product of the pine trees in the South exclusively. It does not carry on naval-stores investigation. The laboratory there carries on an investigation of all classes of wood and wood products and has done valuable work.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Is there an authorization of law for this particular appropriation? I was interested in the reservation made by the gentleman from New York. I do not care particularly about that item, but the word "continuing" might be construed to be permanent in its nature and to be an authorization, legislatively speaking.

Mr. BUCHANAN. This experimental laboratory is "continuing."

Mr. JONES. You can say "completing" or "for continuing during the ensuing fiscal year." I did not want the discussion raised by the gentleman from New York to be construed as meaning a permanent establishment, because then it would be permanent legislation and might call for a continuing appropriation from year to year without legislative authority.

Mr. BUCHANAN. It could not be permanent. It applies to this appropriation bill. It continues for the life of this appropriation.

Mr. JONES. Then the gentleman construes that to mean that it simply continues for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1932?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

The Clerk read as follows:

Fertilizer investigations: For investigations within the United States of fertilizers and other soil amendments and their suitability for agricultural use, $358,535.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 55, in line 2, after the word "fertilizers," insert "fertilizer ingredients, including phosphoric acid and potash"; also strike out the word "amendments" in line 2, and include in lieu thereof the word "ingredients."

Mr. BUCHANAN. On that I reserve the point of order.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I have heard a great deal said here this evening about the corn borer and about reducing appropriations and increasing appropriations, but the purpose of this amendment is neither to increase nor decrease nor to deal with the corn borer or any other particular thing connected with this bill except to get something in the bill that is of real benefit to the farmer. I have heard a good deal of talk about taking care of the farmer, and here is an amendment that means a great deal to the farmer. I am very glad that there are some of the Military Affairs Committee here who can vouch for the statement that I shall make. When I am through I think you will realize that this is an important amendment. The language of the bill reads:

For investigations within the United States of fertilizer and other soil amendments, and their suitability for agricultural use, $358,535.

The purpose of my amendment is to require that some of the $358,535 proposed to be appropriated for that purpose shall be used in investigating fertilizer ingredients, particularly phosphoric acid and potash. My reason for offering the amendment is that it developed in the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs by the experts from the Department of Agriculture, from the Chief of the Bureau of Soils and fertility of soils, that the Department of Agriculture is well informed upon the question of quantity of nitrogen in the soil, but knows absolutely nothing at all about phosphoric acid and potash. Anyone informed on the question of the use of nitrogen will understand to begin with that nitrogen is the chief ingredient used in the manufacture of munitions and war materials, and that phosphoric acid and potash are the chief ingredients for the improvement of the soil of the farmer. I want this amendment adopted for the purpose of preventing the Department of Agriculture from sending its Secretary across the street to lock arms with the Secretary of War and go into the business of manufacturing nitrogen or discovering nitrogen to the exclusion of phosphoric acid and potash, the two ingredients of fertilizer necessary for the use of the farmer.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. GOSS. I notice in the breakdown of this particular item that in 1931, $36,000 was put into the bill to investigate potash and $17,200 to investigate phosphoric acid. When the Department of Agriculture experts came up to our committee, of which the gentleman from Kentucky is a member, they knew nothing about the subject, although on the amount of $34,400 for nitrogen they were all loaded up.

Mr. MAY. Yes; nor did they disclose to that committee what had been done with the appropriation that had been made for the specific purpose of investigating potash and phosphoric acid. I do not want the House simply to shut its eyes and vote to sustain the committee when it is fundamentally wrong to do so. There is no man in the House who will follow the committee report any farther than I, but I want to see it made possible to remove from the backs of the burdened farmers of this land some of the burdens that have been put upon them by the practice of giving more attention to the manufacture of war materials than to the making of fertilizer to aid the farmers, which ought to be the real mission of the department and of this legislation.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. SIMMONS. I renew the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SIMMONS. This is increasing the purpose and expenditures that can be made out of these items.

In view of the fact that the Democratic side of this House has taken the position that the amount shall not be increased, I do not think we should increase the activities that can be carried on.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The only reason I withdrew the point of order was because I did not think it was good. I am not in favor of the amendment.

Mr. SIMMONS. We are gaining ground on that, then.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Did the gentleman from Nebraska make any definite point of order against the amendment? If so, I did not understand it.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the gentleman is sufficient of a parliamentarian to understand, the proponents of amendments of this kind must show legislative authority for the amendment on these bills, and those making the points of order must show that they are not authorized.

Mr. BANKHEAD. What was the ground of the point of order?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the ground that it is changing the language, increasing the authorization for the appropriation.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Legislation on an appropriation bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Well, that is very clear and definite.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires information, not being a farmer, as to whether or not the use of phosphoric acid, as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MAY] stated, is one of two necessary ingredients for the amendment of soil.

Mr. MAY. It absolutely is.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would ask the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] if there is any dispute as to that fact?

Mr. SIMMONS. Not being a chemist, I could not answer. I have tried to secure sufficient funds to make an investigation to answer that question and could not get them.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman from Nebraska yield?

Mr. STAFFORD rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would be glad to hear from the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that the hearings disclosed the fact that phosphoric acid is one of the component parts of fertilizer?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. MCCORMACK). The Chair is prepared to rule. The Chair has had called to his attention by the parliamentarian the fact that this matter has been the subject of a point of order on a previous occasion. In Cannon's Precedents of the House, section 8387, it is stated:

The broad powers of investigation conferred by the organic act creating the Department of Agriculture were held to authorize an investigation to determine possible sources of mineral fertilizers.

The amendment to which the point of order was taken on that occasion reads as follows:

For exploration and investigation within the United States to determine a possible source of supply of potash, nitrates, and other natural fertilizers—

And so forth.

The Chair thinks, in view of that decision, that the point of order is not well taken, and therefore the point of order is overruled.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I just want to state to the membership of the committee that as far as the first paragraph of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky is concerned, in my judgment, it neither adds to nor takes anything from the language. They could investigate that material now if they wanted to under this language, under the heading of "Fertilizer."

The other part of the gentleman's amendment is radically wrong and the gentleman should recede from it. It changes the words "soil amendment" to "soil ingredients." This bureau is not necessarily studying soil ingredients alone. The object is to find some amendments to add to the soil that is not in the soil that will enrich the soil. They want to find something outside the soil to put into the soil to make it richer.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. GOSS. In the breakdown of this appropriation does it not carry an appropriation for $36,000 for potash investigation and $17,200 for phosphoric acid?

Mr. BUCHANAN. For the potash investigation it carries $37,275; for the phosphate investigation, $31,275.

Mr. GOSS. Would not the gentleman think this amendment is germane to the other language?

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is what I said. The amendment does not add anything to or take anything from the language.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I yield.

Mr. MAY. I do not know that the gentleman from Texas understood the purpose of this amendment. It is not to add to or take anything away from it, except to direct the attention of those gentlemen to phosphoric acid and potash, as well as nitrogen.

Mr. BUCHANAN. They have an allocation of this appropriation to both of those subjects; the phosphate investigation, $31,275; potash investigation, $37,275. So that, in my judgment, the entire field is covered, but what I do object to is striking out the word "amendments" and inserting "ingredient."

Mr. MAY. I will withdraw the word "ingredients" to satisfy the gentleman. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, that the amendment be re-formed by withdrawing the word "ingredients" and substituting the word "amendments."

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MAY]?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, may we have the amendment again reported?

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will again report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MAY: On page 55, line 2, after the word "fertilizers," insert "fertilizer incredients, including phosphoric acid and potash."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I do this to ask the chairman of the committee if he has any objection to the present form of the amendment, since the amendment has been changed?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I do not think it makes a bit of difference one way or the other, just so long as no additional appropriation is asked.

Mr. STAFFORD. It certainly indicates the wish of Congress that they should concentrate their attention on these investigations which are necessary, namely, phosphoric acid and potassium, rather than to have them go on into the field of nitrates, where there is no necessity, because we have more than ample production in this country.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. GOSS. When we passed this bill last year it contained an item providing for the investigation of potash, phosphoric acid, and nitrogen. When the experts of the Department of Agriculture came before our committee to testify, the only facts they had were based on nitrogen. They had no information about phosphoric acid or potash. That is why we are suggesting that they have these investigations made.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman agrees not to ask for any additional appropriation?

Mr. GOSS. We do not ask for any more money.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Total, Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, $1,840,240, of which amount not to exceed $1,243,150 may be expended for personal services in the District of Columbia.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Connecticut offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOSS: On page 55, line 13, after the word "surveys," strike out "$307,705" and insert in lieu thereof "$200,000."

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, in developing the facts referred to in the argument a moment ago the experts of the Department of Agriculture were sent before our committee to give us information on the ingredients of fertilizers and fertilizer materials. They have been given appropriations year after year for the purpose of developing the maps that are referred to in these sections, particularly with reference to potash, phosphoric acid, and nitrogen. However, all they could bring to our committee were a few facts on nitrogen. It seems to me unnecessary for the House to continually appropriate money for these maps, especially in view of the fact that after these investigations are made the Members of the House can not have the benefit of them. Therefore I am offering this amendment to strike $100,000 from this amount. If this amendment should be adopted I expect to offer another one to put the amount under another heading where it will do the farmers some good.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The item the gentleman refers to provides for county soil surveys. The work is done in cooperation with the different counties in the various States and it does not deal with the matters the gentleman refers to.

Mr. GOSS. I understand; but they are maps and plats, by coloring or otherwise. Then when we ask for informa-

tion about these certain fertilizer ingredients we can not get it. Therefore what I am trying to do is to cut it off here and add it somewhere else, where it will do more good.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Does the gentleman realize that the Federal Government is undertaking a systematic soil survey of the United States and that this is the regular appropriation carried from year to year to aid in the completion of that general program?

Mr. GOSS. I do, and I am in favor of that; but what I am trying to bring to the attention of the committee is the fact that we do not seem to be getting it. I am moving to strike it out of here and add the $100,000 to another appropriation where it will do some good to the farmers.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Does the gentleman further realize that this map is not supposed to show anything but the character of the soil?

Mr. GOSS. I understand that; but in addition to character of the soil those maps must show the withdrawals of nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potash. We had testimony before our committee to the effect that there were 4,000,000 tons of nitrogen being drawn out of the soil all over the United States, which is twice as much as the world's supply. I do not want to stop the work. I want to help the work, but I think if we take it out of this paragraph and place it in another we will do the farmer some good.

I am going to suggest that it be placed in the item at the top of page 56. I am simply transferring it from one paragraph to another in order to give the farmer some benefit, instead of putting it in maps, of which we do not seem to get the use. Let us put them at work where they can do something with the soil.

Mr. GOLDER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. I yield.

Mr. GOLDER. In view of the gentleman's suggestion, does he think the balance is essential if the other part is not wisely expended?

Mr. GOSS. I am not questioning that. I am only taking $100,000 from this item and adding it to another paragraph. I intend to offer it when we get to that paragraph in order to try to give the farmer some benefit and fewer maps.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. Yes.

Mr. MAY. The gentleman proposes, then, to take it out of this item and put it in another item?

Mr. GOSS. Yes. I can not now offer an amendment to put it in the item carrying $206,980, but if this amendment is adopted I shall then move to put back the same amount of money in the item providing for soil-fertility investigations rather than in the item for soil surveys. It will go in at the end of line 4, on page 56, so in reality we are not taking any money away from the work but we are putting it where it will do more effective work for the farmers.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

For general administrative purposes, including the salary of chief of bureau and other personal services in the District of Columbia, $147,460.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, on this question of salary which we have had before the House for the last week or so, and on which the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] said he was going to make a motion to recommit, according to the newspapers, and on which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] has been talking, I want to call to the attention of the House an Executive order of the President of the United States which was issued January 19:

EXECUTIVE ORDER—STIPULATIONS FOR THE PAYMENT OF PREVAILING RATE OF WAGES IN PUBLIC-BUILDING CONTRACTS

In order to effect the purposes of the act entitled "An act relating to the rate of wages for laborers and mechanics employed on public buildings of the United States and the District of Columbia by contractors and subcontractors, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1931 (46 Stat. 1494), it is hereby ordered that in all contracts within the terms of said act there shall be added to the stipulation required by said act the following stipulations:

It is expressly understood and agreed that the aforesaid wages shall be paid unconditionally in full not less often than once a week and in lawful money of the United States, to the full amount accrued to each individual at time of payment and without subsequent deduction or rebate on any account.

It is expressly understood and agreed that for the purpose of said act every person, while performing work of a laborer or mechanic on the public work covered by this contract, is to be regarded as employed as a laborer or mechanic by the contractor or subcontractor, regardless of any contractual relationship alleged to exist between the contractor or subcontractor and such laborer or mechanic.

It is understood and agreed that the pay rolls of the contractor and all subcontractors and agreements made by the contractor or subcontractor or any other party relating to the employment of laborers or mechanics, or the performance of the work of laborers and mechanics on said building, and to the wages or compensation to be paid therefor, are to be open to inspection by the contracting officer at such times as the latter may elect, provided that such inspection shall not interfere with the proper and orderly prosecution of the work, and that a clearly legible statement of the rates payable as aforesaid under this contract shall be posted by the contractor in a prominent and easily accessible place at the site of the work so that such statement may be seen at any time by persons engaged on the work.

It is further expressly understood and agreed that if it should be found by the contracting officer that any laborer or mechanic employed by the contractor or any subcontractor on the public work covered by this contract has been or is being paid a rate of wages less than the prevailing rate of wages, as aforesaid, the Government may, by written notice to the contractor, terminate his right to proceed with the work, or such part of the work as to which there has been a failure to pay said prevailing wages. In such event, it is understood and agreed that the Government may take over the work and prosecute the same to completion by contract or otherwise, and that the contractor and his sureties shall be liable to the Government for any excess cost occasioned the Government thereby.

This order shall apply to all such contracts for which bids are hereafter invited.

HERBERT HOOVER.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 19, 1932.

And the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] has been standing on this floor telling you that the President of the United States is not opposed to reduction of salaries in the Federal Government, and the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] is going to offer a motion to recommit, which, in effect, will cut these salaries.

Now, I want to know whether the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] is speaking for the President or whether the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] is speaking for the President or whether his own document, with his signature thereon, relating to the prevailing rate of wages in the country is the real feeling of the President, Mr. Hoover. I believe this order expresses his real feelings in the matter.

Mr. LINTHICUM and Mr. SIMMONS rose.

Mr. CONNERY. I yield first to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That order seems to apply to contracts and subcontracts; what about the case where the Government is going to do the work? Do they propose to live up to the prevailing wages?

Mr. CONNERY. It does not say that. I wish it did. The point I am bringing out is this. We have been listening to Members saying that the President is not opposed to wage reductions, and I say that he is opposed to wage reductions according to his own statements in this Executive order.

Mr. LINTHICUM. So am I opposed to wage reductions, and I think the Government ought to be bound by the same provisions that this order binds contractors and subcontractors. I think the Government ought to be bound to pay the prevailing wages just like contractors and subcontractors.

Mr. CONNERY. I agree with the gentleman.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONNERY. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the gentleman will yield for a statement, because I know he does not intend to be unfair——

Mr. CONNERY. I certainly do not intend to be unfair.

Mr. SIMMONS. In the first place I have never attempted on this floor or any place else to say that I speak for the President. There will be nothing in my motion to recommit that will reduce the salary of any individual. My motion to recommit will probably take off some of those who are on the pay roll. It may reduce the number of employees, but it will not reduce the salary of any individual who continues to work for the Government.

Mr. CONNERY. In other words, the gentleman's idea is to lop them off so we will not have to pay anybody.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONNERY. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. HOWARD. The gentleman has put a direct question to the House as to whether or not the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] or the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] speaks the voice of the President. As a matter of desire, and largely as a matter of fact, I desire to say to the gentleman from Massachusetts that it is my sincere judgment that the gentleman from Indiana comes more nearly speaking the voice of the President than my colleague from Nebraska, who does not claim to do any such wicked thing as that. [Laughter.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONNERY. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Following up this very order, I want to call the attention of the gentleman, who is the chairman of a very important committee—and the gentleman is making that committee important—to the fact that we have two sections on the present bill which practically freeze and hold static every employee, and notice has been given that the same amendments will be offered on every appropriation bill. The gentleman knows that in the Post Office Department and in the Army and Navy, where the pay is fixed with automatic, yearly increments, every one of those increments that is under contract will be stopped during the fiscal year under such amendment.

Mr. CONNERY. I know the gentleman is right, and, furthermore, I want to say to the House that from my knowledge and from information which has come to me, it is my belief that this is a conspiracy on the part of the big corporations of the United States to alibi themselves by getting the Government of the United States to cut the wages of the Federal employees and then say, "See, we had to do it; the Government did it."

You will set the worst example to the people of the United States in this time of depression if you cut one cent off of any Government employee [applause], because we have already had too many corporations slash wages without any justification, simply to satisfy the greed of big business. They took $12,000,000,000 out of the wages of the workers when the United States Steel Corporation and General Motors and other big corporations cut wages, and now they are only waiting for you to cut Federal salaries in order to give their workers another slash, and how are you ever going to get out of a period of depression if you keep taking away from the people their money and destroying their buying capacity? [Applause.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

My good friend the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONNERY] sometimes in his enthusiasm makes statements that I am confident he would not make seriously. I do not think for one minute the gentleman is going to accuse me of being in any conspiracy of any kind.

Mr. CONNERY. No; I did not say the gentleman was in the conspiracy.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is a fair implication from the gentleman's statement, and I am glad to have it denied.

Mr. CONNERY. I did not mean that for a moment. I do not mean that the gentleman is in a conspiracy or that any Member of this House is in any conspiracy; but you know what propaganda forced on men can do. I say there is a conspiracy on the part of the big corporations to rush propaganda into this House under a plea of economy, when the real motive behind it is to slash wages in their own corporations.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. And to lop off employees.

Mr. SIMMONS. If the gentleman please, keep me out of that equation, for I assure the gentleman I have not had any part in it, and I am no part of it, and, frankly, I do not think it has anything to do with what either the gentleman from Indiana has suggested, which is entirely foreign to my proposal, or to my own proposal. All that is involved in my proposal is that we get along in Washington with 5 per cent less employees than the Government now has.

Mr. KELLER. Why not make it 10 per cent?

Mr. SIMMONS. There are gentlemen on the gentleman's side who said they would vote for 10, but I am trying to be conservative and say 5.

In other words, where 100 people are working for the Government, I feel that we could get along with 95, but these 95 who remain will not be affected one penny in salary by the proposal that I shall make. It will reduce the cost to the Government in Washington, and will relieve somewhat the taxpayer.

Now, if doing something toward reducing Federal expenditures and Federal taxes, thereby relieving somewhat the taxpayer, is a vile conspiracy, then I plead guilty to being in on a conspiracy in this House.

Mr. BYRNS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. BYRNS. Does the gentleman believe there is any difference in the needs of the Agricultural Department and its many bureaus to-day than there will be in 1933, or any difference from what there was in 1930?

Mr. SIMMONS. Probably not any material difference.

Mr. BYRNS. Then why was the increase put through the House under the leadership of the gentlemen for the personnel in the Agricultural Department of $771,203, and in the year 1931, $364,697, every dollar of which went to increase the personnel? Now, the gentleman proposes to cut them out. If the gentleman was right then, he is eternally wrong now. If he is consistent and right now he was eternally wrong then. What brought about this great change?

Mr. SIMMONS. May I submit this to the gentleman from Tennessee in all fairness. If I was wrong then, the gentleman was also wrong, because he did not raise his voice against it at the time.

The fact is, and the gentleman knows it, the situation of the country is different now than it was a year ago, and the gentleman from Tennessee knows that the attitude of the House is different now than it was a year ago. I think if the gentleman will investigate he will find that a great proportion of the increase to which he refers as over $100,000 in 1932 was salary increase ordered by the House under the Brookhart Act, not by the Committee on Appropriations; but, assuming that it was a mistake, the gentleman was the ranking Member of the minority and did not raise his voice in opposition.

Now, let me say this, that you have approved in this bill a cut of 5 per cent in the contingent expenses without one word of evidence that it could be done. If that is true, I propose to do the same with reference to the personnel in the city of Washington.

Mr. BYRNS. Let me say this to the gentleman. The gentleman says that conditions now are or will be different in 1933. I want to call attention to the fact that when he secured an adoption of the increase in the Budget of $364,697 for the increase of personnel in the Department of Agriculture——

Mr. SIMMONS. Not an increase of the Budget figure. The Budget increased those figures and we accepted them.

Mr. BYRNS. Over and above what the Budget carried, I call attention to the fact that in 1931 the conditions were as serious as they are now, because the Treasury had a large deficit, the gentleman was ranking majority member on the Subcommittee on Agriculture and advocated and brought about the adoption of this increase of $876,000 for this year,

and he thereby added that much to the expenses of the Government, in the face of a deficiency of over $900,000,000 on June 30, 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNS. I want the gentleman to have opportunity to answer what I am saying. The gentleman says that the condition in the House was different then from what it is now. There is no difference in the House except that it is Democratic to-day and was Republican then. I submit the gentleman brings an indictment against his own party that I do not bring, and that is that the gentlemen on his side are not just as anxious to save the Treasury as we on this side. The gentleman says that I have approved a cut of 5 per cent in supplies and materials, and that there is no evidence in the record to sustain it any more than there is to sustain a cut of 5 per cent in the personnel. It was published in the papers the other day and the gentleman knows that we are in a period of falling prices, and that supplies and materials for all the departments have decreased at least 5 per cent since last July when these estimates were made. Therefore I think the committee was thoroughly justified in proposing to cut materials and supplies in this department 5 per cent. But there is no evidence in this record, not a scintilla, which would justify the gentleman's reduction in personnel. The gentleman says I supported him in the 1931 and 1932 appropriations. Yes. The gentleman was then the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Agriculture and conducted the hearings. I sat in the general committee, and I took the gentleman's word for it because he had conducted those hearings and I supposed he knew what he was talking about when I acquiesced in these large increases in personnel.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman makes three charges that I desire to call to his attention. First, my statement that the condition in the House was different then from what it is now was not in any way due to the fact that the control of the House had passed from the Republican to the Democratic side. It was due to the fact that in the House this year there is realization by all the membership of the House on both sides that we must retrench expenditures. That is all that I referred to when I said that conditions were different now. It was not political. I think the gentleman will remember that the bill he charges me with having handled was handled by a former Member of the House, now a Senator of the United States, Mr. DICKINSON. We adopted the Budget items just as the gentleman from Tennessee now insists that we adopt the Budget items.

Mr. BYRNS. Oh, no.

Mr. SIMMONS. Oh, yes. Last year there was no evidence before us and none could be gotten on which we could make cuts. Now the gentleman from Tennessee says that we shall not cut these estimates.

Mr. BYRNS. Oh, the gentleman is mistaken. I say cut them, and cut them to the bone, but I appeal to the House not to increase them.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman from Tennessee cut those estimates 5 per cent that I propose on salaries here in Washington if nothing else is proposed?

Mr. BYRNS. I shall support the gentleman in any proposition he makes to cut these estimates, provided he has the proof and provided he does not in that connection cripple the administration of this Government. I am a Democrat, but I do not want to see the President of the United States and his departments crippled in the administration of the affairs of the Government; and I say that if we blindly go along and cut the personnel of these departments without the slightest evidence 5 per cent, we are going to cripple many of the bureaus and divisions down there in this department and in others, and I for one am not going to be responsible for it.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman is criticizing me for not doing last year that which he refused to do this year. There are two things in this bill that did not exist last year. One of them is the evidence in this bill for the first time this year that the normal turnover in the Department of Agriculture is 1 to 2 per cent. There is that much of a saving that we could take out of this bill. Yet not a nickel of it is being taken, and the gentleman is opposing taking it out.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Let me finish this statement. This House has adopted a rule that makes in order on this bill a proviso that prevents the filling of vacancies that occur, and in so far as those vacancies occur in the District of Columbia the savings will be effected, but this bill does not deduct one penny in anticipation of those savings. I submit to the gentleman from Tennessee, not as a partisan matter in any way whatever, that there is one way in which we can effect savings in the salary items, and that way is not to appropriate the money. That type of saving will then be had.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to take up the time of the committee in the consideration of this matter. It has been thoroughly discussed. I am sure that all of you gentlemen are prepared to vote according to your own convictions. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] a moment ago said that there is not any reduction in this bill on account of vacancies that might occur—lapses, as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] reminds me. Of course there is no reduction.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The average of these lapses, when the Budget returned its estimates, was deducted from the salary roll to the amount of $402,000 on account of the lapses, and it took that much off the salary roll.

Mr. BYRNS. Absolutely; so that there is that reduction; but it is true there is no reduction in this bill because of this provision which I hope the House will adopt providing that vacancies shall not be filled. Who knows how many vacancies there will be?

Who knows whether there will be vacancies in this grade or that grade? It is impossible for anyone to say. What does the bill do? It simply says that every dollar that is saved by failure to fill vacancies shall be impounded and shall not be used for any other purpose, but that at the end of the fiscal year it shall be paid back into the general funds of the Treasury. The gentleman makes the argument that there is no reduction in this bill, but, gentlemen, you can see it is impossible to make any reduction, but on October 31 of this year this bill provides that the head of the department shall make a report to Congress, showing the number of vacancies that have occurred and the amount of money that has been saved by reason of not filling them. Then, at the end of the fiscal year he shall pay that money back into the Treasury, and it shall not be used for any other purpose. So evidently the gentleman has not read that provision of the bill.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. Of course, I do not think the gentleman is in earnest in stating that I have not read that provision of the bill, in view of the several conversations I have had with the gentleman concerning it.

Mr. BYRNS. Of course, I thought the gentleman had read it, but the gentleman misstated it, unintentionally of course.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then if vacancies occur in a bureau, and the gentleman from Tennessee is not in a position to anticipate where those are going to occur, if it is required that they be not filled except the President finds that the filling of them is "absolutely essential," then are we not "blindly" possibly crippling those activities, just as much as my amendment would "blindly" cripple them?

Mr. BYRNS. Certainly not, because we are safeguarding that possibility by giving the President of the United States the authority to direct that they be filled, and that is the

whole object of that provision in the bill, which gives him authority, whenever he thinks they should be filled, to fill them. This is not lopping off those places. This is not saying that under no circumstances shall they be filled. It simply says that they shall not be filled unless they are absolutely essential, and then not without the authority of the President of the United States.

Now, the gentleman is seeking to do this: If this appropriation is passed, it will reduce the personnel in every department in Washington a great deal. I have heard the turnover in these departments estimated at various sums. I have heard it said it was 10 or 12 per cent.

I think that is too much right now in this period of depression, because employees are holding onto their jobs rather than resigning and taking other places; but certainly the turnover will amount to 3 or 4 or perhaps 5 per cent in the Department of Agriculture, for one reason or another, in the next fiscal year. The gentleman wants to take that turnover and cut that out. Suppose it is 5 per cent and there is a bureau that has a hundred employees. That means they are cut down to 95, and the gentleman still wants to reduce that 5 per cent. Gentlemen, I say you are taking chances and running the risk of crippling the department unless this is done with some knowledge of what we are doing.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] be allowed to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman from Texas, the chairman of this committee [Mr. BUCHANAN], in explaining the possible difficulties involved in the 5 per cent cut, made this statement to the House, and in this I am in complete accord with the gentleman, that if the application of the 5 per cent rule results in any hardships or injustices, that the department officials, when they go to the Senate in the hearings on this bill, can there have those injustices corrected.

I submit that if the application of the 5 per cent rule to some 84 expending items for the District of Columbia, most of whom have not taken one nickel cut in salary, causes them to determine there has been an injustice done, they can then go to the Senate and convince the Senate that it has been unjust as to that activity, and it can be corrected in conference.

Now, here are three pages of major activities in the Department of Agriculture, items carried in this bill, which have not taken one nickel cut in their salaries, and in most instances have not taken anything except the 5 per cent cut in their total appropriation this year over last year. I submit that it is not fair to maintain in Washington a complete untouched personnel and cut the personnel in the field that actually serves the farmer in the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. BYRNS. There has been no cut in the field.

Mr. SIMMONS. There have been material cuts, if the gentleman has followed the bill.

Mr. BYRNS. I give all due credit to the gentleman as being one who desires to do the right thing. But does the gentleman not think, as a practical Member of this House and as a man who wants to do the right thing, that we ought to have a survey made, and that we ought to know just what we are doing before we take out our scalping knives and blindly cut a bureau 5 per cent in its personnel?

I dare say there are many bureaus in the Department of Agriculture and throughout the Government departments in Washington which can have their personnel cut 5 per cent and ought to have their personnel cut 5 per cent and perhaps more. What every Member of this House should do, is to make an investigation and secure the facts and figures showing it is justified. But just to come here with the idea that we are going to cut their heads off and then tell them they can go over to the Senate and make out a case, it seems to me is not performing the sort of duty that we owe to those departments and their employees and that we owe to the people who are being served by them.

Mr. CONNERY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. CONNERY. I would like to ask the gentleman from Nebraska, for whom I have the highest admiration and respect——

Mr. SIMMONS. All of which is reciprocated.

Mr. CONNERY. Does the cut which the gentleman proposes to put into effect come at the request of the President of the United States, at the request of the head of any governmental department, or is it the gentleman's own idea?

Mr. SIMMONS. Oh, sir, the gentleman honors me far beyond my poor powers to assume that I speak in any way for the President of the United States. I do attempt to speak, sir, for myself. The idea that is now before you is my own.

Mr. CONNERY. I wanted to know that from the gentleman because I get the personal impression, regardless of what the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] has said, that the President of the United States does not favor any cut in anybody's salary.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

Cereal and forage insects: For insects affecting cereal and forage crops, including sugarcane and rice, and including research on the European corn borer, $529,820.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Page 58, line 5, strike out "$529,820" and insert "$402,670."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I have not had the full support of the committee in my efforts to save some useless expenditures, to save some taxpayer's money, probably because the amounts I have proposed to eliminate were not large enough. This time I am asking you to cut $254,300 from the corn-borer item. We have already expended $18,000,000 in fighting the corn-borer fraud, which has never done appreciable commercial damage in the United States. This bill, in spite of the fact that we have eliminated half a million dollars, still carries three-quarters of a million dollars for the corn borer. This particular item is for parasites and various things of that kind. It is made up of two items, as set out in the hearings, and here is what they said about the parasite in 1931:

So that eventually if we get the various species in this country, we will not have to send people to Europe and Japan and other countries.

Then later, Mr. DICKINSON said:

Now we have been making extensive appropriations here for a number of years and, looking at your map showing your infested area there, from all appearances the area has just continued to enlarge about the same amount every year. If that is the case, does not that indicate that the corn borer is just going ahead regardless of the amount of money we spend, or what we do?

Doctor Larrimer, who is a noted and able scientist in the Department of Agriculture, said:

It indicates the natural spread is going ahead in spite of anything we do, and we have admitted that all the time, right from the beginning.

Then, a little later, he said:

Eventually, the corn borer, I may say, will spread all over the Corn Belt, and we have never indicated that we could stop its spread.

Still we go ahead spending the people's money. I have read from the hearings before the Agricultural Subcommittee

in 1931. Then, again, in 1932 the statement is made that they are spending $35,000 in Europe and $15,000 in Japan chasing the corn borer.

I want to know how long we are going to continue to squander the people's money, when the evidence given by those in the department in charge of the work shows them telling us over and over again that they can not stop its spread; that they have not stopped its spread; that they have never contended that they could and that they can not do it; that they can not exterminate it; and that it has never done commercial damage of importance in the United States.

I ask you gentlemen to sustain this motion and save $254,000. It is badly needed in other places. According to the testimony given year after year—and it is available to all of you—it is money that is practically wasted. We ought not to do it. It is wrong for us to waste the people's money in that way and increase the deficit in the Federal Treasury.

I want to go along and am ready to go along on every item that shows an actual need of expenditure in behalf of agriculture. I am deeply interested in it, more interested in agriculture than I am in any other industry in the whole United States, but I am opposed to wasting money, as we are doing on the corn borer.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the House has off and on heard discussions of salary reductions and corn borer rather interspersed. As I said earlier in the afternoon, I think we have gone as far as we ought to go, if not altogether too far now, in reducing the items for the corn borer, as we have completely eliminated the enforcement of the quarantine.

My good friend and colleague from Washington is rather persistently after this bug. If I understand the purposes of this item, it is one of the research investigations that has been carried on by the bureau and continued to be carried on in an effort to find natural enemies and ways of retarding the activities and preventing the damage that the corn borer can do.

Reference was made this afternoon to the Mediterranean fruit fly. I concur absolutely with my colleague from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] that the Mediterranean fruit fly was probably as big a fraud as has ever been perpetrated on the Congress, but it was a humiliating thing to me, when I was a member of a special committee from the Congress holding hearings in Florida, to find out that the Department of Agriculture, with all of its scientists and with all of its investigations, had never studied the Mediterranean fruit fly. They did not know how to handle it. They did not know its habits. They did not know its enemies.

Now, let us not make this mistake with the corn borer. My good friend, again, has approved in this bill an item of $55,000 to send scientists to the Hawaiian Islands to study the Mediterranean fruit fly so that if we ever have an outbreak of that creature in the United States our scientists will know what to do and how to handle it. The corn growers of this country are entitled to have some study made of their problems and some information regarding what to do in the event the corn borer should become a menace greater than it is now. There is a potential danger there.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. The amount here is $529,820. The preceding gentleman stated on the floor that something like half a million dollars had been already taken from the Budget figures; is that true?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do not have the figures before me, but the probability is that a number of items are included in this paragraph with the corn-borer item, as is quite often the case in practically all of these items.

Mr. PARSONS. That is for insects generally.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How much was taken from this under the Budget estimate?

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS] can correct me, but it is my recollection that the original Budget estimate was about a quarter of a million dollars for this item.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. And the proposed cut is $254,300.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is the part for the corn borer in this total amount of $529,000.

I do not desire at this late hour of the evening to take any more of your time. This amendment ought to go the way of the other corn-borer amendments.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, in the course of the last few months the gentleman from Nebraska has developed into the ablest, shrewdest, most resourceful politician on the Republican side of the aisle.

Mr. SIMMONS. May I, sir, thank you?

Mr. BLANTON. The mantle that once adorned the shoulders of the famous Joe Walsh, of Massachusetts, now adorns his shoulders; that which fell from the great Jim Mann is now worn by our friend from Nebraska.

Mr. SIMMONS. Sir, I salute you twice.

Mr. BLANTON. That which the great Martin Madden once used so heavily upon Democrats is now being used by the warrior from Nebraska.

I am sure that all of these various proposals that he has made on this floor during the last week, every moment or two, have caused the new membership on both sides of the aisle to wonder what is his purpose. They knew that the gentleman must have some purpose. I just want to tell them—it is politics. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. HOLADAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

I fully agree with what the gentleman from Texas has said about our colleague from Nebraska. The gentleman wonders why this great change has come about. I have here an editorial appearing in one of the leading papers of the Middle West, the Commercial News of Danville, Ill., which I think will answer the gentleman, and I ask the Clerk to read it in my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Among the many subdivisions and committees in Congress is that of the House antigrasshopper bloc. Representative SIMMONS, of Nebraska, has just announced its organization, and its mission in life is to demand an appropriation of $1,400,000 to be used in fighting grasshoppers next year in the event they appear in alarming numbers. At the present price of farm products it probably would cost the Government less to restock the granaries and cribs of the grasshopper district than to fight the pests. If the appropriation should be made, however, it is quite sure that it would be used, if not in killing grasshoppers, in greasing the political band wagon.

Mr. HOLADAY. Let me say to the gentleman from Texas that I have often followed the gentleman from Nebraska. At his feet I have learned that the first duty of a member of the Appropriations Committee was to support the committee in holding down the appropriations. The gentleman from Texas has recently become a member of that committee. We are now faced with the proposition as to whether or not we will support the committee or join the grasshopper bloc.

Mr. BLANTON. While not a member of the Committee on Appropriations until this Congress, I want to say that I have been an unofficial observer for many years. While not on the committee, I was functioning just the same.

Mr. BOYLAN. Will the gentleman tell the House the current price of grasshoppers? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOLADAY. That is one of the things that will no doubt be determined by this appropriation. I presume the first thing will be to issue a bulletin on the origin and species of the grasshopper, and the second bulletin will be on the love life of the grasshopper, something like the pamphlet issued years ago on the love life of the frog. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment. It is well sometimes in the late hour of the afternoon to indulge in a bit of levity. My good friend from Illinois had shown me the newspaper clipping that he just had read, and I have no objection to having it read into the RECORD. He offers it in the same light spirit that it was written.

The gentleman from New York has asked, What is the price of grasshoppers? I want to say to him that the price to-day of grasshoppers is hunger and want and cold, foreclosures, and in some cases despair in great areas in the Middle West. If the farmer from the city of New York will come with me, I will show him, I will take him into the communities of my State, in the district of our Democratic colleague [Mr. HOWARD], and in other Western States—Iowa, the two Dakotas, Montana, Minnesota, and Wyoming—where the people this day are standing on the streets and thanking folks that are feeding them and their babies, accepting coal and fuel and feed for their livestock.

People for the first time in their lives are asking for charity. Many still refuse charity and ask for loans, for a chance to carry on. They have given in their hour of plenty; now in their hour of need when they ask for help the gentleman from New York asks what price grasshoppers?

Now, because I have had an interest in this matter sufficient to go with others of my colleagues to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Budget Bureau and ask that next year we do something to protect the people from this grasshopper plague, that the United States help them to fight that which they are unable to fight successfully for themselves, I am ridiculed and they are ridiculed on the floor of the House. It is far more important that we aid farmers in distress than that we keep a pay roll intact in Washington.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Does the gentleman believe that cutting down the wages of the American workman would be a benefit in reviving the purchasing power of the people of this country?

Mr. SIMMONS. I have answered that question many times; I do not.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. I have read in the newspapers an article stating that the grasshopper plague was due in part to the destruction of predatory animals by the Department of Agriculture; that they scattered poison all over the land and destroyed animals that were destructive to grasshoppers.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is something that I have not heard about.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. And $10,000,000 was appropriated by the Government.

Mr. SIMMONS. The authorizing bill carried a million dollars a year for 10 years, but that appropriation is not carried in this bill this year.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLANTON. Regardless of the money you spend or get appropriated, just as they had them in the days of Pharaoh, you are going to have grasshoppers in your great-great-grandchildren's day.

Mr. BOYLAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOYLAN. The gentleman has said that I facetiously asked the price of grasshoppers and took that as an opportunity to make a tirade against the gentleman from New York, but this afternoon I heard the gentleman also make a tirade, speaking against the appropriation for the eradication of the corn borer. Why should the gentleman discriminate against the corn borer? If he is against the grasshopper, why is he not against the corn borer, the boll weevil, and other pests? They are all in the same class. They are all destroying the crops. How many bushels of corn——

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, may I have my own time, please?

Mr. BOYLAN. But I want to know about the corn borer.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska declines to yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask for the use of my own time. My good friend mistakes me. I was defending the recommendations of the committee in behalf of the corn-borer eradication work, and not asking for a cut of those appropriations. But the grasshopper is a far more destructive pest than the corn borer can possibly be.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. SCHAFER. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended one minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SCHAFER. If the gentleman's amendment providing that the vacancies in the Agriculture Department should not be filled is adopted, will the gentleman offer the same kind of an amendment when the appropriations for the Prohibition Department comes up, providing that we shall not fill any of those vacancies?

Mr. SIMMONS. Is the gentleman asking that of me?

Mr. SCHAFER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman ought to understand, first, that I am not offering a proposal that when vacancies occur they shall not be filled. That is a committee proposal and is in the bill.

Mr. SCHAFER. The gentleman's amendment provides for a 5 per cent cut, does it not?

Mr. SIMMONS. Of part of the personnel in the District of Columbia.

Mr. SCHAFER. Would the gentleman support an amendment providing the same 5 per cent cut in the prohibition personnel?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, in order that I may answer the gentleman sufficiently, I ask unanimous consent that my time be extended for an additional four minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMMONS. The proposal that I expect to offer, if ever we reach the end of this bill, is to cut the appropriation of some 84 expending agencies in the department in Washington, a total of $495,000 for salaries. I do not include in that proposal all of the expending agencies in Washington, only those which, in my opinion, are not doing an absolutely essential work. Possibly it is a beneficial work but not one that could not be dispensed with in part. And in cases where the work is essential certainly a 5 per cent cut will not seriously cripple their activities. As the gentleman knows, I am dry, personally and politically, and I do not propose to economize in appropriations necessary to enforce the laws of this country.

Mr. SCHAFER. Except in the Agricultural Department.

Mr. SIMMONS. Cutting appropriations to enforce the law in your country and mine is one thing, and I am not for it, but cutting appropriations for people who serve in Washington on investigation work and research work and experimental work, whose activities can be eliminated without hurting in any way the essential conduct of this Government, is another thing. I trust that I have sufficiently answered the gentleman.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Again, to my distinguished colleague from New York, yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. How can the gentleman distinguish or classify as to the degrees of law enforcement? The laws for the Agricultural Department are just as statutory as those administered by the Department of Justice.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; but I do not propose to cripple the enforcement of any laws administered by the Secretary of Agriculture. There are activities that are carried on under these appropriations that the gentleman knows do not in all probability have the authority of substantive law—investigation work of one kind and another.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. How about the propaganda carried on by the issuance of pamphlets in the Prohibition Department, the employment of undercover men, not at all contemplated or authorized under the law?

Mr. SIMMONS. Let us reach that when we get to it. I have given as distinct and clear answer as I think any man

can give on that. I am for the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment without qualification.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. But there are other provisions in the Constitution.

Mr. SIMMONS. All right. If there are any other provisions in the Constitution that are being violated and that we need money to enforce in this country, I will favor the appropriation of that money; but enforcing the law is one thing and investigation is another, and hiring janitors and stenographers is another thing. Some of the latter can be done away with.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has again expired.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington rose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Washington rise?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I rise to inquire if my amendment to save $254,000 is still before the House?

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment is still before the committee and the Chair will put it just as soon as he can in accordance with parliamentary procedure. Without objection, the pro forma amendment of the gentleman from Nebraska is withdrawn, and the question is on the adoption of the amendment of the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be again reported.

There was no objection, and the Clerk again reported the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Washington.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, we are going into some very important items now. We should have more Members here. Can we not take this bill up to-morrow?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I am going to get through with this bill to-morrow. There are too many pages left to finish it to-morrow. We should read at least 10 more pages.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Well, suppose we go along until some amendments are offered, because we are not making any headway this way.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I want to get 10 more pages read, and I hope the gentlemen will refrain from speaking as much as possible so that we can read at least 10 more pages before we adjourn.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I do not raise the point now, and I will not until some amendments are offered.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Very well. If the gentleman wishes to raise a point of no quorum, he may raise it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Production of fur-bearing animals: For investigations, experiments, demonstrations, and cooperation in connection with the production and utilization of fur-bearing animals raised for meat and fur, in the United States and Alaska, $62,455.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, not for the purpose of delaying the House, but to state that under the item of "Control of predatory animals and injurious rodents," I want to get five minutes to-morrow, even though we now pass this part of the bill, because of a statement made on the floor by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN], that the grasshopper infestation was due to the control of predatory animals and rodents. That is a statement that should not be allowed to stand without some reply. The increased program for predatory-animal control was brought about under a bill which I introduced, so if I may have permission at this time to proceed for such time as the House may allow me, first, under a 5-minute request, to-morrow after the reading of the first item, I will not speak about it now. I do not wish to delay the House. I ask that I have five minutes to-morrow.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. MCCORMACK). The Chair is of the opinion that under the rules the Chair could not entertain such a request. The Chair will assure the gentleman that, as far as it is possible, the Chair will personally keep in mind the request of the gentleman and will do everything possible to secure time for the gentleman to address the committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will state to my colleague, the gentleman from Montana, that I will not object to his discussing that matter to-morrow.

Mr. LEAVITT. Just so it would not be declared out of order. That is all I hoped for.

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

For biological investigations, including the relations, habits, geographic distribution, and migration of animals and plants, and the preparation of maps of the life zones, and including $24,300 for investigations of the relations of wild animal life to forests, under section 5 of the act approved May 22, 1926 (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 16, sec. 581d), and for investigations, experiments, and demonstrations in the establishment, improvement, and increase of the reindeer industry and of musk oxen and mountain sheep in Alaska, including the erection of necessary buildings and other structures, $102,500.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. NELSON] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. NELSON of Missouri: Page 61, line 2, strike out "$102,500" and insert "$90,000."

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count.

Mr. LAGUARDIA (interrupting the count). Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order for the present.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York withdraws the point of order.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. The object of this amendment is to reduce by $10,000 the appropriation for biological investigations having to do with the reindeer and other meat animals in Alaska. In this paragraph the sum of $102,500 is carried, and there are other appropriations, including $103,566 for enforcement of the Alaska game law.

For years the Government has been making liberal appropriations for the reindeer industry in Alaska, where one firm has a very large investment. In this way the Government not only lends its assistance to private enterprise, but continues to encourage further competition for the cattle breeder and feeder here in the States.

We are told that in November, 1929, the supervision of the reindeer service was transferred from the Office of Education to the Governor of Alaska, and that the increase in the number of deer from the original herds of approximately 1,300 to the present herds estimated to contain 600,000 animals, in about 40 years, has already shown that they may be made a factor in the food supply of the country. So says the Interior Department's summary of the governor's report at that time.

Turning to the hearings on the present bill, we read at top of page 520 of these hearings:

The reindeer are increasing rapidly in numbers; and, unless something is done to control the use of the range, the condition will be extremely serious so far as the industry is concerned.

The same witness, Mr. W. C. Henderson, Associate Chief of the Bureau of Biological Survey, adds:

The reindeer industry, as you probably know, is in a rather hard situation at the present time.

I have in mind another industry, one which represents many millions of dollars and with which hundreds of thousands of people are concerned. I refer to the cattle industry. It is in a "rather hard situation." In fact, it is in a terrible situation, yet the Government proposes to continue the practice of encouraging and promoting further competition.

Some may say that the reindeer business affects Alaska only. This is not the case. Even to-day reindeer meat comes in competition with beef from our own farms. The Government, according to published reports, has even gone

so far as to consider making reindeer meat a part of the Army ration. We are told that reindeer meat is now selling at about the same price as lamb; and it is suggested that if it can be produced in much larger volume and handled in great quantities, that much of the overhead can be absorbed and sales speeded up. Mr. Henderson testifies that reindeer meat to some people is just as satisfactory as beef or mutton when it is in good shape. He adds that in northern Alaska he preferred reindeer to any of the other kinds of meat available there.

The year 1931 was one of the most disastrous in the history of the livestock business in America. Reviewing the market for the 12 months, the Daily Drovers Telegram, of Kansas City, said:

> In more than 50 years of publication, the Drovers Telegram never before was called on to sum up a year of livestock and agriculture that was so unfavorable and disappointing to farm people as 1931 has been. Every farm product sold was sacrificed, possibly the first year in history in which demoralization was unanimous.

The low and unprofitable market for cattle during the year 1931 was not due to any unusual number slaughtered. Rather do statistics show a shortage. For instance, cattle slaughtered under Federal inspection on the public markets for the year 1931 numbered approximately 8,100,000 head, the lowest number in six years, and comparing with 10,802,000 in 1926. It might be added that in 1918 the cattle killed in the leading markets consisted of 11,829,000 head. I refer to cattle because reindeer meat, while competing with all other meats, more closely competes with beef. With top hogs selling at only a little more than 4 cents per pound on the Chicago market and at 3½ cents a pound on farms, with fairly good cows bringing but 1½ to 3 cents per pound, and with other meat animals bringing less than half the former prices, now is no time for the Government to be encouraging further competition.

Trends of cattle prices in 1931, as compared with the previous year, are about as follows:

Beef steers, $2.50 to $3.50 lower; warmed-up steers, $3.50 to $3.75 lower; cows, $1.50 to $2.75 lower; heifers, $1.75 to $3 lower; mixed yearlings, $1.75 to $3 lower; calves, $2.50 to $5 lower; bulls, $1 to $1.75 lower; stockers, $2 to $3.50 lower; feeders, $1.75 to $3.25 lower; stock cows, $1 to $2 lower; stock heifers, $2 to $3.25 lower; stock calves, $1.25 to $4 lower.

The market paper from which these figures are taken adds:

> The word "activity" almost faded from the vocabulary of cattle-market reporters during the past year, and although receipts were fairly light throughout the period, a demand has continued dull from the initial day's trading, and only a few scattered weeks of intermittent strength have interrupted almost steady price losses.

But somebody may say that these low prices have not been reflected in what the consumer is asked to pay. Let us see. Here are prices on the Washington market of Saturday and from a well-known store system:

> Lean fresh hams, 2 pounds for 25 cents; loin pork roast, 2 pounds for 25 cents; leg of lamb, 21 cents per pound; end pork chops, 15 cents per pound; lean smoked hams, 17 cents per pound; plate boiling beef, 9 cents per pound; tender chuck roast, 2 pounds for 25 cents; fancy rib roast, 23 cents per pound.

The $10,000 which the adoption of this amendment will save is but a drop in the bucket. Its adoption, though, will say to distressed farmers everywhere and especially to those engaged in the livestock business, the basic business of permanent agriculture, that branch of the business which makes for soil fertility, that we disapprove of the Government providing further competition in this field.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. LEAVITT. Does the gentleman not overlook the fact that these reindeer were introduced into Alaska for the benefit of the Eskimos, and Alaska is a part of the United States? What the gentleman is asking us to do in withdrawing the work with reindeer for the benefit of the Eskimos is to discriminate against one section of the citizenship of the United States in behalf of another, and to discriminate against the most helpless part of our population.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. Not at all. Six hundred thousand reindeer, with other meat animals in Alaska, where the population is constantly decreasing, is more than sufficient. I can imagine no reason in the world why we need 600,000 reindeer, or more, unless it is because Uncle Sam is becoming Santa Claus not only for the entire United States but for the whole world.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. LEAVITT. The Secretary of the Interior did me the honor to appoint me on a committee headed by Senator KENDRICK, of Wyoming, and having as a third member Assistant Attorney General Sisson, to hold hearings and consider the reindeer industry from the standpoint particularly of the natives of Alaska. We held quite a few hearings in Washington last year. Now, keep in mind that Senator KENDRICK, the chairman of that committee, is one of the large stockmen of Wyoming, so that the interests of the stockmen were kept continually in mind, so far as competition with cattle is concerned. A rather voluminous report was presented, and under the recommendations of that special committee a plan is now being worked out in Alaska in an effort to make this industry as beneficial as possible to the Eskimo.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. I trust my colleague will not take my time in making his statement.

Mr. LEAVITT. As this question has been raised, this afternoon or to-morrow I would like to have a chance to make a reply.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. For an inquiry; yes.

Mr. BLANTON. I was wondering where the Secretary of the Interior got authority in law to appoint Congressmen and Senators on his commissions.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. That is a matter which I would prefer to have my colleagues discuss between themselves.

Mr. BLANTON. I did not know that Congressmen and Senators were appointed on commissions by a Cabinet officer.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. I must decline to yield further. The testimony, as given by a representative of the Biological Commission, as I remember, shows that the question now is to provide a range for the deer now in Alaska, some 600,000. The population of Alaska is constantly decreasing.

Mr. LEAVITT. The white population is decreasing and if the native population is decreasing it is due to the fact that we have destroyed, through the avariciousness of the white people, their usual means of livelihood. We have taken away from them——

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. Allow me to make my statement, please. The gentleman may make his to-morrow.

Mr. LEAVITT. I will make my statement after the gentleman finishes his statement.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. Not only is the reindeer meat of Alaska coming into competition commercially with our own stockmen but the Government, according to published reports, is seriously considering making it a part of the Army ration. As I say, our stockmen have suffered sufficiently as it is, and I feel it very unfair and very unnecessary that this competition should be furthered. We have too much Government in business as it is. I speak for the stockmen of the States; my colleague may speak for the people of Alaska.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. With regard to the stockmen, for whom the gentleman speaks, I will state that Montana is one of the principal cattle-producing States of the Union. We are primarily a stock-producing State. So I know the position of the stockmen. Senator KENDRICK was also on this informal commission. In reply to the gentleman from Texas, we were merely invited by the Secretary of the Interior to act. Sen-

ator KENDRICK was asked because he had been a cattleman from the beginning of settlement, almost, in Wyoming Territory, and knew how stock is handled on the range; I was asked to act because of my years of experience in the Forest Service as a ranger and forest supervisor, handling stock on the national forests; and Mr. Sisson was to act because of his knowledge of Alaska and to keep us straight from a legal standpoint. We held hearings and listened to those in interest, and we recommended a plan which we hope will be beneficial, approaching it from the standpoint, of course, of the Eskimo natives of Alaska.

Let us remember that when the white people came in contact with the Eskimos the natives had a means of livelihood that consisted largely of seal and other wild life that was native to a large section of their country; that the white people destroyed it and deprived them of their way of living. So there is now an effort being made to give them another way of living. It is true the United States introduced reindeer into Alaska, and it is also true that the herd has grown to such unfortunate proportions that it is now a very serious problem.

Senator KENDRICK made this statement that if the entire supply of reindeer meat could be brought into the United States and distributed, it would mean one steak per family for just one breakfast, and that would end it for a year. It does not come into any great competition with the American cattlemen.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Senator KENDRICK is one of the largest cattlemen in the United States?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes. He looked at it from the standpoint of the cattleman and that is one reason he was on the commission.

Now, here is the situation: The point of Alaska from which reindeer come is toward the northern part. On account of the climate and the freezing up of the waters up there, comparatively early in the fall, it is necessary to slaughter reindeer and hold them over to the next season before they can ship them out. If there were not some little market for this excess that has been developed up there, it would be impossible for the Eskimos to get any financial return from the reindeer they own.

It is also true there is a commercial concern that has taken over some of the reindeer and has been attempting to introduce reindeer meat into this country, but without any great success, except from the standpoint of a novelty food. So far as I am concerned, I would rather have a good beefsteak any day than a piece of reindeer meat. Our beef is much better meat, and reindeer meat is not going to come in competition with our beef industry to any appreciable extent.

At the same time, it is the only thing the Government has been able to work out to give these Eskimo natives, who are a part of the United States through our ownership of Alaska, a chance to live and have something to eat and something to wear. The reindeer becomes to the Eskimo of Alaska what the buffalo was to the plains Indian years ago. He depends upon it practically for his livelihood and it is his main food. It is the way he has to exist. It is necessary for us, with the reductions that have been made here by the committee below even the Budget estimate, to carry on the work at least this far in justice to these people who are the wards of the Government of the United States.

Mr. KLEBERG. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes.

Mr. KLEBERG. May I ask the gentleman whether the reindeer referred to in the exportation of reindeer meat to this country are owned by the Eskimos or others?

Mr. LEAVITT. By both. The evidence before our committee was——

Mr. KLEBERG. I have reference to those exported.

Mr. LEAVITT. That is what I mean. The evidence showed us that there is a market, but the only market that the Eskimos have for what they can sell is through this company that is shipping reindeer meat into the United States. Some of it belongs to the white people and some of it belongs to the Eskimos.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

MIGRATORY BIRD CONSERVATION ACT

For carrying into effect the provisions of the act entitled "An act to more effectively meet the obligations of the United States under the migratory-bird treaty with Great Britain by lessening the dangers threatening migratory game birds from drainage and other causes by the acquisition of areas of land and of water to furnish in perpetuity reservation for the adequate protection of such birds; and authorizing appropriations for the establishment of such areas, their maintenance and improvement, and for other purposes," approved February 18, 1929 (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 16, secs. 715–715r), $318,000, authorized by section 12 of the act, which sum is composed of $200,000, a part of the sum of $600,000 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and $118,000, authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and in addition thereto the unexpended balance of the sum appropriated for the fiscal year 1932 under authority of section 18 of the act, is hereby continued available for the same purpose for the fiscal year 1933, together with the unexpended balance of the appropriation of $400,000 for the purposes of section 12 of said act as contained in the agricultural appropriation act for the fiscal year 1932.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words for the purpose of asking the chairman of the subcommittee a question. The language of the paragraph is "together with the unexpended balance of the appropriation of $400,000." Why have all this other appropriation for this year if $400,000 for this year is unexpended?

Mr. BUCHANAN. My recollection is that that amount is due on obligations for the purchase of land for the reservations.

Mr. PARSONS. I have had some serious complaints come to me with reference to some of these migratory-bird inspectors throughout the country, and I wanted to have this item explained. If we are having $400,000 unexpended for the purpose of their investigations and so on, we certainly should not need to add to that $600,000 for this year, which with the $400,000 unexpended would make $1,000,000.

The Clerk proceeding with the reading of the bill, read to the bottom of page 64.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MCCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 7912, the agricultural appropriation bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

ACTS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF PORTO RICO

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 23 of the act of Congress approved March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith certified copies of the four acts enacted by the Twelfth Legislature of Porto Rico during its second special session, from November 25 to December 8, 1931.

HERBERT HOOVER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 25, 1932.*

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 573), entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 230. Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. GOODWIN (at the request of Mr. CLAGUE), indefinitely, on account of sickness;

To Mr. MONTAGUE (at the request of Mr. BLAND of Virginia), indefinitely, on account of death in family.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Appropriations, I report the bill (H. R. 8397; Rept. 273) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

Mr. MURPHY reserved all points of order.

THE OIL-TARIFF ISSUE

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by including an editorial from this morning's Post and my comments thereon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial in the Washington Post of the date of January 25 regarding the oil-tariff issue and my own remarks pertaining to the same.

The editorial is as follows:

The present session of Congress undoubtedly will see renewed and determined efforts on the part of independent oil producers of the Mid West, whose output comes from small stripper wells, to force the enactment of a duty on oil. They will have the support of large companies that have extensive stocks above ground and output from flowing wells that would be immediately benefited by increased prices. Opposed to a tariff will be the American companies that are importing oil from their holdings abroad and many organizations representing important users of gasoline, fuel oil, and asphalt, who realize that a prohibitive duty on the imported products would mean increased costs of operation.

The United States has never placed a duty upon fuel. A tariff on oil would tend to drain the domestic supply, increase the cost of gasoline, and give a costly subsidy to a fraction of the petroleum industry in this country.

The problem of the small pumping wells is a serious one, it must be admitted, but the question is whether they should be rendered profitable for a comparatively few well owners to the great cost of millions of users of oil and oil products. Oil from stripper wells can only be produced at more than twice the cost of oil from the flowing wells in the same midcontinent fields. To claim that a tariff sufficient to overcome this difference in the cost of production would not greatly increase the cost of all oil products in this country is an evasion that does not merit discussion. Other unwarranted assertions are made to bolster tariff pleas, such as statements that the price of gasoline does not follow the price of oil and that stripper-well production would be lost if the wells were shut in.

It is unfortunate, in connection with the Senate Commerce Committee tariff and embargo hearings a year ago, that the last four pages of the report were not included in the first printing. Members of Congress will find in these pages, printed in a later limited edition, a memorandum prepared for the Secretary of the Interior by the Department of Mines, in which many of the points here discussed are treated in an impartial manner by Government experts. The proposal for a tariff on oil is a much larger question than restoring to profitable production the least efficient fraction of the American oil industry. It is of paramount interest to all owners of motors and oil burners. The Nation is asked to enact legislation which would hasten the exhaustion of the petroleum resources and eventually subject the country to the extortions of foreign oil producers.

What I would like to know is, who is behind the anonymous propaganda directed against the attempt to restore American prosperity by rehabilitating one of the greatest industries of the Nation—the petroleum business—now prostrate for lack of a tariff?

From time to time there appear editorials in the Washington Post bearing every evidence of their having been prepared by some one who is thoroughly informed concerning the latest movements in the petroleum industry, but who indulges in misrepresentation, misstatements, and false statements intended, unquestionably, to influence the attitude of Members of Congress, who are studying this most important question. The choice of the Washington Post as a medium for getting this propaganda before Congress is not the important question. The same campaign, conducted in the same manner, marked the efforts of the oil industry to secure just protection at previous sessions of Congress. The identity of the interests making use of this daily paper and shooting from ambush at those trying to rebuild the Nation's economic life ought to be known to every Member of this body.

There are opponents of this bill who are making a legitimate fight in the open. They have every right to oppose this proposed legislation. It is tremendously to their interest to defeat it. Their gain through continuance of the present conditions will be counted in many millions of dollars, if not billions of dollars yearly. It would be interesting to know whether any of these are concerned with the anonymous editorial contributions to the Post, which savor rather of an assassin shooting from cover than of proper warfare.

Is the Standard Oil group, which is one of the large beneficiaries of the free trade in oil and which is paying nearly $300,000,000 per year in dividends because of the situation created by the free importation of foreign petroleum, behind this masked assault on the Members of Congress?

Is the Dutch Shell group, a corporation whose foreign control has been a subject of frequent comment and which is another beneficiary of the freedom to import cheap foreign petroleum, using this method to lobby with Congress against the interests of the American worker, the American railroads, the American farmer, and American industry in general?

Are the Mellon interests, already under severe attack, and which recently announced, through a prominent official in one of the Gulf corporations, that they were buying up at bargain prices the property of the distressed American petroleum producers and refiners, taking advantage of the situation created by the inpouring floods of cheap foreign oil, and using this subterranean method of continuing a policy which is worth fortunes to them annually?

These are the known opponents of the bill. Can there be others? If so, who are they?

This body has a right to know the influences and the interests which are behind any attempt to influence the course of legislation before the House.

The latest move of the propagandist against the oil tariff is recorded in the editorial of the Washington Post for Monday, January 25. Crammed with misstatements of fact, it is especially dangerous because of the air of authority with which it speaks. It falsely asserts that the proposed bill placing a tariff upon oil comes from producers "whose output comes from small stripper wells." This is untrue. The whole independent American petroleum industry is behind this measure. This is evidenced by the vote of the American Petroleum Institute, showing full support of this proposed measure by all branches of the petroleum industry with the exception of the oil importers. Naturally those operating stripper wells are interested. To describe these wells as "small" is to give a false impression. There are 3,000 stripper wells operating in the United States, producing 500,000 barrels per day out of a total national production of 2,000,000 barrels per day. These stripper wells represent, therefore, one-fourth of the present production. If these wells should be closed through failure of Congress to pass a proper tariff, then billions of barrels of oil reserve would be utterly lost.

Those who are in favor of a true oil conservation program, which means the use and not the abuse of our resources and which means the retention and not the destruction of oil resources, can not defend any policy which means the loss of billions of barrels of oil through closing in these 3,000 wells.

Every flush field of to-day will be the stripper field of to-morrow. To suggest that wells be closed down when they are no longer operating under flush production would be as ridiculous as to suggest that a factory be closed down when it was no longer new or that buildings be abandoned after their first newness had been passed. It would be even more foolish since these wells are the only outlet for enormous quantities of oil which it would not be economically profitable to recover if they were closed.

This concealed propagandist for the oil importers, whose name ought to be known to every Member of Congress, falsely asserts that "a tariff on oil would tend to drain the domestic supply, increase the cost of gasoline, and give a costly subsidy to a fraction of the petroleum industry in this country." To get the truth just reverse that statement.

The domestic supply of petroleum in the United States is practically inexhaustible. Each time an estimate has been made of the total amount of that supply, the production within a few years has exceeded that total amount. New reserves are continuously being discovered. Authorities in geology assure us that the supply in sight at present is sufficient for several hundred years. It seems highly probable that long before we have made any very appreciable inroads on the known supplies of petroleum, other forms of releasing energy will be discovered or new synthetic fuels will be invented. This is the "oil age." Wisdom dictates that we should use petroleum at this period of its maximum value before it becomes as antiquated as whale oil. Furthermore, the wastage through closing in large numbers of wells now producing oil would be far greater than any savings attained through failure to utilize this natural resource whose value is to-day probably greater than it will ever be.

The cost of gasoline should not be affected by any tariff on petroleum or its refined products. The price of gasoline to the ultimate consumer has had no direct relation to the cost of crude oil from which it is produced. Gasoline was often sold at its highest price when the crude oil had reached the low-water mark, while gasoline frequently sold at its lowest price when the price of crude oil was at its highest. Gasoline prices are arbitrarily determined by those dominating the gasoline distributing agencies and by those now controlling refining. Whatever savings may have been made in the production cost of gasoline through the importation of cheap foreign petroleum have not been passed on to the consumer, but have fattened the enormous dividends of the great oil-importing firms.

The only costly subsidy involved in the proposal for an oil tariff is the present subsidy granted to the oil-importing concerns. They are profiting to the extent of many millions of dollars annually to the cost of American labor and American industry. American petroleum and its products have paid tremendous taxes to the State and Federal Governments through various forms of taxation. The foreign oil, brought in by the great oil-importing firms in order to dominate the American market, pays no duty, and is free from tax burdens carried by the American industry. Actually the oil importers are thus receiving subsidy in this freedom of taxation to which the American industry is liable.

The American petroleum producers may be, as this anonymous assailant who hides behind the columns of the Washington Post proclaims, "the least efficient fraction of the American oil industry." Monopolies are notoriously efficient. The American petroleum industry, as distinguished from the oil-importing companies, has not sought to attain that kind of efficiency. Its efficiency has not been directed toward crushing competitors or exploiting the consumer, but, instead, has been directed toward the elimination of waste, the attempt to stabilize the market in spite of inflooding foreign oil, and to bring order to an industry continuously upset by a few corporations owning tremendous tracts of foreign oil land.

The prostration of the American petroleum industry has limited or wiped out the market formerly afforded by the 22,000,000 residents of the oil-producing States west of the Mississippi and has thus spread unemployment through States which had not realized how much of their prosperity depended upon this market, which was one-fifth of the total market of the Nation. The enormous dividends being paid annually by the oil-importing concerns of the Nation because of the lack of a proper tariff have impoverished American workers, closed American factories, and crippled American industry in general.

We should know who is the hidden propagandist pleading the cause of a practical monopoly and attempting to prevent legislation designed to restore the vanished prosperity of this Nation.

A GOOD RECONSTRUCTIVE MEASURE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and insert therein one paragraph of a bill that I have introduced.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, permission having been heretofore granted for the purpose, I insert in the RECORD the provision in my bill relating to the payment of the adjusted-service certificates as asked for in H. R. 1:

SEC. 2. Payments of the face value of adjusted-service certificates under section 509 or 510 of the World War adjusted compensation act, as amended, shall be paid in Treasury notes. The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States is hereby authorized to have engraved and printed a sufficient amount of Treasury notes, in the denominations of $1, $2, $5, $10, $20, $25, $50, $100, $500, and $1,000 each; such Treasury notes shall be full legal tender, noninterest bearing, exempt from all taxes, including Federal, State, and subdivisions thereof.

The bill to pay these certificates could well be termed a form of relief measure, a reconstruction measure, or a measure to help the plain people. It will put $2,200,000,000 into circulation, will increase the volume of currency that much, which is very much needed at this time.

PROHIBITION

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and insert a letter written by James S. Hogg, at that time Attorney General, and afterwards Governor of Texas, in 1887.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman?

There was no objection.

The letter is as follows:

MAY 13, 1887.

Mr. W. W. DOUGLASS,
Winsboro, Tex.

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to your inquiry by letter of the 11th instant, I beg to say that it is true that I am opposed to the adoption of the proposed amendments to our Constitution on the subject of prohibition. In this respect I differ, of course, with many of my friends. If you were to ask me if I am opposed to temperance and sobriety, then I should cheerfully tell you no, and that I yet practice what I preach in this respect.

Aside from the great fundamental principles involved, which touch the very heart of a free man's government, I should oppose the proposed measure on the grounds of its utter impracticability and of the prolific evils that would certainly flow from its adoption. The objects of its advocates are commendable in so far as they intend to abate intemperance and to reform the morals of the wicked people. Such results are not possible, however, from prohibition or any species of coercion. Morality, sobriety, and religion spring from a different source than brute force or the lash of law. Men can not be made moral, forced into temperance, or whipped into religion. The way to happiness and to heaven is pointed out by our Savior, whose great influence has been most felt from His humility, meekness, kindness, forbearance, precept, and example. His course was approved and sanctioned by the wisdom of God, and He never sought to purify the people by prohibitory measures in the corrupt times when His presence became necessary on earth.

By the powers of "moral suasion" in the church, and around the family hearthstone, and in the schoolroom, followed up by worthy examples by those who lead the way in society and business, especially of those who assume the rôle of moral reformers, temperance and sobriety will prevail, for by these methods men's pride and honor can be cultivated and aroused to the elevated standard of honesty and truth in all things.

In revolt at dictation and coercion in private affairs men become combative when there is hope in open resistance; but so soon as this feeling is gone they sneak next into the hiding places of cowards, criminals, and outlaws to evade what they conceive and contend to be oppression. In such refuges tricks are conjured and deception and hypocrisy are practiced, and perjury is bred, nurtured, and emulated.

The proposed amendment does not prohibit the importation of liquors, but it does intend to prevent the sale of them except for medicinal, scientific, mechanical, and sacramental purposes. Therefore anybody can get the liquid who may order it by the pint, quart, gallon, keg, barrel, or cargo, which he can give away or drink at will. So anyone can sell it or buy it for use in "sickness," for experiments in "science," for applications in "mechanical" pursuits, etc. And it is possible—barely possible—that if the amendment is carried the saloons will close up, and as an expedient, if closely pressed, be transformed into drug stores; or will only keep liquors for "sick people," "scientific gentlemen," and those engaged in the "mechanics." Add to this the fact that "enterprising" merchants of the "immoral class," just to "accommodate" their customers (and to draw large crowds) will keep a barrel or so of "red eye" near a bucket of water and a sugar keg in their back rooms, as used to be the custom, and that this will cause the "moral" class to keep a little of the "pure quality" in "self-defense" to give their patrons, and one can begin to see where this thing will go.

To get whisky men will lie, if necessary, on constitutional grounds; for most any thirsty fellow can easily complain of "general debility," and get a bottle; or he can keep on hand some scientific or mechanical scheme which can not be operated without "spirits." Join with all this the ingenuity of the drinker, the skill of the saloonist, the generosity of the merchant, and the schemes of the high-toned clubroom, and the fallacy of "prohibition" can be seen before the blunder is committed by the adoption of the amendment.

If the war is really on the evil influence of the saloons, as some avow, then it can be made more successfully in the legislature than by the present method. Remove the screens so that all drinkers can be seen; abolish the vulgar pictures which arouse the evil passions; drive out the enchanting music which draws the crowds, and clear away the gaming tables that afford sport, recreation, and amusement for the patrons. A step further, on this line, if necessary close them up at night, or not permit lights to be used in the saloons from sundown until sunup, so that he who goes there after night will do so alone for a drink and must grope in the darkness to slake his thirst. Supplement this by heavy bonds and a high license; exclude the sale of liquor from every other place and there will be some chance at least of confining a great evil under the surveillance of law where it can be made to defray a large share of the tax, as it does now, and to carry all the odium which the rules of society and the temperance people can place upon it.

This course will insure: (1) The confinement of the liquor traffic within the prescribed channels altogether unattractive, except to the man who desires and will have a stimulant. (2) The certain and easy enforcement of the law against the dealers, for every watchful man who passes the saloon can be a witness against them in its violations. (3) The payment of a large share of the taxes of the Government upon the sound economic principle that evil pursuits should bear the heaviest burdens. (4) The drawing of lines certainly and clearly between moral and immoral pursuits, practices, and habits, so that no man can play the hypocrite without just exposure.

The present seductive surroundings of saloons are against public policy and they will be abated by a proper enforcement of the law passed by the last legislature. The well-known necessity of forcing their employees to testify against them ought to be obviated by making it possible for all disinterested citizens to appear in court as witnesses to their wrongs. The present large tax which they are now forced to pay ought not to be shifted on the ad valorum list against the property holders in more commendable pursuits; and men who wear flowers on their noses as a result of sucking around quart houses and drug stores should be afforded a decent chance to avoid absolute hypocrisy—the greatest curse to genuine moral reform in every land.

The revenue to the State for the two years ending June 30, 1886, from intoxicating liquors amounted to $1,024,500. The expense to the State growing out of criminal prosecutions, embracing the fees of district and county attorneys, sheriffs, clerks, witnesses, criminal judges, etc., for the two years ending February 28, 1887, aggregate the amount of $958,733.74. By this it will be observed that occupation taxes from this one traffic paid an excess of $65,766.26 over all the expense to the State from all criminal sources for a like period. The comptroller furnished me these figures this morning, and they are correct. The reason they are not given for the same periods is that the general business year closes with the Government February 28, while the one for the settlement of occupation taxes ends on June 30 of each year.

The total trials during the two years ending January 1, 1887, of the three offenses of arson, burglary, and theft were 3,045, while those of all other offenses combined, including murder, rape, robbery, embezzlement, perjury, and assaults to murder, to rape, and to rob aggregate 2,332.

These figures are authentic and are given you without special comment, so that you can draw your own conclusions after asking yourself, "If the occupation taxes on the liquor traffic pay more than the whole expense of criminal cases, what good reason can there be for abolishing this revenue and placing the burden upon other sources?" It will hardly do to say that crime will cease for the lack of whisky, for men will sin, drunk or sober; nor will it answer to say that liquor will fail to find its way into Texas, for the facts stare the world in the face that under more rigid laws than this proposed amendment Maine, with a population of 675,000, pays a revenue on whisky to the United States Government of $26,554.74 annually; that Iowa, with 2,000,000 people, pays $2,138,662.40 a year; and that Kansas, the prime pattern of Texas's latter-day morals, with a population of 1,400,000, pays also annually to the National Government from the same source $94,974.52. But Texas, with her 2,500,000 so-called intemperate people, pays a revenue on whisky of $93,143.56 to the United States annually. Compare these figures furnished me to-day by a reliable revenue collector here, and then ask yourself, "What's the matter?" Don't say that the revenue officers have not done their duty, for the people bear witness to their extreme vigilance and untiring activity in this line.

It might do to dodge these figures by saying that those several States have a great many scientists who apply the stuff, and large crowds of mechanics who are lavish in its use, and a very sickly population that can not do without it; but to say that whisky floats by them or that it is less used in either of those States than in Texas in proportion to population is simply illogical and untrue.

So palpable a failure to enforce the liquor laws within the small, circumscribed limits of moral Maine, woman's rights Kansas, and busy Iowa, with the aid of all their "superior forms" of civil government in the keeping of their moral zealots and skillful leaders at least speaks badly for this political quick step now being so artfully taken under the cloak of temperance reform on the pure, unsullied soil of chivalrous Texas.

If for no stronger reasons, this amendment ought to be defeated upon the grounds that it would scatter the traffic and use of intoxicants and force them into low dives and high places alike without the attendance of law or the burdens of taxation, where in the former they would be productive of the most hideous and corrupting forms of crimes, and in the latter they would play the part of keen-cut reapers of the fairest flowers of our land.

If "whisky is the embodiment of villainies, the father of all crimes, the mother of abominations, the devil's best friend, God's worst enemy, and the murderer of the soul; if, from the time it issues from the coiled and poisonous worm at the distillery until it empties into the hell of death, dishonor, and shame, it demoralizes everybody that it touches from its source to where it ends," then the good people should try to narrow its current and surround it by the safeguards of law instead of spreading it throughout every avenue of trade and into the way of every social channel, where it will be used by more people and by that class who would never enter a saloon to get it. At present the saloons are chiefly supported by the transient, traveling, floating classes, who otherwise pay but little either directly or indirectly to support the Government. With a change the chief patrons of whisky would be our home people of every profession, class, grade, shade, and color.

Yes, my friend, I am opposed and shall vote against the so-called prohibition amendment for what I believe to be the welfare of morality, the protection of virtue, the promotion of honesty, and the perpetuity of good government.

With great respect and sincere friendship, I am,

Your obedient servant,

J. S. HOGG.

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION

Mr. HALL of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Irrigation may sit during the sessions of the House for the next four days.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The Speaker announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 573. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, January 26, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Tuesday, January 26, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

Commodity short selling.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

(10.30 a. m.)

Upper Mississippi River (House Doc. 137, 72d Cong.).

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS—SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 9

(10 a. m.)

Increase in the balance to any one person in a postal-savings depository (H. R. 4524 and H. R. 7438).

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

(9.30 a. m.)

Revision of patent laws.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(10 a. m.)

Prerequisites to becoming a naturalized citizen (H. R. 287 and H. R. 298).

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m.)

Administrative and general provisions.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

(10.30 a. m.)

Prevailing rate of wages.

COMMITTEE ON ROADS

(10 a. m.)

National aid to roads of $125,000,000 per annum (H. R. 4716); also authorization for forest roads.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Section 15a (H. R. 7116 and 7117)—interstate commerce act (recapture clause).

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Akron investigation.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

404. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting for the consideration of Congress an estimate of appropriation for the Treasury Department for $125,000,000 for the fiscal year 1932 (H. Doc. No. 233) was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on Flood Control. H. R. 5866. A bill to authorize the construction of a dam across Des Lacs Lake, N. Dak.; without amendment (Rept. No. 260). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. COOPER of Tennessee: Committee on Flood Control. H. R. 3951. A bill to provide a preliminary examination of the Edisto River and its branches, South and North Edisto, S. C., with a view to the control of its floods; without amendment (Rept. No. 261). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BYRNS: Committee on Appropriations. H. J. Res. 251. A joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932; without amendment (Rept. No. 266). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BULWINKLE: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 2388. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport Road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn.; without amendment (Rept. No. 267). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BULWINKLE: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 2389. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the Dandridge-Newport Road in Jefferson County, Tenn.; without amendment (Rept. No. 268). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. LONERGAN: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 7247. A bill authorizing the Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads and the State Highway Department of the State of Connecticut to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Pawcatuck River near the location of the present Broad Street Bridge between Westerly, R. I., and Stonington, Conn.; without amendment (Rept. No. 269). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. GREEN: Joint Committee on the Disposition of Useless Executive Papers. A report on the disposition of useless papers in the Treasury Department (Rept. No. 270). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia: Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. S. 2286. An act authorizing the William Robert Smith Memorial Association, of El Paso, Tex., to construct a memorial in honor of William Robert Smith, former Member of Congress from the sixteenth district of Texas; without amendment (Rept. No. 271). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. JEFFERS: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 6477. A bill to further extend naturalization privileges to alien veterans of the World War residing in the United States; with amendment (Rept. No. 272). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Committee on Appropriations. H. R. 8397. A bill making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 273). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 882. A bill for the relief of G. W. Wall; with amendment (Rept. No. 262). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2238. A bill for the relief of Edward Bodeck; with amendment (Rept. No. 263). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4406. A bill for the relief of Edna B. Erskine; with amendment (Rept. No. 264). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5054. A bill for the relief of the International Manufacturers' Sales Co. of America (Inc.); with amendment (Rept. No. 265). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Invalid Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8280) granting a pension to George W. Wolfe, and the same was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. EVANS of California: A bill (H. R. 8372) to authorize the erection of a 250-bed addition for tubercular disabilities at the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at San Fernando, Calif.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. PARSONS: A bill (H. R. 8373) to authorize an appropriation for the reconstructing, raising, and strengthening of the levee at Shawneetown, Ill., as a protection against floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. BLACK: A bill (H. R. 8374) to authorize the settlement, allowance, and payment of certain claims, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8375) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hos-

pital in the inland region of the State of California; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. FERNANDEZ: A bill (H. R. 8376) to provide for the erection of a suitable memorial to the memory of James B. Eads at New Orleans, La.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CARTER of Wyoming: A bill (H. R. 8377) relating to petroleum and petroleum products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ESLICK: A bill (H. R. 8378) to make it a crime to advocate or promote the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CANNON: A bill (H. R. 8379) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Arrow Rock, Mo.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HALL of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8380) to authorize the construction of personnel quarters and kitchen at the Veterans' Administration Home, Dwight, Ill., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 8381) to amend the act of May 1, 1920, for the minor children of Civil War veterans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8382) to amend the act of March 3, 1927, for minor children of Indian war veterans; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8383) to amend the act of May 1, 1926, for minor children of Spanish War veterans; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWING: A bill (H. R. 8384) authorizing an appropriation to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain an experimental station at the abandoned Fort Mojave Indian School near Needles, Calif.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8385) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital in southern California, and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8386) declaring November 11 a legal public holiday, to be known as Armistice Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAMSPECK: A bill (H. R. 8387) providing for the restoration of retired officers to the active list of the Army in recognition of efficient service rendered while on active duty subsequent to retirement; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 8388) to abolish the Bureau of Efficiency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8389) to consolidate and coordinate certain governmental activities affecting the civil service of the United States; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. BRUNNER: A bill (H. R. 8390) to amend the air mail act of February 2, 1925, as amended by the acts of June 3, 1926, and May 17, 1928, further to encourage commercial aviation; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii: A bill (H. R. 8391) to amend the Hawaiian organic act, as amended; to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. REED of New York: A bill (H. R. 8392) to extend certain benefits of the Public Health Service to certain seamen, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

By Mr. KNUTSON: A bill (H. R. 8393) providing for payment of $100 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of the Red Lake Band of Minnesota from the timber funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CANNON: A bill (H. R. 8394) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near St. Charles, Mo.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8395) to grant a right of way or easement over lands of the United States within the Upper Mississippi River Wild Life and Fish Refuge to the Savanna-Sabula Bridge Co., a corporation, for the construction, maintenance, and operation of a highway between Savanna, Ill., and Sabula, Iowa; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8396) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois to construct a free highway bridge across the Rock River at or near Prophetstown, Ill.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 8397) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes; to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

By Mr. BYRNS: Resolution (H. Res. 122) authorizing the payment of $2,820 each per annum to Truman Ward and Marshall Pickering; to the Committee on Accounts.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 251) making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. CROSSER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 252) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SWING: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 253) directing the Secretary of the Interior to withhold his approval of the adjustment of the Southern Pacific and Central Pacific Railroad land grants, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CANNON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 254) creating a joint committee of six Members of the Senate and six Members of the House to investigate the Federal Farm Board; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DIES: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 255) prohibiting the naturalization of aliens whose allegiance is questioned; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 8398) for the relief of John H. Day; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. AMLIE: A bill (H. R. 8399) granting an increase of pension to Eliza Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ANDRESEN: A bill (H. R. 8400) granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Gentgen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLACK: A bill (H. R. 8401) to authorize the settlement of individual claims of military personnel for damages to and loss of private property incident to the training, practice, operation, or maintenance of the Army; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8402) for the relief of certain disbursing officers of the Army of the United States and for the settlement of individual claims approved by the War Department; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8403) for the relief of certain disbursing officers of the Army of the United States and for the settlement of individual claims approved by the War Department; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8404) for the relief of Harry Hewston; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8405) granting a pension to Cora E. Kuderski; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8406) granting a pension to Ellen J. Butler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DRANE: A bill (H. R. 8407) granting a pension to Benjamin Dobrosky; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8408) granting a pension to Zacariah Taylor Malone; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8409) granting a pension to David Rothblatt; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 8410) granting a pension to Kate L. McCalley; to the Committe on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNANDEZ: A bill (H. R. 8411) granting an increase of pension to Claudia V. Hester; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8412) granting an honorable discharge to Joseph L. Galle; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8413) granting an honorable discharge to James F. Strode; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8414) to authorize removal of wreck of ex-United States ship *Cincinnati;* to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8415) for the relief of Mrs. G. A. Brannan arising out of fatal injury of her son John Douglas Malone; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8416) for the relief of Clayton M. Thomas; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GUYER: A bill (H. R. 8417) granting a pension to William Frank Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8418) granting a pension to Samuel W. Carnes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8419) granting an increase of pension to Lydia J. Barr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8420) granting an increase of pension to Perry O. Buck; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HESS: A bill (H. R. 8421) to correct the military record of Clifford Brenner; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8422) providing for the extension of time for the submission of additional proof in the matter of the award of a distinguished-service cross to Acors R. Thompson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8423) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Wallace; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOPKINS: A bill (H. R. 8424) for the relief of Allie B. McMichael; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 8425) for the relief of Templeton Livingston; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MALONEY: A bill (H. R. 8426) granting a pension to Delia Porter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 8427) granting a pension to Maryette Sweet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MARTIN of Oregon: A bill (H. R. 8428) granting a pension to Burr E. Vinson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 8429) granting an increase of pension to Lutie Hannah; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 8430) granting a pension to Ruth Vinie Foster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OLIVER of New York: A bill (H. R. 8431) for the relief of Ralph Riesler; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PARKER of New York: A bill (H. R. 8432) granting an increase of pension to Julia Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PARSONS: A bill (H. R. 8433) granting a pension to William I. Gustin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. POLK: A bill (H. R. 8434) granting a pension to Alverda J. Elmore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAYBURN: A bill (H. R. 8435) for the relief of the estate of W. Y. Carver, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8436) granting a pension to Guy H. Stedham; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SEIBERLING: A bill (H. R. 8437) for the relief of Seiberling Rubber Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMASON: A bill (H. R. 8438) for the relief of James M. Hoskins, a veteran of the World War; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. THURSTON: A bill (H. R. 8439) granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Abrams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WEST: A bill (H. R. 8440) granting an increase of pension to Charles F. George; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILSON: A bill (H. R. 8441) for the relief of Charles J. Holstein; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WITHROW: A bill (H. R. 8442) to retire Master Sergt. Paul R. Nelson with the rank and pay of a captain; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

781. By Mr. AMLIE: Memorial of State Legislature of Wisconsin, urging the Congress of the United States to enact legislation fundamentally changing the present patent system; to the Committee on Patents.

782. Also, memorial of State Legislature of Wisconsin, urging the Congress of the United States to amend the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of beer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

783. Also, memorial of State Legislature of Wisconsin, urging the Congress of the United States to pass the emergency public works bill introduced by Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

784. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of University Friends Church, of Wichita; Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Wellington; and Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Augusta, all of the State of Kansas, in behalf of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

785. By Mr. BACHMANN: Petition of Rev. W. E. Turner, pastor of the First Church of God, McMechen, W. Va., and a number of members of his church, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and opposing any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

786. By Mr. BEERS: Petition protesting against modification or resubmission to the States for repeal of the national prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

787. By Mr. BOHN: Petition of citizens of Antrim County, Mich., expressing their favor of the attitude taken by President Hoover and Secretary Stimson in cooperating with the League of Nations in the China-Japan crisis and expressing petitioners' position as in favor of reduction of armaments both on land and sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

788. By Mr. BURCH: Petition of Dr. J. W. Cammack and 63 other citizens of Danville, Va., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

789. By Mr. CARTWRIGHT: Memorial of the Order of the Rainbow for Girls, urging Congress to name November 11 (Armistice Day) as a national holiday; to the Committee on Memorials.

790. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, urging that a provision be made for drill pay and annual training duty of such civilian components as will maintain these forces at the present or greater strength; to the Committee on Appropriations.

791. Also, petition of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, urging the New York delegation in the Congress of the United States and the Committee on Appropriations of the United States Senate and House of Representatives to procure a National Guard appropriation by Congress for the fiscal year 1933 which will permit accomplishment of the 48 armory drills provided for by law, and full-strength summer-camp training heretofore prescribed, with the understanding that the strength of the National Guard will not be increased during the fiscal year 1933; to the Committee on Appropriations.

792. By Mr. CURRY: Petition of San Joaquin County (Calif.) Federation of Women's Clubs, favoring the Jones-Cooper bill for the promotion of the health and welfare of

mothers and infants; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

793. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of the citizens of Billings, Okla., protesting against the proposed tax legislation providing for excise tax on automobiles of 5 per cent; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

794. Also, petition of James F. Smith Post, No. 15, American Legion, Muskogee, Okla., indorsing House bill 7230 providing for uniform pensions for widows and children of deceased veterans of all wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

795. Also, petition of the National Federation of Federal Employees, urging support of House bill 7427, to classify deputy collectors of internal revenue; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

796. By Mr. GILLEN: Petition of Western Indiana Theater Corporation, Terre Haute, Terre Haute Musicians' Protective Association, and L. M. Prewitt, of Plainfield, all of the State of Indiana, protesting against theater tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

797. Also, petition of Wright Oldsmobile Co. (Inc.), Terre Haute, and Hoosier State Automobile Association, both of the State of Indiana, protesting against tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

798. Also, petition of Putnam County Post, No. 58, American Legion, Greencastle, Ind., favoring passage of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

799. Also, petition of Rockville National Bank, Rockville; First National Bank, Montezuma; and Ferguson Lumber Co., Rockville, all of the State of Indiana, to reform banking laws; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

800. By Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH: Petition of Womans' Christian Temperance Union of Kent County, Md., opposing resubmission of national prohibition to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

801. By Mr. HADLEY: Petition of some members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ferndale, Wash., urging maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

802. By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: Petition of Fort Henry Chapter, No. 9, Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, requesting Congress to appropriate the amount recommended by the War Department for the Organized Reserve Corps, also requesting $100,000 for inactive flying duty for the officers of the Air Reserve; to the Committee on Appropriations.

803. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Sistersville, W. Va., opposing to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment, and requesting adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

804. By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Petition of sundry citizens of the State of Washington, urging the adoption of the memorial of Warren Hull, of Hoquiam, Wash., proposing Government aid in financing the building of medium to small-sized houses; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

805. Also, memorial of Warren Hull, of Hoquiam, Wash., to encourage single-occupancy home building, especially in suburban and rural districts, and thereby to improve general living conditions and stimulate the employment of labor; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

806. Also, petition of Willard Union, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Tacoma, Wash., for support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

807. By Mr. JONES: Petition of Price Scott, county school superintendent, and other citizens of Floyd County, Tex., favoring the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

808. By Mr. KENDALL: Petition of certain members of the Central Presbyterian Church, of South Brownsville, Pa., protesting against the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

809. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Edith Throop and 56 other persons of Morrowville, Kans., and Hattie Harper and 81 other persons of Robinson, Kans., for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and opposing any measure of repeal or modification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

810. By Mr. MANSFIELD: Resolution adopted by the bankers of Gonzales County, Tex., in opposition to the postal savings law; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

811. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of Federal Postal Employees Association (Inc.), protesting against reduction in wages; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

812. Also, petition of South Side Democratic Club of Buffalo, N. Y., to amend the prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

813. By Mr. NIEDRINGHAUS: Petition of Mrs. F. W. Blackwell and others, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

814. By Mr. O'CONNOR: Resolutions of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, urging appropriations for drill pay and annual training of civilian components of the Army and Navy so reduction in active defense be minimized; to the Committee on Appropriations.

815. By Mrs. OWEN: Resolution forwarded by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of De Land, Fla., representing 150 people, opposing a resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

816. By Mr. PERSON: Resolution of Lansing Chapter, No. 8, Lansing, Mich., Disabled American Veterans of the World War, with signatures of 44 members, favoring widows' pensions and the immediate cash payment of the balance of the adjusted compensation; to the Committee on Pensions.

817. Also, resolution of Capt. Lloyd E. Arnold and 26 officers of the Air Reserve Corps, recommending a program of national defense consistent with national safety; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

818. By Mr. ROBINSON: Petition of G. H. Williams and 32 other citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, protesting against any salary decreases for Federal employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

819. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of land bank of the State of New York, New York City, opposing the passage of Senate bill 2959; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

820. Also, petition of National Guard Association of the State of New York with reference to drill pay and annual training duty of such civilian components as will maintain these forces at the present or greater strength; to the Committee on Appropriations.

821. Also, petition of American Psychological Association (Inc.), University of Minnesota, opposing the passage of Senate bill 2146; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

822. Also, petition of Col. Bryer H. Pendry, Two hundred and forty-fifth Coast Artillery, National Guard, New York, favoring an appropriation by Congress for the fiscal year 1933, which will permit accomplishment of the 48 armory drills provided by law; to the Committee on Appropriations.

823. By Mr. SANDERS of Texas: Petition of A. D. Gardner and numerous other citizens of Terrell, Tex., protesting against the proposed salary reduction of postal employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

824. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of Emmons Botten and 24 other residents of Carson, N. Dak., and vicinity, protesting against an increase in the tax on motor vehicles, accessories, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

825. By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia: Resolution of Woman's Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church South, St. Albans, W. Va., opposing the repeal or resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

826. By Mr. SNELL: Petition of residents of North Bangor, N. Y., supporting the prohibition laws and their enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

827. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of J. O. McKeen and 65 other citizens of Maine, requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

828. By Mr. SPARKS: Petitions of 49 residents of Winona and vicinity, the Methodist Ladies' Aid, of Ellis, consisting of 16 members, 71 citizens of Beloit and vicinity, and 6 people of Eureka; also resolutions of the Winona (Kans.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ellis, and the Church of Christ of Burr Oak, protesting against any change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

829. By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Petition signed by J. W. Peffers and 25 other adult residents of Goldendale, Wash., protesting against the enactment of the compulsory Sunday observance bill, S. 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

830. Also, petition signed by Fanny Viola Peffers and 19 other adult residents of Goldendale, Wash., protesting against the enactment of the compulsory Sunday observance bill, S. 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

831. By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: Petition of Women's Christian Temperance Union of Lake Charles, La., protesting against the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

832. By Mr. SWANSON: Petition of Council Bluffs Chapter, No. 5, Disabled American Veterans of the World War, favoring immediate cash payment of adjusted-compensation certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

833. By Mr. SWICK: Petition of Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church, Mars, Butler County, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States to the State legislature or to a State convention; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

834. Also, petition of the Bakerstown Ministerial Association of Butler County, Pa., opposing the submission of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States for repeal to a State convention or to the State legislature; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

835. By Mr. THOMASON: Petition of El Paso Chapter Reserve Officers Association, urging adequate appropriation for Organized Reserves; to the Committee on Appropriations.

836. By Mr. THURSTON: Petition signed by some 200 citizens of Appanoose County, Iowa, urging the Congress to support the prohibition law and opposing any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

837. By Mr. WITHROW: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, relating to the opening date of the hunting season for migratory birds; to the Committee on Agriculture.

838. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the Congress of the United States to provide work and wages for the unemployed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

839. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation for the expenditure of moneys appropriated by the Federal Government for Indian relief through State agencies; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

840. By Mr. WYANT: Petition of Raymond V. Flowers, first lieutenant, Company M, One hundred and tenth Infantry, Latrobe, Pa., protesting against curtailment of appropriations for National Guard, Reserve Corps, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

841. Also, petition of James S. Gallagher, captain, Company M, One hundred and tenth Infantry, Latrobe, Pa., protesting against curtailment of appropriation for National Guard, Reserve Corps, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

842. Also, petition of W. S. Finney, West Newton, Pa., protesting against curtailment of appropriations for National Guard, Reserve Corps, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

843. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Charles Forney, Norfolk, Va., petitioning the Congress for enactment as law that prices quoted on stock exchanges may be disregarded by banks and fiduciary institutions in determination of the value of assets thereof, etc.; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

SENATE

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1932

The Chaplain, Rev. Zebarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in whose kingdom we dwell, whose laws prescribe our path and to whom we are ever subject however we disobey and rebel; have mercy upon this whole land and incline our hearts to keep Thy laws. Remove from our midst all selfishness that remains in the lives of those who in this grave hour, unmindful of their country's weal, do but seek their own safety and welfare, and fill us all with the spirit of that true patriotism by which fear and distrust shall be removed, and love of Thee and of our fellow men shall thrill us with our common purpose revealed in the life of Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 573) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington, and it was signed by the Vice President.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Hull	Reed
Austin	Cutting	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.
Bailey	Dale	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Bankhead	Davis	Kean	Sheppard
Barbour	Dickinson	Kendrick	Shipstead
Barkley	Dill	Keyes	Smith
Bingham	Fess	King	Smoot
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Stephens
Borah	George	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glass	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glenn	McKellar	Townsend
Broussard	Goldsborough	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Bulow	Hale	Morrison	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harris	Moses	Wagner
Capper	Harrison	Neely	Walcott
Caraway	Hastings	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Hatfield	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Hawes	Nye	Waterman
Coolidge	Hayden	Oddie	Watson
Copeland	Hebert	Patterson	Wheeler
Costigan	Howell	Pittman	White

Mr. BLAINE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is unavoidably absent.

Mr. JOHNSON. I announce that my colleague [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] is ill and confined to his bed. I ask that the announcement may stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

LANDS WITHIN PUEBLO INDIAN LAND GRANTS, NEW MEXICO

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pur-

suant to law, a report relative to an investigation and final report by the Pueblo Lands Board, created under the act of June 7, 1924, as to the title to lands and water rights within Pueblo Indian land grants in the State of New Mexico, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the petition of the Citizens' Joint Committee on Fiscal Relations Between the United States and the District of Columbia, signed by E. F. Colladay, its chairman; Theodore W. Noyes, chairman of its executive committee, and other members of the joint committee, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia and ordered to be printed in the RECORD without the signatures, as follows:

PETITION BY THE CITIZENS' JOINT COMMITTEE ON FISCAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Petition to Congress urging rejection of H. R. 6285; urging also a return in appropriation practice to the 60-40 definite proportionate contribution plan provided by the substantive law of 1922, and urging further that while the lump-sum payment plan of national contribution toward Capital upbuilding continues as the annual exceptional appropriation practice the amount of this lump payment shall be largely increased)

To the Congress of the United States:

Your petitioners, the Citizens' Joint Committee on Fiscal Relations Between the United States and the District of Columbia and the presidents and other representatives of its constituent and cooperating organizations, whose names are subscribed below, respectfully represent:

The platform of principles laid down by the joint committee and adhered to in the committee's brief in the hearings before the joint select committee in 1915, the House District Committee in December, 1919, and the Senate Appropriations Committee in April, 1920, is as follows:

We contend, first, that the United States should contribute largely to the expenses of the District; second, that this contribution should be a fixed and definite proportion; third, that this proportion should be at least one-half.

This platform was modified by the District's new organic act of 1922, which reaffirmed the principle of definite proportionate contribution by local community and Nation toward Capital upbuilding, but changed the 50-50 ratio to 60-40, imposing the 60 per cent burden upon the local taxpayer.

The committee's platform of principles, thus modified, was announced by the executive committee of the Citizens' Joint Committee October 31, 1923, as follows:

We contend, first, that the United States should contribute largely to the maintenance and upbuilding of the National Capital; second, that this contribution should be a fixed and definite proportion; third, that this proportion should be 60-40—60 by the District taxpayers and 40 by the United States.

While Congress has refused all propositions to amend the definite proportionate contribution provision of the law of 1922, and while the 60-40 provision is the existing substantive law, Congress in 1924 provided as a temporary provision on the annual appropriation act for the fiscal year 1925 a lump-sum payment contribution in lieu of the 40 per cent contribution provided by substantive law, and has renewed this exception to the provisions of substantive law in each annual appropriation act since that date.

In this Congress a bill has been introduced, H. R. 6285, which repeals the provision of the substantive law establishing the 60-40 ratio of definite contributions.

The Citizens' Joint Committee urges rejection of H. R. 6285 and a return in appropriation practice to the 60-40 definite proportion appropriation plan, as provided by existing substantive law, for the reasons set forth in the argument appended to and made a part of this petition.

H. R. 6285 and several bills increasing the tax burden of the District have been introduced and a cutting down or elimination of the annual lump-sum payment has been proposed on the theory that District taxpayers are not bearing an adequate tax burden. The Citizens' Joint Committee contends that the District taxpayers are now reasonably, and, in view of their peculiar disabilities, even heavily taxed, and that no increase of their tax burden should be considered unless it is clearly demonstrated that such additional taxation is absolutely necessary to meet urgent municipal needs which can not otherwise be satisfied. At congressional hearings, especially that on H. R. 6285, the committee will ask the privilege of submitting the facts and reasoning upon which its contention that the District is not undertaxed is based.

Your petitioners further respectfully represent that as long as a lump-sum payment is the appropriation practice temporarily on annual appropriation acts immediate correction should be made of some of its grosser and more obvious injustices.

To prevent glaring inequity your petitioners therefore urge for reasons stated in the argument hereto attached as part of this petition that Congress should (1) increase substantially, both on general and specific grounds, the basic lump-sum payment; (2) exclude great national or seminational projects from the District bill and finance them on some other supply bill, so wording the items thus excluded as to set forth the exact method of financing in relation to the amounts of contribution by Nation and Capital that is thought to be just, or (3) provide for a local as well as a national maximum of contribution on the assumption that it is the impotent local partner who alone needs this protection, or (4) by referendum or otherwise permit the local taxpayers to have some effective say in regard to the amount of local taxes and the purposes for which the tax money is to be expended.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin memorializing Congress to amend the Volstead Act so as to permit the manufacture and sale of beer, which was referred to the Committee on Manufactures. (See joint resolution printed in full when presented by Mr. BLAINE on the 25th instant, p. 2596, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

He also laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin memorializing Congress to enact legislation fundamentally changing the present patent system, which was referred to the Committee on Patents. (See joint resolution printed in full when presented by Mr. BLAINE on the 25th instant, p. 2597, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

He also laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin memorializing Congress to pass the emergency public works bill introduced by the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], which was ordered to lie on the table. (See joint resolution printed in full when presented by Mr. BLAINE on the 25th instant, p. 2597, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

He also laid before the Senate the petition of the Shakespeare Club of Pasadena, Calif., praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, of Baltimore, Md., protesting against the use of the grounds at Fort McHenry for purposes other than as a memorial, which was referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Board of Trade, of New Orleans, La., remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill 1963, to regulate carriers by water in interstate and foreign commerce, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a memorial of Branch No. 1, New York National Association of United States Civil Service Employees at Navy Yards and Stations, of Brooklyn, N. Y., remonstrating against any proposed reduction in the salaries of Federal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted at Buffalo, N. Y., by the National Guard Association of the State of New York favoring the making of appropriations to provide 48 armory drills and summer camp training for the National Guard, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a memorial of the Brightwood Citizens' Association, of Washington, D. C., remonstrating against any proposed reduction in the salaries of Government employees, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Exchange Club, of Mayfield, Calif., favoring the naming of the dirigible *ZRS–5* the *Palo Alto*, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. JONES presented petitions of sundry citizens of Tacoma, Port Angeles, and Oak Harbor, Wash., praying for the maintenance of the national prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BLAINE presented petitions of 55 citizens of the State of Wisconsin praying for the maintenance of the national prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented a memorial of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church South of Queen City, Tex., remonstrating against a repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment to the Con-

stitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. STEIWER presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Sutherlin, Oreg., remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia or any other measure restricting religious liberty, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Salem, Oreg., praying for the maintenance of the national prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. DAVIS presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Hazleton, Pa., praying for the imposition of a duty on importations of crude oil and anthracite coal, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Dairy Jobbers Association, favoring the passage of legislation to refinance agricultural indebtedness and to establish an efficient credit system, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. TYDINGS presented a petition of the Real Estate Board of Baltimore, Maryland League of Building Associations, of Baltimore, Md., praying for the passage of certain amendments to Senate bill 2959, the so-called home loan bank bill, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Tacoma Park, Md., and Washington, D. C., remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other measure restricting religious liberty, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. CAPPER presented petitions numerously signed by sundry citizens of Agra, Downs, Earleton, Haviland, Hesston, Little River, McPherson, Ness City, Redfield, and Winfield, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the national prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the church under auspices of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union at Broughton; the Church of the Nazarene of Burr Oak; the Ladies' Aid Society of the United Brethren Church of Earleton; the Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Church of Minneapolis; the local chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hesston; the Prairie Club of Ness City; the Priscilla Club, of Ness City; and the local chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Redfield, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the national prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented memorials of sundry citizens of the State of New York, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or other measures restricting religious liberty, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions of members of the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Crown Point and sundry citizens of the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the national prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Rotary Club of Peekskill, N. Y., favoring the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Central Mercantile Association, of New York City, favoring a modification of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TREATY WATER OF NIAGARA RIVER

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I send to the desk a telegram in the nature of a petition, which I ask permission to have read and appropriately referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

LOCKPORT, N. Y., *January 23, 1932.*

Hon. ROBERT F. WAGNER.

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

The Federal Power Commission, January 18, refused to receive the application of the city of Lockport, N. Y., for the 275 C. F. S. Niagara River treaty water, the last block of treaty water not now permanently granted to the Niagara Falls Power Co. The commission is now considering the application of the Niagara Falls Power Co. to amend its license so as to also include the last block of treaty water. Ask that the matter be presented on the floor of the Senate and such action taken as will require the Federal Power Commission to certify to the proper body its reasons for denying our right to present our application for a preliminary license and to be heard on the merits. Any help you can give us will be appreciated, along line suggested or which may suggest itself to you.

O. C. BLOUNT, *Mayor.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The telegram will be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

THE SILVER QUESTION

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, in the nature of a petition, I desire to read a radiogram from Sir Henri W. A. Deterding. I will state that I think it is generally known that Sir Henri W. A. Deterding is one of the largest business men in England, being the head of the Shell Oil Co. and of a large shipping concern. His expressions along business lines are given great weight in Great Britain. On yesterday the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] delivered a speech here on the monetary situation throughout the world, particularly with relation to the depressed price and purchasing power of silver money. He quoted in that speech from an article by the writer of this radiogram, and I am simply identifying him. The radiogram reads:

LONDON.

Senator KEY PITTMAN,

Nevada United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

Times, 20th January, publishes following:

"At fourth ordinary general meeting of Indian Institute Bankers held recently Bombay, Sir Osborne A. Smith, governor Imperial Bank India, made following statement on silver question:

"'Before I close perhaps I may briefly touch on economic crisis through which India and world are passing. This crisis is engaging whole-time attention of great economic leaders of all countries, but there seems to be no unanimity among these leaders as to cause or remedy, though most agree that maldistribution of world's standard of value gold and overproduction of commodities have largely contributed to slump. When one realizes that the teeming millions of India and Asia are half starved and less than half clad one can scarcely agree that there is any overproduction in regard to requirements, but there is certainly overproduction relative to purchasing power. If this is conceded, the question then arises as to how purchasing power can be stimulated, and one answer readily presents itself—by the rehabilitation of silver through a reasonable stabilization of its value in relation to gold. If this could be accomplished, I feel sure the improvement would be immediate and lasting, and it would not be long before surplus commodities were absorbed and some measure of prosperity restored.'"

Sir HENRI W. A. DETERDING.

DISPOSITION OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, some time ago the President appointed a commission to make an investigation and report upon the public lands. This, of course, is a matter of very great concern to the West. This report will come along for debate later and will have the consideration it deserves. I have at this time a set of resolutions adopted by the Idaho Wool Growers' Association, and ask permission to read two or three paragraphs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Idaho will proceed.

Mr. BORAH. I read from the resolutions as follows:

A public lands commission, consisting partly of inexperienced visionaries has recommended that the Federal Government, after withdrawing everything of value from the remaining public lands, shall turn the worthless residue over to the States, under conditions that would bring heavy expenditures to the unhappy recipients. This public lands commission failed to understand the problem before it and to give consideration to the grazing interests, which is the only interest that has been using the public domain or can use it in the future.

Western stockmen, both large and small, have used the public domain for three-quarters of a century, and as a result of that use the West has been built up and developed to its present standard. This use has not been detrimental to the range itself, as is proven

by the amount of stock now supported thereon. Effort is being made to mislead the public into believing that all grazing of the public domain has resulted in erosion of a serious nature. We deny this charge and ask those who make it to point to any erosion on the public domain that may be attributed to grazing or that is the result of anything except sound natural and necessary processes.

Our experience with grazing regulations by Federal agencies has been so unhappy and expensive that we want no more of it. If the Federal Government desires to make a gift to the State, not Greeklike in its nature, then let it return to the States their natural heritages—its forests, its mineral lands, and its grazing lands. If it is willing to do this, we pledge our hearty acceptance and our full cooperation in making these great resources a source of eternal usefulness to the people of the West, as well as an important and natural source of taxable wealth.

PROPOSED REMONETIZATION OF SILVER

Mr. WHEELER presented a communication and article by W. E. Warren, of Hardin, Mont., relative to the remonetization of silver, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIG HORN COUNTY BANK,
Hardin, Mont., January 7, 1932.

BURTON K. WHEELER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am congratulating you for introducing the 16 to 1 silver bill, the only measure for genuine relief that has been proposed. If the people will not accept it now, there is no hope for them.

I am inclosing a copy of an article I wrote for publication in our local paper here in Hardin.

Yours truly,

W. E. WARREN.

SILVER TO AMPLIFY GOLD

By W. E. Warren

As far back as we have history men have selfishly or ignorantly been seeking to control others by physical strength, brute force, fear, superstition, deception, or propaganda of some kind, and now with the high-priced dollar.

To do this the single gold standard was adopted, making all our money and property redeemable in gold.

Our wealth, population, and business have increased many times, and our gold steadily decreased in production. The ultimate conclusion is that those who had the gold, or securities calling for gold, would own or control the world.

This selfish ambition has at last brought world-wide depression, causing so much misery and suffering that many of the nations have abandoned the gold standard.

Three-fourths of the world is now using silver; when there was plenty of gold coming in from the various States and Alaska we had money to circulate among the people. Now, that the source of supply is closed, it is easy to corner what there is.

Suppose we could find gold in every hill and mountain, so one could pan out, say, $10 a day, what would be the result? The result would be there would be money in circulation among the people, they would have purchasing power, wheat, cotton, sheep, cattle, and all commodities would be above the cost of production, for if it did not pay to produce the commodity, the producer could go to mining gold, this would also apply to all labor or occupations, and automatically control, the independence of the people would again be restored, and the control taken from the few who have our gold cornered. As this condition will not be attained with gold, as the source of the gold supply is practically closed, the situation can be remedied by using silver with gold at its proper ratio.

The production of silver for the last 50 years has been 14 ounces to 1 of gold, the two taken together would be adequate as a base of wealth for the world as long as the source of supply remained open; if at any time these two metals became exhausted, a third metal should be used, for the source of supply must remain open, the stream must be constantly flowing in, if the masses are to have money and the few deprived of their control.

Our President and some of our Congress must know this, but they think it wise to stand with those who have the power at this present time, and will continue to do so as long as we, the people, remain asleep. It is time we wake up, inform Congress that they have been stalling around long enough and that we demand the monetizing of silver at a ratio with gold of not over 20 to 1.

It is absurd and ridiculous to allow this present state of affairs to continue or to let it ever reoccur when we have plenty of everything for everyone except money in circulation. The Indians had more sense than this when Columbus discovered the country.

Our Congress will act as soon as we in sufficient numbers tell them what we want. If we haven't the gumption to do this, we should continue in poverty and degradation. If we have had sufficient punishment to awaken us, we will reestablish agriculture, which is the real base of all prosperity, and will do this by the simple method of decreasing the purchasing power of our dollar and increasing the price of commodities. If agriculture is not reestablished to give it purchasing power and meet its obligations, how can any sane person expect to have prosperity? Or, how can any sane person reason that agriculture can have prosperity with a high-priced dollar and low-priced commodities, as now exists, when there is no way for money to be in circulation except in exchange for commodities produced at a profit?

If the people could only understand the significance of money, the yardstick with which their property and commodities are measured, they could easily meet concentrated wealth by cheapening the dollar sufficiently to retain purchasing power and to meet their obligations. To do this, France depreciated their currency 80 per cent, which increased prices of agricultural products four times.

Since writing the above Senator WHEELER has introduced a nonpartisan bill monetizing silver at a ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. If you have failed to read his explanation in the press, write to him for a copy of it. Regardless of party or creed, Montana should be proud that this initial step for real prosperity has been taken by its Senator.

THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

Mr. PATTERSON. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a resolution opposing a national referendum upon the eighteenth amendment adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of St. Louis, Mo.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION

The St. Louis Woman's Christian Temperance Union Federation, though conceding the right of any American to work for the repeal of laws he does not like, yet opposes a national referendum mainly for three reasons:

First. It would be unconstitutional, as no provision was made for a referendum on an amendment.

A national referendum would be antagonistic to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, which was purposely so framed as to make such a procedure difficult.

The Federal Government is a representative government, in which the States are sovereign units. The proposal, therefore, that Congress shall provide for a national referendum in order to secure merely an expression of opinion on repeal of the eighteenth amendment has no warrant in law, would have no binding effect, and ignores the vital relation of the States as sovereign units to any proposed constitutional amendment, and is clearly an effort by the wets to nullify the regular requirement, which contemplates that two-thirds of the Members of both Houses of Congress and a majority of the members of both houses of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States must definitely favor any proposed constitutional amendment.

Second. It would be changing our form of government from a representative to a pure democracy, which was not contemplated by the framers of our Constitution.

Once the precedent is set for a pure democracy—counting not by States but by population—this method would constantly be invoked by those who wish to put the big cities in power. It would mean a government by the turgid masses of New York, Chicago, and their satellites.

If this proposed referendum led to a repeal of the eighteenth amendment it would mean the first break in our Constitution. At a later date, when some other special interests became rich and powerful enough, they could manipulate other referendums on other amendments, such as slavery and woman suffrage, as both of these reforms were highly controversial and on the battle front for years.

Third. A referendum at this time would be unpatriotic. The eighteenth amendment was adopted after 100 years of earnest and honest discussion and according to the legal method prescribed by the Constitution.

But in this time of world economic distress the wet interests are seizing the opportunity and are capitalizing depression in order to legalize liquor.

They are quick to see that the unthinking masses would be influenced by economic hysteria to the disadvantage of prohibition. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union feels that it would be taking an unfair advantage of the Government to demand a referendum at this critical time, when all the powers of Congress should be concentrated upon the problems of unemployment and want.

The wets selfishly demand the referendum at this time of depression, just as during the World War the brewers selfishly insisted upon using the grain for their beer while the mothers in the homes were making every possible sacrifice in order to send bread to the soldier boys across the sea.

Therefore, because of the above reasons, the St. Louis Woman's Christian Temperance Union Federation opposes the pending wet referendum as unconstitutional, untimely, and unpatriotic, and which, together with resubmission, relegalized beer, and repeal, would counteract the great social and moral reform inherent in the eighteenth amendment.

We remember the fate of Finland.

COST OF PROHIBITION—ARTICLE BY CHARLES G. ROSS

Mr. HAWES. Mr. President, I ask permission to have printed in the RECORD a very able, analytical article by Mr. Charles G. Ross, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, in which

he has very carefully analyzed the cost of prohibition and the possibilities of reducing the national debt and adding to the national income by resuming the national tax upon beverages of a light alcoholic content.

In addition to printing in the RECORD I ask that the article may be referred to the Committee on Manufactures for the consideration of its subcommittee, who have had this matter under advisement, to be made a part of their records.

There being no objection, the article was referred to the Committee on Manufactures and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sunday morning, January 24, 1932]

COST OF PROHIBITION TO DATE $5,610,000,000, EQUALS ONE-THIRD OF THE NATIONAL DEBT—LIQUOR TAXES COLLECTED IN 1919 WOULD HAVE PAID HALF OF COUNTRY'S HUGE DEFICIT FOR 1931—ENTIRE PERSONAL INCOME TAX PAID LAST YEAR IS LESS THAN WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DERIVED FROM LIQUOR TAXES—IN ENGLAND, WHILE PER CAPITA COSUMPTION OF LIQUOR SHOWS GREAT DECLINE, LIQUOR REVENUES REMAIN HIGH AS EVER

(By Charles G. Ross, chief Washington correspondent of the Post-Dispatch)

WASHINGTON, January 23.—Because of the desperate financial straits in which the Government now finds itself it is pertinent to reexamine the prohibition question in its relation to the Federal Budget. What is the eighteenth amendment costing the Government?

At a conservative estimate, based on official reports, the present annual cost is well over half a billion dollars. The cost for the 12 years since the effective date of the amendment, January 16, 1920, has been, again conservatively, $5,600,000,000.

The annual cost is 12½ per cent of the normal Federal Budget; it is approximately twice the yearly payments scheduled to be received by the United States on the foreign debt; it is more than half the amount of the Government's deficit for the fiscal year 1931; it is considerably more than all the taxes paid to the Federal Government on personal incomes of 1930.

Against this sum of half a billion dollars which prohibition to-day is costing the Federal Budget it is illuminating to set the amount that would be received from the 1,700,000 new income-tax payers sought to be added to the lists, through a lowering of the exemptions, by the pending administration tax plan. Their contribution, tax experts have estimated, would be $13,000,000, a large part of which, if not all, would be absorbed by the cost of collection. The total new revenue from a lowering of exemptions, including the $13,000,000, would be $30,000,000 and might not exceed $20,000,000.

ARRIVING AT COST FIGURES

The 12-year cost is nearly one-third the entire national debt of the United States and about one-half the total amount owed to the United States by foreign governments.

It is possible to make out a plausible case for much higher estimates, both of annual and of 12-year cost, but let us take those named and see how they have been arrived at.

The cost of prohibition to the Government is twofold. It consists (1) of the expenses of enforcement and (2) of the loss of revenue from liquor taxation.

In making our estimates we proceed from a base established in 1929 by J. M. Doran, at that time the Commissioner of Prohibition in charge of enforcement and now the Commissioner of Industrial Alcohol. Doran drew up a sort of balance sheet of prohibition for the 9-year period 1920 to 1928, inclusive. He estimated that the total cost of enforcement in that period was $213,178,485, and against this he set $44,574,832 collected in fines and penalties and $415,927,960 collected in taxes on legal liquor; a total offset of $460,502,892. He was thus able to arrive at the conclusion that prohibition showed a credit balance of $247,324,307.

THE BILL FOR ENFORCEMENT

This conclusion is grossly misleading, for the reason that the commissioner, while including on the credit side the taxes actually collected under prohibition, neglected to include on the debit side the far greater amount of taxes that would have been collected without the amendment.

Let us, however, take Doran's figures on enforcement costs and bring them up to date. He estimates expenditures of the Prohibition Bureau at $72,622,385. Adding the actual expenditures of the three subsequent years, we reach the total of $112,346,683.

He allows $67,556,200 as the expenses of the Coast Guard attributable to prohibition. To this we add the subsequent expense in this category (commonly figured as one-half the total spent by the Coast Guard) and reach the figure of $113,835,820 for the 12-year term.

He estimates a customs expense of $1,000,000 for the nine years. To this we add three times his estimated customs expense for 1928 ($450,000), and arrive at $2,350,000 as the aggregate under this head for the 12 years.

Finally, he accepts $8,000,000 as the average annual expense imposed on the Department of Justice by prohibition. This gives him $72,000,000 for the 9-year period and gives us $96,000,000 for the full term.

We have thus arrived at the following table of Federal enforcement costs for the 12 years the eighteenth amendment has been operative:

Prohibition Bureau	$112,346,683
Coast Guard	113,835,820
Customs	2,350,000
Department of Justice	96,000,000
Total	324,532,503

FINES NOT A BIG ITEM

This is a larger total than we should have got if we had taken Doran's $213,178,485 and assumed that the average cost per year held good through 1929, 1930, and 1931. In that case the total for the 12 years would be $284,237,979. But this figure is obviously too low, since enforcement costs have been increasing year by year. As an example, the expenditures of the Prohibition Bureau have risen from $6,300,581 for the fiscal year 1921 to $13,988,881 for the fiscal year 1931.

We take, therefore, $324,532,503 as the cost of enforcement for 12 years and deduct from it the fines and penalties collected. The amount of this deduction is Doran's figure of $44,574,832 plus the fines and penalties of the last three years, or a total of $59,545,012.

This gives us the calculation:

Gross cost of enforcement	$324,532,503
Less fines and penalties	59,545,012
Net cost of enforcement	264,987,491

This figure of approximately $265,000,000 is one of the two items, and by far the smaller, in our estimate of the total cost of prohibition. The other item is the loss of revenue.

Now the liquor revenue collected by the Federal Government in 1919, the last year before prohibition, was $483,050,854, made up of $365,211,252 in taxes on distilled spirits and $117,839,602 on fermented liquors.

TOTAL REVENUE LOSS

Making no allowance for the increase in population since 1919, or for the probability—the virtual certainty—that the taxes on liquor would have been increased, we assume that the revenue for 1919 would have remained constant through the subsequent period and that therefore the Federal Government has lost in liquor taxes 12 times $483,050,854, or $5,796,610,248. From this sum we deduct the taxes collected on nonprohibited liquor and arrive at the net loss of revenue:

Gross loss of revenue from taxation	$5,796,610,248
Taxes collected	450,832,119
Net revenue loss	5,345,778,129

For the reasons suggested, this is a conservative estimate. In the first place, the population has increased over 17,000,000 since 1919, and in the second place, it is hardly to be doubted that there would have been, through the years, a progressive increase in taxation.

The growth of temperance sentiment, the convenience of liquor as an object of taxation, the need for new revenues—these factors would have brought about higher and higher levies. Witness what had already happened as to beer. Until 1914 the Federal tax on beer was $1 a barrel. In that year it was increased to $1.50; in 1917, to $3; and in 1919, to $6, where it remained. If it be argued that the constant enlargement of dry territory, through local option, would have operated to cut the revenues, the answer is that despite the dry gains, the revenues had increased nearly every year, reaching their peak in 1919.

Certainly, if liquor were now available for taxation, the rates would be extremely high. This for two manifest reasons: The great need of the Government for money and the fact that the public under prohibition has become accustomed to bootleg prices.

ADDING ENFORCEMENT'S BILL

From any angle, $5,345,778,129 is a low estimate of what prohibition has cost the Federal Government in loss of revenue during the last 12 years. It is the bedrock loss, with the factors of probable increase, as well as interest accretions, all eliminated. Interest might properly be calculated, for there has been a continuing loss to the Government in the interest it has had to pay on so much of the public debt as might have been wiped out with the liquor revenues.

We complete the calculations for the 12 years as follows:

Net revenue loss	$5,345,778,129
Net enforcement cost	264,987,491
Total loss	5,610,765,620

This is the cost of prohibition to the Federal Government alone. It takes no account of the loss of State, city, and county excise and license taxes, or of the cost of local enforcement. No authoritative figures on these points are available, but statistics which have been compiled on the loss of revenue in Missouri are suggestive.

On the basis of the receipts before prohibition, it is calculated that in the 12 subsequent years Missouri has lost at least $35,000,000 in State and county revenues, exclusive of separate municipal revenues from saloon licenses. The population of Missouri in 1920 was 6.8 per cent of the approximately 50,000,000 population of the 15 wet States. If the other wet States suffered a per capita loss equal to Missouri's, then the total loss of State and county

revenues for the 12-year prohibition period has been something over $500,000,000.

Since this does not include city license taxes, the estimate of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment that $600,000,000 has been lost in State, county, and city revenues seems to be fairly conservative.

COST GROWS WITH YEARS

But we are concerned here primarily with the effect of prohibition on the Federal Budget. As we have seen, the eighteenth amendment has cost the Government, at a minimum estimate, more than $5,600,000,000. What is the present annual cost?

It is evident from the figures already given that the present annual cost is considerably more than one-twelfth of our estimate for the past 12 years. The costs of enforcement have been steadily growing; and it is fair to assume, moreover, that the revenue which would now be coming into the Federal Treasury from the legalized sale of spirits and beer would be greater than the revenue from that source in 1919.

Now it is possible, thanks to the researches of the Wickersham Commission, to give a more accurate picture of enforcement costs, as of to-day, than can be obtained from the published reports of the Prohibition Bureau. In our previous calculations we have taken the modest figure of $8,000,000—the estimated expense of the Department of Justice due to prohibition—as the sum of all the enforcement costs outside those of the Prohibition Bureau itself, the Coast Guard, and the Customs Service. For this figure we now substitute the estimate of the Wickersham Commission that 66 per cent of the cost of the administration of criminal justice by the Federal Government, or $34,828,550 out of a total of $52,786,202, is attributable to prohibition. The figures are from the commission's report on the cost of crime in the United States.

The costs making up this $34,828,550 are divided as follows:

Police	$25,644,069
Prosecution	996,720
Courts	4,308,004
Penal institutional treatment	3,842,416
Probation and pardon	37,339
Total	34,828,550

THE YEAR'S BALANCE SHEET

This estimate, unlike the smaller one, takes into consideration the great indirect costs of prohibition, indirect but none the less real—costs reflected in the virtual doubling of the expenses of Federal courts under prohibition and the quadrupling of the expenses of Federal penal institutions.

Adding to this figure the cost of the Prohibition Bureau and of the Bureau of Industrial Alcohol (now in separate departments of the Government) and one-half the expenses of the Coast Guard, we reach a total of $64,335,778. Deducting fines and penalties for 1931, $4,138,994, we get $60,196,784 as the net cost of enforcement to the Federal Government.

Again accepting $483,050,854 as the loss of Federal revenue and deducting $10,432,064, the amount collected, we reach $472,618,790 as the net loss of revenue.

The present annual cost of prohibition to the Federal Government, therefore, works out as follows:

Net revenue loss	$472,618,790
Net enforcement cost	60,196,784
Total yearly loss	532,815,574

If we figure revenue loss on a per capita basis and allow for the increase of population since 1919—roughly 17,000,000—the loss from this source comes to $550,000,000, which makes the aggregate loss about $610,000,000. No allowance is made for possible increase in the tax rates over 1919.

POSSIBILITIES IN EXCISE TAX

The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment has estimated that the restoration of the legalized liquor traffic in the 15 States that were wet when the eighteenth amendment went into effect, plus the two States (Nevada and Montana) that have since repealed their State prohibition acts, would give the Federal Government, at the old rates, over $900,000,000 in liquor revenue—or virtually enough to cover the 1931 deficit in the Federal Budget. If this estimate is valid, prohibition is costing the Government in loss of revenue and enforcement expense almost a billion dollars a year.

The association's estimate assumes a per capita consumption in the 17 wet States practically the same as the per capita rate which prevailed throughout the whole country before prohibition. These States contain 49 per cent of the population.

Of numerous other calculations that might be cited, one must suffice. Take beer alone. The maximum production of beer in the United States was a little over 66,000,000 barrels of 31 gallons each. This was in 1914. A tax of $6 a barrel on this production would yield the Government about $400,000,000.

That the taste for beer has not been lost is evidenced by an estimate made by Prohibition Commissioner Woodcock in his illuminating study of the Possible Production of Illegal Liquor in the United States for the fiscal year 1930. He found there was a "possible" home-brew production of about 22,000,000 barrels of 3.4 per cent beer. Made in breweries and taxed at $6 a barrel, this would have yielded $132,000,000.

It is interesting to note that this "possible" production of 3.4 per cent beer in the homes was practically equivalent in absolute alcohol to the entire legal production of 1919, when the 669 operating breweries of the United States were making 2.75 per cent beer.

EXPERIENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN

The experience of Great Britain shows the potentialities of high liquor taxes. In 1930 the revenue derived in that country from alcoholic beverages, including excise duties, licenses, and customs duties, was $629,856,544, or 19.1 per cent of all the national revenue. This proportion has been fairly constant since 1923. The liquor revenue in 1930 amounted to $14 per capita. On that basis, the yield in this country, with its 122,000,000 population, would be more than $1,700,000,000 a year.

The contention of British leaders that they have solved the liquor problem through strict regulation and high taxes is given support by statistics indicating a steady growth of temperance. The per capita consumption of hard liquor declined from 0.7 imperial gallon in 1913 to 0.28 in 1929, a reduction of 60 per cent. Beer consumption fell in the same period from 27.76 imperial gallons per capita to 16.42, or 41 per cent. Wine consumption increased slightly, from 0.25 gallon to 0.31. Convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales dropped from 188,877 in 1913 to 51,960 in 1929, and deaths from alcoholism decreased from 5 per 100,000 in 1913 to 1.2 in 1927.

None of the estimates we have given of the cost of prohibition takes any account of the economic losses resulting from the conduct of the liquor business in the United States by elements outside the law. We know that the liquor traffic to-day supports the notorious gangs of the country. As the Wickersham Commission has pointed out, the huge profits made possible by large-scale violation of the Volstead Act "afford a financial basis for organized crime."

If it were possible to compute the economic losses from the illicit activities due to prohibition, the direct loss to the Federal Government, heavy though it is, would be negligible by comparison.

GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I think every Senator has received a resolution from the Indiana George Washington Bicentenary Commission, which is only one of several that are coming to Members of the House and Senate. I hold in my hand a copy of the resolution, and should like to have the Secretary read it. Then I shall desire to make a brief statement in answer to it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to reading the resolution and to the Senator's making a brief statement? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolution adopted by the Indiana George Washington Bicentenary Commission

Whereas the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission formulated a plan of observance of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington which called for the organization of State and local committees, and gave wide publicity to the plan of distributing to all persons, schools, and committees numerous pamphlets giving programs for celebrations and pamphlets giving historical information about George Washington; and

Whereas in accordance with these announcements the Legislature of the State of Indiana created an Indiana George Washington Bicentenary Commission, and, further, local committees have been organized in the counties, cities, and towns in Indiana; and

Whereas both the Indiana commission and the local committees, now facing the near approach of February 22, are unable to secure from the United States commission the pamphlets promised them and are greatly embarrassed both by the impossibility of fulfilling their own statements based on the assurances of the United States commission and by the prospect of failure to secure the literature printed by the United States commission, thus seriously hindering the proper observance of February 22 and other significant dates during 1932: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Indiana George Washington Bicentenary Commission, That the United States commission be asked most emphatically to concentrate all its efforts on the distribution of the literature publicly promised, even if other features of its plans must be abandoned, and that the entirely adequate appropriations of taxpayers' money already made for the United States commission be devoted, if necessary, wholly to carrying out its public pledges concerning literature; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission and to the Senators and Representatives from Indiana in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, the complaint embodied in this resolution is based upon the suggestion that the expenditure of the amount of money already disbursed might have been avoided if it could have been concentrated on the various publications. That is an erroneous opinion on the part of those who have adopted and sent that resolution.

The set-up in attempting to make the country Washington-minded for this year has involved considerable expense in connection with various publications, numerous circularizations, and personal meetings with various associations, and a very large set-up in the headquarters here in Washington.

The printing of the pamphlets has not been anywhere near sufficient to satisfy the demand which usually is expressed through Senators and Representatives. The commission tries to respond favorably, to the limit of its supply, to all the requests that are made by Representatives and Senators and also by the various commissions that have been organized, of which there are over 250 throughout the United States. We send them out as they are requested, provided the supply is sufficient; but to-day the supply is exhausted. The Budget Bureau sent a recommendation for an appropriation of $427,000 for the remaining portion of the fiscal year. The House saw fit to cut that to $250,000 in the belief that that amount would be sufficient to take care of the printing and to supply the pamphlets which were promised. When the bill came to the Senate the Senate further cut the appropriation to $200,000. So our fund is considerably less than one-half of what had been recommended.

I make this statement so that it may inform all those in the States why we can not now supply these pamphlets since the Congress has refused to make the appropriation.

DEPORTATION OF ALIEN SEAMEN

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The order under which the Senate is now operating is the presentation of petitions and memorials.

Mr. BINGHAM. I ask unanimous consent when we reach the special order for the day—which is the bill of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], Senate bill No. 7, to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen—that it may be temporarily laid aside. The reason for the request is that extensive hearings have been held, which the Senator from Utah very conscientiously attended, but it has been impossible to obtain copies of the hearings as yet; and, in order that we may have an opportunity to read them—and I want to assure the Senator that I will read them at the earliest possible moment—I ask unanimous consent that when that special order shall be reached the bill may be temporarily laid aside until such time as the Senator from Utah may call it up.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I would not want to consent to anything that would displace the bill referred to. If it may be taken up at any time upon my request, I shall not oppose the suggestion, because I know that the Senator has not been at fault. The hearings were had, and it was understood that they would be printed and be available yesterday. They were not available yesterday; they are not available now; and I appreciate that it would not, perhaps, be fair to those who are opponents of the bill to press its consideration when the hearings are not available.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the request of the Senator from Connecticut is not logical. It does not conform to the rules and practice of this body to ask that a special order be temporarily laid aside until, at the whim or pleasure of some Senator, it may be called up. It is, I think, an unheard-of procedure. If the special order is continued to some definite time, all right; I have no objection to that course, but supposing some measure is made the unfinished business during the afternoon or to-morrow, would the Senator from Utah expect to come in here and have the unfinished business laid aside in order to take up the special order? There is only one logical way in which to proceed, and that is to postpone it or defer it to a time certain, and to that I would have no objection.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I hope the Senator is not leveling any criticism against me, when I am trying to accommodate other Senators.

Mr. McNARY. I have no criticism to offer at all. My only purpose is to suggest an orderly way to transact the business of the Senate.

Mr. KING. If those who are in favor of securing a temporary postponement of consideration until the record of the hearings shall be available would agree to have it then considered, I would have no objection.

Mr. McNARY. Would the Senator be willing to continue the special order until to-morrow at 2 o'clock?

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. McNARY. I yield.

Mr. HATFIELD. I will say that the printed record will be available for Senators this afternoon.

Mr. McNARY. Would the Senator from Utah be willing to enter into a unanimous-consent agreement that the special order be continued and be effective at 2 o'clock to-morrow?

Mr. KING. I have no objection to that. That will give Senators an opportunity to read the hearings.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, what is the request?

Mr. McNARY. Rather than have it so uncertain, I am suggesting unanimous consent that the special order be continued and be taken up to-morrow at 2 o'clock.

Mr. COUZENS. I would have to suggest the absence of a quorum, because the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] arranged the hour for the special order, and he is not now present. The Senator from West Virginia says that the hearings have now been printed and will be ready by 2 o'clock. So I think we ought to proceed with the regular order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (S. 1203) to exempt from taxation certain property of the National Society United States Daughters of 1812 in the District of Columbia, reported without amendment, submitted a report (No. 142) thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 3287) for the relief of Nellie Francis; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3288) granting a pension to Mary Elizabeth Runnels (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3289) granting a pension to David Franklin (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PATTERSON:

A bill (S. 3290) to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the eastern district of Missouri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3291) for the relief of Arthur G. Means; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3292) for the relief of the Indians of the Siletz Reservation, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 3293) to extend the time for final payments on certain desert-land entries; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

A bill (S. 3294) granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Packwood (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3295) granting a pension to Thomas Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3296) to authorize the erection of a recreational building at the United States Naval Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.





By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 3297) providing for the establishment of a term of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Florida at Fort Myers, Lee County, Fla.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 3298) granting the consent of Congress to the Catawissa Railroad Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Susquehanna River at or near Catawissa, Pa.; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 3299) for the relief of several trust companies; and

A bill (S. 3300) for the relief of the Liberty Title & Trust Co., successors to German American Title & Trust Co., and United Security Trust Co., formerly United Security Life Insurance & Trust Co., of Philadelphia, Pa.; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3301) to authorize the erection of a 295-bed addition to the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Coatesville, Pa.; and

A bill (S. 3302) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital for colored veterans, and to authorize the appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. JONES:

A bill (S. 3303) to protect American labor and industry from competition of products of convict, forced, and indentured labor; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 3304) to establish a national cemetery within the Fort Lewis Military Reservation, State of Washington; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STEPHENS:

A bill (S. 3305) relating to the holding of terms of court in the fifth judicial circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 3306) to remove the limitations upon the filling of certain judgeships; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HATFIELD:

A bill (S. 3307) for the relief of Alban G. Snyder; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3308) for the relief of Howell K. Stephens; and

A bill (S. 3309) for the relief of Lieut. Col. Harry Walter Stephenson, United States Army, retired; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana:

A bill (S. 3310) granting a pension to Alvis Craddock (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 3311) granting a pension to Margaret J. Foster (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3312) granting a pension to Blanchard L. Stuart (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

A bill (S. 3313) authorizing the Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads and the State Highway Department of the State of Connecticut to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Pawcatuck River near the location of the present Broad Street Bridge between Westerly, R. I., and Stonington, Conn.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3314) for the prevention of obstructions and burdens upon interstate commerce in butter and eggs by regulating transactions relating to future sales on commodity exchanges; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. GLENN:

A bill (S. 3315) to incorporate the National Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 3316) granting an increase of pension to Anna Fetsch (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3317) granting an increase of pension to James W. Ashby; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARRIS:

A bill (S. 3318) for the relief of James E. Smith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mrs. CARAWAY:

A bill (S. 3319) to authorize the erection of a 150-bed Veterans' Administration home at Hot Springs, Ark., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. FESS:

A bill (S. 3320) to confer citizenship on Christian Pellenbarg (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. WAGNER:

A bill (S. 3321) to further extend naturalization privileges to alien veterans of the World War residing in the United States; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. FRAZIER (by request):

A bill (S. 3322) to transfer certain jurisdiction from the War Department in the management of Indian country; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. DILL:

A bill (S. 3323) to provide funds for cooperation with the school district at Nespelem, Wash., in the construction of a public-school building to be available to Indian children of the Colville Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. LEWIS:

A bill (S. 3324) to insure deposits made in Federal banks or State banks with Federal reserve membership; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

PROPOSED FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANKS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. TYDINGS submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2959) to create Federal home loan banks, to provide for the supervision thereof, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting several nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

DIVERSION OF WATER FROM NIAGARA RIVER

Mr. WAGNER. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk and ask that it may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 147) was read, as follows:

Whereas under the existing treaties between the United States and Canada the United States may divert from the Niagara River at a daily rate not in excess of 20,000 cubic feet of water per second; and

Whereas under a license designated by the Federal Power Commission as "a license for power project No. 16" the Niagara Falls Power Co. is authorized to divert from the Niagara River for power purposes 19,725 cubic feet of water per second; and

Whereas only 275 cubic feet of water per second are now available for further disposition by the Federal Power Commission; and

Whereas orally on December 8, 1931, and in writing on January 16, 1932, the city of Lockport, N. Y., through its accredited representatives, applied to the Federal Power Commission for the right and license to divert said 275 cubic feet of water per second from the Niagara River; and

Whereas the Niagara Falls Power Co. has likewise heretofore filed its application for the right and license to said diversion; and

Whereas the act of June 10, 1920, in part provides (U. S. C., title 16, par. 800):

"800. Preferences in issuance of preliminary permits or licenses: In issuing preliminary permits hereunder or licenses where no preliminary permit has been issued and in issuing licenses to new licensees under section 808 of this chapter the commission shall give preference to applications therefor by States and municipalities, provided the plans for the same are deemed by the commission equally well adapted, or shall within a reasonable time to be fixed by the commission be made equally well adapted, to conserve and utilize in the public interest the navigation and water resources of the region"; and

Whereas notwithstanding said provision of law it is reported that the Federal Power Commission on January 18, 1932, refused to receive the application of the city of Lockport or to consider it: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Federal Power Commission be directed to advise the Senate of its action on the application of the city of Lockport, together with its reasons for such action.

Mr. WAGNER. In view of the fact that I am simply seeking information from a department, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be now considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, would the Senator object to the resolution going to the Interstate Commerce Committee, and then having it reported out after we have looked it over?

Mr. WAGNER. I have no objection to that course, although it is a very simple resolution, merely asking the Water Power Commission for certain information.

Mr. COUZENS. I understand; but other resolutions introduced we have either had lie over, so that we could read them, or else we have had them go to a committee. I think it would speed up the matter if the Senator would let the resolution go to the Interstate Commerce Committee, of which he is a member.

Mr. WAGNER. May I ask the Senator whether he will promise me expeditious action? This whole matter is now being considered by the Water Power Commission—the matter of granting a license to the Niagara Falls Power Co. to divert the remaining 275 cubic feet per second—and I should like to have this resolution acted upon before the Water Power Commission decides the application of the Niagara Falls Water Power Co.

Mr. COUZENS. If the Senator will attend a meeting of the committee to-morrow morning at 10.30, we will take it up.

Mr. WAGNER. Very well. I ask that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so referred.

SURVEY OF COLUMBIA RIVER

Mr. STEIWER. Mr. President, I submit a concurrent resolution and ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be read.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 10) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War is hereby requested to make immediately available to the public and to the press the report of the survey of the Columbia River prepared by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors in pursuance of the authority contained in the rivers and harbors act of January 1, 1927.

Mr. STEIWER. I now ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of this concurrent resolution.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I do not understand the necessity of a concurrent resolution of that kind. Whenever the survey is completed and the report is ready it will be sent down to Congress.

Mr. STEIWER. That is true, but if I may have the indulgence of the Senate for just a minute——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. STEIWER. I will say that I think there is no objection from the standpoint of the Board of Engineers to full access by the public to this report. The reason why they do not publish it is that it is prepared under the rivers and harbors act of January 1, 1927, and out of a sense of respect or deference for Congress they proposed to complete it in all its details and transmit it to Congress before any publication is made of the report. It happens, however, as the Senator knows, that many communities are interested in this subject; further hearings are contemplated and are set for February 1, and the general public would like very much to know what is in the report. The Chief of Engineers has been most courteous to the members of the Oregon and Washington delegations in Congress. We have had access to the report. However, the public is not permitted such access. The resolution is intended to remove the cloak of secrecy, so that the report will no longer remain confidential.

I will not detain the Senate in order to make an elaborate and detailed statement of the importance of this matter to the people of the Pacific Northwest. For the moment it is sufficient to say that the importance of the survey and report can not be overestimated. This statement will be better understood when we consider that the Columbia Gorge affords the only water grade by which the products of the inland empire of the Pacific Northwest may find their way to the sea. The improvement of the Columbia as one of the great inland waterways of the country is in every way as justifiable as the improvement undertaken on the Mississippi and upon the other navigable streams of the Nation. The destiny of the agricultural country lying east of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho is dependent upon the improvement of the river. In the turbulent waters that flow between the banks of the Columbia there exists the greatest potential hydroelectric power found any place on the continent. It is not only greatest in amount, potentially it is cheapest in price, and it may be said that in Oregon and Washington the future of industry as well as that of agriculture is dependent upon the improvement of the river. I am told that the report of the engineers, to which the concurrent resolution refers, makes the unqualified statement that the Columbia River offers the greatest opportunities in the United States for the development of hydroelectric power, and also the further statement that the power potentialities, when fully realized, would change the economic aspect of the whole Pacific Northwest and that the unprecedented size of power development on the Columbia River affords a measure of the extraordinary benefits which may accrue therefrom.

The matter is of such great importance to the public that I hope full publicity may be had. I assure the Senator that no harm can be done by permitting this information to be printed in the newspapers and thus made accessible to the public. Of course, when the report is finally completed it will be transmitted to Congress, and then it will be reported as a document of Congress. I am not asking at this time that it be made a document. I merely ask that it be made available to the public and the press. It will not cost anything at all to pass this concurrent resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. JONES. I do not remember that we have ever proceeded in that way before, and I do not see why a report that is entirely incomplete should be sent down here. We do not know what the final report by the Secretary of War will be. I shall object for this morning. I want to look into the matter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will go over.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I ask permission for publication in the RECORD of an article appearing in the California Voice of Thursday, December 17, 1931, by Hon. William D. Upshaw, a former Member of the Congress, entitled "The Proposed Prohibition Referendum."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article is as follows:

THE PROPOSED PROHIBITION REFERENDUM

By Hon. William D. Upshaw, Member of Congress 1919–1927

(Editor's note: The California Voice has requested Hon. William D. Upshaw, former dry leader in Congress, who has been interviewing lawmakers in Washington, to review the present wet-and-dry situation which is now focusing national attention on Congress and the wet threat of prohibition repeal. The great crowds attracted and the wholesome enthusiasm created by the distinguished Georgian during his recent good-citizenship tour of nearly five months on the Pacific coast—the most notable reception given any dry leader in this section since the last tour of William J. Bryan—will deepen the interest of our readers in this "down-to-the-minute" analysis by the man whose brilliant and fearless leadership in Congress caused the Literary Digest to say eight years ago, "To Congressman Upshaw belongs the credit of awakening the conscience of the Nation on the question of sober officials."—The Editor.)

Commissioned by the California Voice, soon to be called the National Voice, to give a summary of the facts and issues involved in the present wet-and-dry contest pending in Congress and holding nation-wide interest for the country at large, I offer my hand in cordial fellowship to my former congressional colleagues who are on the wrong side of this great moral, social, and governmental question, and remind them that I will keep in a good humor, as was my custom in our old-time battles in the House. And if I must "hit hard," under great provocation, it will be a blow "above the belt" and never below it, as you found out on many a field of prohibition carnage. Always personal friends, but each fighting for his own side with aggressive loyalty, I feel toward my wet opponents somewhat like the Irishman who was converted and joined the Methodist Church. When the pastor asked Pat: "Will you renounce the devil and all his works?" the devout new member replied, "Yis, parson; as far as the divil will let me." And as far as the liquor devil will let me I will keep in a good humor while performing this benevolent and necessary surgical operation.

A WET BIRTH

First. This new demand for a prohibition "referendum" had a wet birth. No intelligent loyal dry who loves this prayer-born, constitutional law would wish to take out this child of 11 precarious years—browbeaten, choked, and spat upon by the wets from infancy—and stand it up to be shot at by its enemies. It would be utterly unfair to the child and "unsportsmanlike" on the part of those who make the demand.

Second. The comparatively few drys who have yielded to the blandishments of so-called "fair play" forget the sophistry of the wet claim that we drys must help the wets "pull their chestnuts out of the fire," just to show how fair we can be.

Third. The wets didn't help us get a "referendum" back in the old saloon days when we were demanding the "democratic right" to vote out those dens of social, moral, and political debauchery—they fought us every inch of the way! They opposed every local-option referendum ever attempted on the ground that we had no right to "vote away their personal liberty." They opposed town option, county option, and State option, saying that it was not only an infringement upon their "liberties," but that it was useless to vote liquor out of this town or that, this county or that, this State or that, because their own wet allies in other States, they admitted, would outrage the white virtue of territory that had voted to be free by shipping liquor into towns that had voted it out; and finally, when we found it all too true that the wets in their own wet territory refused to respect the rights and wishes of the drys anywhere, and the drys of 33 dry States were forced to demand a national remedy for a national evil, the wets threw up their hands in holy horror and fell back on the doctrine of "State rights" to protect their last strongholds of liquorized corruption. Now they invoke State rights for prohibition repeal.

WE HAD OUR REFERENDUM

Fourth. We drys had our constitutional referendum in the election of the Sixty-fifth Congress, that passed the eighteenth amendment, and the wets in Congress refused to be the "good sports," which they now claim we ought to be by helping them get a chance to vote out our prohibition law, for which mothers, wives, and daughters prayed and worked so long. Failing to pass the Hobson amendment outlawing the liquor traffic in the Sixty-fourth Congress, we drys announced in letters that flamed on the front page of papers all over America next day: "We will go out and elect a dry Congress, that will pass a constitutional amendment banishing the liquor traffic forever from America." And with that as the burning issue we elected the Sixty-fifth Congress, with a mandate from the American people to go to Washington and outlaw the saloon, the brewery, and distillery. And I remind those forgetful wets who say that we "took advantage of 2,000,000 soldiers who were over in France and stabbed them in the back while they were fighting for our freedom"—I take a sort of "savage delight" in reminding such wets that the Sixty-fifth Congress was elected five months before war was declared and many more months before a single soldier went to France. And while we drys were engaged in this sacredly patriotic and humanitarian task the wets, who now have the "nerve" to say that we ought to help them get a vote to destroy our law, were making faces at us and calling us, in the words of Nicholas Murray Butler, "semibarbarians" and "intolerant fanatics."

Fifth. And now after this law was duly passed by a Congress elected for that purpose, ratified by the legislatures of 46 of the 48 States of the Union, and declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, and after these same wets (for the most part) have done their best to prevent this prohibition child of 11 years from growing into the stalwart stature of a full-grown man, these same wets (may the good Lord forgive their inconsistent souls) have the unmitigated, unfumigated "gall" to propose to amend or repeal this constitutional law by deserting the legislative method by which it was enacted—yea, and "cussin'" the drys because we do not tear our garments in behalf of their fantastic and frantic efforts! Frantic? Of course they are frantic, because they know they can never reach or repeal the eighteenth amendment in a thousand years if they pursue the open and thoroughly representative method employed by the drys; and so they make a "flank attack" on constitutional integrity and try to hide their insidious scheme under such honeyed phrases as "popular referendum" and "give the dear people a chance to vote." If the wets really wish to embark on the "uncharted sea" of amending the Constitution by the initiative of a majority vote, let them join us in passing Senator Robert L. Owen's proposed amendment to enact all amendments by a popular majority and let all present and future amendments rise or fall together; but don't begin to slaughter the eighteenth amendment by a method different from the method by which it was passed. If the wet millionaires—the Atterburys, the Du Ponts, and the Raskobs who are financing this "damp diatribe" against the eighteenth amendment—are honest about amending the Constitution by majority referenda, let them back this march toward "pure democracy" and find old-age pensions and all other forms of humanitarian relief contingent on popular vote.

JUG OF LIQUOR FOR A LOAF OF BREAD

Alas! They are capitalizing this world-wide depression in favor of drink and are trying to make the American people swallow a keg of beer or a jug of liquor in order to get a loaf of bread. Let it be remembered that the eighteenth amendment closed overnight 177,790 saloons that would still be in the wet States if it had not been passed—saloons that would come back overnight if it were repealed.

Sixth. "Let's have a vote—give the people a chance to express themselves and settle this wet-and-dry question or all time!" Thus say the wets and a few accommodating drys. But a referendum would settle nothing. Liquor has always refused to abide by any vote or law for its regulation or annihilation. As soon as it can stagger out of the gutter of defeat it shakes its wet fist of rebellion at every law of God and man! "Woe to him that giveth his neighbor drink." Thus saith the Word of God. The woe of divine displeasure is upon every one who gives another an intoxicating drink, whether by hand or by legislative vote!

We voted for the eighteenth amendment in the same manner in which we voted for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth amendments. We elected a Congress to propose these additions to our organic law. What candidate for any office would dare propose to repeal or amend the nineteenth amendment, because, forsooth, it was ratified by a bare constitutional majority of State legislatures? Women voters in that candidate's bailiwick would "scratch his political eyes out" at the next election.

A PROGRAM OF FUTILE FOLLY

Seventh. If every State in the Union were to vote wet in this proposed nation-wide referendum on the Constitution, the eighteenth amendment would still be in the Constitution, untouched and unmoved.

As Gibraltar towers in scenic grandeur above the wet waves that lash and splash upon its base, even so the eighteenth amendment would still tower in moral majesty and constitutional grandeur above the wet babble of its scheming enemies. Congress would still be compelled to act, or the proposed State conventions, influenced by an unheard-of "referendum on the Constitution," would be open to manipulation by actual billions of liquor money, whose corrupting trail of slime and crime has poisoned every stream of political and legislative action that it ever touched since the birth of time.

Liquor is poison. Liquor debauches. Liquor blights and damns for time and eternity. Liquor has coerced legislation, corrupted politics, wrecked homes, destroyed humanity, and has measured its success by the harrowing swiftness with which it has done its devilish work!

Liquor wrecked the Democratic Party in the last three presidential elections, and it will wreck the Republican Party in the next election if it dares to "tread the primrose path," as Clinton Howard says, or surrenders one inch to liquor's insolent demand!

The American people have registered the high and holy resolve that no party that stands for outlawed liquor will ever again be trusted with the reins of government or defile the White House of this land of constitutional prohibition.

Finally, beware of straddlers and pussy-footers! Tuttle surrendered in New York, and even the wets deserted his "damp yellow" standard and allowed him to be buried beneath an avalanche of over 700,000 votes. That brilliant and remarkable woman, Ruth Hanna McCormick, surrendered a great moral principle to "a popular mandate," and both wets and drys compassed her defeat by a staggering majority.

If the wets want to repeal the eighteen amendment let them stop this "hook-or-crook" business; let them be square shooters; let them do like we drys did when we enacted it; let them go out and elect a wet Congress to vote for its repeal—and we dare them to do it!

Let every honest dry, let every constitutional American, wet or dry, take his stand by this constitutional law and say: "May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I hesitate or waver, or help the wets destroy the eighteenth amendment that was wrapped in prayer and enacted in constitutional majesty! So help me, God!"

ADDRESS BY SENATOR COPELAND ON PENDING PROBLEMS IN GOVERNMENT

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask leave to have published in the RECORD a radio address on the Pending Problems in Government delivered by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND] at the opening session of the National Democratic Forum in New York City on the 23d instant.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Not within the memory of living men was there another such crisis in human affairs as we face to-day. What has happened in considerably less than three years is almost beyond belief. Within

that period the Republican candidate for President was broadcasting to the Nation that his election would tend to obliterate poverty and would abolish the poorhouse. At this moment from five to ten millions of American citizens are totally or partially unemployed. Distress walks the highways of the world.

Who is to blame for this dreadful state of affairs?

It is silly to suggest that President Hoover is to blame. Personally I have never hinted at such a thing. But I do say the President has failed so in leadership that, until the Reconstruction Finance Corporation measure was presented, not one effective plan for relief came from his administration. This reconstruction bill even was not his idea; it was based on the War Finance Corporation act of the Wilson administration. This particular bill which passed yesterday could not have been enacted without the virile aid of Democrats. The belief of our party that the struggling railroads, burdened insurance companies, and overloaded banks must have immediate assistance caused both parties to set aside partisanship and expedite its passage.

Every generation has faced war or economic depression. In the United States we have never failed to rise to the occasion, and always the Nation has survived.

But we have never before faced a situation like this. This is a time for clear thinking. We could not long survive such unemployment, loss of sales, industrial and commercial stagnation as we face to-day.

A gathering of Democrats these days is always a meeting of patriotic citizens, citizens anxious to locate the causes of the depression and, if possible, to propose effective remedies. It is in that spirit that we are here to-day.

As I see it, there is no one cause for our troubles. There are many.

ABNORMAL GOLD MOVEMENTS

First there are those unusual conditions which we may call trans-Atlantic. For instance, the world has never seen before this such abnormal movements of gold. Every one of the so-called silver countries is flat on its back. Since all international business is on a gold basis, a nation having silver currency is at a marked disadvantage. In these days, with depreciation in the value of silver, it takes a hatful of it to buy a gold sovereign or a $5 piece.

Let me point out to you what this means in a country like China, for instance. Three or four years ago a Chinese could buy a suit of clothes and a hat for $1. To-day even that simple costume costs him $3 of his money.

The Chinese can not earn any more than he did before. Consequently he can not buy his cotton garments. The result is that American cotton is without demand. With like conditions in India, Mexico, and South America, where silver is the basis of commerce, poverty abounds and the purchasing power has been destroyed.

It is fair to say that what can be done to relieve this situation is problematical. Certainly I have no solution to offer, and frankly, I have not been impressed by many of the arguments advanced to solve it.

But is it not fair to inquire why the President has not acted on the request of the United States Senate for a conference to consider this problem? As I view it, the President has fallen short of his responsibility and bounden duty by failing to invite the nations of the world to confer together regarding this particular problem.

INTERNATIONAL DEBTS

The second of what I am pleased to call the trans-Atlantic causes of our own economic depression is the question of international debts and war reparations. Certainly it is not a new problem. It has seemed to me to be a matter which should have been dealt with effectively at the time our Congress was debating the foreign debt settlements.

You have a right to ask why I hold to the conviction that the debt problem has much to do with our present-day distress. I shall undertake to explain.

In a debate with Mr. Paderewski, former President of the Polish Republic and naturally unfriendly to Germany, I asked him this question: "What would happen if there were an economic breakdown in Germany, with nation-wide unemployment?" He shrugged his shoulders, threw up his hands, and exclaimed, "Russia!"

That is the danger I have in mind. I have long held to the view, founded on logic and confirmed by rather extensive travel through Germany, that unless relief can be had for that distressed nation there must be an economic breakdown in that country.

I don't know how you feel about Russia, but I think it is terrible beyond words that individual initiative should be destroyed, the people made to work at unchosen tasks under the lash of authority, the normal marital relations broken down, the children made the property of the state, and religion crushed into the dirt. If such conditions must exist anywhere, I want them confined to the geographic boundaries of Russia.

I tremble to think what would happen if such a system should slop over into Germany and sovietism be imposed upon that people. How long would it be before the outlandish political views of Russia, if they were accepted in Germany, how long would it be before France, England, and perhaps our own United States would fall the victim to such doctrines?

It is futile and absurd for us to continue our hatred of a nation and because of that hatred to face the danger of suffering ourselves because of the extension of these doctrines to the country of our late enemies. I want to see Germany made strong economically, her people employed, and happiness reigning there in order that my country may have the consolation of knowing there is a buffer state between us and Russian heresies. Neither is there any better way to destroy the urge for new wars.

It is nearly 13 years since war was declared over there. Every person 25 years of age or less now living in Germany has no recollection of the beginning of the war or its probable causes. At least 80 per cent of those now living in Germany were too young or too old or incapacitated by sex to have any part in the war. It is silly for us to continue our hatred and to refuse proper aid because of it to a nation which must be made to survive if our nation is to survive.

We know how it feels to carry the burden of taxation, but in our land we have no conception of the significance of the word "taxation." Our railroads are demanding relief and saying to us that they can not operate unless they have more revenue. Under the operation of the Young plan, the railroads of Germany are called upon to pay 670,000,000 gold marks toward the reparations. Translated into terms of American money, that means more than a hundred and sixty million dollars. Suppose an additional burden of that sort were placed upon the railroads of America; what would be the reaction?

In my opinion, Germany can not survive unless she is given relief. Until we can wipe out the memory and effects of the late war, there can be no world-wide happiness and prosperity, and consequent security against future wars. The sooner we put that war behind us, the sooner we forget it, the quicker will be our own recovery from its disastrous effects.

No matter how we may feel about the need of economic reconstruction in Europe, there can be no doubt that certain countries over there are making extravagant demands of our people. As I view it, it is the business of Europe to clean its own house before it can properly ask us for concessions. Europe must give evidence of a willingness to make greater sacrifices.

We are a peace-loving people. We look askance upon the unremitting military activities of certain foreign countries. Not until they give evidence, not only of an intention to disarm but of an actual move in that direction, can we turn serious thoughts to financial readjustments. America has been very liberal, and if I know the soul of America she desires to be liberal. But we are entirely unwilling to add to the sacrifices we have made, without absolute assurance that those countries are in the spirit of modifying their old-time militaristic views.

We have enough domestic troubles to hold our attention. They must not look to us for initiation of plans for European rehabilitation. Until they formulate a practical plan for universal peace, there is no occasion for us to spend our time and energies in offering a solution for their troubles. In short, it is not our move in this game of international politics. We will give sympathetic attention to any suggestion they may have, but not until after we have examined into the proof of their sincerity.

Personally, I am eager to see a revision of the treaty of Versailles and particularly to know that Germany can be rehabilitated. But, frankly, it is my judgment that America has gone just as far as it can under existing conditions. It is time now for European countries to adjust their own affairs. When that has been accomplished we will listen to their views as to the further part, if any, that America can take in the movement for economic restoration and the achievement of peace.

THE RUSSIAN MENACE

The third of what I have called the trans-Atlantic causes for our economic distress is the Russian menace. I assure you that is a real menace to the welfare of our country. When a nation can make serfs of its people and drive them into collectivism, what else can we expect than the destruction of our markets, the closing of our factories, the abandonment of our mines and forests? The really civilized and humane producer pays his labor. What he can sell his product for depends upon the price he pays his labor. Russia has no such embarrassment. There are no labor costs. She can sell wheat at 50 cents a bushel, 25 cents a bushel, or 10 cents a bushel, above the cost of transportation, and still make money, because she has no labor cost.

What will happen to the American farmer, the American manufacturer, the American laboring man, if Russia is permitted to enter our markets and drive from them the fruits of American production?

THE AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS

Let us turn from these foreign factors in our depression. For the moment let us consider those causes which are purely domestic. Naturally we come first to the agricultural surplus.

The American farmer is in distress. The very abundance of his crops has been his undoing. If the Republican Party ever blundered in this world, it did so when it enacted the so-called farm relief bill. Instead of assisting agriculture, it has driven it to ruin.

The dwellers in the cities, the citizens of every railroad and manufacturing community, every American citizen, is interested in the welfare of agriculture. The farmer is the chief purchaser of the products made in our factories and transported on our railroads. When he is in distress there are bread lines everywhere.

The Republican administration has seemed indifferent to the plight of the farmer. When we consider the individual members of the Republican Party we find no lack of brains. We must con-

clude, therefore, that its failure to deal effectively with agricultural problems is really due to indifference. Certainly any student of the subject knows that the farm relief bill signed by the President has done almost irreparable injury to American agriculture.

The great stores of grain now resting in Government warehouses are like the sword of Damocles over the head of the American farmer. Wheat is at the lowest price for years past, and no farmer knows what to do as regards future crops. Agriculture owes nothing to the party in power except a feeling of resentment.

The only answer to this problem attempted by the Republican orators is to ask what the Democrats would do about it if they had the authority. There is at least one effective answer, and that is that we couldn't do worse than the Republicans have done! I am confident we shall do better.

ORGY OF SPECULATION

When the Democratic Party created the Federal reserve system it was intended to be a great stabilizing agent. It was planned to secure the financial world against recurrences of depression. It was certainly not intended to help the gambler or the wild speculator.

I am sure that no student of the subject can reach any other conclusion than that under the Hoover administration the Federal reserve system has played into the hands of the speculators. Instead of guarding against the repeated crashes on Wall Street the Federal Reserve Board promoted speculation. Dominated by the Secretary of the Treasury, its actions, whether so intended or not, assisted the superrich and ruined the moderate investor.

Those of us who have an unselfish interest in the welfare of the American people cry out against this abuse of financial power. There must be a change of administration in order that gambling and exploitation of the public shall cease.

BANKERS' HYSTERIA

The pernicious influence of the hidden forces back of the Federal Reserve Board reach down into the humblest of banks. The legitimate uses of money by the small merchants, modest builders, business men, and farmers is made impossible. Legitimate loans are curtailed, and the business of many a community is almost destroyed by the attitude of the bankers. It seems to me no other term than hysteria is the one to apply to the state of mind controlling the banking world.

But there is one place in the banking system where there is no hysteria. The men at the top were never more calm, deliberate, and resourceful. They have seized upon their long-awaited opportunity. This is their day. Already they are exercising despotic rule. Unless the people are aroused there is no length to which the superbankers may not go. We are in danger of a financial dictatorship.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not against banks or bankers. They are a very necessary part of our economic life. Their advice is needed and their counsel gladly accepted. But helpful cooperation is one thing, and absolute control of public policies is quite another thing.

Unless we can trust the people to manage their own affairs, our boasted republican form of government is a failure. We might as well abdicate and install a king, the outward and visible sign of an absolute monarchy of banksters.

Is an oligarchy of financiers to determine whether or not the people shall utilize its water powers; build its courthouses and public schools; decide the scope and extent of its educational system; supervise its hospitals, health control, and welfare agencies; build its roads and bridges; establish its street-car fares and utility charges; maintain its parks and playgrounds; select and direct its public officials—are these matters to be determined by an oligarchy of financiers, or are the people to be master?

We stand at the parting of the ways. We may abdicate, we may run up the white flag and surrender because we are whipped, or we may appeal to the great multitude of our citizens, state the case, and leave it to the voters to decide who shall be master in America. Are we, the people, to establish the destiny of our Nation, or are we to become slaves of the money power? That is where we stand to-day.

I have no doubt of the outcome. When our people understand they will reassert their rights to govern themselves.

It strikes me as a remarkable demonstration of amazing impudence for a small group of bankers to call the great cities of the United States to time when that same banking group has made a mess of the railroads, insurance companies, and other financial institutions. If the bankers had curbed speculation, conserved their resources, and applied their funds in the normal way, we should not be in our present plight.

To cover up their derelictions and to hide their failures the bankers now attempt a showing of ultraconservatism by squeezing the municipal governments of our country. This is a smoke screen intended to conceal the truth as regards the past two or three years of banking mismanagement.

The response of the public to the banker critics of New York City government was remarkable. Instead of carrying public sentiment with them, when the recent public offering of securities was made, it was more than 100 per cent oversubscribed and the securities are already at a premium. It was far more than the high rate of interest offered that made it possible to close the books within 24 hours. It was a rebuke to those who sought to control public policies. It is refreshing and heartening that the public is not blind to the real purposes of the hidden forces back of the great banks.

If we weakly submit to their dictation, popular government is gone. It will become a mere shadow of the red-blooded, up-standing, clear-eyed, straight-thinking being it was in its prime.

We have permitted branch banking to extend until all the advantages of the home, the community institution, are lost. No longer does character count in determining a proper loan. Cold-blooded, calculating, microscopic inspection, and the acid test are applied to every transaction, no matter how trifling. Favoritism and the chance for the central banks to profit mean more than a lifetime of honest dealing and the collateral of character.

Through the dominating control and paternalistic oversight of the smaller banks throughout the country a few men at the top can float the issues of international loans, financing corporations, bond offerings, and whatnot. In the last analysis the fate of every farmer, manufacturer, and business man is in the hands of an invisible group of relentless and ruthless financial rulers.

REFORM THE FEDERAL RESERVE

All their evil designs could be thwarted overnight. To broaden within safe limits the discounting base of the Federal reserve system would end the schemes and machinations of this small group of willful men. A law authorizing the Federal reserve to make eligible for discount and other uses Federal, State, and city bonds, as well as other securities of equal soundness—this law of few words would restore to the people the right to determine the people's policies, as well as to preserve the right of the citizen to go forward in any legitimate enterprise in which he chooses to engage.

Under strict rules of administration only securities of real worth would be accepted. But greater elasticity in an emergency like this would multiply the usefulness of the Federal reserve. It would provide the reservoir of credit which the original act intended the reserve system to be. It would relieve us from the bondage now imposed by the superbankers upon a helpless people.

In a recent message the President made a like appeal. He said: "The discount facilities of our Federal reserve banks are restricted by law more than those of the central banks in other countries. This restriction in times such as these limits the liquidity of the banks and tends to increase the forces of deflation, cripples the smaller businesses, stifles new enterprise, and thus limits employment. I recommend an enlargement of these discount privileges to take care of emergencies. To meet the needs of our situation it will not be necessary to go even as far as the current practice of foreign institutions of similar character. Such a measure has the support of most of the governors of the Federal reserve banks."

If the President held this view two weeks ago, when he relayed it to the Senate, he must have held the same view last summer. Why did he not call Congress in special session to give consideration to all the matters which have to do with the liquidity of the banks? During the past two years the banks have been falling down like a row of dominoes. More than 7,000 bank failures have taken place since the last presidential election. Our own city of New York suffered terribly in this matter. And undoubtedly, if there had been greater elasticity in the Federal reserve system, many of these failures would have been averted.

The Republican Party must assume responsibility for much of our domestic distress. In the last campaign they boasted of what happiness would come to our people in the event of their success. If they were to take credit for prosperity, by the same token they must accept responsibility for the national disaster which occurred during this administration.

It is agreed on all sides that something is wrong with the banking methods of America. Under the existing system we are too much at the mercy of the superbankers. While the Senate failed recently to pass my amendment intended to permit municipalities to apply for temporary financing on the part of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, it was not because of any lack of sympathy on the part of many Senators who expressed to me their real feelings. They felt that the particular amendment was not germane to the bill before us. However, many Senators expressed to me in private conversation their view that the superbankers are going too far. They stated, what I believe, that there is a growing resentment in America against the encroachment of certain bankers upon the very fundamentals of government. Unless there are reforms, we should give warning to the financial oligarchy that the popular uprisings of the early periods of our national history will be repeated. As a people we have a right to feel that the deposits in the banks are safe, and that the money shall be used to promote industry, business, and agriculture, and shall not be used to enrich a few men at the top of the financial world.

The time has come when the Federal reserve system must become more elastic in its administration. It was evolved from the brain of the Democratic Party, and when the Democratic Party is in control of government, as it will be next year, we will apply in practice what the President presented in the form of a gesture in his statement of two weeks ago. There should be an enlargement of the discount privileges of that system, as I see it, in order that we may take care of emergencies. I fully agree with the President that the restriction now in force "in times such as these limits the liquidity of the banks and tends to increase the forces of deflation, cripples the smaller businesses, stifles new enterprises, and thus limits employment."

He says that such a measure has the support of most of the governors of the Federal reserve banks. Why shouldn't it have? As I see it, we should broaden the base, permitting the discounting of municipal bonds and other securities of equal worth. Cer-

tainly our people should free themselves from the tyranny of certain of the present-day banking practices.

What I have said is not intended to reflect upon the ninety-and-nine just men in the banking business. It is intended as a rebuke of that very limited group of bankers who have gone astray, and who seek to choke the American people by pulling the strings, not only of their own purses but of those of all their correspondent banks.

No doubt these men are convinced of the righteousness of their purpose. Perhaps they are right. I do not think so. But if they are right, our boasted liberties are gone. Are we satisfied to yield? If I know the spirit of America, I say we are not satisfied and will never submit to the wearing of financial shackles.

THE TARIFF

As one who believes in a protective tariff, I have no word of criticism to pass upon any schedule which has honestly to do with the maintenance of the standard of living we have set for American labor. As I view it, there must be sufficient protection to cover the difference between wage scales here and abroad. In season, out of season, I have fought for reasonable tariffs to protect the products of New York State. I shall continue to do that.

But it is one thing to impose a reasonable tariff and quite another thing to tax the American people in order that certain great interests may be protected. There can be no doubt that we suffer from many gross inequities in the tariff law.

The Democrats in the Congress attempted to provide for a Tariff Commission which could study and present to the Congress proposals which would make for honest protection and would avoid exploitation of the public for the enrichment of selfish men. In spite of our success in the Senate, the administration-controlled House defeated our efforts. The conference committee, controlled by the Republicans, defeated our plans, turning down even so sane a proposal as the creation of the office of people's counsel. The Republicans were unwilling to have the consumer represented in these hearings on tariff matters. We have just passed through the Democratic House of Representatives an enactment providing these essential principles.

Honest business has nothing to fear from the Democratic Party. We stand for proper tariffs. As Governor Smith said in one of his speeches during the last campaign, "The Democratic Party will not take a 5-cent piece out of the pay envelope of any American workman." But there are tariff rates that could be mentioned which do not put a 5-cent piece in any pay envelope without being a perpetual drain upon the pocketbooks of the American people.

THE VETERANS

Time does not permit any discussion of other factors that enter into our present-day distress. Time does not permit, either, any discussion relating to the welfare of the veterans of the late war. Every soldier in the United States knows the unwillingness of Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Hoover, and, incidentally, Mr. Mellon, to deal generously with the men who fought for us. That is a whole story in itself.

EMPLOYMENT

As I said in the beginning, this is a time when straight thinking is needed. Certainly this is not the time to grind the workingman or to reduce employment. On the contrary, we must give thought to the creation of jobs. With progress of invention and mass production, it may well be that fewer employees are needed. If this is true, we must increase employment by shortening the work week and the work day. Every able-bodied person who wishes to work is entitled to a good job at decent wages.

CONCLUSION

If I read the signs of the times aright, our country needs a change in political control. It is because I have faith in the Democratic Party and a firm belief that it is capable of administering the Government that I pray for Democratic success in 1932.

There is no better way to insure that success than by strengthening the Democratic Party in every locality. Every time you elect a Democrat to office in this community or this county you strengthen our party in the State and in the Nation. Let us put aside all the differences that beset us and knit our Democracy into a compact army that will be irresistible in its assaults upon the entrenched Republicans. Then we will win and deserve to win.

ARTICLE BY HON. FRANK J. CANNON ON "WORK, WAGES, AND SILVER"

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article entitled "Work, Wages, and Silver," published in Money, a Denver magazine in its issue of January 18, 1932. May I add that the author of the article is a former able Member of this body, Hon. Frank J. Cannon, at one time Senator from Utah. He is now a resident of Denver, where he is honored for his eloquence, mental force, and other private and public qualities.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORK, WAGES, AND SILVER

By Frank J. Cannon, former United States Senator from Utah

I. WORK

Work has been miscalled the primal curse. It is the eternal blessing.

Through work, guided by supreme intelligence, the universe is held from chaos.

Through work, guided by human intelligence, the social order and the individual life can be maintained in contented security.

As society exercises the right to punish as a vagrant a man who ought to work and who will not, so society has an equal responsibility to provide that a man who would work shall have opportunity to work for his self-respecting maintenance.

There can not be such authority claimed and used by society without that inevitable corresponding responsibility. A recognition of such responsibility is demonstrated in this day. Society, almost under the force of law, is now taking the burden of procuring employment for some and providing for the needs of those for whom it can not find work.

Paying every tribute to the zeal and the service of this mighty coordinated movement, namely, the community chest and unemployment-relief drives, one may sadly question whether it was necessary that millions should come to unemployment with its costly degeneration, that thousands should commit suicide in their despair, that half a million should be threatened with dispossession of home, that myriads of women and children should be weeping in their want before the social consciousness could be aroused to a sense of its manifest duty.

Right to work absolute

The right to work is as absolute and indisputable as the right to breathe God's air. It is the shame of this age, with its education and its plenteousness, that men should be deprived of the very comforts which their work has created because they can not have present work with which to earn their share of their own former production.

Work means not only the toil of human hands but the guiding labor of human minds.

By work man has emerged from savagery into a radiant civilization. By work all material wealth is created. When the work of the world declined two years ago the wealth accumulated through the centuries began to shrink until within that period of two years more than $250,000,000,000 of assumed property values have vanished and bankruptcies and foreclosures and want and hopelessness and despairing suicide have filled the gap made by that desolation.

How shall we restore the wealth of the world? By work. How shall we save the homes of a self-respecting people? By work. How shall we carry the annual tax bill of this Nation, amounting to $15,000,000,000, nearly twice the total amount of money in the United States? By work.

II. WAGES

An adequate wage for the worker is a twice-blessed justice. It blesses him who pays the wage and him who takes the wage. The rise in the standard of living in the United States above all the rest of the world, the generality of education in our country exceeding any known elsewhere, the cultural progress of our whole people, the enrichment of individual and community life—all these come direct from the payment and expenditure of adequate wages.

There is only one method by which the mass productivity of the United States can be maintained, and therefore only one method by which our billion-dollar corporations can continue to operate and even enlarge their amazing plants and acquire fabulous incomes, and that is by the payment of an adequate wage for the services of hand and brain so that the wage earner may purchase his part of the mass production.

Given contented work with adequate wages, and we have stability in the social order, prosperity and advancement for our people, and safety for the divinely ordained institutions of the Republic. Without contented work and adequate wages, individual independence is lost and the social order is imperiled.

III. SILVER

During 4,000 years the human race has used gold and silver as money. Both metals are performing their highest services by the exercise of the money function.

Outside of money use, gold is far less valuable than silver. More than 90 per cent of the earth's people at the present time are dependent upon the buying power of silver for the increase or degradation of their scale of living.

The only new markets open to the United States for our mass production are in silver-using countries. There are approximately ten and one-half billion dollars of gold money in the world. And there are 8,000,000,000,000 ounces of silver available for money which, at our rate of coinage, would make about $10,400,000,000.

The advocates of the single gold standard have assumed that the issuance of credit based upon gold would sustain the commerce of the world. Their tragic mistake is now demonstrated in the misery of millions, including many of our own.

The fallacious idea of substituting, under the authority of small and interested groups, gold credit for a sufficiency of money ought now to be beyond dispute. These interested groups recklessly and greedily expanded gold credits until the financial world was wrecked and then they tyrannically or ignorantly contracted credits until the industrial world went into the same hideous crash.

Money supply controlled.

Gold is now controlled by two countries, both creditors. The total debt of the world, based upon less than $11,000,000,000 of gold money, is estimated at $750,000,000,000. Ninety per cent of the world's population must calculate in silver for gold credits if it would deal in commerce with gold countries; and so long as $1 of gold credit demands 3 ounces of silver, where it ought only to

demand three-quarters of an ounce, 1,700,000,000 of the people of the world are deprived of a large part of their purchasing power, and our own people at home are deprived of three-fourths of a world market.

A billion people in the Orient need our goods and they must calculate in silver. Could anything be more brutally stupid than the action of western nations in so legislating, under the promptings of adroit greed acting upon ignorance, that our own potential customers are robbed of three-fourths of their ability to purchase the goods which we seek to sell?

Every man and woman is vitally interested in this stupendous issue.

Prophecy correct

One needs give only a single illustration, for it is complete. Three weeks before Great Britain suspended gold payments, Hon. Charles S. Thomas, of Denver, predicted in a public address that Great Britain would have to make such suspension.

The officers of the Bimetallic Association in Denver predicted an increase of British trade with the Orient. Both predictions were verified. Our statesmen here knew more about European finances than all the chancellors and bankers of England and the continent.

The British pound sterling fell more than $1, or about 25 per cent. China's and India's silver relatively rose.

With every rise in the buying power of silver more wheels start whirling in Great Britain. Already her awakened statesmen, who could not see anything but calamity in suspension of gold payments and the drop in the pound sterling, have discovered that the rise in silver is the one thing needed to give work and wages instead of wretched, pauperizing dole.

Holy trinity of material salvation

A restoration of silver to its old status as money might save the empire. In our own country we may well heed the lesson. Otherwise the United States and France must be sitting like misers upon heaps of useless gold, trying in vain to substitute gold for work and wages and leaving our own people far behind in the new industrial race of the peoples of the earth. A restoration of silver to its rightful place as a money metal to carry the burdens of 90 per cent of the world's population and to carry one-half of our own financial burden is essential if we would be preserved from industrial and social chaos.

If silver were restored, it would give work and wages to every willing hand. Merchants would thrive. Taxes could be carried without confiscation of homes and shops. We plead for all humanity.

Only greed or ignorance or cowardice can now deny that work, wages, and silver constitute the holy trinity of material salvation.

Everyone must make his serious choice and take his responsible part. On the one hand are dole and misery to the jeopardy of all possessions. On the other are work and wages and blessing for this weeping world.

Heed this! Work, wages, and silver are better than gold, unemployment, and dole.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST CARTOONIST

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, from the North to the South, from the East to the West, in every place in which newspapers circulate and information and pleasure ride upon the wings of the printed page, in every place in which humanity lives and labors and loves, yesterday was a red-letter day.

It revived no memories of camps and sieges and battles; it brought no reminders of wars or earthquakes or other calamities; it suggested no thoughts of the agonies of the wounded and the dying. It was rich with memories as fragrant as the incense from censers carried by angels' hands.

Yesterday was the twentieth anniversary of the creation of Maggie and Jiggs, the world's most delightful comic strip, by Mr. George McManus, who for a fifth of a century has most industriously and successfully consecrated himself to the task of daily giving to hundreds of millions of men and women and children sunshine for their shadows, joy for their sorrows, and smiles for their tears.

"Since first the flight of years began" countless thousands of monuments have been erected to commemorate the achievements of the world's good and great; wildernesses of "storied urns and animated busts" have perpetuated their memories; on the banks of all historic rivers, such as the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Nile, the Seine, and the Potomac, stately buildings "with spires and steeples crowned" have been dedicated to their glory.

As a rule, the "temple of fame stands upon the grave," and those who have accomplished great things return to the silent dust before they are fully appreciated by their fellowmen. Martyrs, benefactors, and heroes seldom live to see themselves in bronze and marble. But George McManus, who is happily in the very prime of life, has erected his own memorial monuments, statues, and temples—not in public places, not on mountain tops, not on river banks, but in the throbbing hearts of the unnumbered millions who love him beyond all power of expression.

Mr. McManus, with a soaring imagination, a clear head, a happy heart, a cunning hand, and a facile pen for his obedient servants, and the preeminently great International News Service as the world-wide distributor of his joyous handiwork, has made the lovable Mr. Jiggs and the irritating but indispensable Maggie part and parcel of the daily life of all the children of men.

We hope that Mr. Jiggs and the luscious corned beef and cabbage which he has rescued from oblivion may be as eternal as the everlasting hills; and we fervently wish Mr. McManus, the greatest apostle of mirth of all the ages, perfect health and immeasurable happiness to the end of his days and a life so very long that in comparison to him Methuselah, with all of his years, will seem like a babe in arms.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN LOANS

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, some days ago I had occasion in the Senate to characterize a statement made by the Secretary of Agriculture charging the late President Wilson and two of his Secretaries of the Treasury with making enormous loans to foreign governments after the termination of the war and "without the legal right to do so." I termed this accusation a "malicious fabrication." In a statement given to the press, for release on Monday morning, Secretary Hyde appears to imagine that he has acquitted himself of my imputation and established the truth of his wretched misrepresentation. He has done nothing of the kind. However, I should, perhaps, willingly modify the characterization of his false assertion which I made last Thursday for the reason that it requires some measure of comprehension for a person to invent a "malicious fabrication" on a perplexing problem of finance. It is perfectly obvious that Secretary Hyde is incapable of understanding what he was talking about when he made his address in New York and subsequently broadcast it to the country.

In order even to seem to justify his partisan misrepresentation he has in his public statement made himself quite ridiculous by seeking to transform an inconsequential public document, prepared by the clerk of an individual Senator, into an affirmative declaration by the United States Senate. He appears to have done this upon the absurdly mistaken theory that papers which individual Senators ask to be made public documents, on the supposition that they contain valuable information, necessarily reflect the views and have the approval of the Senate as to their contents. Of course, there is not a Member of this Chamber so ignorant of its processes as not to know that this is utterly contrary to the fact. Not a line of the utterly neglected document to which Mr. Hyde makes reference was ever read in the Senate when it was made a public document 10 years ago at the request of an individual Senator. Not a line of it, as far as the RECORD shows, has been read in the Senate since. It may be reasonably doubted if any of the Senators had examined or even knew the contents of the document at the time it was presented.

As indicated, the paper in question, prepared by the young clerk of an individual Senator, assumed to be a résumé of the laws enacted by Congress with respect to foreign loans. In addition, it reflected the individual deductions of the clerk who prepared it. The most casual inspection of the document shows glaring inaccuracies and significant omissions with respect to these acts of Congress, besides rather foolish and contradictory interpretations of the laws and the facts. After a careful inspection of the minutes and the record I assert that the paper never had one particle of official sanction as to its contents by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate or by the Senate itself. In its alleged legal résumé it omits vital provisions of the Liberty loan acts bearing upon the authority of the Treasury, with the approval

of the President, to make foreign loans and interprets the meaning of the acts as only an immature clerk and the Secretary of Agriculture could be expected to interpret them.

For example, after quoting the first Liberty loan act to the effect that foreign loans "shall cease upon the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government," the compilation of this clerk, with apparent purpose, omits section 13 of the act which provided that: "For the purposes of this act the date of the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government shall be fixed by proclamation of the President of the United States." For exactly the same deliberate purpose Secretary Hyde omits all reference to this pregnant provision of the various Liberty loan acts, including the Victory loan act, passed long after the armistice was signed. Thus, he thinks that he has been enabled to deceive the public by this species of culpable pettifogging.

Mr. Hyde, as his clerical mentor, conveniently ignores section 7 of the Victory loan act, *passed four months after the armistice*, which provides that "the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to establish in addition to the credits authorized by section 2 of the second Liberty bond act, as amended, credits, and so forth," and that this section 7, authorizing the establishment of additional credits for specific purposes should not "be deemed to prohibit the use of such unexpended balances of the previous appropriation for the purposes of section 2 of the second Liberty loan act, as so amended, subject to the limitations therein contained." If the armistice terminated the war, why did Congress, four months thereafter, extend appropriations for national security and defense?

Mr. Hyde, in order to establish his own foolish interpretation of the time limit for foreign loans, suppresses the plain intent of Congress as reflected in paragraph (A) of section 8 of the Victory loan act, passed after the armistice, making reference to authorized assistance to "any foreign government now engaged in war with the enemies of the United States."

Needless to say, the deductions of the clerk who prepared this irresponsible paper, and of Mr. Hyde, who adopts it, in extenuation of his miserable aspersions, differ widely from the considered view of President Wilson and his Secretaries of the Treasury. The difference is that Mr. Hyde has no reputable support for his position, whereas no responsible official of the Government nor the Congress of the United States, to which in great detail reports were constantly being made, ever questioned the legality of a single one of these loans, either as to time limit or as to its purposes. It remained for Mr. Hyde, relying upon a clerk's utterly inaccurate statement of the law and the purpose, to bring these things in question for a petty partisan purpose.

The quotations by this clerk and Mr. Hyde from testimony given by Secretary McAdoo and me before the Ways and Means Committee of the House have absolutely no relevancy to the provisions of the Liberty loan acts. Our appearance there had no reference to the authorizations of the Liberty loan acts. Neither of the Secretaries of the Treasury indicated had the remotest doubt of their complete authority to make postarmistice loans for the designated purposes under this act, nor had the President of the United States. The testimony quoted by Mr. Hyde had reference to an entirely new proposal, responsive to a letter from Commissioner Tardieu, of the French Government, under date of November 4, 1918, asking to be assured that the Government of the United States would make loans to France *after the conclusion of peace* for the purpose of "rebuilding the economic structure of the invaded regions of France" and to generally "assist in restoring the economic life of the allied governments" and to "promote our foreign commerce" with them. Those were the additional purposes for which Secretary McAdoo and I appeared before the Ways and Means Committee. The suggestion was also in behalf of loans to supply these countries with foodstuffs and materials for a temporary period. Meanwhile M. Tardieu was told that we had no authority to make "loans for reconstruction after peace." Later we asked from the Ways and Means Committee for this authority *in addition to that already granted in the Liberty loan acts.* Congress authorized supplying such foodstuffs, which was promptly done, under the administration of Mr. Hoover, the Food Administrator. The Ways and Means Committee declined to authorize foreign loans "for reconstruction or commercial purposes," *and not a dollar was ever loaned for these purposes* by the Secretaries of the Treasury, with the approval of the President. We distinctly did not ask on that occasion for further authority under any of the provisions of the Liberty loan acts. Thus the clerk who prepared this paper and Secretary Hyde are joined in a stupid misconception of the purpose for which Secretary McAdoo and I appeared before the Ways and Means Committee; and, being densely ignorant of the facts, Secretary Hyde's attempted justification of his partisan misrepresentation simply renders him ridiculous.

Confirming my own distinct recollection of the event, I quote here from a letter written me on November 15, 1921, by Russell C. Leffingwell, Esq., a former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of fiscal affairs, now a partner and legal counsel in perhaps the largest banking establishment in the world, who appeared with Secretary McAdoo and me before the Ways and Means Committee of the House in December, 1918, and in February, 1919. Mr. Leffingwell says:

> There never was any question, when additional authority was asked of the committee, about our authority to make foreign loans during the armistice period. What we had in mind was that the treaty of peace would be concluded before the requirements of the situation had been met. As it worked out we would have been able to have handled the situation *without even the additional authority conferred by the Liberty loan act.*

In this same connection I have in my files a letter from former Secretary McAdoo, which says, among other things:

> At no time was there any suggestion upon my part before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and I am sure there was none on yours, that the power already possessed by the Treasury Department to make foreign loans for the purposes specified in the Liberty loan acts (with the approval of the President) was inadequate or insufficient, or that it had been impaired in the slightest degree by the signing of the armistice. You are quite right in your statement that neither you nor I in these hearings asked the committee for authority to make loans under section 2 of the Liberty loan act. We suggested that the power to make foreign loans be broadened to such an extent as would permit a reasonable amount of credit to be extended to "promote our foreign commerce, to aid the reconstruction of the devastated areas in Belgium, northern France, Italy, and elsewhere." * * * The committee failed to recommend to the Congress the broadening of the powers of the Secretary of the Treasury as requested by us. *Therefore no loans were made for these purposes.* Loans made after the armistice were made only for the purposes specifically mentioned in the Liberty loan acts, the authority for which was never doubted by the Secretaries of the Treasury or the President and has never yet been challenged by any responsible authority.

I may interpolate, Mr. President, that $1,100,000,000 of these loans were in pursuance of commitments made prior to the armistice; and it is a fair assumption, if Mr. Hyde's interpretation of the time limit be correct, that he would have advocated a repudiation of these commitments rather than their payment "after the armistice was signed." He is the only person in any responsible position in public life who has ever assumed to say that an armistice automatically ends a war.

Failing absolutely to present any facts of his own to sustain his partisan aspersions of President Wilson and two of his surviving Cabinet ministers, Secretary Hyde falls back on the attenuated distinction sought to be made between taking the "obligations" of foreign governments, as the Liberty loan acts textually require, and taking immediately the engraved long-time "bonds," as the Liberty loan acts did not require. I shall not waste my own time, or that of the Senate, in discussing any such eccentric distinction or the purely imaginary consequences of such action by the Treasury. The practice was completely made known from time to time to the public and to the leaders in Congress without a word of dissent. It was the only practicable thing to do, because men were fighting and dying at the front, and to have required foreign nations to resort to the tedious and

protracted method of engraving and printing long-time bonds might easily have been fatal to the cause of the Allies, which we had made our cause. It could have had no possible effect, one way or the other, on the ultimate funding of the foreign debts, since, as it seems to me, any reasonable person will know and admit that a duly executed "obligation" of a nation put in writing, signed, and attested by its accredited representatives, whether in the form of a duly executed demand "certificate of indebtedness" or of an engraved "bond," is equally sacred and binding.

I shall ask to have printed in the RECORD, immediately at the conclusion of these remarks, a letter addressed by me to Hon. Joseph Fordney, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, on December 18, 1919, explaining the Treasury's policy with respect to deferred interest on our foreign debts and definitely asking to know if Congress disapproved. A like letter was addressed to Hon. Boies Penrose, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate. Both these gentlemen assured the Treasury that there could be no objection whatsoever to the policy being pursued.

I shall also ask to be printed, in the same connection, a memorandum prepared for me 10 years ago by Albert Rathbone, Esq., an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of foreign loans, a leading lawyer of New York City who did notable service for his country during the World War, and, likewise, a memorandum prepared by former Secretary McAdoo of a kindred nature. These data were prepared at my request soon after I entered the Senate, because it had been reported that a certain Senator contemplated assailing the legality of our foreign loans. They were never used because no Senator ever ventured to assail the validity of these loans.

The Judiciary Committee of the Senate, in executive session, had the Treasury furnish it with all the correspondence on the subject of foreign loans, but never discovered a single irregular transaction and never reported to the Senate one word in criticism of these foreign loans. An individual clerk of an individual Senator made an utterly inaccurate and deficient statement of the laws, together with his misconceptions and utterly absurd deductions; and these were printed at the request of a single Senator as a public document, as the record shows, without one single word in disclosure of the paper's contents. It is this clerk's paper that the Secretary of Agriculture vainly invokes to extricate himself from the charge of having wantonly aspersed a dead President and maligned two of his surviving Cabinet officers. While I have not thought it particularly important to discuss this matter in detail, perhaps it is well enough to make up this record against the day of any further malicious misrepresentation. However, it is to be hoped that not again soon, if ever, will there be a repetition of such a harsh and hateful exhibition of partisan malice to disturb the generous concord which has prevailed here in Washington since President Hoover appealed to his political adversaries to assist him in his efforts to relieve the unparalleled distress of the Nation.

In conclusion, Mr. President, permit me to say that I realize how fruitless it is to engage in controversy with some people. As a peculiarly pertinent illustration of this, I recall an incident in the life of the late Henry Arthur Jones, the great master of English literature. Next to George Bernard Shaw, if not superior to him, Jones was regarded as the most brilliant disputant of the realm. Soon after the return of H. G. Wells from Russia, Jones sharply reproached him for certain unpatriotic utterances, and had all Britain shaking its sides with laughter at the expense of his adversary. The reason Jones gave for not pursuing the dispute is vividly reflected in his description of an imaginary joust with an excessively dull person. As I recall this tilt, it rather precisely indicates the futility of discussing certain questions with Secretary Hyde. In one of his letters Mr. Jones cites a discussion with an incorrigible person, saying:

> I argued with the fellow, giving him solid, undeniable facts and instances, and appealing to his reasoning faculties. He did not reply to me with arguments any more than you do, my dear Wells. He called me abusive names. He thumped the table with his fist, and waggled and rolled his round head, and blazed out in fresh execrations. I produced more facts, more evidence, more arguments. He merely vociferated—the round head waggled and shook with obstinate denial of fact and argument. I paused for a moment and looked at that round, waggling head; by a sudden illumination I became aware that it was not a head at all, but a turnip, a veritable turnip placed on the top of his neck and shoulders.
>
> I do not say that it was an ordinary vegetable turnip. It was connected by ligatures with his digestive and respiratory organs, and doubtless certain processes of a more or less cogitative nature went on inside it. But so far as regards all power of comprehension of sovereign facts, it was a turnip. After a shock of surprise, which took away my breath, I rushed out of the room. I had wasted a good hour arguing with a turnip. But it looked very much like a head.
>
> Speaking of this experience with one of our leading surgeons, he told me in confidence that the man who has a human turnip growing on the top of his shoulders never suspects that it isn't a real head. Indeed, the outer semblance is perfect. The incident I have related made so powerful an impression upon me that whenever I happen to see a bunch of turnips outside a vegetable shop I hurry away for fear that I may become involved in an argument with them. How many precious hours we waste arguing with turnips.

As old Bishop John Early, of Virginia, used to say, the Senate "may note the phraseology and mark the application."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, before the Senator from Virginia takes his seat, may I ask whether or not the "turnip head" of Secretary Hyde was the reason why he was selected as Secretary of Agriculture? [Laughter.]

Mr. GLASS. I can not with any degree of precision answer the question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Virginia to print certain matter in the RECORD will be granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DEFERRED INTEREST

DECEMBER 18, 1919.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On October 9 last I sent you a copy of a public statement made by me on the 26th of September, relative to the obligations of foreign governments held by the United States Government, and also a copy of a letter written by me on October 9 to Senator Penrose in reply to a letter from him requesting information concerning the extension of the interest on such loans. In that statement and in my letter to Senator Penrose I explained the policy which the Treasury proposed to adopt in respect to the funding of the demand obligations of foreign governments now held by the United States into long-time obligations, and the funding during the reconstruction period of two or three years of the interest on such obligations. Notwithstanding my public announcement of September 26 and the controlling reasons which prompted the Treasury to adopt this policy, it appears from statements which have been made lately in Congress and elsewhere that there still exists a misunderstanding in respect to this question. Some of the statements to the effect that it is the duty of our Government, notwithstanding the present grave derangement of foreign exchanges, to insist upon immediate payment of interest amounting to about $475,000,000 a year, indicate a tendency to overlook certain aspects of the question and a failure to grasp the meaning of the present position of the finances of the world. While the Treasury favors such an arrangement, it does not favor the cancellation, and indeed has no power to cancel any portion of the interest or principal. The collection in dollars of this interest, under present circumstances, would be no less disastrous to American interests than to the interests of our debtors.

The loans to foreign governments were made, as provided by Congress in April, 1917, for the purpose of assisting them in the prosecution of the war. Our entry into the war made it necessary for this Government to call upon the American people for vast sums of money for its own war purposes. In order to obtain such funds it was necessary substantially to close our financial markets to all other borrowings, but at the same time it became most important that our associates in the war should be able to obtain in greater amounts than theretofore the supplies which they required and which we alone could furnish.

Except for the purpose of meeting commitments for war purposes previously made with the knowledge of the Treasury, the Treasury has since last April substantially discontinued the establishment of credits in favor of foreign governments. The program authorized by Congress for foreign loans was therefore substantially ended eight months ago.

At almost the same time the foreign governments, of their own accord but with the hearty approval of the Treasury, ceased the "pegging" of their exchanges.

These necessary steps by the United States Treasury and the treasuries of our associates, in the endeavor to reduce governmental financial activity and to return trade and finance to normal channels, have been reflected in the great drop which has taken place in the foreign exchanges.

With the ending of the war and of the program of our loans to foreign governments it was considered appropriate, in accordance with the authority conferred by the Liberty bonds acts, to take up with those governments the funding of the demand obligations now held by the United States into long-time obligations;

and in view of the fact that, as indicated by the state of the foreign exchanges, the reconstruction of Europe has not proceeded to a point where Europe can even yet pay by exports for its necessary food, it was considered by the Treasury most expedient that, as a part of a general funding arrangement, provision should be made for deferring and spreading over a later period the payment of interest which would accrue during the next two or three years.

At the time of writing, exchanges of the principal Allies are quoted as follows:

Sterling, 3.86, or at a discount of 20.7 per cent.
Francs, 10.23, or at a discount of 49.4 per cent.
Lire, 12.75, or at a discount of 59.4 per cent.
Belgian francs, 9.97, or at a discount of 48 per cent.

Under these circumstances, an impenetrable barrier exists which makes it impracticable for those Governments to pay in dollars the amount of interest due from them to the United States. This involves no question as to the solvency or financial responsibility of those Governments, nor a failure to raise funds by loans and taxes from their people and a corresponding burdening of our people, but results from the condition of the foreign-exchange market. If the Governments of the Allies were to raise immediately by taxes and loans the whole of their debt to us, those taxes and loans would produce only sterling, francs, and lire, and those foreign currencies would not furnish one additional dollar of dollar exchange, because conditions are not such as to permit those currencies now to be converted into dollars. The United States Treasury has no use at the present time for any considerable amounts of these currencies and could not afford to accumulate large idle foreign balances.

If the Treasury does not defer the collection of interest and thus adds to the present difficulties in the financial and economic rehabilitation of the world by demanding an immediate cash payment of interest before the industry and trade of Europe has an opportunity to revive, we should not only make it impossible for Europe to continue needed purchases here and decrease their ultimate capacity to pay their debt to us, but should hinder rather than help the reconstruction which the world should hasten. A nation can liquidate its foreign debts only by the accumulation of foreign credits, which may be accomplished through an excess trade balance, invisible exchange items, the creation of credits by loans, or by the export of gold. Until our associates in the war, whose manufacture and trade suffered so much more than ours, have had an opportunity to resume normal industrial and commercial activities they have not the exports with which to pay the interest due on our obligations, and could make such payment only by the shipment of gold or by obtaining dollar loans in the United States. The loans which the Allied Governments have so far been able to place in our markets have not been sufficient to correct the situation. I can not believe that anyone would consider it equitable or wise, in the present circumstances, for us to require payment in gold, of which we already have enough, when the payment of one year's interest alone would exhaust about 50 per cent of the gold reserve of our debtors. While I fully realize the desirability of collecting this interest and of decreasing at once by a corresponding amount the taxes which we must collect, I should be most reluctant, without specific instructions from Congress to the contrary, to demand the immediate payment of interest, which would not only seriously retard the economic restoration of those countries without which they will be unable to pay the interest and principal of their debt to us, but which would also destroy their power to make needed purchases in our market.

My advisers are firmly of the opinion that in connection with and as a part of a general funding of the demand obligations into time obligations I am duly authorized under the Liberty loan acts to spread over subsequent years the interest which would accrue during the reconstruction period of, say, two or three years, and to include such amounts in the time obligations. If, however, the Ways and Means Committee of the House, which shared with the Secretary of the Treasury the initial responsibility for the Liberty loan acts, should question my power so to act I shall be pleased to have you so inform me at once in order that I may lay before your committee a proposal for further enabling legislation.

Cordially yours,

CARTER GLASS.

Hon. JOSEPH FORDNEY,
House of Representatives.

LAWS AND PRACTICES ON FOREIGN LOANS

The authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to establish credits in favor of foreign governments, to purchase obligations of foreign governments, to fund obligations acquired of foreign governments, and to make arrangements with foreign governments will be found in section 2 of the first Liberty bond act, approved April 24, 1917; sections 2, 3, and 13 of the second Liberty bond act, approved September 24, 1917; section 2 of the third Liberty bond act, approved April 4, 1918; section 2 of the fourth Liberty bond act, approved July 9, 1918; section 4 of the supplement to the second Liberty bond act, approved September 24, 1918; and sections 7 and 8 of the Victory Liberty loan act, approved March 3, 1919.

I. Date of maturity, etc., of the obligations purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The provisions of the second Liberty bond act permit the Secretary to purchase obligations maturing "not later than the bonds of the United States then last issued under the authority of this act, or such act approved April 24, 1917." The demand obligations actually acquired by the Secretary of the Treasury come squarely within this authority. Accordingly, any question as to the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to require short-time or demand obligations of foreign governments could possibly arise only in respect of obligations acquired under the authority of the first Liberty bond act. This act authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire obligations "containing in their essentials the same terms and condition as those of the United States issued under authority of this act." The Secretary of the Treasury purchased obligations of foreign governments under the authority of the first Liberty bond act, both before and after the issuance of Liberty bonds thereunder. The obligations acquired were short-term or demand obligations containing appropriate provisions looking to their ultimate conversion into long-term bonds containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as the first Liberty loan bonds. There was no secret as to the form of obligations then acquired. (See Report of Secretary of Treasury, 1917, and hearings before congressional committees.) The Treasury's interpretation of its authority in this respect was recognized and ratified by the Congress, (a) in the second Liberty bond act, section 3, which specifically authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury "to convert any short-time obligations of foreign governments which may have been purchased under the authority of this act or or said act approved April 24, 1917, into long-time obligations"; and (b) by the provisions of section 8 of the Victory Liberty loan act whereby "obligations acquired by virtue of the provisions of the first Liberty bond act or through the conversion of short-time obligations acquired under the authority of this act or of said act approved April 24,

II. The time within which credits may be established and obligations of foreign governments purchased.

Any question in this respect depends on the provisions of the second Liberty bond act as amended and subsequent acts as the establishment of credits and the purchase of obligations of foreign governments under the authority of the first Liberty bond act ceased during 1917. The time within which credits might be established by the Secretary of the Treasury was expressly defined under section 2 of the second Liberty bond act to be "until the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government." Section 13 of this act provided that "for the purposes of this act the date of the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government shall be fixed by proclamation of the President of the United States."

Under the plain provisions of this act obligations of foreign Governments could be purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury even after the termination of the war out of credits established before the termination of the war.

That the date of the armistice was in no sense a termination of the war, so far as concerned the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to establish credits and to purchase obligations of foreign governments, was recognized by the Congress, as it was provided by section 7 of the Victory Liberty loan act, passed nearly four months after the armistice, "the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to establish in addition to the credits authorized by section 2 of the second Liberty bond act as amended, credits, etc." In addition, the Victory Liberty loan act provided in subdivision (c) of said section 7 that the provisions of said section authorizing the establishment of additional credits for specific purposes should not "be deemed to prohibit the use of such unexpended balance" of the previous appropriation "for the purposes of section 2 of the second Liberty bond act, as so amended, subject to the limitations contained therein." Reports were published from day to day in the public press of the credits established by the Secretary of the Treasury. (See also report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the year 1919.)

III. Purpose of credits and in favor of what countries.

The provision of section 2 of the second Liberty bond act requires that credits be established "for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war." The credits having been established for that purpose, "with the approval of the President," the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized "to purchase * * * from such governments * * * their several obligations." The credits under the second Liberty bond act must be established only in favor of "any foreign governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States."

Under the authority of section 7 of the Victory Liberty loan act the Secretary of the Treasury "until the expiration of 18 months after the termination of the war between the United States and the German Government as fixed by a proclamation of the President" was authorized with the approval of the President to establish, in addition to the credits authorized by section 2 of the second Liberty bond act as amended, credits with the United States for any foreign government "now engaged in war with enemies of the United States to provide for purchases for any property owned directly or indirectly by the United States not needed by the United States, or of any wheat, the price of which has been or may be guaranteed by the United States."

IV. The authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange short-time or demand obligations for long-time obligations (other than short-time obligations acquired for the specific purposes authorized under the provisions of the Victory Libery loan act) is set forth in section 3 of the second Liberty bond act, whereby the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to convert any short-time obligations of foreign governments purchased under authority of the first or second Liberty bond acts into long-time obligations

of such foreign governments. The form and terms of such long-time obligations are to be such as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe except in specific respects. The limitations prescribed by this section and by article 8 of the Victory Liberty loan act are the following only:

(a) The long-time obligations acquired in exchange of the short-time obligations acquired by virtue of the first Liberty bond act shall mature not later than June 15, 1947, and all other long-time obligations so obtained shall not mature later than October 15, 1938.

(b) The rate or rates of interest borne by any long-time obligations at the time of their acquisition shall not be less than the rate borne by the short-time obligations converted into such long-time obligations.

Except as to these specific exceptions the authority of the Secretary to prescribe the form of the obligations to be taken in exchange is complete. It follows he can determine the dates to be specified therein for the payment of interest. Not only may he prescribe the particular months of any calendar year on which interest shall be paid, but also that interest shall be paid only in certain years and not in other years.

The rate of interest to be paid on the demand obligations now held is within the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to prescribe from time to time, so long as that rate of interest "shall not be less than the highest rate borne by any bonds of the United States which at the time of the acquisition thereof shall have been issued under authority of said act, approved April 24, 1917, or of this act." (Sec. 2, second Liberty bond act.) If, therefore, the interest specified to be paid on the long-time obligations received in exchange is not less "than the highest rate of interest borne by any bonds of the United States" which shall have been issued under the first or second Liberty bond acts at the time of the acquisition of the demand obligations in exchange for which long-time obligations have been received, there has been compliance with the statute.

The Secretary of the Treasury has not, and never claimed to have, authority to cancel or forgive payment of the interest or principal of obligations.

ALBERT RATHBONE.

FEBRUARY 4, 1921.

MEMORANDUM RE LIBERTY LOANS

It has been suggested in certain unfriendly quarters that if the Treasury Department had taken "the bonds of the foreign nations in like denominations and maturities as the United States bonds which were sold to raise the money loaned there would have been no necessity for a funding commission; but the Treasury did not do this, but, on the contrary, took the promissory notes of the foreign governments for the sums loaned, the notes bearing interest at 5 per cent." There is no charge in this statement that the Treasury acted illegally in taking so-called promissory notes of foreign governments, but that its failure to do so had made it necessary to create a "funding commission" to fund the foreign loans. There is absolutely no ground for this position.

The first Liberty loan act, approved April 24, 1917, provided:

"SEC. 2. That for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war by establishing credits in the United States for foreign governments the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase at par from such foreign governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States their obligations hereafter issued, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under authority of this act; to enter into such arrangements as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for purchasing such obligations of foreign governments and for the subsequent payment thereof before maturity, but such arrangements shall provide that if any of the bonds of the United States issued and used for the purchase of such foreign obligations shall thereafter be converted into other bonds of the United States bearing a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent per annum, under the provisions of section 5 of this act, then and in that event the obligations of such foreign governments held by the United States shall be by such foreign governments converted in like manner and extent into obligations bearing the same rate of interest as the bonds of the United States issued under the provisions of section 5 of this act."

It will be observed that under this provision the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, was authorized to purchase the "obligations hereafter issued" of foreign governments bearing:

(1) "The same rate of interest"; and

(2) "Containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under authority of this act"; and

(3) "To enter into such arrangements as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for purchasing such obligations of foreign governments and for the subsequent payment thereof before maturity"; and

(4) The limitation that "such arrangements shall provide that if any of the bonds of the United States issued and used for the purchase of such foreign obligations shall thereafter be converted into other bonds of the United States bearing a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent per annum * * * then, and in that event, the obligations of such foreign governments * * * shall be * * * converted in like manner and extent into obligations bearing the same rate of interest as the bonds of the United States issued under the provisions of section 5 of this act."

(NOTE.—Section 5 merely provides for the conversion of the first Liberty loan 3½ per cent bonds into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest if the United States should issue any subsequent series of bonds of the same character at a higher rate of interest.)

It will be observed from the foregoing that the Secretary of the Treasury had wide discretion in the matter, except that the obligations of foreign governments should bear the same rate of interest and contain "in their essentials the same terms and conditions" as the bonds of the United States issued under the act.

Aside from any other reasons for taking demand obligations of foreign governments, there was a practical question at the time the first loans were made to France, Great Britain, and Italy which, of necessity, determined the action of the Treasury. Those nations were in desperate need of immediate credits. The relief had to be instantaneous to be effective. Exactly as if reserves of men were needed immediately in the fighting line, to be effective they must be put into action instantly. If the Secretary of the Treasury had insisted that each of the foreign governments should deliver to him engraved coupon bonds payable at or about the same date as the bonds of the United States issued under the first Liberty loan, it would have required weeks and perhaps months before the foreign governments could have complied with this condition. Meanwhile, the injury to the cause of the Allies from such a foolish position would have been incalculable if not irreparable. Certainly when I framed the first Liberty loan act (it was prepared in my office) no such thing was in contemplation.

The act refers to "obligations" of foreign governments, leaving the Secretary of the Treasury full discretion as to the "arrangements with foreign governments" so long as the rate of interest was the same as that which the first Liberty bonds were to bear—namely, 3½ per cent per annum—with the stipulation that the foreign governments should pay a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent per annum if the United States subsequently issued bonds at a higher rate of interest into which the first Liberty bonds were to be converted, and so long as the obligations contained essentially the same terms and conditions as the bonds of the United States.

Acting, therefore, under his clear powers, the Secretary of the Treasury took from each of the foreign governments under the first Liberty loan act a certificate of indebtedness, of which the following, taken from the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is a copy, and which is in terms precisely the same as that taken from other foreign governments under the first Liberty loan act:

"CERTIFICATE OF INDEBTEDNESS—$35,000,000

"The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is indebted to the United States of America in the sum of $35,000,000.

"This certificate is payable on June 30, 1917, with interest from date hereof at the rate of 3½ per cent per annum. Such principal sum and the interest thereon will be paid without deduction for any British taxes, present or future, in gold coin of the United States of America of the present standard of weight and fineness at the Subtreasury of the United States in New York or at the Treasury of the United States in Washington.

"This certificate will be receivable by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at par and accrued interest if tendered by the Government of the United States of America to the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in payment for bonds of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland that may be purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America in conformity with the provisions of section 2 of an act of Congress of the United States approved April 24, 1917.

"CECIL SPRING RICE.
"RICHARD CRAWFORD,
"*Minister Plenipotentiary,*
"*For Cecil Arthur Spring Rice.*

"For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Dated this 19th day of June, 1917."

This was a short-term certificate and became payable June 3, 1917. After its maturity on that date it was receivable (at any time on demand of the United States) by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at par and accrued interest in payment for "bonds of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland that may be purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury" in conformity with the provisions of section 2 of the Liberty loan act approved April 24, 1917.

Hence, all that was necessary to be done by the Secretary of the Treasury then in office or by any of his successors in office—Glass, Houston, or Mellon—was to demand of Great Britain the delivery of engraved bonds in conformity with the provisions of the first Liberty loan act, and Great Britain would have been obliged to comply. If she had refused to comply, it would have been a breach of her obligation. If she had complied and the definitive engraved bonds had been issued, the United States would have had precisely the same security as it had for the demand obligation, namely, the good faith and honor of the British Government, nothing else.

In fact, if the United States had stood on the original demand obligation and exacted the payment of interest on the due dates, its rights would have been fully protected, because the principal, although in the form of a matured or demand obligation, would have been convertible, at any time, at the option of the United States, into long-time obligations of Great Britain or of other for-

eign governments, within the limits of the first Liberty loan act. Why my successors in office failed to convert the demand obligations into the longer time obligations of Great Britain and other foreign governments, I do not know; but this is clear, that if they had done so and Great Britain and other foreign governments had afterwards raised the same question about cancellation of a part of the principal of the debt or readjustment of it in any form, either as to principal or as to the rate of interest or anything else, the United States would have been dependent absolutely upon their good faith and honor alone for a settlement of the question unless it was prepared to resort to force for the collection of the debts. The United States was placed at no conceivable disadvantage by the taking of the demand obligations (or certificates of indebtedness) but, on the contrary, it was the view of the Treasury Department at the time that it was advantaged by the arrangement because it was put in position to negotiate for a funding of the debt if that at any time seemed to be desirable in the light of conditions prevailing at that time and when some other arrangement than that contemplated by the first Liberty loan act might have been of far greater benefit to the United States and to debtors than that contemplated in the original act.

As a matter of fact, each of the foreign governments, even if they had issued to the Treasury at the very time or times when the original loans were made (a thing physically impossible because of the difficulty of getting the securities engraved, etc., as before stated), the engraved definitive obligations of said governments, bearing the maturities which the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to fix under the terms of the first Liberty loan act and the successive Liberty loan acts, could and would undoubtedly have demanded after the war a reconsideration of their debts and a refunding of them, based upon the grounds which they have subsequently urged for the reconsideration of their obligations to the United States, and the United States would have been in precisely the same position as it was under the demand obligations taken by the Treasury. The foreign governments could and would have refused to pay interest on the definitive engraved obligations as they refused or failed to pay interest on their demand obligations. Such a default would have entitled the Government of the United States to declare the principal of the debts due and would have entitled it to take action against the debtor governments for the collection of the principal and interest exactly as it was entitled to take action against the foreign governments for the collection of the principal and interest of the demand obligations at any time, either upon the failure of the foreign governments to pay the interest thereon or at the option of the United States to call the loans. The United States never had anything to depend on for the payment of interest or principal or for the funding of the debts into long or short time bonds with definite maturities except the good faith and honor of the several governments, and if that was not sufficient to make them carry out their agreements with the United States as embodied in the demand obligations, it would not have been sufficient to make them carry out their obligations to the United States under issues of longer maturities. It is silly to talk about the United States having been put at any sort of disadvantage because of the character of obligations of foreign governments taken by the Treasury Department, or to say that no funding operations would have been necessary if longer time obligations within the limits of the several Liberty loan acts had been taken by the Treasury Department for the loans as made.

It must always be borne in mind that loans were made almost daily, and that to purchase, at each time such loans were made, engraved obligations of foreign governments bearing varying maturities was impracticable, to say the least. It was considered at the time a distinct benefit to the American people to have these foreign debts in such flexible form that they could be dealt with as conditions demanded. There were many considerations entering into this, such, for instance, as the state of our foreign trade, the settlement of foreign balances, gold reserves, or the movements of gold, and other things which could have been dealt with more effectively, possibly, through the maturity of some or of all of the principal of the foreign debt than if the hands of the United States were absolutely tied by fixed maturities. The necessity for giving the Secretary of the Treasury wider discretion in dealing with foreign loans than that conferred in the first Liberty loan act was recognized in subsequent Liberty loan acts. Section 2 of the second Liberty loan act, approved September 24, 1917, provides:

"SEC. 2. That for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to establish credits with the United States for any foreign governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States; and, to the extent of the credits so established from time to time, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to purchase, at par, from such foreign governments, respectively, their several obligations hereafter issued, bearing such rate or rates of interest, maturing at such date or dates, not later than the bonds of the United States then last issued under the authority of this act, or of such act approved April 24, 1917, and containing such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time determine, or to make advances to or for the account of any such foreign governments and to receive such obligations at par for the amount of any such advances; but the rate or rates of interest borne by any such obligations shall not be less than the highest rate borne by any bonds of the United States which, at the time of the acquisition thereof, shall have been issued under authority of said act approved April 24, 1917, or of this act, and any such obligations shall contain such provisions as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time determine for the conversion of a proportionate part of such obligations into obligations bearing a higher rate of interest if bonds of the United States issued under authority of this act shall be converted into other bonds of the United States bearing a higher rate of interest, but the rate of interest in such foreign obligations issued upon such conversion shall not be less than the highest rate of interest borne by such bonds of the United States; and the Secretary of the Treasury with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized to enter into such arrangements from time to time with any such foreign governments as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for the payment of such obligations of foreign governments before maturity."

The same authority was conferred in the third Liberty loan act, approved April 4, 1918, and in the fourth Liberty loan act, approved July 9, 1918, because said acts were amendments to the second Liberty loan act, from which has been quoted the broad authority conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury to make foreign loans.

Acting under this broad authority, the Secretary of the Treasury issued the following loans with maturities as stated:

The second Liberty loan, due November 15, 1942, payable at the option of the Government on or after November 15, 1927;

The third Liberty loan, payable absolutely September 15, 1928; and

The fourth Liberty loan, due 1938, payable at the option of the Government on or after 1933.

As the various acts provided that the maturity of the foreign loans should not exceed that of the loans of the United States, all of the loans of the foreign governments, even if funded, would have matured within a maximum period of 25 years. These maturities were obviously too short, as subsequent events have clearly proved. The Debt Funding Commission was created for the purpose of considering not alone the reduction in the principal of the foreign debts but also the period of time within which the debts, as adjusted, should be paid. The period has been fixed at 60 years or longer. Even if the Secretary of the Treasury had taken engraved bonds of foreign nations with maturities in conformity with the several Liberty loan acts, the foreign nations would have sought readjustment not only of the principal but of the maturities as they have already done under the demand obligations to which reference has been made, and the United States would have been obliged to give consideration to such readjustment or reconsideration of these debts unless it was prepared to enforce payment with the Army and Navy of the United States, since in any conceivable aspect of the case the United States could rely alone upon the honor and good faith of the several debtor governments.

Under the wide discretion conferred by the second Liberty loan act the Secretary of the Treasury accepted certificates of indebtedness from foreign governments, of which the following certificates, signed by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is a sample:

"CERTIFICATE OF INDEBTEDNESS—SECOND SERIES—$35,000,000

"The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for value received, promises to pay to the United States of America, or assigns, the sum of $35,000,000 on November 15, 1917, with interest from the date hereof at the rate of 4¼ per cent per annum. Such principal sum and the interest thereon will be paid without deduction for any British taxes, present or future, in gold coin of the United States of America of the present standard of weight and fineness at the subtreasury of the United States in New York or, at the option of the holder, at the Treasury of the United States in Washington.

"This certificate will be converted by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, if requested by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America, at par, with an adjustment of accrued interest, into an equal par amount of 4¼ per cent convertible gold bonds of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland conforming to the provisions of an act of Congress of the United States approved September 24, 1917. If bonds of the United States issued under authority of said act shall be converted into other bonds of the United States bearing a higher rate of interest than 4 per cent per annum, a proportionate part of the obligations of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland acquired by the United States under authority of said act shall, at the request of said Secretary of the Treasury, be converted into obligations of said Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland bearing a proportionately higher rate of interest not less than the highest rate of interest borne by such bonds of the United States.

"(Sgd.) READING,
"*For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

"Dated this 24th day of September, 1917."

The same form was adopted for loans made under the third, fourth, and fifth Liberty loan acts. It will be observed that these certificates of indebtedness complied in every respect with the requirements of said Liberty loan acts and that Secretaries of the Treasury McAdoo and Glass acted absolutely within the authority conferred upon them by law, and that in taking such obligations the interests of the United States were protected in every conceivable manner that protection was available or possible.

W. G. MCADOO.

WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

The VICE PRESIDENT. The calendar under Rule VIII is in order. The clerk will state the first order of business on the calendar.

The bill (S. 1861) authorizing the George Washington Bicentennial Commission to print and distribute additional sets of the writings of George Washington was considered. The bill had been reported from the Committee on the Library with an amendment, on page 2, line 21, after the word "learning," to insert the words "as shall order the same not later than July 1, 1932," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1 of the act entitled "An act to enable the George Washington Bicentennial Commission to carry out and give effect to certain approved plans," approved February 21, 1930, is amended by striking out all preceding the last sentence therein and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"That the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington established by the joint resolution entitled 'Joint resolution authorizing an appropriation for the participation of the United States in the preparation and completion of plans for the comprehensive observance of that greatest of all historic events, the bicentennial of the birthday of George Washington,' approved December 2, 1924 (hereinafter referred to as the commission), is authorized and directed to prepare, as a congressional memorial to George Washington, a definitive edition of all his essential writings, public and private (excluding the diaries), including personal letters from the original manuscripts or first prints, and the general orders, at a cost not to exceed $56,000 for preparation of the manuscript. Such definitive edition shall be printed and bound at the Government Printing Office and shall be in about the same form as the already published diaries of George Washington and shall consist of 25 volumes, more or less. There shall be 3,000 sets of such edition, 2,000 of which shall be sold by the Superintendent of Documents (1) at a cost of $50 per set for sets sold to such public libraries and institutions and societies of learning as shall order the same not later than July 1, 1932, and (2) the remainder of the 2,000 sets, at a cost equal (together with the receipts from the sets sold to such libraries, institutions, and societies) to the total cost under this section of preparing the manuscript and printing and binding the entire edition. The commission shall, upon the publication of each volume of the remaining 1,000 sets, distribute copies of each such volume as follows: 2 each to the President, the library of the Senate, and the library of the House of Representatives; 25 to the Library of Congress; 1 to each member of the Cabinet; 1 each to the Vice President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives; 1 to each Senator, Representative in Congress, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner; 1 each to the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives; and 1 to each member and officer of the commission. Every such recipient eligible to receive any volume or volumes of such writings at any time prior to the issue of the final volume (but not later than December 31, 1935), shall be entitled to receive a complete set of such writings. The remaining sets, if any, shall be distributed as the commission directs, including such number of sets as may be necessary for foreign exchange. The usual number for congressional distribution and for depository libraries shall not be printed."

SEC. 2. Section 1 of such act of February 21, 1930, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"The 1,000 extra copies (heretofore privately printed) of the first volume of such writings shall be considered to have been authorized by the commission and the commission may accept a donation of such extra copies for distribution for reviews, advertising, and for such other promotional purposes as it may deem advisable. If the commission shall direct the Superintendent of Documents to sell any such extra copies of the first volume, he shall offer the same for sale at a cost per copy equal to the cost per copy of the first volume as computed under clause (2) of the third sentence of this section. Such extra copies shall be the only copies of any volume of the set distributed or sold separately."

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS] if the bill is in the form now desired by his committee?

Mr. FESS. Yes; it is. It now limits the sale of sets of the writings of George Washington to public libraries and institutions and societies of learning who shall order the same not later than July 1, 1932.

Mr. KING. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 1951) for the relief of Howard P. Cornick was announced as next in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That will go over by request.

The bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, at the request of certain Senators who desire to participate in the consideration of this measure, but who perhaps are now engaged in committee work, I ask that the bill may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 88) to authorize the Postmaster General to investigate the conditions of the lease of the post-office garage in Boston, Mass., and to readjust the terms thereof, was announced as next in order.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] I ask that the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 268) to amend subdivision (c) of section 4 of the immigration act of 1924, as amended, was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. I suggest that the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1663) to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails, was announced as next in order.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I understand that the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] is interested in the bill. I have no interest in it myself, but in his behalf I ask that it may go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FESS in the chair). Without objection the bill will be passed over.

PRINTING OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 58) to authorize the printing of the annual reports of the Federal Farm Board without limitation as to number, which had been reported from the Committee on Printing without amendment.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 1, line 4, after the word "print," insert "100,000 copies of," so as to read:

Resolved, etc., That the Public Printer be, and is hereby, authorized to print 100,000 copies of the annual report of the Federal Farm Board—

And so forth.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, is the Senator anxious to have the measure disposed of to-day?

Mr. McNARY. It is desirable. The point of the objection of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] was with reference to there being no limitation on the number of copies to be printed. I have done away with that objection by offering the amendment proposing to limit the printing to 100,000 copies.

I will say to the Senator that there has been a wide demand among farmers and farm groups and organizations for the reports which relate to the farm problem. This is in the interest of agricultural people of the country who want the report. I have fixed a limitation of 100,000 copies, rather than leaving it without limitation.

Mr. KING. May I inquire of the Senator, as I have not had an opportunity to read the last annual report, whether it is a recitation of fact or a defense of the administration of the organization?

Mr. McNARY. It is the report required by Congress to be submitted annually by the Farm Board. I assume, naturally, it is an expression of the situation that exists and of the board's activities. I do not know that it is an argument. It contains other vital facts and statistics that are

of interest to farm organizations and cooperative groups. That is the only interest in it that I have. The board has exhausted the number on hand and it is necessary to have an additional number printed. The cost is to be paid out of the fund of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, can the Senator from Oregon tell us what will be the approximate cost of this printing?

Mr. McNARY. I do not know the exact cost, but it will not be a great sum. The report is not a very large document, and it has already been set up in type. I assure the Senator from Florida the cost will not be very large.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to. The next amendment proposed by the Senator from Oregon will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The next amendment proposed by the Senator from Oregon is, on page 1, line 4, to strike out the words "without limitation as to number" and to insert "for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931;" so as to read:

The annual reports of the Federal Farm Board for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931, the provisions of the printing act of 1895 to the contrary notwithstanding.

The amendment was agreed to.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "Joint resolution to authorize the printing of 100,000 copies of the annual report of the Federal Farm Board for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931."

MARY WILLOUGHBY OSTERHAUS

The bill (S. 209) granting an increase of pension to Mary Willoughby Osterhaus was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Let the bill go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

HELEN K. SNOWDEN

The bill (S. 1207) granting an increase of pension to Helen K. Snowden was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Let that bill go over.

Mr. COPELAND. May I ask the Senator to withhold his objection for a moment?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I withhold the objection.

Mr. COPELAND. I can readily see, in view of the opposition to the preceding bill, that the same argument might be used against this one, but when I call attention to the fact that the widow mentioned in the preceding bill is now receiving $50 per month——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. By special act.

Mr. COPELAND. Yes; by special act. And I am asking now in the passage of this bill that the widow who is the proposed beneficiary be placed on the pension roll at the same sum—$50 per month—as that received by the widow named in the preceding bill. I think, perhaps, the circumstances are not quite the same.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I think the Senator's point may be well taken. May I ask the Senator from New York whether or not the record shows the amount of income of the beneficiary?

Mr. COPELAND. The report shows her possessions are approximately half those of the beneficiary of the preceding bill.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Very well. I make no further opposition to the consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Pensions with an amendment, on page 1, line 9, after the words "rate of," to strike out "$125" and insert "$50," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Helen K. Snowden, widow of Admiral Thomas Snowden, late division and squadron commander of the Atlantic Fleet during the Great War and until February, 1919, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ROSA E. PLUMMER

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 111) for the relief of Rosa E. Plummer, which was reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and to insert:

That sections 17 and 20 of the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended, are hereby waived in favor of Rosa E. Plummer, a former employee in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing: *Provided*, That compensation, if any, shall commence from and after the date of the passage of this act.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I have made an inquiry in regard to this measure, but have not as yet obtained the information. I do not know that I shall have any objection to the passage of the bill, but until I obtain the information I ask that it may go over.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I ask the Senator from Nebraska to let the bill go over. This is one of the last bills on the calendar, and we shall reach it perhaps to-morrow or next day. I am simply asking for certain information.

Mr. HOWELL. The Senator merely asked that the bill go over?

Mr. KING. That is all. When I obtain the information, I may join with the Senator in asking for the consideration of the bill.

Mr. HOWELL. I shall be glad to furnish the information with reference to the bill, if desired.

Mr. KING. Let the bill go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

LEWIS O. WICK

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2569) authorizing the adjustment of the claim of Lewis O. Wick, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to adjust and settle the claim of Lewis O. Wick for assisting in the seizure and forfeiture of a large quantity of opium from unknown parties in June, 1930, and to allow in full and final settlement of said claim an amount not in excess of $500. There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $500, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the payment of such claim.

Mr. KING. I should like to call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Claims [Mr. HOWELL] to the fact that a number of bills reported to the Senate from his committee have contained similar provisions asking the comptroller or some other agency of the Government to investigate claims which have been preferred for given sums, and then in advance make appropriations. It is obvious, it seems to me, that if an appropriation be carried in the bill, investigation will result in the payment of the amount of the appropriation. I was wondering as to the wisdom of that course.

Mr. HOWELL. It has been the practice in connection with these small claims bills to include and thus provide for an appropriation in connection with the bill.

Here is a case where $150,000 worth of opium was discovered attached to a buoy anchored out in the bay. That buoy was taken in by the party who makes this claim, and the opium delivered to the United States authorities shortly in advance of the arrival of a vessel that was making for its location to transport the contraband to port. The practice has been for a vessel coming into port with contraband opium aboard to drop it overboard, the contraband attached to a buoy, and then when the coast was clear to have the buoy rescued. In this case, as stated, the buoy was a marker for about $150,000 worth of opium. The party who discovered it towed it in and turned it over to United States

officials, and the Treasury Department has recommended that he be reimbursed for his time and trouble. It seems to me it would be a wise policy to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would like to ask the Senator from Nebraska whether the Claims Committee usually makes appropriations in the bills reported by it?

Mr. KING. That is the question I had in mind.

Mr. HOWELL. The practice has been in cases of this kind to provide an appropriation at the time the bill is passed.

Mr. KING. It seems to me it is rather an unwise practice. If an appropriation is made of, say, $500, with which to pay an unadjusted claim, it is almost certain—if the language of the appropriation is similar to that found in this bill—that the adjustment will consume the entire amount appropriated.

This seems to be a reasonable amount and I should have no objection if this were a direct appropriation coming from the proper committee. I should like to have the Senator's view, however, as to the propriety of providing a direct appropriation out of the Treasury when the controversial matter involved has been referred to an agency of the Government for the purpose of determination.

Mr. HOWELL. This is a claim that went to the Comptroller General, who investigated it. He has no power to authorize payment by the Treasury Department, and therefore a measure was prepared by the Comptroller General and submitted to the Claims Committee. That committee, through its chairman, introduced the bill, and that is the way the measure happens to be before the Senate.

The bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 2622) to provide an examination and survey of Seaside Harbor, Oreg., was announced as next in order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

LANDS IN NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA, MONTANA, AND WASHINGTON

The bill (S. 2396) to amend section 11 of the act approved February 22, 1889 (25 Stat. 676), relating to the admission into the Union of the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, that appears to be a measure of importance. I see the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] is not now present.

Mr. WALSH of Montana entered the Chamber.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I call the attention of the Senator from Montana to Order of Business No. 148, being Senate bill 2396, which was introduced and reported by himself. I was just suggesting in the Senator's absence that the bill appears to be one of considerable importance, and, I think, if the Senator desires to have it considered now, it should be explained.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I will be very glad to do that, Mr. President.

The enabling act under which the four northwestern States of North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington were admitted to the Union made, as is customary in such cases, grants of land to the respective States for various purposes—for the purpose of establishing State universities, for schools of mines, deaf and dumb asylums, for the construction of public buildings at the State capitals, and so on. The act provided that the lands so granted should be sold only at public auction and at a price of not less than $10 per acre. The grants have, I believe by the admission of everybody, been very conservatively handled, and a very large fund has been accumulated for the support of the public schools and the other institutions for which the grants were made.

It was supposed that none of these lands were mineral in character, but later developments have shown that, as a matter of fact, many of them do carry minerals of considerable value, and in recent years it has been discovered that oil and gas are found scattered over these lands. Now more of them are supposed to contain oil or gas that can be reached only by extensive development and drilling at very considerable depths.

It is quite impossible to sell these lands at public auction or at any such price as $10 per acre upon the chance that oil or gas may be discovered within them. That is recognized with respect to the public lands of the United States, and, accordingly such lands are not sold at public auction, but under the statute an opportunity is given to prospectors to prospect the lands under a permit, and if gas or oil is discovered, then to obtain leases for a limited period of years. The States having grants under this enabling act are desirous of instituting a similar method of dealing with these lands; that is to say, to give an opportunity to prospectors to prospect the lands if they are found to contain oil or gas and to obtain leases upon a royalty basis. The bill under consideration amends the enabling act so as to permit the disposition of these lands by permit and lease instead of requiring them to be sold at public auction.

In addition to that, Mr. President, there is another feature of the bill. It reduces the maximum price for grazing lands from $10 to $5 per acre. The fact about the matter is that all the lands of the better class have already been disposed of. The remainder are valuable for grazing chiefly, and it is provided that they shall be classified and the grazing lands may be sold at a maximum of $5 per acre instead of $10.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 11 of the act approved February 22, 1889 (25 Stat. 676), be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"That all lands granted by this act shall be disposed of only at public sale after advertising—tillable lands capable of producing agricultural crops for not less than $10 per acre and lands principally valuable for grazing purposes for not less than $5 per acre. Any of the said lands may be exchanged for other lands of equal value and as near as may be of equal area in order to consolidate the holdings of the State.

"The said lands may be leased under such regulations as the legislature may prescribe; but leases for grazing and agricultural purposes shall not be for a term longer than 5 years; mineral leases, including leases for exploration for oil and gas, and the extraction thereof, for a term not longer than 20 years; and leases for development of hydroelectric power for a term not longer than 50 years.

"The State may also, upon such terms as it may prescribe, grant such easements or rights in any of the lands granted by this act, as may be acquired in privately owned lands through proceedings in eminent domain: *Provided, however*, That none of such lands, nor any estate or interest therein, shall ever be disposed of except in pursuance of general laws providing for such disposition, nor unless the full market value of the estate or interest disposed of, to be ascertained in such manner as may be provided by law, has been paid or safely secured to the State.

"With the exception of the lands granted for public buildings, the proceeds from the sale and other permanent disposition of any of the said lands and from every part thereof, shall constitute permanent funds for the support and maintenance of the public schools and the various State institutions for which the lands have been granted. Rentals on leased lands, interest on deferred payments on lands sold, interest on funds arising from these lands, and all other actual income, shall be available for the maintenance and support of such schools and institutions. Any State may, however, in its discretion, add a portion of the annual income to the permanent funds.

"The lands hereby granted shall not be subject to preemption, homestead entry, or any other entry under the land laws of the United States whether surveyed or unsurveyed, but shall be reserved for the purposes for which they have been granted."

SEC. 2. Anything in the said act approved February 22, 1889, inconsistent with the provisions of this act is hereby repealed.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Montana a question. The bill just under consideration does not apply only to Montana?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. It applies to four States in all.

Mr. KING. And the passage of the bill is desired by the other States, too, is it?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Yes. The Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] is communicating with officials in his State. He thought he might care to offer an amendment, and I think, in view of that situation, we ought not to pass the measure in his absence. I think, therefore, that I had better ask that the vote by which the bill was passed may be reconsidered, and let it go back to the calendar. I apprehend that all the Western States will desire legislation of like character, and, accordingly, it may be necessary to amend this bill so as to make it general.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the vote whereby the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed will be reconsidered and the bill will be restored to the calendar.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 2642) to establish a commission to be known as a Commission on a National Museum of Engineering and Industry was announced as next in order.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, needless to say, I am heartily in favor of this bill, and shall hope at a later time that it may be passed. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] desires to discuss the matter, however; and I therefore ask that it go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

DELLA D. LEDENDECKER

The bill (S. 1569) for the relief of Della D. Ledendecker was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Commission on Licensure to Practice the Healing Art in the District of Columbia is hereby authorized to license Della D. Ledendecker to practice chiropractic in said District under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the practice of the healing art to protect the public health in the District of Columbia," approved February 27, 1929, notwithstanding the provision therein requiring applications from candidates for licenses to practice chiropractic to be filed within 90 days from the date of the approval of said act, and on condition that said Della D. Ledendecker shall otherwise be found by said commission to be qualified to practice under the provisions of said act.

SEATING ACCOMMODATIONS BY THEATERS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2894) prohibiting the sale in the District of Columbia of theater tickets in excess of the number of seats available, which had been reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia with amendments, on page 1, line 5, after the words "to be," to strike out "made" and insert "made knowingly"; and in line 7, after the word "theater," to strike out "or to sell more tickets for any performance than the number of seats available therefor" and insert "and when all seats are occupied the manager or operator shall display or cause to be displayed on each booth or window where tickets are sold a sign visible from public space, or the entrance, or lobby, stating, in letters not less than 2 inches high with a stroke width of not less than one-half inch, that no seats are available; and if there be more than one floor, then separate signs shall be used on such booths or windows indicating the floor on which seats are not available. In theaters in which the seating capacity is 1,000 or more a public announcement shall be made in the entrance or lobby thereof, of the availability of seats, at least once each five minutes during the time that all seats are occupied," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia for any person engaged in the management or operation of a theater to make or cause to be made knowingly a false or misleading statement concerning the availability of seats for any performance in such theater, and when all seats are occupied the manager or operator shall display or cause to be displayed on each booth or window where tickets are sold a sign visible from public space, or the entrance, or lobby, stating, in letters not less than 2 inches high with a stroke width of not less than one-half inch, that no seats are available; and if there be more than one floor, then separate signs shall be used on such booths or windows indicating the floor on which seats are not available. In theaters in which the seating capacity is 1,000 or more a public announcement shall be made in the entrance or lobby thereof, of the availability of seats, at least once each five minutes during the time that all seats are occupied.

SEC. 2. Any person who violates any provision of this act shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $100.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill prohibiting misrepresentation as to seating accommodations by theaters in the District of Columbia."

The VICE PRESIDENT. This completes the calendar.

DEPORTATION OF ALIEN SEAMEN

Mr. McNARY. I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the special order for 2 o'clock.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Hull	Reed
Austin	Cutting	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.
Bailey	Dale	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Bankhead	Davis	Kean	Sheppard
Barbour	Dickinson	Kendrick	Shipstead
Barkley	Dill	Keyes	Smith
Bingham	Fess	King	Smoot
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Stephens
Borah	George	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glass	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glenn	McKellar	Townsend
Broussard	Goldsborough	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Bulow	Hale	Morrison	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harris	Moses	Wagner
Capper	Harrison	Neely	Walcott
Caraway	Hastings	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Hatfield	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Hawes	Nye	Waterman
Coolidge	Hayden	Oddie	Watson
Copeland	Hebert	Patterson	Wheeler
Costigan	Howell	Pittman	White

Mr. BLAINE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is unavoidably absent. I ask that this announcement stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The bill will be read.

The legislative clerk read the bill, reported by Mr. KING from the Committee on Immigration without amendment, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the alien seamen act of 1932.

SEC. 2. Every alien employed on board of any vessel arriving in the United States from any place outside thereof shall be examined by an immigration inspector to determine whether or not he (1) is a bona fide seaman, and (2) is an alien of the class described in section 7 of this act, and by a surgeon of the United States Public Health Service to determine (3) whether or not he is suffering with any of the disabilities or diseases specified in section 35 of the immigration act of 1917.

SEC. 3. Unless such alien was shipped in a port in continental United States prior to the passage of this act, then if it is found that such alien is not a bona fide seaman, he shall be regarded as an immigrant and immediately be ordered removed from the vessel to an immigration station; and the various provisions of this act and of the immigration laws applicable to immigrants shall be enforced in his case. From a decision holding such alien not to be a bona fide seaman the alien shall be entitled to appeal to the Secretary of Labor, and on the question of his admissibility as an immigrant he shall be entitled to appeal to said Secretary, except where exclusion is based upon grounds nonappealable under the immigration laws. If found inadmissible, such alien shall be deported, as a passenger, on a vessel other than that by which brought, at the expense of the vessel by which brought, and the vessel by which brought shall not be granted clearance until such expenses are paid or their payment satisfactorily guaranteed.

SEC. 4. If it is found that such alien is subject to exclusion under section 7 of this act, the inspector shall give immediately order to the master to remove such alien, together with his effects and wages, if any, to an immigration station, and such alien shall



then be deported in accordance with the provisions of said section 7.

SEC. 5. If it is found that, although a bona fide seaman, such alien is afflicted with any of the disabilities or diseases specified in section 35 of the immigration act of 1917, disposition shall be made of his case in accordance with the provisions of the act approved December 26, 1920, entitled "An act to provide for the treatment in hospital of diseased alien seamen."

SEC. 6. All vessels entering ports of the United States manned with crews the majority of which, exclusive of licensed officers, have been engaged and taken on at foreign ports shall, when departing from the United States ports, carry a crew of at least equal number, and any such vessel which fails to comply with this requirement shall be refused clearance: *Provided, however*, That such vessel shall not be required when departing to carry in the crew any person to fill the place made vacant by the death or hospitalization of any member of the incoming crew.

SEC. 7. No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who if he were applying for admission to the United States as an immigrant would be subject to exclusion under subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924, except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew, exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant. Any alien seaman brought into a port of the United States in violation of this provision shall be excluded from admission or temporary landing and shall be deported, either to the place of shipment or to the country of his nativity, as a passenger, on a vessel other than that on which brought, at the expense of the vessel by which brought, and the vessel by which brought shall not be granted clearance until such expenses are paid or their payment satisfactorily guaranteed.

SEC. 8. This act shall take effect 60 days after it is passed.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, in view of the fact that the hearings have only just become available, and none of us have had an opportunity to read them, I renew my unanimous-consent request that the bill be temporarily laid aside and taken up at the same hour to-morrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. KING. May I inquire of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCNARY] if a recess could not be taken, or an order made that when the Senate concludes its session to-day it shall take a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock and then proceed with the bill?

Mr. MCNARY. If there were a recess, and unanimous consent were granted, the bill would automatically come up at 12 o'clock to-morrow. In case of an adjournment it would come up at 2 o'clock. I do not know that unanimous consent has been obtained. I think the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] wants to be heard on the matter, and I think in fairness he probably should be. He will be here in a moment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the request of the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Connecticut if he has arranged with the Senator from Pennsylvania that he shall go on this afternoon? I understand that he can not be here to-morrow.

Mr. BINGHAM. I have had no talk with the Senator from Pennsylvania on the subject.

Mr. MCNARY. That is what I was suggesting a moment ago. In all fairness he should be here. I have sent for him, and he will be here in a moment. When the proposal was first made by the able Senator from Utah I suggested that we continue the special order until 2 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. REED entered the Chamber.

Mr. MCNARY. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania, the proposal being, by the Senator from Connecticut, that Senate bill 7 go over until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I feel a very considerable reluctance to object to the request, particularly because, as a member of the Committee on Immigration, I have not been able to take my proper share in the consideration of this bill. The Finance Committee has been meeting every day and, with its sessions, made it impossible for me to do what I ought to have done in the work on the seamen's bill.

I can not be here to-morrow; and while I have not the slightest objection to final action being postponed until to-morrow—which, I understand, is what the Senator means—I should like to have the Senate consider this bill for a time to-day, in order that certain thoughts may be explained. Therefore I am constrained to object to the request for the present.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, with the general purposes of this seamen's bill I am in full sympathy. Our effort to check immigration into the United States began with a temporary quota law back in 1921, which gave very liberal quotas, calculated on a wholly artificial basis. It nevertheless did serve to keep out some immigrants who desired to flock to the United States. How many were kept out, I hesitate to guess; but I should suppose that each year not less than 100,000 persons who wanted to come to the United States during the three years that act was in effect were restrained from coming by the temporary quota law of 1921.

In 1924 we passed our basic immigration law; and its effects, speaking by and large, have been wholly good. It is estimated that we have perhaps seven or eight millions of persons unemployed in the United States to-day. Perhaps the number is less than that; perhaps it is more. I do not know. I doubt whether anyone knows.

Mr. President, had we had no immigration restriction, the number of persons walking the streets and looking for work would have been at least 2,000,000 more to-day than the actual figures. I can not think of any single thing that has so far benefited the workingman of the United States as has the immigration law now in effect.

Before that law was passed we had a pretty sound system for the exclusion of those who were diseased and defective. The immigration law of 1917 provided that we should keep out those who were likely to become public charges; that we should keep out those who were contract laborers, who came under a previous contract for employment in the United States. That was the second class excluded.

The third class was composed of those hopeless illiterates who could neither read nor write in any language, and a fourth class were those afflicted by serious and contagious and transmissible diseases.

America did a wise thing in 1917 when it excluded those four classes of undesirables, and it did a wise thing in 1924 when it limited the numbers to come.

For a good many years the administration of the act of 1917 has been a sloppy administration. Many people came in who, in all common sense, were likely to be public charges, and the consuls who gave the visas were not nearly strict enough in requiring evidence that those people, once they came, would be able to maintain themselves. There was not any adequate physical examination. At the ship a doctor stood and watched a line go by, and he caught a good many cases of trachoma, but many a case of contagious or transmissible disease came by that perfunctory scrutiny, and many a criminal came, simply because there was not time or was not effort to look up the records of applicants for visas.

In the past 18 months we have begun to apply for the first time the requirements of the act of 1917. We have begun to exclude those who would be public charges if they came. We have begun to exclude those who are physically imperfect. We have begun to exclude the illiterates, and we have increased our application of the contract labor laws.

The result has been that last month, for the first time in 100 years, more emigrants left the United States than the number of immigrants who came in. I give full allowance to the fact that the depression in business has reduced the temptation to migrate to the United States, but we must remember that the depression is world-wide, that its effects are more severely felt in many European countries at this moment than in the United States, and that to most European peasants the United States remains to-day a land of promise just as it has been a land of promise for the past century.

If it were not for the numerical restriction imposed by the act of 1924, and the qualitative restriction imposed by the old act of 1917, now being firmly enforced, we would have hundreds of thousands of peasants from European countries,

and mostly from southeastern Europe, swarming to this country to-day, intensifying our unemployment problems, and making it more difficult for the American to find a job with which to support himself.

That is why the American Federation of Labor and both of the great political parties have supported these efforts toward immigration restriction. I am speaking not at all as a Republican, because I know that the sentiments I am trying to express are shared as much on the other side of the aisle by my Democratic friends as they are by us Republicans. It is a very happy thing for the United States that this matter of immigration control has never been the property of either political party. It has never been a partisan victory when an immigration law was adopted. It has never been more Republican than Democratic, never more Democratic than Republican; and it is a happy thing for our land that that has been so, and I trust that it always will be.

With that preliminary observation, I want to come to this seamen's act. The proposed legislation was inspired, I think, by Mr. Andrew Furuseth, the president of the union of seamen. I do not know the exact title of that organization, but I do know Mr. Furuseth. I know he represents a seamen's union, and I think most of us here in Congress are familiar with him and his arguments.

Mr. Furuseth began the agitation for the measure, and he performed a very useful service in bringing to the attention of Congress the degree to which our immigration laws were being evaded by smuggling of seamen. It was quite a common thing for a Greek vessel, let us say, to come to the United States with a crew of 40 and depart with a crew of 20; and 20 Greeks had come into the United States without examination and without respect to the quota law. They simply disappeared into the population of the country in defiance of all law.

It was quite a common thing for intending immigrants, particularly from the countries whose quotas were small, to enlist as seamen when they did not know any more about the ocean than a pig knows about astronomy. They would enlist as seamen on a ship bound for the United States and desert the very instant the ship got to New York. Once they had deserted, it was like hunting for a needle in a haystack to find them in their foreign colonies. Some of them, of course, would get into quarrels with their associates and anonymous letters would be sent to the Department of Labor saying that "John So-and-so, living in such a place, is an illegal entrant. He deserted from a steamer once, and he has no right to be here." Then the Department of Labor would hunt up John, arrest him, and deport him. But there was only 1 John deported to about 10 Johns who stayed, and that process was never entirely successful.

The idea underlying the seamen's bill we are now considering is a sound idea; that is, that every vessel which comes in with an alien crew shall go away with as many aliens as she brought in. It is argued that that might result in our getting an undesirable and taking away from us a perfectly good alien who came here lawfully, who had his family established and was a desirable inhabitant of the United States. But, Mr. President, the kind of alien who has a house and a family and an established business is not hanging around Water Street employment agencies in New York; he is not shipping as a common seaman on board some tramp that is going to sail the next day. We are not going to lose desirables and keep undesirables.

The essential idea of this seamen's bill is one with which we all ought to sympathize. If a ship comes into San Francisco bringing 25 Chinese, it ought to be made to leave San Francisco with 25 Chinese, and while I confess I can not tell one of them from another, oftentimes, I would be fairly well satisfied if I could feel that the United States does not gain in its Chinese population because of the arrival of such a ship as that to which I have referred. The chances are that those Chinese who go out on ships are the moral and mental and physical equivalents of the Chinese who came in. With all that I am in full sympathy; with all that I agree.

Now, I want to speak of some of the minutiæ of the bill. I see no fault to find with section 2. If Senators will turn to section 3 of the bill, they will notice in line 5, on page 2, a proviso that unless an alien was shipped in an American port "prior to the passage of this act," then, if it is found he is not a bona fide seaman, on the return of the vessel he shall be deported at the expense of the vessel.

We have already adopted an amendment to the bill which takes care of conditions on the Great Lakes. If an alien is shipped in this country, and is brought back on the return voyage, so that the same alien gets back to this country, it is obviously wrong to blame the vessel for the illegality of his original entry and obviously wrong to subject the vessel to the expense of sending him to the seaboard and thence to his own country.

I think the same thing applies to the seaports of the United States. Let us suppose that an American ship bound from New York to Europe or from San Francisco to some place in Asia ships a seaman for the round trip and the seaman appears to be legally here. If that same ship comes back bringing that same seaman, it has not added to the illegal immigrants in the United States in any way. If it were to ship somebody in Naples and bring him here and it were found that he was inadmissible, then clearly I think we would all agree that that ship ought to bear the expense of deporting that illegal immigrant. But if the man is shipped on West Street, New York, or if he is shipped down on the wharves in San Francisco, carried away, and brought back, the steamship company is not any more guilty than would be the trolley company which took him for a ride around the city. It has not increased the population, it has not offended in any way by bringing in a new illegal entrant.

I think, to boil it down, that it would be wise and just for us to amend section 3 by striking out the words "prior to the passage of this act," so that we would not penalize innocent persons who, as I have said, merely bring back a person they have taken away.

That would still leave the bill in shape so that we might punish any steamship company which enlists a seaman brought into any port of the United States for the first time. They ought to be made to scrutinize their enlistments abroad. That is perfectly proper, but they ought to be entitled to assume that persons they enlist in the United States at least are fit to bring back to the United States.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TOWNSEND in the chair). Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. REED. I am glad to do so.

Mr. KING. Suppose a person who is excluded racially is in the United States, having come here illegally, and having some knowledge of seamanship, applies for a position on an American boat which is to sail to some foreign port. The master employs him knowing, or by the exercise of reasonable care ought to have known, that he is excluded and is illegally in the United States. Does the Senator think that immunity should be granted to the illegal entrant as well as to the boat?

Mr. REED. Oh, no; I agree with the implication in the Senator's question that we ought not to do anything that in any way could be construed to give immunity to an illegal entrant. But if we find, let us suppose, that a Chinaman who is shipped on the docks in San Francisco, never ought to have been in this country in the first place, we ought to deport him just as quick as he comes back from that voyage. Just as quick as the discovery is made that he is here illegally we ought to deport him. But it is not any more just to deport him at the expense of the steamship company on whose boat he last shipped than it would be to deport him at the expense of the trolley car company on whose car he last took a ride around the city. They had nothing to do with his original coming, and therefore ought not to be

blamed and penalized for his deportation, but he ought to be deported.

I agree with the Senator fully and that is why I proposed an amendment to the Great Lakes provision the other day. I was fearful that it might give immunity to a seaman who was involved, and I wanted to make it clear that it should not do so. I think we all agree that that was proper.

So I have here in section 3 asked to strike out the words "prior to the passage of this act," which will not give immunity to the illegal entrant himself; he would still be deported. All we will do will be to remove the penalty from the steamship company, which is perfectly innocent in the whole transaction and had nothing whatever to do with the original entry of the individual.

Mr. KING. I desire to understand the full implications of the Senator's proposed amendment. I may be repeating the question propounded a moment ago. Suppose a person enters the United States illegally, but is not racially excluded, and then seeks employment upon an American boat about to sail from Boston to Naples, and it is known by the captain of the boat, or should have been known in the exercise of reasonable diligence, that the applicant for the position is illegally in the United States, but nevertheless is employed and taken on the boat to Naples and returned to the United States; does the Senator think that the employee should be permitted to land in the United States and then not deported?

Mr. REED. Not a bit of it. I think he ought to be stopped at the gate and sent to Ellis Island, or, if he goes to Boston, sent to the quarantine station, and deported at once. I merely think it is not the fault of the steamship that gave him the round trip.

Mr. KING. Suppose the captain knows he is illegally in the United States when he seeks a position as seaman?

Mr. REED. Let us see how that works. The captain will say, in view of section 3 of this measure, "I will not employ you." Then the man stays in the United States, is subject to no inspection whatever, and so probably escapes detection. If we amend the bill and allow the captain to employ him, it merely subjects that man, like all the other seamen, to an immigration examination, and he is more likely to be detected than if he had never shipped. When he is detected, of course, he ought to be deported immediately.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. The Senator refers to the return of a ship with an illegal entrant on board, and says that upon return to this country he would have to go to the immigration officers to show that he is a legal entrant.

Mr. REED. Like all seamen who come in, he would be examined to find out his status. The immigration officials, before they look at the passengers on an incoming ship, examine the crew. The seamen all have to go through inspection.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Now?

Mr. REED. Yes; now.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Under existing law?

Mr. REED. Yes. The Senator will remember that when last he came into New York, because I know he frequently travels on the ocean, there was quite a time elapsed between the arrival of the immigration tug and the beginning of the examination of the passengers. What is going on during that time is that every Tom, Dick, and Harry in the ship's crew is going by the immigration officers and being passed by them.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. For what purpose?

Mr. REED. First, to find out whether they are diseased or not; next, to find out whether they are bona fide seamen and to find out whether they are really smuggled immigrants in disguise. It has to be a pretty quick judgment; but the examiners are very expert at it.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. If that is the existing law, what is the purpose of the bill now before us?

Mr. REED. It is to put the burden on the steamship companies of the expense of the deportation of the individual who is found to be nonadmissible. I am perfectly willing to do that provided they take the individual on board in some foreign port. But if they hire a man in New York City or Boston or San Francisco and take him on a round trip, and then on his return he is found to be a smuggled immigrant and inadmissable, it is all right to deport him, but not at the expense of the steamship company which employed him in the United States.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Why should we not amend the act so that we make it compulsory on the part of the captain of the ship, before he hires a sailor, to find out whether he is here legally?

Mr. REED. It is not always easy for the captain to do. In many cases the individual would lie about it. The captain may exercise the best of faith and oftentimes find that he would accept men whom the immigration officials would reject when they came back. Suppose we did pass this bill in the form in which it stands? The net effect would be that the captain would decline to take on anybody the legality of whose presence here he suspected. Then that man would stay in this country, and the chances are we would never discover him; whereas if he is taken on board a vessel under the provisions of the bill as I propose to amend it, it merely means he will have to run a new gantlet on the return of the ship, and he is very apt to be picked up by the immigration officers.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. The Senator's understanding is that all it does is to place the responsibility for bringing in the alien upon the steamship company?

Mr. REED. By no means. I am talking about section 3. There are subsequent sections in the bill that are of the utmost value to the United States and which I earnestly hope will be enacted into law. The prime one of them all is the provision that every ship must take out as many aliens as it brings in. That automatically is going to put a check on the desertion of alien seamen in American ports.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Does the Senator think that when a ship comes in there should be an examination held to determine whether the men on board are actually sailors or whether they are people who pretend to be sailors only for the purpose of evading the immigration act?

Mr. REED. Absolutely so. Of course, it has to be a fairly rapid examination, but to the credit of the immigration force I must say that they are very, very good at it; they are very quick at telling whether a man is a real seaman or a fake seaman.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. If that were true, how do we have this situation in which it is claimed that over half a million illegal immigrants are coming into the United States under the guise of seamen?

Mr. REED. There are a good many leaks. I do not believe there are half a million of that kind. The maximum number a few years ago was quoted as 29,000 desertions of seamen in American ports. That number has been decreasing steadily until at the present time it is less than 3,000. I do not remember the exact figure, but it is less than 10 per cent of what it was a few years ago, and it is still too many. It is the principal leak into the United States.

I know there are other leaks. I know the smugglers are flying immigrants across the borders in airplanes and landing them away down in the interior of the country. I know some are being smuggled over in small boats from Cuba. I know they are wading the Rio Grande at night and coming across the frontier down in southern California. The border patrol is doing a beautiful job. It is a fine force and getting better every year. I am glad to testify to my belief that they are tightening up our frontier in a way which five years ago I did not believe possible. The principal leak that remains is this business of the desertion of alien seamen. I am glad the Senator is trying to stop that leak.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. KING. The Senator stated that a number of years ago it was reported that the maximum number of illegal entrants was 29,000. The Senator will recall the testimony of Mr. Hurley, who said that the number reported to our consuls was not accurate, that in many instances the number was double, so that when, for instance, in one year Mr. Hurley found it was reported there were 12,000 illegal entrants reported, yet when he examined the reports made by captains of vessels to consuls of their own countries he found it was really nearly double.

Mr. REED. I think that is quite likely. They keep out of trouble by giving a "sunshine" report to our officials.

Mr. KING. If the reports to our own officials show that there were 12,000, we might expect there are perhaps 20,000 or 24,000 if we should get all the facts.

Mr. REED. I would not be surprised, but I do think the number has been decreasing in recent years.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I would like to ask the Senator whether the captain of a ship or the officials of a transportation company should not be held responsible for getting American seamen in the first place?

Mr. REED. In many places they can not be had. At the lake ports it is not easy to get American seamen. At a good many Atlantic and Pacific ports the supply is not sufficient. I doubt very much whether it is possible to enlist as many Americans in New York City as are necessary to man the ships that go out of that port.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. The point I make is that with proper care the captain certainly should be able to find naturalized American citizens who could be employed without taking any who had no right to be in the country at all.

Mr. REED. I am not sure that he could, and I am not sure that we would not get into trouble if we tried to require it. Suppose a British ship like the *Majestic* came into New York City and had a dozen desertions, could we say to the *Majestic*, "You can not enlist British seamen to go back on the vessel"? Would we like it if an American ship that went to Southampton and had desertions was told it could not enlist anybody but Britishers to come back? I think we would fight very vigorously against any such proposal as that.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Am I to understand the Senator as saying that if seamen desert in foreign ports the difficulty is in getting American seamen there to come back on the return trip?

Mr. REED. I say the whole problem arises from desertion. A great many foreign seamen seize the opportunity of remaining in the United States; they know that the quota law would prevent them from coming as immigrants; they think they see a job; of course, they are all entitled to shore leave, and they desert their ships. They merely disappear; they fade away; and their places have to be filled before the ship sails again. Frequently in the past ships have been going away with reduced crews because on every arrival of a big liner from Europe there were a number of desertions. I venture to say that for four or five years, during the period of our greatest prosperity, practically every liner that left New York had a smaller crew than she came in with. Nothing was done to remedy that situation except to go through the performance of making a search and, as in the case of the needle in the haystack, trying to find the deserting seaman, who was usually pretty good at hiding himself.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. But the trouble, as I understand the Senator from Pennsylvania, is that when American ships return from foreign ports desertions take place in this country, and that in many instances the deserters are aliens, with no right to be here?

Mr. REED. That is true; and as to those cases I have not the slightest complaint against charging the vessel with the cost of deporting such aliens.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Precisely.

Mr. REED. That is all right. I am not talking about such cases.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. But the Senator does not mean to say that any considerable number of American seamen would desert from American ships in foreign ports and remain there?

Mr. REED. Oh, no; not in many cases but occasionally they do so.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. If that is only occasionally true, then how can the shipowner or the captain of the ship or the agent of the company suffer to any extent if he is placed on notice that he himself must find out or the ship company must find out before the ship sails that the seamen employed are entitled to sail as members of the crew on an American vessel?

Mr. REED. I do not know that I get the Senator's point entirely. What we are talking about is this: Before the Senator came in, I think——

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Let me see in just a moment if I understand it.

Mr. REED. All right.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I understand the Senator to say that if an American ship sails for some port abroad——

Mr. REED. This applies not only to American ships but to every ship.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Precisely; and if such ship carries a crew some of whom perhaps are not entitled to be there under our immigration laws, and makes the round trip and returns to the same port or some other American port, though such seamen having made the entire round trip should be deported, that the transportation company should not be held liable for the expense incident to that deportation?

Mr. REED. That is correct.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I am inclined to disagree with the Senator. I am inclined to think no unfair hardship could attach to the steamship company if it was forced to find out before sailing that the particular seamen it employed were entitled to ship as members of the crew and were not subject to deportation.

Mr. REED. In the first place, a good many of these enlistments have to be made quickly, but if we supposed that they did not have to be made quickly, and the steamship company had all the time in the world to make investigations, they still lack the power that the Government has to inquire into the facts of the case; and it is not always obvious as to whether a man has a right to be in this country or not. Many a man with a foreign name applies to the shipping agency; he speaks broken English, and says, "Yes; I have naturalization papers, but I have lost them; I was naturalized in San Francisco." Is the employment agency of the White Star Line in New York to be put to it to send to San Francisco to look up the naturalization record of the particular individual before the company may hire him? It may be the ship is going out the next day.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Why should not the company in such instance be forced to employ somebody else and let that man go, if any doubt attached to the legality of the transaction?

Mr. REED. That will be the effect of this bill as it stands, if it shall not be amended.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Precisely, and would not that make the transportation companies so much more careful that the law would be violated in very few cases?

Mr. REED. It will make them careful, all right, but it would be unfair.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Why is it unfair to force the steamship companies to employ only seamen who are entitled to be here; and if they employ seamen who are not entitled to be here, then why should they not take the responsibility that attaches to such action?

Mr. REED. It is as unfair as if we should pass a law that the Senator from Indiana should not employ a cook who had no right to be in this country. I will venture to say that the Senator from Indiana never required a cook to establish her right to be in the United States before he employed her in his house. Would it be fair to ask the Senator from Indiana to pay the deportation cost of a cook whom he employed in his dwelling house? Surely it would not be fair.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I do not see where there is the slightest connection between the two cases, because we are talking about smuggling into the country on ships aliens under the guise of being seamen who desert after they have been brought here. Even though they have made a round-trip voyage, they are here as smuggled aliens in defiance of the immigration law.

Mr. REED. Not a bit of it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. It is so different from employing a cook that I do not see any similarity.

Mr. REED. If the Senator will listen, perhaps I can make it clear to him. We are talking about employing human beings in the United States——

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. No; we are talking about sending them abroad all over the world, and then having them come back here, thus loading up our alien population with additional immigrants who have no right at all to be here.

Mr. REED. That is exactly what we are not talking about. If we were talking about employing somebody abroad to be brought to this country for the first time, I would be thoroughly in accord with the Senator. I say, if they bring in any ineligibles, let them pay the expense of sending them away.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Why should they ship an ineligible all around the world and bring him back an ineligible, and then permit him to stay here?

Mr. REED. Because we are entitled to assume that people in this country are eligible here, and that the Government is the one that will make the examination of the people in this country. The steamship company, in justice, should no more be required to pay for the deportation of such a man after his round trip is accomplished than the trolley company that takes him around the city, or the owner of the dwelling house that hires him for a gardener.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. When he is in the city he is in this country, and he never leaves the country, but the case cited by the Senator surely is entirely different, for the ship company takes him across the ocean and brings him back again. I do not see any similarity between the two cases.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia. Perhaps he can see the difference.

Mr. HATFIELD. I certainly do see the difference. The person employed by the ship company was wrongfully here, to begin with.

Mr. REED. Exactly; and let us suppose that cook is wrongfully here to begin with.

Mr. HATFIELD. Yes.

Mr. REED. All right. I employ her for a week and then find that she is a smuggled alien. Ought I to pay the expense of deporting her?

Mr. HATFIELD. In that case the Senator is in no way responsible.

Mr. REED. Neither is the ship company.

Mr. HATFIELD. Absolutely not. I understand that.

Mr. REED. I am sure the Senator from West Virginia agrees with me.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I followed the interrogations of the Senator from Indiana. Of course, the bill was drawn upon the theory that he expounded, and that was my view, that persons who were illegally here were not purged of their illegality, if I may use such an expression, by taking an ocean voyage. If they were illegally here, went abroad, and came back again, they were still illegally here.

Mr. REED. I grant that; I agree with the Senator fully as to that.

Mr. KING. There might possibly be some justice in the contention of the Senator from Pennsylvania if the captain, after using all means at his command in the utmost good faith, was satisfied that the person was not illegally in the United States and shipped him as a seaman, and discovered later that he was illegally here, but had made misrepsentation as the basis of employment. It might be that in such a case immunity might be given to the captain of a ship or the shipowners. However, as indicated by the Senator from Indiana, there ought to be some burden upon the captain to see to it that he did not employ upon his vessel persons who were illegally in the United States; and if he employed them without due care or caution, without any attempt at all to ascertain whether they were legally here or illegally here, I am inclined to think that the captain ought to bear the burden or the ship company ought to do so.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, let us look at it practically. Take the ships that run from Boston to Halifax and the ships that run from New York to Bermuda, or, if an extreme case is desired, those that ply between Key West and Cuba. The old *Governor Cobb* used to make a trip between Key West and Cuba every day. Perhaps an hour before sailing time she finds herself a half a dozen or perhaps a dozen men short. The seaports there are not as "dry" as prohibition advocates would like to have them, and seamen are notoriously fond of going on sprees. So perhaps an hour before the *Governor Cobb* is due to sail for Habana a dozen of her crew are gone and can not be found. She has got to sail, or thinks that she has got to sail; she ought not to sail undermanned, and so she picks up 12 seamen whom she finds in the employment office on the docks at Key West. What position do we put her captain in if on the return from the round trip to Habana the next day he is told, "Why, one of these men is a Russian who has no business being in this country; you will now, at the expense of your steamship, pay the cost of transporting that individual to New York City and from there to Hamburg and from there to Riga or the nearest port to Russia where he can be dumped off?" Such a requirement would cost all the profits of the *Governor Cobb* for several voyages. That is the way it is going to work out.

If the captain shipped somebody in Cuba and brought him to the United States for the first time, I should say he did that at his peril, and if he hired there any ineligible, he ought to pay for sending him away, but to be told that somebody who is hired in the United States has got to be sent away at his expense to some far-distant European country is just not fair, and I am sure we do not want to try to pass a measure that is not fair.

We want to keep our doors closed and barred, but we do not want to do it at the expense of the wrong people. I do not want to give absolution to the individual—and I am with the Senator from Utah in that—and no amount of sea voyaging ought to cure the illegality of the original entry—I am with him there—but, at least, if we are going to send an alien back to Russia, let us do it at the expense of the right people. That is the whole motive for my amendment. Therefore, Mr. President, I move to amend the bill by striking out, on page 2, line 5, the words "prior to the passage of this act."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, does the Senator want to have a vote on that amendment to-day?

Mr. REED. I would rather like to have a vote, Mr. President, unless the Senator has strong reasons for not taking a vote to-day.

Mr. KING. No.

Mr. REED. And then I wanted to discuss another subject.

Mr. KING. I shall feel constrained, with my present views and in the light of the discussion we have had, to vote against the amendment.

Mr. REED. I am sorry that is the Senator's attitude. I had hoped the Senator would feel free to vote for the amendment.

Mr. KING. I would have been very glad to have let the amendment go over for a while in order that I might confer, I will say frankly, with Mr. Furuseth, because he knows more about this question than I do. However, if the Senator desires a vote, I will not object.

Mr. REED. I have talked with Mr. Furuseth about the matter, and he and I are not in very much disagreement regarding it, because I told him I was going to move this amendment, and I did not gather that he thought it was important not to do it.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Will not the Senator agree to have a vote on this matter later in the afternoon, after 2 o'clock?

Mr. REED. We are going to have a final vote to-morrow, I think; but I can not be here to-morrow, and that is why I am making my little showing to-day.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Would the Senator be willing to have a vote taken after 2 o'clock?

Mr. REED. Oh, surely. I will do anything that will oblige the Senator.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, as I understand, the pending amendment is the amendment offered by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania is the pending question.

Mr. BINGHAM. After that has been acted upon I should like to suggest an amendment to the amendment proposed by the Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND].

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I should like to say that the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] have an understanding not to vote on this amendment at the present time. It seems that the Senator from Minnesota wants to study the question and see what effect it will have; and they have an understanding, which I think is agreeable to all of us, not to vote on this amendment at the present time, but to vote later in the day.

If the Senator from Connecticut has another amendment, I desire to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania—I see that the Senator from Minnesota has left the Chamber—if he will not temporarily withdraw his motion in order to carry out that understanding, and let us go on with the other amendment.

Mr. REED. I think that is a good suggestion. I thought the discussion would last longer than it has lasted; so I will ask that my amendment be temporarily laid aside.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator withdraws his amendment for the time.

Mr. REED. I do not withdraw it. I merely ask that it be temporarily laid aside.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that will be done.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, yesterday the Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND] offered an amendment which I think is in the nature of a substitute for the pending measure. I ask him now as to whether he will be willing to accept the change in his amendment which I shall state. The amendment has been printed and is lying on our desks. On page 2 of his amendment, line 3, after the colon, strike out the remainder of section 2 and insert in lieu thereof the matter which I sent to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from New York has not yet been offered.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I will offer the amendment in order that it may be perfected.

May I say that I have read the amendment suggested by the Senator from Connecticut to my amendment, and I am glad to accept it. Then I suggest that the perfected substitute be reprinted, perhaps a star print so that it may be identified, that we may have it on the table to-morrow when we come in for the discussion.

Mr. BINGHAM. That is entirely satisfactory to me.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment of the Senator from New York will be modified as indicated by the Senator from Connecticut and the Senator from New York, and will lie on the table.

Mr. COPELAND. Now I ask that a star print may be made of my substitute, in order that it may be identified, and that it be reprinted to-night.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order will be made.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, in connection with this subject, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Pacific American Steamship Co. and the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 25, 1932.*

Hon. HIRAM BINGHAM,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BINGHAM: The hearings before the Senate Immigration Committee on Senate bill 7 have been completed, but inasmuch as only one Senator of the Committee, Senator KING, who was extremely kind and considerate, heard all the testimony, and three other members of the committee heard only portions of the testimony, I am writing to urge you to read these hearings before you vote on this bill.

Briefly, the hearings developed that—

If this bill were passed, it would entail an additional expense of some $600,000 on the Federal Government.

It would practically defeat section 20 of the immigration act of 1924, that has proven so effective in preventing mala fide alien seamen from entering the United States.

If made into law, it would entail untold administrative difficulties to the State Department and the Department of Labor.

It would not prevent mala fide alien seamen from entering the United States, and it would make possible the entry of more alien seamen than under the present statutes.

It would cause international difficulties and probable reprisals on the part of foreign governments.

It would add tremendously to the overhead operating costs of our American merchant marine, which is now staggering under heavy burdens.

It is opposed by every American steamship owner and operator, as well as the operators of merchant vessels under foreign flags. It is opposed by the State Department, the Labor Department, and the United States Shipping Board.

Its effectiveness is further reduced, so far as preventing alien seamen entering the United States is concerned, by Senator VANDENBERG's amendment, agreed to January 19, that takes away the penalties from a ship entering Canadian ports, thus providing another avenue for the entrance of alien seamen. If it is a good thing to eliminate penalties on the ships on the Great Lakes, it should be a good thing, also, to eliminate penalties on American vessels entering Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf ports. Certainly there should be no discrimination against any American-flag ships, and assuredly this amendment does not help the immigration laws.

Again urging that you read the report of the hearings on this bill before voting, I am

Very truly yours,

PACIFIC AMERICAN STEAMSHIP ASSOCIATION,
SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST,
By W. J. PETERSEN.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House of Representatives had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The amendment of the Senate proposed to add the following proviso:

Provided, That of the $50,000,000 to be allocated to the Secretary of Agriculture out of the money herein appropriated so much as may be necessary shall be available for the employment of persons and means in the District of Columbia and elsewhere.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I see that the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] is here. I desire to say that

I have talked over the telephone with the Director of the Budget. He advises me that he has come to the conclusion that they have authority to do what we require of them by the proviso that we added to this joint resolution and that the proviso is not necessary. He assures me, too, that if we pass the joint resolution without that proviso he will submit to the Attorney General right away the question of power, and have it determined, and if the Attorney General should be of a different opinion he will send down an estimate at once in order to do what we provide for doing by this proviso.

I hope that will be satisfactory to the Senator from South Dakota, so that the Senate may recede from its amendment and put this measure through.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, Congress, as I understand, has never made one of these seed-grain loans without making provision, either in the act itself or in subsequent legislation, to meet a requirement of the present law that limits the department in the employment of help in Washington and in the field.

The funds made available under this measure are available, I take it, only for loans. Of course, no one knows how many applications for loans will be passed on; but every one knows that they will run into the hundreds of thousands, and that a great deal of help will be required.

The Senate proviso which the House rejected is the same as in last year's relief law and reads as follows:

Provided, That of the $50,000,000 to be allocated to the Secretary of Agriculture out of the money herein appropriated so much as may be necessary shall be available for the employment of persons and means in the District of Columbia and elsewhere.

That matter came up in the Appropriation Committee yesterday; and as the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES], stated on the floor yesterday, the department had a great deal of doubt about being able to function without additional authority, and the committee reached the conclusion that this proviso should be offered as an amendment to the House bill, which was done yesterday by the chairman of the committee. Under the Senate rules a point of order might have been raised on account of it being legislation in an appropriation bill, but no Senator objected, so it got through the Senate. No point of order could be raised in the House, where it appeared as a Senate amendment to a House bill, but it was rejected by the House.

I am well aware of the great haste to make available the $450,000,000 for bank relief and for the relief of railroads, but there does not seem to be the same rush about making available the $50,000,000 for loans to farmers who on account of crop failures are unable to secure the necessary funds for planting.

I am pleased to learn that the chairman of the committee has some information from the Bureau of the Budget. This bureau suggested to me yesterday that they did not think we needed the authority and, therefore, should not insist on the proviso. I replied that I simply wanted to get their assurance in writing, but I was not able to get it. The chairman of the committee telephoned the Department of Agriculture as to whether they needed additional authority, and he informed us they felt they did.

If to-day the chairman of the committee is satisfied in his own mind that the Budget Bureau have gone into the subject to such an extent that they know what they are doing, I have no further protest to make. I feel that it is futile, after the House of Representatives has refused to accept the Senate proviso; but I am not free from the fear that somebody is trying to steer our boat into shallow water, and that we may land on a sand bar.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I merely want to say that I shall do everything I can in the future to see that this provision is made. As I stated, probably half an hour ago I called up the Budget officer and he assured me as to what I have already stated to the Senate.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I have just been advised by another Senator, who is a member of the Committee on Appropriations, that questions have arisen which are of some importance from a legal standpoint; that attorneys in the Department of Agriculture, and perhaps elsewhere, have under consideration the question as to whether loans made under the $50,000,000 provision shall run, as under previous similar legislation, to the Government, or to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. That question, of course, will present some difficulties which might call for additional legislation.

I believe that it would be well to accede to the suggestion of the Senator from Washington, with the understanding that such legislation as may be found necessary fairly to effectuate the purpose of the appropriation with regard to the employment of agents and others will be promptly presented, considered, and disposed of when the occasion for it is made clear.

Mr. JONES. I might say, in addition, that I have talked with the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, and he has assured me that in the interest of getting this legislation passed he is glad to say that, if it is necessary and if the Budget will send in an estimate, he will do everything he can toward getting early legislative action along this very line.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I would like to make one additional statement, Mr. President. I, too, have talked with the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House, and it is his thought that there should be some estimate, some information furnished, as to the portion of the fund that would be required for administrative purposes, and perhaps some information as to the number of employees who will be necessary to carry out the purposes of the act.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Arkansas will bear me out in saying that we found that impossible a year ago as to a similar matter, and gave them rather blanket authority.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. We did that, and, so far as I am concerned, there has not been complaint from any place as to an abuse of the authority.

Mr. NORBECK. No; and no one has yet advanced any reason why this appropriation bill was so drawn as to make absolutely available the $450,000,000, leaving doubt as to the $50,000,000 that is to go for agricultural production. We just have the assurance that in a routine way they will submit the matter to the Attorney General, in which case in due time he will render an opinion on it; later it will come up to Congress, and we know how much haste Congress makes.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill was introduced on the 9th day of December; it is now January 25. Spring will soon be here. Many farmers may not get their seed grain in time for the planting season.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I think it should be said by some one that there is no evidence of which the Senate can be conscious that there is any intention of confusion of the terms of the amendment to which we are referring. My impression was, and I think the Senate understood, that this fund was segregated from the remainder of the fund and allocated to the Secretary, and that he was to make the loans and take the evidences of them in much the same manner as was done last year. But it appears that a question has been raised as to whether the money appropriated is to be money of the corporation; and if it is, whether the loans should run to the corporation rather than to the Government. That is an important question, which would not be determined on an issue of this character.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, does not the Senator from Arkansas think that the recently enacted reconstruction finance law is quite clear in that regard, that the matter should be handled by the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That was my impression.

Mr. NORBECK. I assure the Senator that it was the intention of every member of the conference on the part of the two Houses that it should be handled by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. After all, that is not conclusive.

Mr. NORBECK. No.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I tried to point out the other day, and succeeded in convincing a great many Senators, that under the terms of another measure the language incorporated had accomplished something which did not appear to be in the minds of those who framed it. I say frankly to the Senator that it has been my conviction all the time that these loans should be taken by the Secretary of Agriculture and should run to the Government; but attorneys in the department have raised the question as to whether the language in the act justifies that conclusion or requires that the loans be taken to the corporation. If that is true, additional legislation may become necessary.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, I find myself in accord with much of what the Senator from Arkansas says. The Senate recognized the necessity of this matter and yesterday unanimously accepted the Jones proviso to the appropriation bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. It seems to me that we are working at somewhat cross-purposes. I can not imagine how any possible question can be raised under the wording of this act. I read from section 2 of the act:

Provided, That $50,000,000 of the amount so subscribed * * * shall be allocated and made available to the Secretary of Agriculture, which sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose of making loans or advances to farmers in the several States of the United States in cases where he finds that an emergency exists as a result of which farmers are unable to obtain loans for crop production during the year 1932: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Agriculture shall give preference in making such loans or advances to farmers who suffered from crop failures in 1931. Such advances or loans shall be made upon such terms and conditions and subject to such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe.

I call the particular attention of the Senate to these words:

All such loans or advances shall be made through such agencies as the Secretary of Agriculture may designate, and in such amounts as such agencies, with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, may determine.

Under that wording it is perfectly plain that the Reconstruction Corporation will simply allocate and turn the money over to the Secretary of Agriculture, and he will have the right to select any agency he chooses. I understand the whole delay has been caused by a question of this kind, as to whether the Secretary of Agriculture may employ persons whom he may desire to employ to transact the business here in the District or whether he must depend upon officials and clerks under the civil service in the department here. It seems to me we are debating something which is wholly immaterial; if this legislation is to be enacted, I think we ought to act on it now. Everybody knows that I voted against the passage of the bill in the Senate, although I am in hearty sympathy with the language in the bill we are now discussing, that making provision for the benefit of farmers.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, it seems to me the language is perfectly plain. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] has stated exactly what was in the minds of the conferees. I can not read anything else in it except that the $50,000,000 is to be allocated by the corporation out of the fund made available, just the same as they are going to loan to banks or railroads or anybody else. They account for the $50,000,000 to the Secretary of Agriculture, and then are done with it. The Secretary of Agriculture is to administer it and to make the loans, and it was supposed that it would be in his hands largely, because it was thought he had a force already in existence sufficient to handle the fund; that he had already been doing that kind of thing; that he knew how to do it; that he had agencies already established; and that he could handle it better than if the corporation itself should attempt to organize a force for this purpose.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I wish to ask the Senator from Florida a question. When a mortgagor pays his debt to the Secretary of Agriculture, where will the proceeds go—to the corporation or into the Treasury?

Mr. FLETCHER. Into the Treasury, absolutely. The corporation has nothing to do with it. The corporation is through; it wipes its hands of the whole business when it turns the thing over to the Secretary of Agriculture. All they have to do is to show the receipt of the Secretary of Agriculture, just as they account for any other loans or advances made or any other transaction. It goes to the Secretary of Agriculture. He handles it, just as he has been handling this subject before. That was the clear intention of all the conferees on the bill, and I think it was the intention of Congress. I think the act shows that clearly.

I am wondering whether the Senator from Washington could not ask for a conference between the two Houses on this disagreement, rather than to recede now. Perhaps it could be straightened out in conference.

Mr. JONES. I think this is the best way to deal with it, myself, unless we are to have considerable delay.

Mr. FLETCHER. I was just thinking, where an amendment was made in the Senate and the House disagrees, that a conference is usually had and an agreement on some basis may be reached.

Mr. JONES. I am satisfied that we can get together on the basis of the Senate receding.

Mr. FLETCHER. If the Senate recedes, it gives up what it desired, and there is nothing to go to conference.

Mr. JONES. Under the assurance of the Budget officer as to the course of action he would take, I thought the wise course for us to pursue was to recede, and I expected to make a motion to that effect.

Mr. FLETCHER. I can see that that is an easy way out of it, but I do not see that we would accomplish what the Senator wanted to accomplish by putting in the amendment. I was just wondering whether we could not insist on our amendment, and ask for a conference.

Mr. JONES. We could do that, of course, and we would have all the delay it would bring. When the Director of the Budget assured me, as he did, that he had come to the conclusion that they could do what the amendment we have put on provided for without it——

Mr. FLETCHER. Of course, if we can count on that it might make a difference.

Mr. JONES. That is his conclusion. In response to the suggestion of the Senator that this would be done only as a routine matter, I want to say that while the Director of the Budget did not say it in so many words, I got the impression that he would refer the question to the Attorney General right away; that it would not be handled in the regular routine way, but that he would refer it to the Attorney General for his opinion, and get his opinion just as quickly as possible. Then, if the Attorney General's opinion did not correspond with the idea he had, they could do without the provision we have proposed in this proviso, and the director would send down his estimate for whatever funds might be necessary.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JONES. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Is it not true that even if it went back to conference in the present state of the matter, not having an opinion that we could follow, we would still be in the dark about the matter and would have to postpone action until we got such an opinion?

Mr. JONES. Precisely so.

Mr. McKELLAR. Why not take action now, and take supplemental action hereafter if it is necessary and desirable?

Mr. JONES. I feel pretty confident that we would really save time by receding on this amendment and allowing the legislation to become a law.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield to me?

Mr. JONES. I yield.

Mr. NORBECK. We all realize the Senator's sincere interest in this matter and his desire to be helpful. He evidently has confidence in the expression of the Bureau of the Budget that it is possible to function under the present law. But, anyhow, I can not press my objections any further. The House has taken a definite position in this matter. The chairman advises the House is unwilling to submit this matter to a conference committee. I am afraid we have lost an important point by the action of the House; but we can only accept it.

But I call attention to the fact that no reason has been given why the Senate proviso making possible the immediate use of $50,000,000 has been rejected, while favorable action has been given as to the $450,000,000.

Mr. JONES. I will say to the Senate that I am probably as much interested in early action with reference to the seed question as is the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. NORBECK. That is admitted.

Mr. JONES. Our springs are very early, and we will need this money in some sections of our State much sooner than it will be needed in other States.

Mr. NORBECK. Counting on the cooperation of the Senator from Washington, we can rest with considerable comfort.

Mr. JONES. I thank the Senator. I will cooperate in attaining the object which the Senator seeks.

I move that the Senate recede from its amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. JONES. As I understand it, that passes the joint resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That passes the joint resolution.

DEPORTATION OF ALIEN SEAMEN

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, my amendment was presented and ordered to be printed and lie on the table. I understand the Senator from Pennsylvania is to press the amendment which he presented, or is to offer a further amendment.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I have consulted with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] and have learned the nature of his apprehension with reference to the amendment. Of course he can describe it much better than I can do it for him; but as I understand it, in substance it is this: He and those associated with him want to be very clear that the status of the individual who is taken on such a round trip as has been described—that is, an alien seamen enlisted in this country and then brought back on the same vessel—shall not be improved by that process.

The Senator from Minnesota is a little afraid in the case of Chinese, for example, or others ineligible to citizenship, that their right to remain in this country might be extended for so much as 60 days by the process of being taken on this voyage. I have agreed with him, because I share his feeling completely, that I would try to prepare a further amendment which would make it perfectly clear that so far as the individual is concerned the amendment which we are proposing to the bill to protect the innocent shipowner shall not in any way be construed to improve or extend or alter the right of the individual to be in the United States.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. COPELAND. The Senator has no doubt that without further legislation exactly that thing can be accomplished under the present law?

Mr. REED. I think so. I share the feeling of the Senator from Minnesota, but I do not share his apprehension. However, in order to make perfectly clear that the amendment does not affect the law in the way he fears, I have an additional sentence which I shall propose. I am not offering it now because there is an amendment pending. I shall propose to add at the end of section 3 this sentence:

> If an alien shall be shipped in a port of the United States and subsequently shall be returned to the United States by the same or any other vessel, his right to remain in the United States shall not thereby be improved, extended, or altered.

Thus making it perfectly clear that if a Chinaman, for example, is enlisted in San Francisco for a voyage to the Orient and back, then when he comes back to San Francisco the illegality of his presence there shall be just as it was the instant he left the United States and his right to be here shall not be ameliorated in any sense by the voyage he has just experienced.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator if he will read his original amendment, so I may more clearly understand what he now proposes?

Mr. REED. The original amendment is on page 2, line 5, to strike out the words "prior to the passage of this act."

Mr. COPELAND. I certainly have no objection to the amendment to be presented by the Senator from Pennsylvania. It is only a case of painting the lily. I am quite confident that the law is exactly that to-day, but I have no objection to making it doubly certain.

Mr. REED. I thank the Senator. I think most of us feel that way; but as long as there is the slightest doubt in the mind of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD], and since we all feel as he does about the matter, I shall be very glad to remove the doubt.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. REED. I gladly yield.

Mr. FLETCHER. I am not quite clear about the whole situation. Was not the language "prior to the passage of this act" inserted for the purpose of providing that where the shipment had been made heretofore, without any provision such as is carried in this act, the vessel would not be liable to return the seamen?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. Is it quite fair to those vessels? By eliminating that provision of the bill are we not imposing liabilities on vessels of all kinds?

Mr. REED. No; what we want to do is to remove the liability on the part of the vessel owners. We want to remove the liability whether the seaman was shipped before or after the passage of the bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. Then the purpose here is to relieve them of liability where shipment was made prior to the passage of the bill; but hereafter, where they have notice of the act, they will be supposed to be careful about it?

Mr. REED. Yes. We know that in many cases seamen are shipped on very short notice in this country. If they are shipped here and taken for a round trip and brought back here, the steamship companies are not responsible for the original illegality of the entry of the seamen. While it is right that the individual should be deported, it is not right to charge the steamer, which has not made the situation any worse than if it never saw the seaman. In other words, if it is fair to do it for those who enlisted the seamen before the passage of the act, it is equally fair to do it for those who enlist them afterwards, always remembering that if they enlist the seaman abroad and bring him here, either before or after the act is passed, they are responsible and must pay for sending him back to his homeland if he is not admissible.

Mr. FLETCHER. The bill as it is drawn would put the owners of vessels on inquiry and make them responsible for taking on board seamen who ought not to be enlisted at all?

Mr. REED. They ought not to be in this country in the first place. Let us take a practical case in the Senator's own State. The Senator was not in the Chamber when we were discussing this point before. The old *Governor Cobb* used to run every day to Habana from Key West. Sometimes its crew, like other crews, would go on a spree, and at the moment of sailing the officers of the boat would find they were 6 or 8 or 10 men short. They could not wait to

investigate the naturalization proceedings which might have taken place at some far-distant city. They had to take the statement of the men who applied for enlistment. They had to secure a crew in a hurry in order to sail on time. If they enlisted a man in Key West an hour before the vessel sailed and brought the same man back the next day, they would not have made the situation in the United States one bit worse than it was before. If, on the other hand, they are going to enlist their crews in Habana and bring inadmissible persons in from Habana, then it is quite right that they should pay the expense of sending them away again. But if they enlist a man in Key West, while the individual himself remains deportable, it is not right to make the vessel pay the cost of deporting him.

Mr. FLETCHER. May I interrupt the Senator further?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. FLETCHER. Of course, the Senator realizes the bill is not so much intended to protect our immigration situation as it is to see that American seamen are given a proper showing, and that vessels shall not take into service men who claim to be seamen but who are really not seamen. It is to make the owners of vessels careful about accepting as seamen any roustabouts or others who are not seamen at all. That is one of the purposes of the bill.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. LONG. As a matter of fact, those operating a banana boat sailing out of the port of New Orleans in a large number of instances do not know whether the boat is going to have its seamen show up or not. We are no worse off if they pick up men already in this country and bring them back. The men are already in the country and there is nobody hurt in that way. If they are required to put their men through an immigration inspection, it will delay all the traffic that goes on between this and other countries.

Mr. REED. On the other hand, if when they are down in Guatemala they pick up a seaman and bring him to the United States, they ought to make sure that he is admissible to the United States before they enlist him.

Mr. LONG. I am not so sure about that.

Mr. REED. I feel very sure about it, because that is one of the principal leaks we have in our present immigration system.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. KING. I am speaking now in harmony with the suggestion made by my friend from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER]. It seems to me we ought to be exceedingly careful to see to it that there shall not be established in the United States a reservoir of alleged seamen, either bona fide or mala fide, who would supplant American citizens so that those persons who are on the seacoast and perhaps hunting for jobs may not take the place of bona fide American citizens who are out of employment and who would be glad to find employment upon the ships. We want to build up a fine merchant marine with seamen of American origin or American citizenship to man our ships. I am a little apprehensive that the amendment suggested by my friend might tend to develop a reservoir to which reference might be made for seamen, to the exclusion of American citizens.

Mr. REED. I agree with the thought that inspires the Senator's remarks, but it seems to me that this will work out just the opposite way. There is a pool of aliens in every large seacoast city at this time. If we allow them to ship for round trips, they go through a filtering process, because every time one of those ships comes back those men are inspected by the immigration authorities. If, on the other hand, we say that they can not be shipped at all then they remain in this country uninspected by anybody, uncontested in any way, and will be taking the jobs of good American citizens every time they get any work to do. This will have the effect of subjecting to scrutiny every man who is hired for a foreign trip, because as soon as the ship comes back he has to undergo an inspection.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. KING. As I understand the Senator, he is trying to avoid what he concedes to be the injustice of requiring a vessel to pay the expense of deportation where it ships in an American port a seaman under circumstances that apparently would indicate that he is competent to discharge the duties devolving upon him as a cook or as a sailor, and upon the return of that vessel to the port of the United States the ineligibility of that individual to remain in the United States is discovered and he is deported. The Senator thinks that the vessel that shipped him out and brought him back ought not to be charged with the expense?

Mr. REED. I do not think so, because the offense lay in his original illegal entry, and the steamship had nothing whatever to do with that. I think where we can place the blame for the illegal entry on any person he ought to pay the cost of deportation, but where the blame does not rest on him he ought not to be required to do so.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Has the Senator had any estimate made as to what it would cost the Government to enforce this proposed act?

Mr. REED. It will not cost anything, because deportation proceedings are going on constantly, as the Senator knows, and he and I both approve of them. This would simply add to facilities for detecting illegal entries and the deportation system would not be changed in any way. It may require a little closer scrutiny of vessels when they come in, but I doubt whether it will require the hiring of an additional man.

Now, Mr. President, I ask that my amendment may be stated. I have discussed it with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD], and he tells me that, with the suggested addition to section 3 of the bill, he is entirely satisfied with it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the first amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. In section 3, page 2, line 5, it is proposed to strike out the words "prior to the passage of this act," so that it will read:

SEC. 3. Unless such alien was shipped in a port in continental United States, then if it is found that such alien is not a bona fide seaman, he shall be regarded as an immigrant and immediately be ordered removed from the vessel to an immigration station.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Has the Senator's other amendment been voted on?

Mr. REED. I was just about to offer it. I now offer the amendment, which I send to the desk to be inserted as an additional sentence at the end of section 3.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the amendment be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of section 3 it is proposed to insert the following:

If an alien shall be shipped into a port of the United States and subsequently shall be returned to the United States by the same vessel his right to remain in the United States shall not thereby be improved, extended, or altered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I now come to a totally different subject to which I know some of my colleagues who have agreed to the last proposal will not agree. I refer to the provisions of section 7, and I beg Senators who are not familiar with it to examine it, as it appears in the first bill on the calendar. It provides, in substance, that no vessel, either American or foreign, shall bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who is ineligible to citizenship. That means any native of the barred zone. The "barred zone," as we all know, includes Japan, China, the islands of the Pacific, India, Afghanistan, all of that region comprising eastern Asia, and the Pacific islands.

The section further provides that no vessel, unless in distress, shall bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien ineligible to citizenship. That means that neither an American vessel nor a British vessel nor a Dutch nor a Norwegian vessel may come into any American port having on board a lascar, a Japanese, a Chinese, or an Indian, no matter if the person shall have been born in one of the colonies or the dependencies of the country whose flag the vessel flies. It means that a Japanese ship may not come into San Francisco with a Chinese cook or scullery boy in her crew. It means that a Chinese ship may not come in with a single lascar on board.

Whatever others may think of the exclusion laws, I personally am in favor of the act of 1887, the Chinese exclusion act. I would like to see Japan put on a quota, because her quota would be very small, and such action would remove an important source of irritation that now exists between that country and ours. However, that question is not up here, and I am not going to discuss it. I merely want to discuss the effect of section 7, if it should be adopted.

It means that an American vessel trading across the Pacific Ocean is going to have to have every "man jack" of her crew a Caucasian or a negro or else she can not enter an American port. It means the same thing for every British vessel. It will have to be manned by Americans, or Britons, or Europeans, or Africans; it can not have a single Malay or a Chinaman or a Japanese in its crew.

On the other hand, there is an exception in this section that allows a ship under the Chinese flag to come in with her crew of 100 per cent Chinese. So also every Japanese ship may come in with every individual in her crew a Japanese coolie, if you please.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. I take the liberty to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania, who is a very energetic and able member of the Foreign Relations Committee, has he had time to contemplate how far his amendment runs counter to the treaties we have with maritime countries which allow their sailors to come to our ports on the basis of having the same privilege accorded to our sailors in their ports?

Mr. REED. No, Mr. President; I am not sure that there is any conflict between our treaties of commerce with those countries and my amendment. By the way, I have not stated it as yet. I would strike out section 7, not so much because it may violate the treaties of commerce, not because of any injustice it might be claimed to do to Japan or China or India, but for just the opposite reason—because of the injustice that it does to us. Consider the Pacific Mail Steamship Line or the Dollar Line trying to compete in Pacific trade with Chinese and Japanese ships, which themselves are allowed to hire coolies, whereas our vessels can not hire a single sailor from the "barred zone." Their operating costs will not be one-third of our operating costs.

If I had to describe section 7 briefly, I should say that it was the most effective provision I could imagine to turn over all the commerce of the Pacific Ocean to Japan and to China; it would drive every American ship out of that trade. How can we possibly think of subjecting an American ship to such a handicap when its Japanese and Chinese competitors have no handicap whatever? If we want to compel Japanese and Chinese ships to suffer under the same handicap, all well and good, if we can do it under the treaty—and I do not think we can—but, for Heaven's sake, Mr. President, do not let us take the American merchant marine, which is groggy at the present time, as things are, and tell it that it has got to operate with crews whose pay roll will be three times in amount that of their competitors.

I am not pleading for Japan or China; I am pleading for the American shipowner. Once we have been driven off the Pacific Ocean by this method, who knows but that the commerce between the United States and Europe will be carried by ships flying the Japanese and Chinese flags on ships manned by coolies? A fairly decent sailor can be made out of a coolie. Nine-tenths of a crew can be coolies, and the ship carrying such a crew will still function.

This does not even limit it to the Pacific coast. It means that no ship, American, German, British, can enter the port of New York with a single coolie in her crew, but a Japanese or a Chinese ship can run between Southampton and New York, if you please, with nothing but coolies in her crew. I can not think of anything better calculated to drive the American flag off the ocean than is section 7.

Therefore, Mr. President, I move to amend the bill by striking out all of section 7 and changing the number of section 8 so that it will read section 7.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, in the absence of the author of the bill, I want to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question. As I understand this section, it is identical with an amendment that was adopted by the Senate in the immigration act of 1924——

Mr. REED. I do not so understand.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. With the exception that in this bill there are included certain amendments which were thought necessary by the Secretary of State and the Department of Labor in their correspondence with the chairman of the committee with reference to that amendment at that time.

Mr. REED. I do not remember that anything like this was in the immigration act of 1924. I believe that the Senate at one time did adopt such a provision, but it never was concurred in by the House; it never became a law, and it ought not to have passed the Senate.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. It went to conference and was taken out in conference.

Mr. REED. I do not remember its exact history.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I believe that in 1924 I offered an amendment to the immigration bill identical in character with this; and so far as the inquiry of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] is concerned, we have in the RECORD of 1924 a letter from the then Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, and also a letter from the Department of Commerce, showing that, with certain amendments, there would be no conflict between the legislation then proposed and the treaties we have with foreign countries.

I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania if he will refrain from pushing a vote on his amendment until the author of the bill may be present? He said he had to go to a committee. I should like to have him here before we take a vote on the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. REED. Perhaps we could have a quorum call and get him here in that way.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me before that shall be done?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. COPELAND. Regardless of what opinion may have been given by Mr. Hughes when Secretary of State, in the hearings on page 30 this language will be found as used by a representative of the State Department:

> Section 7 is the one which will probably give the department—

That is, the Department of State—

> the most concern, because its effect would be contrary to international comity, and interfere with the historic practice of ships to bring in their own subjects under their own flags.

Further:

It is believed that these 10 protests by foreign governments, which, by the way, are the largest number the department has ever received concerning these bills, and which have increased every year, indicate cause for real concern regarding our foreign relations should section 7 become law.

So, regardless of what may have been said by Mr. Hughes in the years past, there has been, as indicated in the testimony, a growing resentment on the part of foreign countries; and the opinion of the Department of State at this moment is that it would be a very serious matter and would lead to all sorts of disturbances if we were to permit section 7 to remain in the bill.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Minnesota from what it was that he read a moment ago? My attention was distracted, but I heard him say that it was in answer to some of the suggestions I had made touching section 7.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I read from the record of the hearings held on an identical bill in 1924.

Mr. LEWIS. May I ask the Senator the name of the document so that I may identify it?

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I have it here. I shall be glad to give it to the Senator.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield for that purpose?

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I do.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Hull	Reed
Austin	Cutting	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.
Bailey	Dale	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Bankhead	Davis	Kean	Sheppard
Barbour	Dickinson	Kendrick	Shipstead
Barkley	Dill	Keyes	Smith
Bingham	Fess	King	Smoot
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Stephens
Borah	George	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glass	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glenn	McKellar	Townsend
Broussard	Goldsborough	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Bulow	Hale	Morrison	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harris	Moses	Wagner
Capper	Harrison	Neely	Walcott
Caraway	Hastings	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Hatfield	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Hawes	Nye	Waterman
Coolidge	Hayden	Oddie	Watson
Copeland	Hebert	Patterson	Wheeler
Costigan	Howell	Pittman	White

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, a number of Senators have just come into the Chamber in response to the quorum call, and I should like to tell them what the question is.

The motion is to strike out section 7 of the bill. That provides, in effect, that no ship may bring into any American port any seaman of another nationality who, if in America, would be ineligible for citizenship. It means that no American vessel, no British vessel, no Norwegian vessel, no vessel of any country excepting Japan or China, can bring a coolie Japanese or a Chinaman or a lascar or an Indian into an American port as a member of its crew. It is obviously designed to exclude those races from employment on European and American ships.

Whether we agree with that or not, whether we think that is praiseworthy or not, let us consider what is the effect. It means that a Chinese ship can come into San Francisco or New York with a crew that is 100 per cent Chinese coolies; it means that a Japanese ship can come into any American port with a crew that is 100 per cent Japanese of the laboring class, but none of our ships can do it. If it becomes law, it is going to drive every American ship off the Pacific Ocean and ultimately off the Atlantic Ocean, because it is inconceivable that an American or a British ship, or a ship from any country in Europe, can compete with a Chinese ship or a ship flying the Japanese flag, paying their people 15 or 20 cents a day, as against the American or European wages paid by American or European ships.

We certainly do not want to drive the Dollar Line out of the oriental trade, and yet that is exactly what this does. Ships flying the Japanese or Chinese flags will get all the business, because they can do the service at less than the American cost. Ultimately we would see it on the Atlantic Ocean, and we would see ships flying the Chinese flag carrying all the commerce that passed between Europe and our Atlantic coast. That is not in the least what the proponents of this bill desire, but it is self-evident that it is the inevitable effect of the provisions of section 7 of the bill.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to his colleague?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. DAVIS. The Senator does not want to have Japanese coolie seamen come to the United States, and then, for 60 days after they arrive in the United States, have the right to reship foreign on an American ship at a coolie wage?

Mr. REED. I do not like that, Mr. President, but——

Mr. DAVIS. That is what will happen if that which my colleague is discussing now prevails.

Mr. REED. I do not like that any more than my colleague likes it, but I would rather see the coolies get only part of the employment than get it all, and this provision would give it all to them. If the desire is to stop the employment of coolie labor on our ships, well and good; let us go about it the right way; but this is not the right way to go about it.

Mr. DAVIS. Does not the Government of the United States give a subsidy to our ships sufficient to enable them to pay a reasonable American wage to an American citizen?

Mr. REED. No; it does not.

Mr. DAVIS. I understand that the subsidy which the ships now receive—at least I got this information from a reliable source—is enough to pay the operating expenses of the ships.

Mr. REED. No, Mr. President; we have not different wage scales for different nationalities on our ships, for one thing; and, in the next place, while I would infinitely rather see an American employed than an oriental, it is self-evident that no American is going to get any employment if this provision is adopted.

Mr. DAVIS. As I understand it, the section of the King bill to which the Senator refers is to prevent the existence of a reservoir of orientals in all the ports of the country, so that they may reship on other ships.

Mr. REED. We know just what the menace of that is, because there is not any such reservoir in most of our ports.

Mr. DAVIS. I remember that on one occasion it took some $40,000 to pay for the deportation of seamen who had come ashore illegally.

Mr. REED. Well and good; this is not going to solve that question. They are going to come ashore illegally.

Mr. DAVIS. It will not help any to let coolie labor come over in Chinese ships, with the right to remain here 60 days, and then reship on American ships.

Mr. REED. We can not stop the coolies from coming. They will come on the Chinese ships and the Japanese ships, and this bill would let them do it; and we can not stop their staying 60 days by this provision of the bill. They will do all those things.

I say that the present situation—that is, a very small floating supply of Chinese and Japanese seamen in American ports, none in the Atlantic ports, and comparatively few in the Pacific ports—is infinitely preferable to driving American ships out of that commerce altogether; and that is what would result from the enactment of this bill in its present form.

Mr. DAVIS. So far as I am concerned, I would rather increase the subsidy on the mail than to let coolies man American ships.

Mr. REED. I will grant that; and I would like to see the subsidy increased in some cases, too, but it can not be done, and I think the Senate knows it.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. FLETCHER. The whole purpose of this section, as I gather it, is to insure, so far as we can, the presence of American seamen on American ships. If we are to have an adequate merchant marine in this country we want to build up not only ships, but we must build up man power, seaman power, and therefore we must make it worth while for our boys and men to go to sea. We want to have American citizens, so far as we can, on board our merchant ships, not only because it would tend to develop a great industry in this country but in case of war we want not foreigners but American citizens on our ships.

The purpose of this bill is, so far as possible, to insure that there shall be employed on American merchant ships American seamen, and that the people operating the American ships shall not be permitted, because the labor is cheap, to pick up any lascars or Japanese or Chinese, or whatever they can, as against employing American seamen. It just depends on how far the Senate wants to go in that direction. We want to insure, if we can, the development of man power on the sea and encourage our seamen. We want to insure the presence of Americans on our ships so far as we can.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I am in full sympathy with that. But this section of the bill allows an American ship to employ Italians, it allows it to employ any number of Europeans, it allows it to employ negroes from the middle of Africa; but, worse than that, it means that American ships can not run in competition with oriental ships. It is not only going to take away the chances of employment of Americans in shipping, but it is going to drive the American flag off the ocean. I realize that is a strong statement, but I make it after profound reflection. I do not see how the section, if it becomes law, could possibly have any other effect.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I see the point the Senator makes, and undoubtedly the foreigner does have the advantage in reference to cost of operating a ship by reason of his lower wage costs. But we can not prevent foreigners from employing their own people. We can not deny them access to our ports, and this bill does not attempt to do that. There is no way by which we can avoid that difference in the cost of wages and the difference in the character and conditions of the seamen. Foreigners will manage their own affairs. But we can say that on American vessels American seamen shall be employed, and that is what we are trying to do.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if we do, there will not be any American ships to employ American seamen.

I have no personal interest in this of any sort whatsoever. Ships which come into the port of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's only seaport, do not employ one Japanese or one Chinaman or one lascar, so far as I know. I am not speaking from any personal or regional interest in the matter, but only from the profound conviction that we could deal no worse blow to the American merchant marine than to enact that section.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. REED. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is discussing seamen. Does not the bill apply to employees in the steward's department as well?

Mr. REED. Oh, yes. The term "seaman" includes every employee on the ship. It includes ship's officers, it includes engine-room crew, it includes men employed in the steward's department, the scullery boy who sweeps up the slop, just as well as the able-bodied seaman who attends to the navigation of the ship.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is it not highly probable that American labor is not available for that kind of menial employment, particularly on the Pacific coast?

Mr. REED. Quite so.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I agree with the Senator's estimate of the net result, at least of precipitous requirement for 100 per cent of American employees, if it is to include the steward's department.

May I ask the Senator whether the merchant marine law itself has not undertaken to set the standard for our ships?

Mr. REED. Oh, yes, Mr. President; the La Follette seamen's act, which, as I recall it, went into effect in 1915, provided that a majority of the crew must speak the language of the vessel's nationality, and we passed other requirements in the 1928 act. This goes further than anything ever suggested.

Anything we can do to give the desirable positions on the ships to American citizens I am for, and we all are for such provisions and do not need to discuss it. We all feel that way. But to say flatly that no job, however menial, can be given to cheap labor, in view of the competitors of American ships employing cheap labor, simply means that we are going to let the vessels of the United States be driven off the seas by competition.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In other words, instead of regulating immigration in this measure, we are actually, fundamentally, reorganizing the entire merchant marine legislation of the country.

Mr. REED. Precisely; without any submission of the subject to the Committee on Commerce whatsoever.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I have been compelled to be absent from the Chamber, attending an important committee meeting, and do not know what has occurred during my absence. I understand that a motion has been submitted by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. REED. It is to strike out section 7.

Mr. KING. Has the Senator tendered any amendment or any substitute for that section?

Mr. REED. No, Mr. President; I can not think of any amendment that would make it any better. I am in full accord with section 6, requiring every ship to take out as many aliens as it brings in. I believe in that, and I hope it is going to become law. Section 7, I think, is not going to have the effect the sponsors of the bill have in mind.

Mr. KING. I heard only the concluding sentence of the Senator's argument, and as I understood it it was rather a plea for the Japanese and for the Chinese. I do not say that in any critical spirit.

Mr. REED. Oh, no, Mr. President; it is a plea against them, if anything.

When the Senator was out—and I ask the pardon of the Chair for repeating this so often—I explained that the effect of the section would be to permit ships under the Japanese or the Chinese flag to use crews made up entirely of coolies, whereas the European ship or the American ship could not have a single coolie or lascar in its crew. The net result will be that the operating cost of the Chinese or Japanese ship will be about one-third that of the European or American ship, and inevitably the American ship will be driven off the ocean, and European ships will be driven out of trade to the United States. We are going to see not only the Pacific business but the Atlantic business carried in ships flying the Japanese or Chinese flag.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I do not agree with the views expressed by my able friend. In my opinion, no such consequences would follow the enactment of the pending bill into law. The adoption of the Senator's motion emasculates the bill, or at least deprives it of vital provisions and defeats one of the most important objectives which it seeks to attain. In a word, the provision which the Senator opposes will give to American ships advantages which will be denied them when the law goes into effect, which requires them to employ more American seamen than are now on Pacific Ocean ships operated by Americans.

I contend this bill, if it becomes law, will be of advantage to American ship operators. The question involved can not be treated de novo; it can not be dissociated from the exclusion laws which are upon our statute books. Some may question the wisdom of the course pursued by the United States in excluding certain races from our shores. That policy, however, was adopted after mature deliberation following years of agitation. In enacting that legislation it was not intended to exhibit any hostility to any race or any country, but there were economic considerations which many believed justified legislation materially affecting immigration. Within the past few years immigration laws have been enacted which in their application have almost locked our gates against aliens. The bill under consideration is to close this "side door" and prevent evasions of existing immigration laws, and to strengthen them in a few particulars when they have proven inadequate.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to say that I agree with all of that?

Mr. KING. This bill seeks primarily to prevent excluded persons from entering the United States, particularly when they seek entrance as seamen, when, as a matter of fact, they are mala fide seamen. It also seeks to prevent those who are ineligible under the immigration laws from entering the United States.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to a question?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. REED. It does not prevent their coming on Japanese ships or Chinese ships?

Mr. KING. Not having heard the Senator's address, I am at a disadvantage in trying to discuss the matters which engaged his attention. I am only trying to develop the points covered, so that I may, if possible, cover them. The observations just made were general, perhaps, and not specific; but I was attempting to make it plain that there were exclusion laws—which are to be considered, indeed can not be ignored—in measures such as the one now before us. But the exclusion laws do not, nor is it sought in this bill to, place embargoes upon oriental nations and prohibit their vessels engaged in trade and commerce from entering our ports.

I repeat, this bill does not prohibit ships from Japan or China coming into our ports. A Japanese ship may enter our ports with crews of its own nationals. If there are mala fide seamen in its crew, they are placed in a different category from bona fide seamen.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. LONG. It is a fact, is it not, that a ship can come to the United States under the Chinese flag loaded with coolies, while a ship flying the American flag can not enter one of our ports with the same sort of a crew on board? The ship under the Chinese flag would not be stopped. If it were flying the Chinese flag, it could bring in a crew composed wholly of coolies; but if it were under the American flag it could not have on board a floor sweeper who was a Chinaman or a cook who was a Japanese.

Mr. KING. I admit that this bill will admit Chinese vessels engaged in legitimate ocean commerce to our ports, even though their crews are Chinese. But their crews must consist of bona fide seamen—not mala fide seamen—or rather heavy penalties will be visited upon the owners of the vessels.

The United States is unwilling to place an embargo against ships of Japan, China, or any other country. Under our laws they may come to our shores, as the vessels of other nations may come. But this bill declares that other countries, including our own country, may not bring in their vessels nationals who, under our immigration laws, are excluded from the United States.

There is still trade and commerce among nations, and the vessels of most countries traverse the seas and oceans—and have access to the harbors of the world. We do not propose to deny China or Japan the same opportunities to bring their ships into our ports as we extend to other nations.

Nor do we deny to them the right to employ upon their vessels their own nationals.

We have heretofore legislated with reference to American crews, and within a few weeks the crews of American ships must be largely American.

It is true, as suggested by the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], that Chinese upon Chinese ships may come into our ports, and Japanese may come into our ports upon Japanese ships. Chinese may not come upon Japanese ships nor Japanese upon Chinese ships. Nor under this bill may aliens who are excluded under our immigration laws enter our ports as seamen upon the ships of other nations. There may be some who would like to exclude orientals from coming upon ships of their own country. Such a course has not been deemed proper; indeed, as I have stated, it would be an embargo. It does, however, undoubtedly restrict the employment of orientals on American ships, and it restricts the entrance of orientals into the United States except upon ships of their own nationality.

Mr. ASHURST and Mr. BROUSSARD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Utah yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. KING. I yield first to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. ASHURST. He would be a bold man indeed who would challenge the constancy or ability with which the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] has supported the immigration laws and urged their rigid enforcement. I agree with the thought in the last two or three sentences of the remarks of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING]. In those sentences he put his finger upon the point at issue, namely, oriental seamen should not come hither in American ships.

Mr. KING. I yield now to the senior Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. BROUSSARD. I know that the senior Senator from Utah has made a close study of the question. I want to ask him a question for my own information. We know that it is with great difficulty that the immigration office seeks out those not eligible to entry into the United States. It is impossible for a steamship to maintain such an organization and conduct such investigations. Under the terms of the bill if some seaman misrepresents the facts and the immigration officers have information which discloses that misrepresentation, we would only be penalizing the ship for taking one who is not eligible for entry into the United States by requiring it to deport that seaman.

Mr. KING. If I understand the Senator, his thought is that a foreign vessel entering our ports with persons who are not bona fide seamen would be penalized only to the extent of having the persons who are mala fide seamen taken from the vessel and deported to the country from which they came, at the expense of the vessel which brought them.

Mr. BROUSSARD. That is what I undertook to say.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator object to that?

Mr. BROUSSARD. I say that any ship that does that knowingly and purposely should be required to return those seamen home or to deport them. But, as I said, the immigration office has plenty of trouble keeping out people of that kind, although they are reinforced by an able corps of men and by information from abroad as to the right of those men to enter the United States. But if a steamship employs a man who has misrepresented the facts, is it right to require that ship to return him home at its own expense?

Mr. KING. We have been discussing one angle of that question to-day, as we did several days ago, when the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] offered an amendment dealing with seamen upon the Great Lakes. The proposition was then made that a boat departing from an American port, which carried a person who was a mala fide seaman, ought not to be penalized if it brought back to an American port the same person, because the Government was no worse off than it was before in having upon our shores a person who was not entitled to enter the United States. An amend-

ment was offered applying to ships sailing from American ports upon the Great Lakes. An amendment carrying out this view has been reported.

An amendment was offered to-day by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] based upon the same principle as that embodied in the amendment to which I have just referred. The amendment in effect provides that if a person is employed in an American port for service upon an American ship sailing to a foreign port, and he is returned by the same vessel to the United States the master of the vessel shall not be penalized, but the person thus shipped shall receive no immunity and shall not receive a more favorable status than that which he occupied anterior to his employment upon such American ship.

But to return to the question propounded by my friend from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD], I submit to him that one of the objects of the bill is to prevent American or other vessels from bringing to the United States, under the guise of bona fide seamen, persons who are mala fide seamen. If persons are brought by such ships to United States ports, they are to be inspected, and if it shall be discovered that they are mala fide seamen, they are to be deported at the expense of the ship which brought them but in another vessel. It seems to me in the interest of the proper execution of our immigration laws, and for the purpose of preventing persons entering the United States who are inadmissible under the immigration laws, that the shipping companies who bring them to our shores should bear the expense of returning them to the country from which they came.

Persons not entitled to entrance mingle with the population, and it is a major task to ferret them out and deport them. Some one must bear this expense, and it is submitted that the vessels responsible for their presence in the United States should bear all the expense incident to their deportation. It must be done either by the ships that bring them here or by the taxpayers of the United States through the instrumentalities which have been set up by the Government.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In addition to all of the immigration restrictions which the Senator seeks to strengthen, and which I would join him 100 per cent in strengthening, is it not a fact that the effect of the Senator's bill is to virtually amend the merchant marine act and require 100 per cent of American employment, even in the most menial positions of the steward's department, upon all ocean vessels immediately? Would not that be the effect of the Senator's bill?

Mr. KING. I do not agree with the Senator. In the case of a boat coming from Great Britain or some other European port, there is no requirement that men of any particular nationality shall be employed. This bill does, however, deny entrance into the United States of persons racially excluded who may be employed upon such boat. But a British ship may employ persons from any country on earth where not racially excluded, and they are as free to enter our ports as are Britishers. It may employ them as stewards or deck hands or engineers or in any capacity. There is no inhibition against their employment and no prohibition against their landing unless they are mala fide seamen.

If, however, individuals are employed who are not bona fide seamen—and a seaman does not necessarily mean a man who handles the shrouds and looks after the sails—they will be taken from the ship by American inspectors at American ports and detained as immigrants, and deported at the expense of the vessel which brought them to the United States.

Mr. VANDENBERG. A ship on the Pacific could not have in the steward's department, as I understand the Senator, a Chinese employed as a cabin boy, even though he is a bona fide cabin boy, and is not proposing to come here to invade our immigration restrictions at all. He could not be barred at all, could he?

Mr. KING. Those who are racially excluded may come to the United States as seamen, whether cabin boys or ordinary seamen, only on ships of their own nationality.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Which in turn, then, would give the ships of that nationality, because of the low wage scale involved, an absolute command of those particular men, would it not?

Mr. KING. I differ from the view expressed by my friend from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am not expressing a view. I am asking a question.

Mr. KING. There is an implication that the Senator thinks it would give the Japanese and Chinese vessels paramountcy in the Pacific.

Mr. VANDENBERG. As a matter of fact, would it not do so?

Mr. KING. I do not think so; and I shall later suggest some reasons for my position. May I say that, in my opinion, Americans who have obtained large sums from the United States Treasury for the purpose of building ships, and those who have tried to build up, as they thought, a merchant marine have failed to take cognizance of the imperative necessity of developing American seamen. They have not exercised sufficient concern in preparing American citizens for the sea. Our merchant marine should be ready to serve our country not only in days of peace but to be a protection to it in time of peril.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Is it not a fact that one of the chief sources of the smuggling of excluded aliens into the United States would be ended if we should adopt section 7 of the bill?

Mr. KING. Undoubtedly.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Is not that one of the purposes of the bill?

Mr. KING. Undoubtedly that is the object of it.

As I stated a moment ago, one of the purposes of the merchant marine is to have ships which carry our commerce to the ports of the world, that our flag may be seen upon the seas, and also that we may have in time of peril vessels that may strengthen our naval forces.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. With due respect to those who have made statements to the contrary, it seems to me rather far-fetched that we can not get cabin boys and waiters among a population where there are 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 people out of work. It seems to me we ought to be able to get waiters and cabin boys out of that great army of unemployed and put them upon our ships. In our large cities people are now on a dole, being paid out of the public treasury with money raised through taxation. They are the subjects of private charity or public charity. It seems to me that it is far-fetched if we can not get crews for American ships out of that vast army of unemployed.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the suggestions made by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] are worthy of consideration, and I think he states the facts accurately. Undoubtedly there has been an effort by persons who are interested in shipping upon the Pacific coast to continue a policy that will, at the expense of American citizens, give employment to persons racially excluded from entrance into the United States. What the Senator has stated is true. There are millions of American citizens now out of employment; there are hundreds, if not thousands, of young boys who would be glad to accept positions upon our merchant ships, as cooks, stewards, engineers, cabin boys, waiters, and so forth.

We, unfortunately, have been pursuing a policy that has not been calculated to develop seamen, men used to the sea, men competent to serve upon our merchant marine or, for

that matter, upon our naval vessels. This bill seeks to carry out two policies; it seeks two objectives: First, it is to tighten the immigration laws; it is to close the side doors through which 500,000 persons illegally entered the United States since 1921; they came as seamen and deserted and took refuge in all parts of the United States.

We have spent millions of dollars in trying to discover, and in numerous instances have successfully discovered, thousands of those who illegally entered our country, and we have deported them. A statement recently made by Secretary Doak appears in the United States Daily. He comments upon a decision of the Supreme Court recently handed down in regard to deserting seamen, and he states as follows, some of his comments being paraphrased:

Secretary of Labor W. N. Doak, in commenting upon the decision of the United States Supreme Court rendered on Monday of this week, said that he believes this will enable the immigration authorities to effect the deportation of a large number of aliens who have entered the United States unlawfully under the immigration act of 1924. The decision affirms the contention of the Department of Labor that an alien seaman who deserts his ship in a United States port and remains in the country may be deported at any time after arrival. Under an earlier law deserting seamen were not subject to deportation unless proceedings to that end were instituted within three years after entry, and a lower court held that the more stringent law of 1924 did not change a seaman's status in this regard.

Ever since the quota limit laws went into effect illegal entry in the guise of seamen has been a prolific source of immigration law violations. During the past six years nearly 100,000 seamen have deserted ships in ports of the United States. A large proportion of these are still in the country, and under the Supreme Court's decision they may be deported whenever found without regard to the length of time they have been in the country. Most deserting seamen take employment in the United States, thereby depriving citizens and lawfully resident aliens of jobs, and Department of Labor officials are confident that it will now be possible to expel many who had evaded arrest for three years and believed they were safe from deportation.

A statement was made in one of the hearings by an agent of the Labor Department which, if I can put my hand upon it, I should like to read.

Mr. REED. May I ask the Senator whether he would like to have a vote on this question to-day or to-morrow?

Mr. KING. I would not care to have a vote this evening. I should like to read the RECORD, because I was compelled to be absent from the Chamber——

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I shall yield to the Senator from Oregon in just a moment. I should like to read the able speech which the able Senator from Pennsylvania made during the day. It may be that it will be so compelling as to modify my views; it may also be that I shall have temerity enough to try to further answer it.

Mr. REED. I assure the Senator that there would be more joy over his salvation than anyone I can think of.

Mr. KING. I hope the Lord will save us both.

Mr. REED. But, Mr. President, I will not be able to be here to-morrow. However, I think I have made my views clear. I am also protected by a pair, so that I am perfectly willing to let a vote go over until to-morrow if the Senator from Utah wishes.

Mr. KING. I thank the Senator.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, is it the desire of the Senator from Utah to complete his remarks this evening? If not, I will move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. KING. That course will be perfectly agreeable to me.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate several messages from the President of the United States submitting nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Reports of committees are in order.

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably sundry post-office nominations, which were placed on the calendar.

Mr. HALE, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported favorably sundry nominations in the Navy, which were placed on the calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further reports of committees, the calendar is in order.

TREATY PASSED OVER

Executive KK, Seventieth Congress, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929, was announced as first in order.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, in the absence of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I ask that the treaty go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The treaty will be passed over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read nominations of the three members of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. McNARY. I ask that the nominations to the Federal Farm Board go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be passed over.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of William E. Humphrey, of Washington, to be commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission, for the term expiring September 25, 1938.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] is absent from the Chamber. I understand he desires to be present when this nomination is considered.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question regarding this nomination. Were any hearings held upon it?

Mr. DILL. If I may answer the Senator, there were hearings held for two days on the nomination.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Have they been published?

Mr. DILL. I am not certain about that. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS], who is familiar with the matter, is not now present.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I think we ought to have an opportunity to read the hearings, and, therefore, I ask that the nomination go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination will be passed over.

THE JUDICIARY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Charles C. Simons, of Michigan, to be United States circuit judge, sixth circuit.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Daniel W. O'Donoghue, of the District of Columbia, to be associate justice, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Harry F. Besosa to be United States attorney, district of Porto Rico.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Charles N. Hildreth, jr., to be United States marshal, southern district of Florida.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Martin Brown to be United States marshal, western district of Michigan.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.



The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Fred S. Hird to be United States marshal, southern district of Iowa.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. ODDIE. I move that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Nevada.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations of postmasters on the calendar are confirmed en bloc.

That completes the calendar.

RECESS

Mr. McNARY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Wednesday, January 27, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 26, 1932

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

George C. Crom, of Florida, to be register of the Land Office at Gainesville, Fla. (Reappointment.)

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Hugh S. Cumming, of Virginia, to be Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, for a term of four years expiring March 9, 1936. (Reappointment.)

REAPPOINTMENT IN THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS OF THE ARMY

GENERAL OFFICER

To be brigadier general, reserve

Brig. Gen. Luke Henry Callan, reserve, from February 4, 1932.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 26, 1932

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE

Charles C. Simons to be United States circuit judge, sixth circuit.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, SUPREME COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Daniel W. O'Donoghue to be an associate justice, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Harry F. Besosa to be United States attorney, district of Porto Rico.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS

Charles N. Hildreth, jr., to be United States marshal, southern district of Florida.

Martin Brown to be United States marshal, western district of Michigan.

Fred S. Hird to be United States marshal, southern district of Iowa.

POSTMASTERS

CALIFORNIA

Walter L. Haley, Associated.
Theodore Rueger, Benicia.
Presentation M. Soto, Concord.
Mildred K. Blacow, Irvington.
Anna Crossland, Loleta.
Charles F. Riedle, Los Banos.
Ira B. Jones, Los Molinos.
Raymond A. Rigor, McCloud.
Claude D. Richardson, McFarland.
Edmund V. Wahlberg, Manhattan Beach.
Charles G. Barnes, Morgan Hill.
Sula D. Abbott, Placentia.
Ellery M. Murray, St. Helena.
George G. Hughes, San Bruno.
Harrie C. Caldwell, San Fernando.
Pastor A. H. Arata, San Luis Obispo.
Terry E. Stephenson, Santa Ana.
Grace E. Tooker, Santa Monica.
Norman L. Henderson, Spring Garden.
Mary E. Rozier, Tuolumne.
Henry F. Stahl, Vallejo.
Ernest D. Gibson, Van Nuys.
William J. Murray, Yucaipa.

IDAHO

Richard L. Baker, Ashton.
Roy M. Parsons, Hagerman.
James M. Shaw, Kooskia.
Wheeler W. Elledge, Lava Hot Springs.
Elvira R. Denny, Leadore.
Helga M. Cook, McCall.
Charles L. Edwards, McCammon.
Fred V. Diers, Mackay.
Charles W. Craney, St. Maries.
Kenneth E. McBride, Salmon.
Oakley A. West, Weiser.

NEW JERSEY

Frank T. Buchanan, Bordentown.
Frank J. Allen, Delair.
Raymond F. Reihl, East Paterson.
Howard N. Parker, Gibbsboro.
Thomas J. Willis, Lake Hopatcong.
Harry H. Hilyard, Williamstown.
Dorothy M. Adams, Yardville.

NORTH DAKOTA

Evan S. Brown, Buffalo.
Walter P. Osborne, Hunter.
Philip G. Zimmerman, Pembina.
Benjamin J. Schnedar, Pisek.

OREGON

Lillian E. Wheelhouse, Arlington.
Alice K. Gallier, Bandon.
John S. Horn, Bonanza.
Fred C. Matches, Dayton.
Walter W. Mascall, Dayville.
Oscar C. Maxwell, Elgin.
John W. Bubb, Huntington.
George W. Johnson, Lakeview.
Thomas R. MacMillan, Lebanon.
Daniel E. O'Connor, Paisley.
Harold R. McIsaac, Parkdale.
James E. Jenks, jr., Tangent.
Thomas G. Tucker, Umatilla.
Ann B. Heydon, Valsetz.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Leroy A. Gage, Bryant.
Leonard J. Walker, Carthage.
William W. Sour, Castlewood.
Winfred E. Whittemore, Estelline.
John Larson, Pukwana.
Gust M. Eggen, Vienna.
Victor M. Dalthorp, Volga.
John W. Woods, Worthing.

TEXAS

Eugene C. Arnold, Agua Dulce.
Henrietta Fricke, Brenham.
Arno L. Wahrmund, Eagle Lake.
William D. Hawthorn, Elkhart.
David W. Thompson, Keltys.
William B. Byrd, Lipan.
August C. Koepsel, Mathis.
Charlsie S. Witham, New Braunfels.
Roscoe K. Garver, Van Alstyne.

UTAH

Henry H. Lunt, Cedar City.

VERMONT

Edward H. Willis, Pittsford.
Ernest W. Chase, Rochester.
Jonas H. Brooks, St. Johnsbury.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Infinite God, do Thou harken unto our prayer and so abide with us that we shall sound the spiritual chords of our beings. O lead us to the deep things of the soul; touch the depths of our hearts that our characters may break into spiritual beauty. For our country and for its citizenship we are thankful, but much there is to give us pause. In the midst of our scant and severe experiences let there be humiliation, that many may no longer be willing instruments of human folly. We pray for a revival of seriousness, earnestness, and reverence in the American home, for it is the center of gravity of our national life. Allow not frivolity to claim inordinate attention about our firesides. God Almighty, bless them and graciously be with the parenthood of our land and save it from the careers of thoughtlessness and vanity. Be Thou with the Congress to-day and impress it that the satisfaction that is full and fresh is the joy that comes from wise, unselfish service. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 218. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.;

S. 1234. An act to authorize an emergency appropriation for special study of and demonstration work in rural sanitation; and

S. 2334. An act to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House Joint Resolution 230, making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, with a Senate amendment thereto, and disagree to the Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House Joint Resolution 230, with a Senate amendment thereto, and disagree to the Senate amendment. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will inform the Senate of the action of the House.

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill, with Mr. McCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS

For necessary expenses of the Bureau of Public Roads, including salaries and the employment of labor in the city of Washington and elsewhere, supplies, office and laboratory fixtures and apparatus, traveling and other necessary expenses; for conducting research and investigational studies, either independently or in cooperation with State highway departments, or other agencies, including studies of highway administration, legislation, finance, economics, transport, construction, operation, maintenance, utilization, and safety, and of street and highway traffic control; investigations and experiments in the best methods of road making, especially by the use of local materials; studies of types of mechanical plants and appliances used for road building and maintenance and of methods of road repair and maintenance suited to the needs of different localities; and maintenance and repairs of experimental highways, including the purchase of materials and equipment; for furnishing expert advice on these subjects; for collating, reporting, and illustrating the results of same; and for preparing, publishing, and distributing bulletins and reports; to be paid from any moneys available from the administrative funds provided under the act of July 11, 1916 (U. S. C., title 23, sec. 21), as amended, or as otherwise provided:

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I am asking for this time in accordance with the statement I made on the floor yesterday when, under consideration of the predatory-animal item, it was stated by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN] that he had understood that the grasshopper infestation, which had plagued many of the Western States during this last year, was due, in a great degree, to the predatory-animal-control program. In discussing the matter with the gentleman from Missouri a little later, I found that his information came from a newspaper article. I stated at that time that I wanted five minutes to reply, placing before the House some of the facts in the case, because the program for the increased control of predatory animals and rodents is to be carried on under a bill which I introduced and which was passed in the last Congress. The newspaper statement to which the gentleman from Missouri referred is an example of general statements that are often made that do not take into consideration all of the facts as they apply to the matter in hand. It is true that some of the rodents feed to some extent upon the eggs of the grasshoppers and that an oversupply of rodents might reduce an oversupply of grasshoppers in some sections. It is also true that the most severe grasshopper infestation of the last year in the State of Nebraska and in the State of South Dakota occurred in areas in which there has been no intensive work done by the Biological Survey. In the State of Nebraska, for example, the only extensive work in the eradication of rodents has been in connection with various plantings of trees taken from the Halsey Experiment Station and planted in areas that are included in the national-forest boundaries within that State.

That has applied to the rodent known as the pocket gopher. The pocket gopher is poisoned, not on the surface where birds and other animals can get the poison but in the hole that he occupies, so that the poison and its damage are confined to the pocket gopher himself. How much work in the eradication of gophers and other rodents has been carried on by farmers of those States I do not know, but so far as the Biological Survey is concerned, its operations have not been comparatively extensive.

Another thing to be taken into consideration is that there were grasshopper infestations many, many years before there was any such thing as the Biological Survey or any of the eradication or control work carried on with regard to rodents. The gentleman from Missouri spoke yesterday of predatory animals. Of course, he meant the rodents, which to some extent do eat the eggs of the grasshoppers. The predatory animals generally referred to are wolves and coyotes. The same scientist who has charged the Biological Survey with guilt for the grasshopper infestation came before the Committee on Agriculture in opposition to the program for predatory-animal and rodent control on the ground that if we carried on too much extermination and control of

coyotes, the result would be too many gophers and rodents. He now wants us to let the gophers and rodents remain on earth in order that they may destroy the grasshoppers. It is just a matter of taking one position after the other, each one just about as ridiculous as the other.

There is a difference of opinion among scientists.

Dr. W. H. Larrimer, who is in charge of the cereal and forage insect investigations of the Bureau of Entomology, United States Department of Agriculture, when consulted in regard to the effect of mammals upon grasshoppers, said:

While ground squirrels, skunks, mice, and other rodents undoubtedly prey upon various species of grasshoppers and other insects, there is no evidence to indicate that the comparatively small number of such insects destroyed by these animals is of any considerable importance in preventing injurious outbreaks of these species. It has not been possible to correlate the numbers of such rodents with the increase and decrease of such insect populations.

The outbreak of grasshoppers during the past season occurred over practically all of the western half of the United States and was most severe in south-central South Dakota and north-central Nebraska. Serious outbreaks occurred in the neighboring States of Minnesota, North Dakota, Iowa, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado, with more scattered outbreaks throughout the rest of the Western States. Complete loss of crops, including alfalfa, small grains, and corn, occurred in an area of some 12,000 to 15,000 square miles in south-central South Dakota and a more restricted area in north-central Nebraska. Individual fields in neighboring States suffered complete loss and partial loss occurred in a number of other States.

Widespread and destructive outbreaks or plagues of grasshoppers occurred in the Middle West in the early years of settlement and development of farming, the early seventies and eighties. Since that time various outbreaks have continued to occur irregularly, sometimes in successive years and at other times at intervals of years. There seems to be some evidence that two dry years in succession favor an outbreak of grasshoppers the second year.

That is the fact as we know it in the semiarid States of the West. Where we have a succession of dry years bringing about favorable conditions for the propagation of grasshoppers, we have a grasshopper infestation.

Now, to go a little farther back than the seventies and the eighties, in bringing my remarks to a close, I show you from a photograph that I have here that there were grasshopper infestations in that same territory of the West not only in the seventies and the eighties but thousands and thousands of years ago. This picture in my hand is one that is known as Grasshopper Glacier. It lies just north of Yellowstone National Park, near Cook City. It is at an elevation of about 11,000 feet. In the ice of that glacier there are found repeated strata of grasshoppers that have been frozen into the ice. That means that in prehistoric times these great flights of grasshoppers coming out of one section of that western country and flying toward another were caught in storms in an effort to cross that high divide, forced down, and there frozen into the glaciers. One layer of ice after another was formed over them, and there is a succession, as you will see in this photograph, of strata of these grasshoppers. This indicates that these infestations may have occurred during the same period year after year, according to some scientists, but according to other scientists there were considerable periods of years between. But in any case the ice that was created in the forming of glaciers is thousands of years old. It is not of recent formation. In other words, you have there evidence on ice to prove that these grasshopper infestations are not brought about by the work of the Biological Survey, a service that was created only a few years ago, but that such infestations have gone on not only through years but through innumerable centuries. This indicates that the matter of control, in order that human habitations may be made secure, is a present responsibility.

I now yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. In the last Congress, in the closing hours one evening, the Committee on Agriculture called up the predatory animal Federal aid bill, which I opposed because it was another Federal-aid measure. I am opposed to all such Federal-aid programs. I would like to ask the gentleman whether or not the States he refers to have availed themselves of an opportunity to match the money appropriated by the Federal Government.

Mr. LEAVITT. The Western States and some of the other States have not only matched the money of the Federal Government but have appropriated moneys far beyond what has been appropriated by the Federal Government. The increased program, what is known as the 10-year program of control of predatory animals and rodents, which was passed by the last Congress, has not yet gone into effect. An appropriation was authorized this year, but under present conditions an increased appropriation could not be secured. It has not yet gone into effect at all, so that it could have had nothing to do with the grasshopper infestation of last year.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. The fact remains that the report on that bill showed that the largest portion of that money would go to the State of Texas for the purpose of getting rid of the rodents in that State. The Federal Treasury opening its doors for the purpose of destroying rats.

Mr. LEAVITT. Predatory animals, particularly, in the State of Texas. Let me say in behalf of the State of Texas—and there are many here who can speak for it better than I—the State of Texas has not only met those funds but has met them with multiplied funds.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. My viewpoint is that the State should take care of such situations itself and not come here appealing to the Federal Government. Where is this Federal aid going to end?

Mr. LEAVITT. The place of the Federal Government in this program is one of leadership, because in many of the Western States the Federal Government is a great landowner. It owns not only thousands of acres but millions of acres that are breeding places of the predatory animals and rodents which infest the surrounding country, and that must be controlled by the United States Government itself.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. I yield.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Is it not true that the grasshoppers which are evidenced in this ice represent a period of perhaps 10,000 years ago?

Mr. LEAVITT. It is likely so. They are larger, on the average, than the present grasshoppers, but they are of the same species, indicating that they lived at a time which ties in with the present time, but the existence of them in the ice, the condition of the ice, makes scientists believe that it does go back over a matter of perhaps that long.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

I want to say to my distinguished colleague that with respect to the expense of exterminating prairie dogs, one-half of the State of Texas, embracing an area of a dozen States I could name, was infested with them, and the cattlemen of Texas did not have the Government stand the expense of getting rid of them. The cattlemen themselves went into their pockets and spent tremendous sums of money in poisoning them. With their own means they exterminated them. I wish I had all the money that was spent on the ranch of my distinguished colleage, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KLEBERG], in poisoning prairie dogs.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. What I was trying to bring out was this question of continually granting Federal aid to the States. It has grown until now we find there are over 20 States in the Union to-day taking more money from the Federal Government in the way of Federal aid than they actually pay into the Treasury. The time has arrived when this practice must be discontinued or you never will be able to reduce Government expenditures. In one letter our citizens ask for a reduction of taxes and in another solicit your vote in support of some Federal-aid measure. Yesterday the Senate embarked on a new plan—Federal aid for rural sanitation. When that bill is considered here, there will be added an amendment providing for Federal aid for rural health. Such a bill passed this House in the last Congress. What we should do is to repeal the Federal aid laws rather than enact additional ones. The only ones that should survive are laws dealing with Federal improvements of rivers and harbors and good roads. You can set a reasonable date to discontinue aid for good roads, and I will support it.

Mr. BLANTON. I regret that I can not yield further. I did not take the floor to discuss the subject the gentlemen is now discussing. I took it for another purpose. I received this morning a letter from one of my good friends, Mr. J. M. Radford, of Abilene, Tex. Over 40 years ago he opened up a small business in western Texas, in my home city of Abilene, Tex. Through close application and splendid ability he succeeded, and then went into the wholesale grocery business. He is now the president and owner of one of the biggest wholesale businesses in the Southwest. He owns and maintains wholesale grocery businesses at Abilene, Alpine, Amarillo, Ballinger, Big Spring, Brady, Brownwood, Cisco, Coleman, Farwell, Graham, Lubbock, Marfa, Memphis, Plainview, Quanah, Seymour, Stamford, Sweetwater, and Wichita Falls, Tex., and at Clovis and Roswell, N. Mex., with his headquarters office in Abilene, Tex. He writes a very interesting letter on the Finance Corporation act. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to attach that communication to my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The letter referred to follows:

[J. M. Radford Grocery Co. (Inc.), wholesale grocers. Established 1883. J. M. Radford, president; O. E. Radford, vice president; R. Harkrider, secretary; H. M. Harrison, treasurer. Principal office, Abilene. Houses at Abilene, Alpine, Amarillo, Ballinger, Big Spring, Brady, Brownwood, Cisco, Coleman, Farwell, Graham, Lubbock, Marfa, Memphis, Plainview, Quanah, Seymour, Stamford, Sweetwater, Wichita Falls; Clovis and Roswell, N. Mex.]

ABILENE, TEX., *January 23, 1932.*

HON. THOS. L. BLANTON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BLANTON: I am in receipt of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 12, which you so kindly sent to me and have read marked pages 1860 to 1864.

I notice with a great deal of interest your statements made upon the floor of the House and the position you have taken. I want to commend you for your stand, and if I had been there and had been capable of making these announcements, I would have done it word for word as you have. From here on out, if we don't go right in making our laws and the stoppage of these expenditures at Washington, we are certainly going to go wrong, and badly wrong. In making these appropriations as outlined by our President we are not paying any debts; we are simply borrowing from Peter to pay Paul. We have been doing that so long until our financial structure has broken down and our country is in a fearful condition financially. We can come back again because the United States is a young country and has natural resources enough to come back on; but if we are not careful in the kind of financial arrangements we make, we will fail even when we think we are helping the people; those great appropriations made there in Washington are liable to benefit a few to the detriment of the many. The great trouble is that we try to commence at the top in helping our financial institutions instead of commencing at the bottom and building upward. The middle classes are the people and institutions that are building this country.

It is true these pending bills for this great expenditure of money to be loaned to banks, railroads, and loan companies, the majority of which are "busted," will only take care of frozen assets which are mostly worthless and will never be paid, and in a large measure the funds will not reach the people as the majority think they will; if they do, it will only be temporary, and sooner or later we will be back where we are now.

Now, as to the reparation debt. This is a just debt. Foreign countries and our allies pleaded, begged, and finally coerced us into the war. We went into it at a great sacrifice to the American people as to money, food, and manhood. We did our bit and did it generously, and now those foreign people have got the nerve to come up and tell us we must make further donations to them in the way of canceling these war debts which they justly owe.

What have we done during the last 75 years? We have been a borrowing nation from European countries, and they have exacted from us every penny that they loaned us, both in commercial and war debts, and the American people have walked up to the lick log and paid them both principal and interest. Now, they take the position that we should not ask them to pay the war debt they owe us. Then they come before us and request that we help them give their people employment and rehabilitate their country, and we loaned them money to do this. Then, they came before us and sold our people their worthless bonds and stocks and reduced our people to penury and want; that is, the masses of our people. Now our New York friends and money lenders of this country are apparently playing with them and request them to ask us to cancel the reparation debt that our money lenders and bankers in Wall Street and elsewhere may be paid these commercial debts, bonds, and stock speculations.

If this is ever allowed by our President or our Members of the Senate and Congress of these United States, I for one will be ready to quit. I am not in favor of canceling this war debt, but I am in favor of giving them all the reasonable time needed in the payment of it. If there is any loss to be taken, let it be taken by our shrewd financiers who knew that this reparation debt existed and should be paid first, because it is the debt of the people, and the commercial debt is the debt to the favored few.

I could go on at length and write you a long letter, but I know you have not got time to read it; but I do know you have the right idea as far as the masses of the people are concerned, and you should talk and even shout it in the Halls of Congress every opportunity you get.

The credit fiber of the country has been ruined. You can remember when you and I were young men out here under depressed conditions when we did not have anything like the resources we have now, and in bad years and in panicky times every community took care of itself. Why? Because the people had some credit and confidence in each other. All of that has been destroyed by chain banks, chain stores, and every other chain imaginable that leads back to the money powers of this country and to Wall Street. If a man gets out of a job now, even in west Texas, and has no money, he certainly has no credit and he and his family are ready to go to the bread-and-water plan or ask the city or county to take care of them.

There is too much Government in business. Nobody to-day knows how to handle themselves and do as you and I used to do to make a start in life. The young man to-day, in my opinion, without any money to start on has very little chance of making a start and succeed in life. Of course, there will always be a few superior people, but I am referring to the masses; it is getting where no man can run a business without continually butting into an objection from either the city, county, State, or Government. Unless things can be regulated there in Congress and expenses reduced something terrible is going to happen in this country one of these days, and you know I am not a bolshevik, and I always try to be an optimist and to look on the bright side of everything. We are all depending on each other, and we can't afford to make one class prosperous and not another.

Out here last year we made a bountiful crop of everything, but we got nothing for it. Our farmers can not pay a back debt or a mortgage; our town people are in the same plight; our standard of living is being continually reduced; and it should not be that way when you and I know the advantages the younger generation have had over the opportunities we had. Our standard of living, if anything, should be higher; but take it from me as a suggestion, it is higher now than it will ever be again while time lasts, and that is because of the competition we have got on both sides of the ocean, both European and the yellow races, whose wages commence at 30 cents per day and go to $2 per day, while ours commence at $2 per day and go to $25 per day. We simply can not compete, and you Congressmen had better investigate, and investigate closely, when you go to talking about reducing the tariff and letting in foreign supplies.

I have always been a tariff man for revenue only to meet expenses, but on most of the commodities that we produce, on account of the wage scale in other countries, we can not compete and we will have to have protection.

If I had it in my power, the Army and Navy would be materially reduced, and what money this Government had to spend I would spend it for fortifications and protection along the borders of these United States, and then tell all foreigners to stay in their country and we Americans would stay in ours. I am for Americans and America first, last, and all the time.

I am sorry that I have taken up your time in writing this long letter, but I got enthused in reading your speech that you sent me, and those that I have heard comment on it speak of it about as I am writing you.

Your friend,

J. M. RADFORD.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, the letter from Mr. J. M. Radford should be of interest to all of us, for he is one of the leading, successful, enterprising business men of the Southwest. He was once a poor man. He knows the problems of the poor. He is thoroughly familiar with the problems one must solve and struggles one must make and the obstacles that one must overcome to be successful. He knows all about the problems that beset the successful, which must be worked out daily, to prevent success from terminating in failure.

This constituent of mine, Mr. J. M. Radford, has been a constructive builder for half a century. He has generously given of his means to help others. He has worked shoulder to shoulder with the other splendid business men of my home city in furthering every enterprise that benefited our city, county, State, and Nation.

His many wholesale branches he has scattered all over Texas and New Mexico demonstrate that he has contributed much to the general welfare of numerous communities. Think of the number of positions he has furnished his numerous employees, heads of families, being home people in each community, interested in local affairs, and thoroughly identified with the local citizenship. Naturally he has viewed with alarm the supplanting of home people and

home businesses with chain stores of every kind that all report their finances to New York and other large centers.

His views on one particular subject, while he is not in favor of granting one thousand million dollars in subsidies annually to the favored few, but safeguarding American business, may give some encouragement to our friend from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] and our distinguished tariff expert, Doctor CROWTHER, of New York, because, incidentally, he believes in a tariff on oil and a few other commodities. He has seen the bad effect of 100,000 men in Oklahoma and Texas being put out of business because we have no tariff on oil, and he knows about foreign oil from Mexico and South America bankrupting independents.

I have been waiting all during this Congress for the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], who is one of your leaders on that subject, to explain to us why you tariff Republicans have not put a tariff on petroleum. A tariff of $1 a barrel on foreign petroleum would put 100,000 men back to work in Texas and Oklahoma alone. Can my friend explain that?

Mr. TREADWAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes. Certainly.

Mr. TREADWAY. I am quite astonished that the distinguished gentleman from Texas, who keeps so well informed, is not aware that there are people designated to be heard before the Ways and Means Committee on that very subject.

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, I remember distinctly when that distinguished delegation headed by Wirt Franklin came from Oklahoma in January, 1931, and had the gentleman speak to them at their big meeting in the House caucus room, and had the gentleman promise them that he would give them a tariff on oil. I remember when they met down here at the Mayflower first, and then had a caucus up here in the House caucus room. I remember these Republican stalwarts from the Ways and Means Committee, Doctor CROWTHER and the balance of them, walking in and saying, "Gentlemen, you have made out your case." Then when they thought they had $1 per barrel secured, Mr. Patrick Hurley came in and told them that the administration was not going to let them have it. The gentleman was present when Mr. Hurley took the stand. You had those hearings then before your Ways and Means Committee, and it was said they had made out their case. They showed that foreign oil has run them out of business and put them into bankruptcy, yet the gentleman and his high-tariff Republican Party and Republican administration have not given them any relief whatever. What is the use or purpose of holding further hearings? We are all thoroughly familiar with the need and necessity for an embargo on foreign oil.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. TREADWAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes. Certainly. Can the gentleman explain why?

Mr. TREADWAY. I did not catch the gentleman's statement with reference to some promise I had made. I hope the gentleman will not include me as one who ever made any promise to anybody in advance of consideration in the House.

Mr. BLANTON. I thought the gentleman made an awfully favorable speech at that meeting, and I took it from him that he was going to give them something. His attitude, at least, was a promise, his facial expression was a promise, and his words were not unpromising. It seemed to me that everyone on the Ways and Means Committee was in favor of it. Then Mr. Patrick Hurley came up and dropped that bomb in the meeting and said they could not do it. They could not do it, why? Because of the Dutch Shell; because of Mr. Andrew W. Mellon's Gulf interests in Venezuela. That is the sole reason. What other reason can the gentleman give? It is the hard, mailed, iron fist of Mr. Mellon that has been put upon that proposition and prevents relief, and you can not get away from it.

Mr. TREADWAY. I know the gentleman does not want to misconstrue any of my actions?

Mr. BLANTON. If the gentleman's facial expression was wrong, I take it back.

Mr. TREADWAY. I want to repudiate any advance promise on any item of any description having to do with the tariff or other matters except those which are a part of the Republican platform. That is the only thing on which I ever make a promise, and I will make a promise on that. I do not even recall that I attended the meeting to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman knows that foreign oil has bankrupted the independents, whether he attended the meeting or made any promises or not. And he thoroughly understands the oil situation, as he does other tariff questions. During the session of the House of Representatives on January 15, 1931, as shown on page 2283 of the RECORD for that date, I secured the floor and called attention to this very situation. I then called attention to the fact that there was then in session in this city a convention of delegates from the oil-producing States, called by the governors of those States, to devise some means of relief for the independent oil operators of the country, and I then mentioned that they had their backs to the wall, caused by imports of foreign oil annually entered free, and that they must have some protection at once.

I then mentioned that they had held that morning (January 15, 1931) a most enlightening meeting in the House caucus room, which Senators, Representatives in Congress, and a great number of delegates from oil-producing States attended. I called attention to the many splendid addresses, but mentioned in particular that delivered by Mr. Wirt Franklin, of Oklahoma City, Okla., president of the Independent Oil Producers' Association, and I then asked permission to place in the RECORD that fine address.

In the colloquy that ensued, I called attention to the fact, that fortunately for the independent producers, Mr. Wirt Franklin was a man of great wealth, that I had been reliably informed that he had spent out of his own pocket about $200,000 in efforts to aid and assist those in his industry and to collect information and facts on the subject he so ably discussed, and I was granted permission to place that address of Mr. Wirt Franklin's in the RECORD. It appears on pages 2284 to 2288, inclusive, of the RECORD of January 15, 1931. I invite all Members to read it. I specially invite the Republican members on the Ways and Means Committee to read it, and possibly we may be able to get out of that committee some relief for these independent oil producers, and with the help of our high-tariff protection Republicans in Congress we may be able to pass the legislation and then get the high-tariff Republican President to sign it.

That is one piece of unfinished business that our Republican brethren can not ever explain away. They have been on each election year getting multiplied thousands of Republican votes from Republicans in the oil States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, and Colorado, on their Republican high-tariff doctrine, with protection promised all industries that needed protection. How much longer are they going to get these Republican oil votes? How many oil districts do Republicans expect to carry in the 1932 elections? They can't fool these oil Republicans any longer with promises and hearings. They want more than hearings. They want relief. Foreign oil has put the independents out of business. It has bankrupted them. It has made paupers out of multimillionaires. It has put out of jobs hundreds of thousands of men all over the United States, and how long are you going to let that condition continue? [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ARENTZ. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words. Mr. Chairman, we have here an example of what is to be expected when we discuss the tariff piecemeal, for here we have the gentleman from Texas asking

for a tariff on only one item, namely, that of oil imported into this country. In order to get a real idea of this question of the tariff it would be necessary to call on the gentleman from Massachusetts, the gentlemen from Virginia, Florida, Texas, California; in fact, from each State in the Union; for the tariff question is, after all, a local question—copper here, lemons there, and a hundred other items being manufactured or produced in hundreds of different places.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman must confine himself to the bill and the section under discussion. We can not have the tariff discussed now, because we must go along on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will proceed in order.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield to me, I trust my friend from Texas will allow the gentleman from Nevada to make his statement, inasmuch as the gentleman on his side opened the discussion on the tariff.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No; the gentleman from Texas did not open that discussion. It was opened by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. TREADWAY. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I only rose after the gentleman from Texas had referred directly to me in reference to a tariff matter and where he misconstrued my position entirely.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Then the gentleman from Texas had no business to inject a tariff discussion here, and I object.

Mr. ARENTZ. We were discussing the question of rodents, a question of boring from within, because that is what it means when we discuss the destruction of pine trees or destruction on the plains of Texas by these prairie dogs. The same thing applies, I might say, to foreign goods coming into our markets. It is a question of boring from within and destroying American industry. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I renew the point of order.

Mr. ARENTZ. Mr. Chairman, my voice is not very good this morning, and I will yield the floor in view of the determination of the gentleman from Texas to prevent me from enlightening his colleague from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] on this important question of the tariff.

The pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY SYSTEM

For carrying out the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 355–359), and all acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto, to be expended in accordance with the provisions of said act, as amended, including not to exceed $733,100 for departmental personal services in the District of Columbia, $100,000,000, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended, which sum is composed of $42,400,000, a part of the sum of $125,000,000 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, by paragraph 1 of the act approved April 4, 1930 (46 Stat. 141), and $57,600,000, part of the sum of $125,000,000 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, by paragraph 1 of the act approved April 4, 1930 (46 Stat. 141).

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. TABER: Page 66, line 10, after the comma at the end of line 9, strike out "$100,000,000" and insert in lieu there of "$75,000,000."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, this is the first opportunity that has been given this House on an appropriation bill to save a real, substantial sum of money. I propose to strike out $100,000,000 for Federal aid for highways and insert in place thereof $75,000,000.

The reason I am doing this is that I believe, in view of the entire situation, this is all that is going to be required. I am going to base my case, not only upon the urgent needs of the situation but upon the hearings that have been held before the subcommittee on agriculture.

A year ago we appropriated $125,000,000 for this purpose. Three or four months ago we appropriated $50,000,000, and now we are asked to appropriate another $100,000,000. A year ago, in addition to what was appropriated, we appropriated $80,000,000, which was advanced to the States so that they might go ahead with programs of construction, and it was understood that this $80,000,000 was to be repaid on the basis of $16,000,000 a year. This means $16,000,000 in the fiscal year 1933, which begins the 1st of next July.

There are outstanding apportionments under statutes which have already been passed, including the fiscal years 1931, 1932, and 1933, as appears on page 343, a total of $121,494,000.

Mr. MORTON D. HULL. What did the gentleman say those figures represent?

Mr. TABER. The total unallotted apportionments. This is all they can build up to under the authorization.

We are now asked to appropriate $100,000,000, plus the $16,000,000 which has been advanced to the States and which has to be paid back this year.

The States are up against this situation: They are obliged, due largely to their own condition and due to the fact that they are partly compelled to pay back the $16,000,000 in the fiscal year 1933, to curtail their programs. Lots of the States have not had apportioned to them their whole 1931 apportionment. There is $17,000,000 still outstanding on 1932, and there is almost $2,000,000 outstanding on the 1931 apportionment for the year which expired the 1st of last July.

Every State of the Union is curtailing. The Governor of New York, in submitting his budget estimate, recommended a cut of more than one-half of what they might use. The Governor of New Jersey, in submitting his estimates, since the hearings on the part of this subcommittee, recommended the wiping out entirely of construction projects for highways.

Our States, with this encouragement, have gone ahead with elaborate programs of highway construction. They have spent so much money that the maintenance of these roads, which is an absolute prerequisite to their obtaining further funds, is getting to be a very large burden.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. We should save money wherever we can. With only $121,000,000 to build to, why do we need this $100,000,000 with the prospect that not only these States which have already gone on record through their legislatures will not use anywhere near the apportionment, and that other States throughout the country will not use theirs? Folks are not going to be so free in spending money; they are not going to go so far. Is it not now the time to set our foot down and say that $75,000,000 which I propose will provide with the $91,000,000 to operate with—is it not a fair thing, is it not the right thing for us to say that you shall not have any more?

Is it not right for us to cut down the $100,000,000 to $75,000,000?

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes; I yield.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Will the gentleman name the States that will not be able to contribute their portion this next year?

Mr. TABER. The State of Illinois will not use all. Alabama still has $480,000 of the 1931 apportionment. Florida has a very substantial amount. Mississippi has $1,398,000. Hawaii has $26,000. On the 1932 apportionment Alabama has $2,600,000; Arizona has $187,000; Arkansas has $120,000; Colorado has $80,000; Connecticut has $18,000; Florida, $1,540,000; Georgia, $149,000; Iowa, $187,000; Kentucky, $35,000; Louisiana, $107,000; Maine, $341,000; Maryland, $15,000; Michigan, $583,000; Mississippi, $2,209,000; Montana, $949,000; Nebraska, $336,000; Nevada, $174,000; New Hampshire, $5,000; New Jersey, $236,000; New Mexico, $234,000; North Carolina, $1,315,000; North Dakota,

$396,000; Ohio, $433,000; Oregon, $437,000; Pennsylvania, $511,000; Rhode Island, $133,000; Tennessee, $1,497,000; Texas, $1,036,000; Utah, $302,000; Vermont, $12,000; Virginia, $39,000; Washington, $230,000; West Virginia, $102,000; Wisconsin, $58,000; Hawaii, $609,000.

Mr. BUSBY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. BUSBY. The gentleman has mentioned Mississippi in his figures that he has enumerated.

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. BUSBY. If I may be permitted to explain that in Mississippi, unfortunately, we have had a condition that the people of the State have not been able to overcome. It is one of those conditions where politics have made it impossible to get the State legislature to permit the highway department to function.

Now, we have a new administration and governor, and we are hopeful to have immediately enacted State laws which will permit us to receive from the Federal road fund the funds that we so badly need and which we will use to construct roads as soon as we can get the proper legislative machinery with which to operate.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. Mr. Chairman, it so happens that this morning the Roads Committee has been having hearings on this very proposition. Most of these States that have been mentioned by the gentleman from New York as not having used all of their appropriations will meet, in practically every instance, the Federal-aid appropriation. There are five or six States that perhaps will not do it this year because the legislatures have used the funds for other purposes, but they have two years in which to match Federal-aid funds, and it was the opinion of the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads that in practically every instance the States would meet the Federal appropriation and be in a condition within the time allotted to match the Federal-aid appropriation. So that the figures given by the gentleman may be misleading in that the States that are mentioned as being in default have two years from the time the appropriation is authorized to meet Federal-aid appropriations and will undoubtedly do so.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLTON. Yes; I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. At the end of the two years do those appropriations revert back to the Treasury, or are they further assigned to the States that are taking their funds?

Mr. COLTON. They revert back if at the end of the 2-year period they are not used, but they may be reappropriated. In every instance since the Federal-aid program was commenced the funds have been taken except in one State, I believe. One State, because of its peculiar conditions, lost some of the funds, but it is not anticipated that one single State will fail to match this Federal aid in the future. The testimony before our committee is that in every instance, practically, the States have already indicated their ability and desire to match the Federal-aid appropriation.

Some interesting things have been brought out with reference to the relation between the road appropriations and the matter of unemployment. Out of every $350 that is appropriated for road construction, about $300 goes to labor, either directly or indirectly; and out of every $1,000 appropriated for road construction a very conservative estimate was given to us this morning that only about $90 goes for original unprocessed material and for profit. So that per dollar appropriated the road appropriations are going further toward relieving the unemployment situation than any other appropriation that is being made. Last year we averaged 300,000 men in the United States who were working upon the road projects, and in addition to that it is conservatively estimated that there were two for one employed in preparing the material for the road, so that the road appropriation last year either directly or indirectly furnished employment for more than 1,000,000 in the United States. To curtail that you will not only strike a blow at the road building of the country but you will strike one of the hardest blows against relief of the unemployment situation. To adopt the gentleman's amendment would be nothing short of economic suicide at this time when we are making every effort possible to relieve unemployment. Out of all the appropriations that have been made, I repeat, this has done more proportionately toward relieving unemployment in the country than any other appropriation, and, therefore, because the States are meeting it—yes, more than meeting it—we should reject this amendment. They are more than meeting the appropriation and going a long way beyond it.

My own State, Utah, for instance, poor as it is, during last year appropriated about $500,000 to put men and teams at work on the roads, and practically every dollar of that fund went directly to the relief of unemployment. Men with teams were employed in all parts of the State who would otherwise have been entirely out of work.

Mr. BUSBY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. In view of the motion pending before the committee, I feel some explanation is due the House with regard to some of the items that would be affected by this amendment. For two or three years, unfortunately, Mississippi has had no legislation which would permit it to cooperate with the Federal highway department. Consequently, she could not take advantage of the funds that were provided in the former legislation. The Federal department sent a representative to Mississippi, and that representative made a speech before the legislature, trying to get the governor and the legislature together on a certain type of legislation that would be acceptable to the Federal highway department. Nothing was done. Until this last week that condition continued, although we had two or three special sessions of the legislature trying to iron it out. We have adopted a system of highways in the State which we propose to improve, and have looked forward to the time when we would have a new administration and could have laws that would permit us to proceed with that program. So the situation has stood up to the present time. This money would all be used in our State, I am quite sure, as it is available.

Tennessee and Louisiana are mentioned also. Tennessee has spent millions of dollars within the last few months. Louisiana has done the same thing. I do not understand why these items are outstanding, or appear to be, as they are in the table presented in the hearings on this bill, but at this time, when we are trying to give employment to people, when building has been one of the chief things through which that employment is to be extended, when the roads are necessary and should be built, it seems to me that we ought not to adopt an amendment which would cut down the amount available for that purpose. The State is spending much more than is indicated by the amount set out in the table contained in the hearings. I understand that the Federal Government provides not more than 7 or 8 per cent of the amount of the funds that go into highway construction. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PARSONS] a while ago asked what will become of this money, if it would revert into the Treasury of the United States. It would not go back into the Treasury. It would be reallocated after the period of two years, if the State to which it had been allocated did not take advantage of the funds, and some other State that was making use of the funds would get a larger proportion, because that proportion would go into the general fund.

Mr. PARSONS. In fact, it would revert to the Treasury in principle, because then it would go to that fund and be reassigned to the States participating.

Mr. BUSBY. No; it would not revert to the Treasury. The allocation would lapse, and that fund would be reallocated along with other funds at the next allocation time.

Mr. PARSONS. That is true; but, after reverting to the Treasury, that would be done anyway, so you are achieving the same thing in principle. The gentleman mentioned that probably Illinois would not take its funds. Illinois has taken its money every year and will continue to do so next year.

Mr. BUSBY. We can not spend it as fast as it is allocated, because it takes time to plan projects. We have a couple of years in which to do that.

Mr. PARSONS. It has already indicated its willingness to take it.

Mr. SINCLAIR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUSBY. I yield.

Mr. SINCLAIR. Is there any reason why the State of Mississippi could not borrow funds from the Federal funds that were provided in the last Congress if they passed the proper laws themselves?

Mr. BUSBY. They will provide the laws to take care of the entire situation, and use the full amount of funds alocated to the State.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HOLADAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

A few moments ago some member of the committee made the statement that it appeared that Illinois would not use its allotment during the coming year. While I am not acquainted in detail with the situation, I know of no basis for the supposition that Illinois will not use its full allotment. I notice in the morning papers that the State of Illinois on yesterday let contracts, so I have no doubt but that the full amount will be used by that State.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLADAY. I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. The gas tax and license tax in Illinois amount to about $26,000,000 annually, and that is all spent on roads and the maintenance of roads, so Illinois will have funds to meet the appropriation made here.

Mr. HOLADAY. I do not think there is any question about that.

There is a general question involved in this proposition. One criticism that has been made throughout the country of the efforts of Congress and of the administration to alleviate the depressed economic conditions is that the effort has been centered toward protection of the bond market and toward protection of the moneyed interests.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman is not speaking to the bill or the paragraph under consideration. I have no objection to the gentleman directing attention to this bill, but if the gentleman wishes to talk about some other matter I make the point of order he is not in order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois will proceed in order.

Mr. HOLADAY. Mr. Chairman, it was my intention to do so, and I am proceeding directly in order.

The amendment now under consideration undertakes to cut down the amount of money that will be used for road-building purposes. That money goes directly to the relief of the unemployed. To-day there is meeting in Illinois a special session of the legislature, called by the governor for the purpose of expending public money for the relief of the distressed. I submit to this committee that it is a better proposition, instead of taking public money and doling it out, to give the laboring man of this country an opportunity to labor. There is one thing that this Congress must face, and that is that a man in the United States has a right to labor.

That may savor of socialism or communism, or whatever you wish to call it, but the economic conditions of this country will not be remedied permanently and satisfactorily until every man has an opportunity to labor. There is no item in this bill or any other bill that will be considered by Congress that will provide as directly the opportunities for labor as do the appropriations for public roads. When money is expended for public roads and a man has a chance to earn a living, he is performing a permanent service to the country. The money is not being wasted; it is not being thrown away. It is being used for a definite purpose that will be for the permanent benefit of the country.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

I do not wish to unduly delay the progress of this bill. I am as anxious to have it completed as anyone on the floor, but I do not think we should be mistaken about this item. My esteemed friend from New York might just as well have made a motion recommending the cutting of this item to $50,000,000. The effect of his motion will save figures but it will not save a penny to anybody. More particularly, it will not save a cent to the taxpayer. Neither should my friends who want money spent for public roads be excited about the possibility of this cut, because the obligations of the United States Treasury to make these contributions to the cost of roads in the different States exists under the authorizing law, and if Congress does not appropriate to pay those obligations in this bill during this session of Congress they will be in here in the first deficiency bill next fall and get the money. My esteemed friend from New York will be on the Committee on Appropriations at that time, and he will vote to report out the deficiency bill, putting back into this fund what it is proposed to take out now. So all this proposal will do is to take some figures out of the bill this winter that will have to be put back into the bill during the short session next fall. It does not save the taxpayers one cent. Those of you who want the headlines in the home papers to carry the statement that you voted for a proposal to save $25,000,000 ought to support the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]. Those of you who actually want to save money to the Treasury can vote either way on this amendment, because it means nothing whatever. The only damage of the proposal is that it may put the United States Government in default on some of its obligations to some of the States.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is it not true that the Budget has already reduced the amount appropriated last year by $14,000,000?

Mr. SIMMONS. Sixteen million dollars.

Mr. LEAVITT. And that the committee now reports a bill which is a further reduction of $9,000,000?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEAVITT. So that we have a very large reduction already. The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] now proposes to go even further than the committee and the Budget have gone.

Mr. SIMMONS. Of course, the $16,000,000 reduction was made mandatory by the law of last year when we appropriated $80,000,000, and provided it should be deducted from the moneys allocated to the States, one-fifth over each year.

Mr. LEAVITT. But the effect is that we have reduced the amount available a year ago, whether by one method or another. We have reduced it to the point where we can not go any further without interfering with existing plans and existing contracts.

Is it not true that much of the money that has been referred to by the gentleman from New York as not having been used has been contracted for? Under the Federal aid system there must be the making of plans, there must be the letting of contracts, and much of this money has already been allocated and contracted for, so that it is not a matter of the money just lying there without having in any way been used.

Mr. SIMMONS. It is my understanding that all of this money has been allocated or will be during the calendar year 1932. The deduction of $16,000,000 is just a matter of bookeeping; and the deduction of $25,000,000, which the gentleman from New York proposes, will also be a matter of bookkeeping. There will be no actual saving to the taxpayers or to the Treasury.

The gentleman said that some of the States are not going to be able to meet their obligations. Speaking for Nebraska, in these days of stress, may I say that my State collected in August of this year more money under the gasoline tax, from which it matches Federal funds, than it has ever collected in that month heretofore. So I think the States will be able to meet their obligations.

Mr. YON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. YON. In view of the fact that Florida was mentioned as having something over $1,000,000 yet unallocated, may I say that the head of our highway department told me that

he would like to have more than he will have to expend on Federal-aid projects. So I feel we will be making a mistake if we cut the appropriation.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. As a matter of information, when was this money available to the States to which the gentleman from New York refers, as of July or October of this year?

Mr. SIMMONS. The appropriations are available when the act passes, because they are made immediately available under the language carried in the act.

Mr. COLTON. If the gentleman will permit, the allocation was made as of October.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. TABER) there were—ayes 15, noes 63.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LaGUARDIA: On page 66, line 18, strike out the period, insert a colon, and add the following: "*Provided*, That none of the money herein appropriated shall be paid to any State on account of any project on which convict labor shall be directly employed."

Mr. LaGUARDIA. If the chairman will accept my amendment, I will not take any time of the committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will not accept it.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, it is too late. I have had conversation with the chairman, and the point of order comes too late.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it comes too late.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. McCORMACK). The Chair will state that the point of order of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] should have been made before the gentleman from New York [Mr. LaGUARDIA] began his remarks. The Chair overrules the point of order because debate has intervened between the reading of the amendment and the raising of the point of order.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I want very seriously to call the attention of the committee to my amendment. I can not imagine any sound argument against it. The amendment will not affect road appropriations in 44 States of the Union. This is an appropriation of Federal funds in aid of highways, and the present increase in the appropriation is predicated on the theory that it will relieve unemployment. Imagine the appropriation of funds on the theory of relieving unemployment and then using convict labor on such road construction. The very idea would be humorous, if it were not so tragic. Why, gentlemen, it is almost inconceivable, it is unbelievable, that convict labor should be used on roads built with Federal funds while honest labor are walking the streets unemployed.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Has the gentleman told the committee the States involved?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. There are only four States involved on existing contracts—Alabama, Florida, New Jersey, and Virginia. My amendment, gentlemen, in no way conflicts with any State law or custom within the State.

We can not regulate that. I simply limit the payments on any given project of roads aided with Federal funds where convict labor is employed. In other words, if a State desires to employ convict labor on its own roads, paid for entirely with State funds, and it can do so under its own laws, we can not stop it; but where Federal funds are employed, then, of course, my limitation would apply.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. It is not presumed that this money will be expended for convict labor, and if convict labor can be employed, in addition to those employed with this money, what harm can that do; in other words, if the roads are being built and they have so many convicts working on a part of them and they expend this money for another part of the road construction, I do not see where it does any harm.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Every convict working in this way takes the place of a free laborer or of an unemployed man who obeys the law, and wants to live and support a family honestly. Every convict used displaces an unemployed worker.

Mr. HART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. HART. What would the gentleman do with men who are sentenced to prison at hard labor for the rest of their lives?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. That is a different problem entirely. That is a correctional and institutional problem. We are now concerned with unemployment. Surely we can not take a convict who has violated the law, who is in prison, and put him in competition with a law-abiding man supporting his family and educating his children. That is the purpose of the amendment. A convict at least gets shelter, food, and clothing—an unemployed worker starves if he can not earn money by being honestly employed.

Mr. HART. How can the conditions of his incarceration be carried out?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. That is another problem, and this Congress has passed a law prohibiting the shipment of convict-made goods in interstate commerce. Almost every State of the Union has laws preventing convict competition with free labor. It is one thing to properly care for prisoners and give them humane treatment, if you please, and keep them occupied; but do not permit them to compete with free labor.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Certainly.

Mr. SIMMONS. The effect of the situation as it now exists in the four States is that the United States is putting up the taxpayers' dollars and the States are matching that with convict labor.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Exactly. Thereby defeating the very purpose of the appropriation.

Mr. SIMMONS. The States are not putting up money, they are putting up convict labor, and the citizens of those States who desire to work are being denied that opportunity.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. And the gentleman will recall that these increased appropriations are predicated, as I said before, upon providing employment and to give a stimulus to employment in this particular period of unemployment.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment will not be adopted. I am frank to say that dealing with convict labor is a serious proposition, and the States are all confronted with a very serious problem in what to do with convicts.

My own State does use convicts on public-road construction, able-bodied convicts. Those who are not able-bodied are maintained in a central penitentiary, and it is overcrowded; and to-day, in the State of Georgia, many of the counties, on account of the expense of maintaining convict camps are surrendering them to the State and trying to be relieved of the necessity of caring for them, and it is a great problem in the State.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. In a moment. To my mind, convicts used on public-road construction come less in competition with private labor than if used to manufacture products in penitentiaries to be sold in competition with products manufactured with free labor.

Another thing, convicts working on the road, in the open, are engaged in a work that is more healthful, and under the laws of Georgia the convict camps are under the strict-

est kind of supervision by the State authorities. They have certain hours that they work. They can not take them out before a certain hour in the morning, and they must bring them in at a certain time. The State requires them to have physicians at each one of these camps, and the wardens are appointed under the supervision of the State. The diet is regulated and their clothes are regulated, and the convicts are better cared for than they would be if herded in some central penitentiary.

I sympathize with these unfortunates; but, gentlemen, these unfortunates are incarcerated not to remain in idleness. They are incarcerated as punishment for some infraction of the law, and they can not be kept in idleness; and can you conceive of any honest work in which their labor will come less in competition with the labor of the splendid American laboring people than if used in the construction of roads, in which all of the citizens have an interest?

The various States and counties must maintain and bear the expense of guarding these unfortunates. They can not keep them in idleness; and if they are working on the common roads, then all the citizens of the State who are paying that expense are given the benefit of their labor.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I understand that the gentleman's State is so employing its convict labor as not to use it in conflict with this appropriation, and the gentleman's State is not one of the four States that I have mentioned.

Mr. CRISP. I just rushed in from the Ways and Means Committee, and I heard of this amendment, and, of course, I felt vitally interested in it.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman's State is not among the States using convict labor on Federal-aid highway construction.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. I will.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Would the gentleman from New York permit his amendment to be again read so we can all be informed?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Certainly.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be again reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will entertain such a request at the conclusion of the gentleman's statement.

Mr. CRISP. Gentlemen, I have said about all I can say. I never desire to simply repeat my arguments here.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. I will.

Mr. BLANTON. Is it not a fact that working these convicts out in the open on the public roads is beneficial to them from the standpoint of health?

Mr. CRISP. I stated that. I stated that in my judgment that is much better for these poor unfortunates than to be herded in some central penitentiary.

Mr. DOWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. I yield.

Mr. DOWELL. While it may be beneficial to the convicts, is it not more beneficial to give the places to persons out of employment and who ought to have a chance to do this work?

Mr. CRISP. I think that is a question that presents difficulties, because these convicts can not be maintained at public expense in idleness; they must work. If they work in a manufacturing plant their labor comes in competition with honest free labor throughout the country.

In my State, if I am not in error, practically all of the Federal-aid projects are being built under contract and the contractor employs the labor and it is free labor. There are many State roads to which Federal aid is not contributed, and on which the convicts work. Now, possibly this happens sometimes—that the State, knowing the difficulties of various counties that are tax burdened and the difficulty of meeting the expenses of maintaining their convict camps in the respective counties, does enter into a contract with the county to grade a road. That road may be a part of the Federal-aid project. But when the road is graded the convicts are not used at all for hard surfacing. The contract is let out to some contractor and free labor is used.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. The amendment of the gentleman from New York would not prevent the use of convict labor on the county roads. The only thing it does is to prevent the Treasury of the United States matching dollars for convict labor on the Federal roads.

Mr. CRISP. I think it might have this effect, with the illustration just given. If the county should use some convicts in grading a road which was an integral part of some highway, and then the Government should match the State in money for hard surfacing of the road, I fear the amendment might be an inhibition.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. I intended at first to vote against this amendment, but now it seems to me that I shall favor it, because I do not believe it is fair to take a convict out of prison and put his work up against the dollars of the taxpayer. I think the amendment should carry.

Mr. CRISP. Well, that is a difference of opinion; I do not think so.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRISP. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. If not on roads, where are we going to work these convicts? They must have some work to do. Has the gentleman from New York mentioned any work that they may do?

Mr. CRISP. In the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta the convicts are used in manufacturing certain grades of cloth. The labor organizations throughout the United States are very much opposed to that. They argue, and they argue justly, that that convict labor comes in competition with free labor. It is an evil, and all of it is an evil, but in my judgment it is less of an evil and will not be so harmful to free labor if convicts are used on the roads as it would be if used in other kinds of work.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LA GUARDIA] may be again reported.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will again report the amendment.

The amendment was again read.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. Gentlemen of the committee, I did not know until a moment ago that this amendment was pending. It is a matter that very materially affects the State of Alabama, which I have the honor in part to represent.

I know that the sentiment behind this amendment appeals very strongly to every member of this committee. We have had a movement all over the country to abolish the so-called system of private contract for the operation of State and county prisons and the competition of convict labor with free labor.

For a number of years convicts were employed in Alabama by private contracts with the coal operators of that State, and the public sentiment of Alabama was aroused against some of the evils that arose out of that private contract system. I myself, representing a great coal-mining county, where these convicts were employed, took part in a campaign in Alabama to prohibit the employment of our convicts in private industry, and we finally succeeded in that campaign, and the State legislature prohibited such employment, and very properly so. The result of it was that we had to congregate three or four thousand prisoners there in the State prisons of Alabama; and in addition to the limitation upon the employment of convicts by private employment, you will recall the Federal statute we recently passed, which will soon go into effect, prohibiting the shipment of convict-made goods in interstate commerce under certain circumstances. Look at the situation from the practical standpoint in my

State. I do not know how many other States are involved in this same proposition. What are we going to do with these three or four thousand convicts? Are we going to maintain them in a position of idleness? The taxpayers of Alabama to-day are confronted by a recent audit of our public affairs with a large deficit. Alabama has entered into an arrangement with the Bureau of Public Roads by which it can use the services of these convicts on Federal-aid projects as a part of the burden that rests upon it to meet its half of this Federal-aid money.

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes.

Mr. COLTON. Are there no other roads on which convicts may be used? The Federal Government is called upon to make appropriations to meet convict labor now. We made the increased appropriation to take care of the unemployment situation. It seems to me that it is perfectly consistent to provide that on Federal-aid roads that money shall be matched by free labor and not by convict labor.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I understand the gentleman's attitude, but as a practical proposition my State—and I understand some other States are involved in this amendment—is not able to do it and carry on our road-building program. This is a matter that is injected here on the floor of the House precipitately, without any notice to any of us that it was going to come up. It is a matter that ought not to be passed in this manner. I appeal to the fairness of the House on that proposition inasmuch as it raises a question here that would strip the State of Alabama and possibly some other States of an opportunity to utilize an existing program about which, as far as I know, there is no real complaint in the State of Alabama. Of course, on the general proposition, none of us want to see convict labor come into competition with free labor, but this is a practical business proposition for the immediate present, and I say in a matter of this importance to so many States, involving as it does a rearrangement of all of their program with respect to the construction of roads, it ought not to be passed as an amendment on an appropriation bill without reference to a legislative committee with opportunity to appear and properly consider the matter.

I hope the committee will vote down the amendment.

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words. As I see this proposition, it is an undue interference with the right of the State and the county to make contracts. In many of the States—my own State of Georgia, for instance—there are contracts now being carried out wherein the State has contracted with the county authorities to grade certain portions of roads. The contracts are only for grading; the counties are hardly able to exist and carry on a road-construction program under present conditions unless they are able to make these contracts.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LARSEN. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. Is it not a fact also that in the gentleman's State and in mine and in most of the States where this sort of labor is used it does not come in competition with skilled labor? The convicts are used merely on grading; it is unskilled labor that goes from 75 cents to $2 a day.

Mr. LARSEN. That is the point that I am trying to emphasize. It does not come in competition with skilled labor but is simply used for the purpose of doing grade work; this involves the uprooting of trees and things of that kind.

Mr. SIMMONS. May I submit to the gentleman from Georgia that the labor that is now in greatest need is unskilled labor? That is the labor that has had no reserves at all. That is the labor with which you come in contact. There is nothing to prevent the State using their convicts within the State, and this amendment goes solely to the obligation of the Federal Government to match the money of the State. It ought not to match it with convict labor in the States.

Mr. LARSEN. But the gentleman overlooks the fact that the States are not able otherwise to carry out these State programs. They are grading both State and Federal highways, and in some cases they have to use this labor. After all, each and every person in the State must pay the taxes necessary for the maintenance of the State. Therefore if you deprive the States of this right and deprive the counties of this right you are seriously interfering not only with their right to make contracts, but you make it difficult if not impossible for them to operate in road construction.

Mr. BLANTON. And if you pass this LaGuardia amendment you will deny Federal aid for roads to such States as Florida, Alabama, Georgia, New Jersey, and possibly Kentucky and others.

Mr. LARSEN. Even New York has a system of road-construction convict labor, I am told.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. No; they have not.

Mr. LARSEN. They use convicts in the State of New York on some of the highways.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LARSEN. I yield.

Mr. SNELL. I would say that in New York State we do use convicts to do grading on some of our collateral roads, and on some of the town roads that otherwise would not be improved, but we never use them in matching Federal aid.

Mr. BANKHEAD. What is the difference?

Mr. LARSEN. Yes; what is the difference?

Mr. SNELL. Those are roads that have never been set out on the program for Federal or State aid. They are collateral roads in the back towns that could not be improved otherwise. They use convicts on those roads.

Now I would like to ask the gentleman one more question. Two years ago, when this took place, we increased the appropriation for Federal roads for the distinct purpose of aiding unemployment. If we allowed all these States of the Union to use convict labor to match Federal dollars, how would that help the unemployment situation?

Mr. LARSEN. These very roads on which the gentleman admits convicts are being used in New York will in time become Federal highways.

Mr. SNELL. Oh, no. These are all collateral roads.

Mr. LARSEN. Oh, yes. All the States are increasing their mileage. That is being done constantly in almost every State, and at almost every session of the legislature new roads are being taken into the State highway system.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LARSEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LARSEN. I yield.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I believe it was stated by the gentleman, who votes with the drys, and the gentleman from Alabama, who has three or four thousand convicts in his State, that after prohibition became effective there would not be any convicts in the jails.

Mr. LARSEN. I can not yield for that purpose. I regret very much that the gentleman from Maryland should seek to inject prohibition into the discussion. This is an important matter, and it deserves the serious consideration of the House. It is no light matter, as is light wines and beer, to be dealt with in such fashion.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LARSEN. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Is it not cheaper to keep the convicts in jail, even if they must be kept incarcerated, than it is to keep the unemployed by giving them a dole? Would it not be better to keep those men working on the roads? Why would it not be better to take this money and hire men to work who are now out of work and keep the convicts in prison? It is surely cheaper to keep them in prison than it would be to pay a dole to the unemployed on the outside.

Mr. LARSEN. Well, we have not found that true.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Well, is it not true? You do not have to pay as much to keep a man in prison as it would take to keep a man outside.

Mr. LARSEN. It is a sorry convict that can not earn his keep. If we can save this public expense and maintain the State and the counties, it is a good system. However, it is

the system that is in vogue in most of the States, and we should not, in a moment of hurried legislation without opportunity for considering the question before the committee, undertake to upset the plans of so many of the States, especially when it is shown that even the great State of New York uses convict labor.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LARSEN. I yield.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Can the Government undertake to establish a precedent of trying to coerce the States in a matter like this?

Mr. LARSEN. No; and the Government did not heretofore intend to do it. If it did, there would be no necessity for this amendment. There is no necessity for this amendment now.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LARSEN. I yield.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The State of Georgia is not involved.

Mr. LARSEN. Well, it would be involved if this amendment should be passed. Not only the State of Georgia but also the State of Alabama and quite a number of other States. Even New York indirectly would be involved in the next two or three years; so will Florida and all the rest of them.

Mr. WRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LARSEN. I yield.

Mr. WRIGHT. Could these convicts be employed if they were not doing road work? Would they not have to be employed some other way in competition with labor?

Mr. LARSEN. Why, of course; the same competition would be there.

Mr. WRIGHT. It is not presumed that they would do nothing.

Mr. LARSEN No. It is expected that they should work. They should work somewhere.

Mr. WRIGHT. If they did not work on the roads, they would have to work on the farms and in the factories and would come into competition with labor there?

Mr. LARSEN. They would come in competition there, of course. There is no better place for them to work than on the public highways.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I am persuaded to believe that the adoption of this amendment will completely paralyze the public road improvement program of many of the States of the Union. I am sure it will have that effect in the State of Georgia. The Members who are not familiar with conditions down in our country are hardly in a position to appreciate just what injury will flow to the State as a whole, and particularly the prison class, as a result of the adoption of this proposed amendment to the bill. For years we have been working toward a gradual improvement of prison laws. The present system employed there provides for the use of the convicts on the public highways. The several counties of the State have set up housing accommodations and have provided other equipment, all necessary and essential to the furtherance of our public road improvement program. The prisoners on the roads are treated humanely and the work required of them is reasonable. If you take from the States the right to use them in this manner, you simply throw them back on the hands of the States, with the burden upon the States to provide for their support.

Mr. HORR. Will the gentleman yield for a question right there?

Mr. COX. I yield.

Mr. HORR. Is it not primarily a question not so much of road building as the care of convicts which the gentleman is interested in right now?

Mr. COX. No; I mention this because the welfare of the convicts is involved.

Mr. HORR. No. The gentleman is maintaining, I take it, that this Federal aid is primarily desired to care for the convicts rather than for the building of roads.

Mr. COX. No. We are obliged to make some use of our convicts. The counties and States in that area of the country are terribly tax ridden.

Many of the counties, because of the expense attached to the use of convicts, are now, in the State of Georgia, having to throw them back on the States. The States are being compelled to take them. There is no work that can be provided. They are held en masse in the State prisons, in complete and absolute idleness.

The question which should confront those interested in the adoption of this amendment is as to whether any work of any character shall be required of our convict population. If work be required of them, then is it not as reasonable to put them upon the roads as to have them devote their energies to the doing of any other character of labor?

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. Yes.

Mr. MAY. Will not the situation become more acute and more serious when the Federal statute, recently enacted, prohibiting the transportation of convict-made goods in interstate commerce becomes effective?

Mr. COX. That would possibly apply to some of the States, but it would not for the time being apply to the State of Georgia. You gentlemen must appreciate, I am sure, that if the States are denied the privilege of employing their convict labor in the open, as is now being done, in the improvement of public roads, that they will be confronted with the necessity of providing some other means for putting to profitable use the labor of the class referred to.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. I yield.

Mr. SNELL. The gentleman will admit that we increased this appropriation for the distinct purpose—and that was the argument made on the floor—of aiding unemployment. When we increased the amount from $75,000,000 to $125,000,000 per year that was one of the reasons argued on the floor.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If the gentleman will permit, this appropriation is the regular annual highway appropriation under the highway act, and it is not for the purpose of increasing the emergency appropriation for the construction of highways throughout the States. Not one cent of the emergency appropriation was made for the purpose of aiding unemployment—not one cent of it.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman deny the fact that when we increased the appropriation annually from $75,000,000 to $125,000,000 it was done for the purpose of helping the unemployment situation?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No, sir; we did not.

Mr. SNELL. That was the argument that was made on the floor of this House.

Mr. COX. Let me say, gentlemen, that the adoption of this amendment will not serve the purpose it is intended to serve. In the first place, it will operate against the welfare of the prison class and interfere with road building.

Mr. SNELL. We are not contending that you should not use your prison class on the roads, but we are opposed to the use of Federal money in the payment of that class of labor.

Mr. COX. If a State is not permitted to use convict labor in the building of Federal-aid roads as a means of matching the contributions made by the Federal Government, then these activities will cease in many of the Southern States, because the States are unable, gentlemen, because of their inability to raise money by taxation, to make the contributions necessary in the payment of private labor. You will provide no work for any of the unemployed, because there is no money with which to pay them. The only reason why the States of the South, Georgia particularly, are able to continue in the public road improvement program is that

under the conditions that now prevail they are enabled to use this convict labor in, as my colleague Judge CRISP said, doing the preliminary work looking toward final completion of the roads. The adoption of the amendment will upset our prison system and retard if not stop, for the time being at least, public-road building.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the first two words.

Mr. Chairman, I would not have spoken were it not for the statement of my distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. SNELL], who called to my attention a matter of which I was not aware. I did not know that in the State of New York we employed any convict labor on any roads of any character. I find now that it may be true that some of the local jails—under what authority I do not know—may use men, with their permission, on small roads around the jails in the towns. The fact is, however, that we employ none of the convicts in our State prison on roads, nor do we employ any prisoners on State highways.

We have no trouble in New York State in finding work for those unfortunate men confined in our prisons. They make shoes; they make stockings; they make blankets; and they make sheets for the other State institutions. They manufacture all our automobile license plates. Now, as a lawyer I do not believe there is ample justification in the language of our Federal Constitution or in any State constitution, or that any legislation is constitutional in this country that compels all prisoners to labor involuntarily. I do not believe that compulsory servitude was ever intended by the thirteenth amendment. I believe that everybody who has studied the spirit of our form of government will agree with me. Oh, I know that in States where convict labor is used the prisoners are told they do not have to work unless they want to, and communities where they desire do use convict labor on the roads and in other places, sometimes with profit to the warden; they avoid that fundamental inhibition by saying to the man or boy, "You do not have to work on the road in a chain gang unless you want to do so, but the Lord help you if you refuse."

Mr. SNELL. I do not know by what authority it is done, but I do positively know that they have had camps up through the Adirondacks, for instance, working on some of the cross roads, and the convicts came from Dannemora Prison. I do not know by what authority this has been done, but it has never been in connection with any State or contract work, but has always been in connection with some local town work.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I believe such employment is entirely unauthorized.

Mr. SNELL. That may be.

Mr. O'CONNOR. And it is probably accounted for by reason of the fact that the men want to get outdoors in those sections. If there is anything that is contrary to the spirit of America it is compulsory servitude, whether it be a prisoner or anybody else. [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Then stop it on roads.

Mr. CRISP. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield.

Mr. CRISP. Does not the Constitution say there shall be no involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime, and may I ask another question? My friend said that the convicts in the penitentiary of his State manufactured shoes, and so forth, which were used by other State institutions. Does not the use of those manufactured products by other State institutions prevent private labor on the outside from manufacturing those articles to be sold to the State and used by such State institutions?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Oh, to some extent. We have gone all through that in New York, and all labor as represented by organized labor agrees to it and we confine it to that purpose only.

There can not be any reason for employing prison labor except to serve some ulterior purpose. All this talk about keeping them out in the open air and giving them the benefit of the sunshine amounts to nothing. In those States where we see them working there on the roads, bent over and chained together like animals, I will wager that not 1 per cent of them do it voluntarily. They do it under the fear of cruel and inhuman punishment, the lash and the dungeon.

Mr. BANKHEAD and Mr. CROWTHER rose.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I yield first to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BANKHEAD. The gentleman recited a very admirable condition in the State of New York where because of your industrial situation and your large State institutions you can use your convicts in the manufacture of articles for State purchase. I know the gentleman's theory because we have had this question up in our committee with respect to other legislation; but what are you going to do in a State like mine, and in a number of other States in this country, where there is not sufficient demand upon the part of State institutions to consume the products of convict labor. Does the gentleman take the position that 4,000 or 5,000 convicts should be paid their subsistence by the taxpayers of the State and then be kept in absolute idleness?

Mr. O'CONNOR. The answer to that is this. I hope there is not a State in the Union that has not got hospitals. I hope there is not a State in the Union that has not some place for the aged and infirm or some institution where the foundling can go. I hope there is not a State in the Union that has not some place where the insane can be safely confined. The answer is that the work which the prisoner does, even under compulsion, is such a small fraction of a full day's work, and is worth so little compared with free labor, that you can keep 4,000 prisoners employed, and they will not do as much work as 1,000 of our citizens at liberty but now unfortunately unemployed. [Applause.]

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I represent the largest district in the State of Georgia, a district which has in it perhaps more organized labor than the rest of the State put together, a district which has practically all of its roads paved, except perhaps a few feeder roads into the State highway system.

I have a very high regard for my friend from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA], and as a general rule I agree with him in his efforts on behalf of labor. I have the utmost regard for the leaders of organized labor in my district and throughout this Nation.

I know the leaders of organized labor in my district would not approve of this amendment. They have no objection to the employment of convict labor in any vocation that does not put them in competition with private labor. Their only objection to the employment of convict labor on behalf of the State or the Nation is where the products of such labor are sold in competition with the work of free labor.

In our own Federal Government we do the very thing with the prisoners from the Atlanta Federal prison and from the Leavenworth Federal prison that the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] seeks to stop by this amendment. We are taking them out of the prisons and sending them into road camps, and they are building roads for the Federal Government all over this country, and the gentlemen of this House know this is true.

They have such camps at the Army posts, and they have taken literally thousands of the convicts from the Federal prisons of this country and sent them out to build highways, under the supervision of the prison officials of our own Government.

Why is it any worse for the States to use these convicts in the building of their highways than it is for the Federal Government itself to employ Federal prisoners in the same capacity? Are not these Federal prisoners just as much in competition with free labor? Are they not destroying employment when they are building roads in Army camps and on other Government reservations?

There is one other point I would like to ask you to consider. It was brought out in a question asked the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'CONNOR] by my colleague from Georgia [Mr. CRISP]. If we do not employ these convicts on

road work in the Southern States, or in any other State for that matter, they have got to be employed in some manner, and they will be employed in some manner, and it seems to me it is much better to put them at work out in the open air on the public highways, where they are taking the place of the cheapest kind of labor, the common labor, than it is to put them in a manufacturing plant where they will be engaged as skilled laborers and compete with the skilled labor of this country.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. If I understand the amendment, it does not prevent the use of these people out in the open on the road. It does prevent putting them on certain roads and matching American dollars with convict labor.

Mr. RAMSPECK. I understand that. But there are certain counties in Georgia—fortunately, they do not happen to be in my district; but I am interested in the whole State—there are certain counties that are struggling, and have been struggling for years, in building a State system. We have some counties that would be unable to do their work unless they can do the grading and certain other work through convict labor. They have not the funds, and the territory is made up of farming land, where they can not get sufficient funds to pay the taxes and match the Government funds to build highways.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I yield.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Does not the gentleman think that this would be a good time, under the present conditions, to save a hundred million dollars?

Mr. RAMSPECK. No; I think the appropriation for roads is now inadequate.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Does not the gentleman realize that every day you use a convict you put some man on the outside out of a job?

Mr. RAMSPECK. No; for in many instances the roads would not be built, and the funds, instead of being matched, would go back into the United States Treasury.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, the Republican minority floor leader [Mr. SNELL] finds himself in a very strange predicament. Because we object to this amendment that would deny to the States like Alabama, Georgia, Florida, New Jersey, and Kentucky, and other States the benefit of Federal aid for roads, he says that he does not want this aid to go to those States because it is taking our money to pay convict labor. "Our money." I presume he is talking about Federal money when he says "our money."

The gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL] belongs to a party and an administration that for years at the Atlanta Penitentiary has been manufacturing shoes, fine shoes, if you please, furnished to the Army and Navy. It is a splendid, full calf shoe, and furnished to the Army for $2.64 a pair, and it would cost the Army $8 if made in any other factory. He belongs to the administration. I approve of it; I am backing him up in that. It is a gainful occupation for the convicts at Leavenworth.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL] is the Republican floor leader of the administration and of the party that for several years has been maintaining at the penitentiary at Atlanta mills worked by convict labor to manufacture cloth that goes into the mail sacks. It is a splendid occupation for convicts. It saves the Government much money. Mr. Republican Leader, I think you have done good work; I think you have done right in spending "our money" to manufacture cloth that goes into the mail sacks, because it is saving the Government money. You are manufacturing shoes with "our money" in competition with labor—shoes for the Navy. You sell those calf shoes for $2.19 that would cost $9 from any other factory in the world.

I approve of that, but is it not a little inconsistent to object to furnishing New Jersey a little Federal-aid road money, because they work a few convicts?

What are you going to do with the convicts? Are they not human beings; are some of them not the boys of good mothers? Have they not wives and little children who must have food? Are you going to shut them up in the penitentiary behind walls and never give them a chance to get out in the open or anywhere else?

For doing this work they are allowed a small remuneration, most of which goes to their wives and children. Somebody must feed, clothe, and house the wives and children of convicts. Every convict who makes shoes in Leavenworth for our Army and Navy saves much money for the Government and at the same time gets remuneration for his wife and children at home. Every convict who makes duck at Atlanta, out of which mail sacks are manufactured, gets remuneration for his wife and little children. These convicts are paid from $8 to $12 per month, which means much to their dependent families at home.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I will gladly yield in just a moment. This sentiment that you are getting up here against this proposition is poppycock, pure and simple. It is not a partisan question for the Republican minority leader to come in here and fight for. He ought to be busy about reconstruction matters. He ought to be down advising the President about this $150,000 rental that General Dawes is going to pay for office space. He ought to be advising about these 800 employees the paper says they are going to employ.

Mr. SNELL and Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia rose.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom does the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, I yield first to the minority floor leader.

Mr. SNELL. The minority floor leader will take his own responsibility for his actions in this House, and he does not need any advice from the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. No; but I am advising him just the same, and he would do lots better if he would take some advice from some others once in a while. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I have listened for some time to this discussion on the question of the employment of convict labor on the roads. It has been my privilege for a number of years to be associated with the Committee on Roads. Up until two years ago our Government was appropriating $75,000,000 a year to aid the several States in the building of a great system of highways throughout the country. This work has been carried on for more than a decade. Two years ago, because of a real demand for employment throughout the country, this amount was increased by Congress from $75,000,000 per annum to $125,000,000 per annum, the authorization at the present time. Just to-day the Chief of the Bureau of Roads was before the Committee on Roads urging the continuation of this for the purpose of the employment of labor throughout the country.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWELL. Yes.

Mr. CRISP. Simply to get these facts before the House. I have just phoned to the Road Department, to Mr. MacDonald's office. He says that in the four States referred to he thought contracts were now in existence, and that those States would be prohibited from obtaining funds under this amendment. He said other States in the past had used this labor, among them my own State of Georgia.

Mr. DOWELL. And may I say to the gentleman from Georgia that his State can relieve those convicts from further service on the roads and employ men who are now seeking employment, and can then get the Federal aid.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWELL. I listened for a time to the gentleman from Texas pleading for these poor fellows in the penitentiary, that they might have something to do, but I plead for the thousands, yes, for the millions, of men throughout the United States who have not enough bread to feed their families and who are seeking and who need this employment so badly. Are we willing to give the places to these convicts

and leave others out of employment who are unable to secure sufficient on which to live?

Mr. RAMSPECK. Is it not a fact that Mr. MacDonald testified that the majority of the labor used in extending aid on roads was labor that went into the material and the preparation of the material, and not into the actual construction of the road itself?

Mr. DOWELL. Oh, but he said that 300,000 men had been employed on the roads in 1931.

Mr. RAMSPECK. I am not disputing that, but that does not answer the question.

Mr. DOWELL. Every time you take a man off the road and put a convict in his place, you destroy the opportunity of that man to earn sufficient to feed his family. It seems to me that no one should fail to vote for such an amendment as this.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWELL. Yes.

Mr. HART. Let me tell the gentleman what we do with our convicts up in Michigan.

Mr. DOWELL. Oh, I can not yield to the gentleman for that.

Mr. YON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWELL. No. I am going to say only a little more. Whatever you may want to do with your convicts in this day of unemployment and at a time when we are seeking with all the power of this great Nation to find employment for people throughout the country, surely we should not substitute convict labor for that of the men we are trying to help. [Applause.]

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas rise?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate upon this amendment and upon this section do now close.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas that all debate on this amendment and the section do now close.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. UNDERHILL. The Chairman had already recognized the gentleman from Alabama, and he has the floor and can not be taken off the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair overrules the point of order. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. TREADWAY. Does the adoption of that vote foreclose debate on any other part of this section?

The CHAIRMAN. The motion closes debate on the pending paragraph.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I was on my feet asking recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion of the gentleman from Texas is not debatable and is a privileged motion after debate has been had on the paragraph. Without objection, the pro forma amendments will be withdrawn and the question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. LAGUARDIA) there were—ayes 115, noes 87.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. LAGUARDIA to act as tellers.

The committee again divided, and the tellers reported—ayes 123, noes 87.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Road and bridge flood relief, Georgia and South Carolina: To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry into effect the provisions of the act entitled "An act for the relief of the State of Georgia for damage to and destruction of roads and bridges by floods in 1929," approved May 27, 1930, and the act entitled "An act for the relief of the State of South Carolina for damage to and destruction of roads and bridges by floods in 1929," approved June 2, 1930, the unexpended balances of the appropriations for these purposes contained in the second deficiency act, 1930, shall remain available until June 30, 1933.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have to-day introduced a very short bill, but I think one of very great importance to the road-building program of this country. It is an amendment to the original highway act of 1916, and it reads as follows:

No project shall be approved by the Secretary of Agriculture in any State which, in the opinion of such Secretary, does not effectively protect the Federal-aid highways in such State from undue wear and tear by regulating and controlling the size, weight, and speed of motor trucks.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have appropriated over a period of years beginning at $1,000,000 on up to $125,000,000 at the present time from the Federal Treasury to assist the States in the construction of Federal-aid roads. One of the worst abuses I know of in connection with such appropriation is this replacement which the States must make in order to maintain their roads in proper condition, resulting from a tremendous use of those roads by interstate trucks.

I am opposed to providing any corporation with a free right of way, and that is exactly what we do when we fail to regulate and control the use of trucks over the State highways. I say it is time the Federal Government got into the picture and insisted that a certain amount of control should be exercised properly, under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, to control that use and abuse by private corporations. I maintain that the Federal Government never started on this proposition of constructing Federal-aid roads for the purpose of providing private rights of way for business enterprises. I was here when the first Federal aid road act was passed, and it was intended as an aid for post roads, and that was the ground on which it was originally adopted. It has gone away beyond that, of course, and these millions of dollars that we are to-day appropriating for Federal-aid roads permit of the establishment of these through trucking lines absolutely contrary to the original intent and purpose of the Federal-aid roads.

I presume the answer to my argument would be that the States should control it. The States do not regulate it with any degree of uniformity. The regulation and control of these traffic arrangements should be in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture wherever we aid by Federal appropriation.

Mr. COLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. COLTON. The States can not regulate it, can they? It is interstate traffic, and therefore there is no regulation.

Mr. TREADWAY. Well, the gentleman is better posted on the legal situation than I am, because the gentleman is one of the distinguished members of the Committee on Roads. The gentleman says the States can not regulate the use of the roads by interstate trucks. Of course, they can provide a gasoline tax, and that sort of thing, but I am saying it is contrary to the spirit of the Federal appropriation to provide a free right of way for private enterprise.

Mr. SIROVICH. What remedy has the gentleman to offer?

Mr. TREADWAY. The remedy is that the trucks should properly be controlled by the Secretary of Agriculture, or else not be given interstate rights.

Mr. HARE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I yield.

Mr. HARE. I think it would be valuable to have the gentleman's idea of what the gentleman means by "properly controlled."

Mr. TREADWAY. That inquiry is a fair one. There has been a movement in Congress for a number of years, under the auspices of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to provide rules and regulations for motor busses. That committee has conducted exhaustive hearings on the subject, and the result was that an act was passed last year controlling busses to a certain extent. It did not take up the subject of trucks, which are the destructive feature for the

roads. Then that bill failed in another branch, as the gentleman knows.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. TREADWAY. A short time ago I appeared before the Committee on Roads and advocated this provision or something of a similar nature, and the Committee on Roads felt it was not within its province, because the committee thought it was interstate transportation and should come under control of the committee that considered it last year, or something of the same nature. Therefore I am introducing this amendment to the organic act which I think properly goes before the Committee on Roads.

Mr. SIROVICH. Will the gentleman read his amendment again?

Mr. TREADWAY. I am glad to read it for the information of the gentleman. This provision amends the organic act and it reads:

No project shall be approved by the Secretary of Agriculture in any State which, in the opinion of such Secretary, does not effectively protect the Federal-aid highways in such State from undue wear and tear by regulating and controlling the size, weight, and speed of motor trucks.

Now, that does not go into any detail as to how that wear and tear shall be regulated, but it puts the matter squarely up to the Department of Agriculture and to the Secretary of Agriculture, because under the organic act these appropriations for State highway assistance are made under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture.

Further than that, I say that the desire on the part of States to secure Federal-aid money leads to construction which would not be done were it not for these trucks. In other words, the law requires that the roads be kept up at the expense of the States. The maintenance must be paid for by the respective States. Roads are worn out by the trucking companies. Therefore an additional burden is placed on the States by requiring them to maintain those roads in proper condition in order to secure Federal aid.

At the present time I claim we are furnishing a free right of way for private business corporations which engage in interstate business across the continent. A gentleman appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means this morning representing a bus corporation which extends from San Francisco to New York. It was never the intention of the originators of the Federal aid to State highways to provide private rights of way. It does still another thing. It permits a class of business being done over which there is no control whatsoever.

Another witness appeared before the Ways and Means Committee this morning, who illustrated the transportation of strawberries from the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Strawberries were shipped from that section to Philadelphia, New York, and other markets. That man said that formerly the railroads carried that class of freight and carried it under rates controlled by the Interstate Commerce Commission, whereas to-day private trucking companies come in, using the highways which the Federal Government has aided in constructing, and have taken that entire strawberry transportation away from the railroads, with nobody to say what the rates on it should be.

That is one illustration as to the result of this sort of use.

Mr. MOUSER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes.

Mr. MOUSER. Does not the gentleman think that these trucks, with these trailers, carrying heavy freight over the highways should come under the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in addition to coming under the regulation of the Secretary of Agriculture?

Mr. TREADWAY. As I see it, the Interstate Commerce Commission could control the rates, provided the legislation went through permitting them to do so, but as it is now they have no control. I am asking that the Secretary of Agriculture provide safety on the highways and prevent destruction of the quality of the roads. This control should include, among other things, size of trucks or trailers, weight, and speed. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

For investigations, experiments, and demonstrations involving the application of engineering principles to agriculture, independently or in cooperation with Federal, State, county, or other public agencies or with farm bureaus, organizations, or individuals; for investigating and reporting upon the utilization of water in farm irrigation and the best methods to apply in practice, the different kinds of power and appliances, the flow of water in ditches, pipes, and other conduits, the duty, apportionment, and measurement of irrigation water, the customs, regulations, and laws affecting irrigation, and the drainage of farms and of swamps and other wet lands which may be made available for agricultural purposes; for preparing plans for the removal of surplus water by drainage; for developing equipment for farm irrigation and drainage; for investigating and reporting upon farm domestic water supply and drainage disposal, upon the design and construction of farm buildings and their appurtenances and of buildings for processing and storing farm products, upon farm power and mechanical farm equipment, upon the engineering problems relating to the processing, transportation, and storage of perishable and other agricultural products, and upon the engineering problems involved in adapting physical characteristics of farm land to the use of modern farm machinery; for investigations of cotton ginning under the act approved April 19, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 7, secs. 424, 425); for giving expert advice and assistance in agricultural engineering; for collating, reporting, and illustrating the results of investigations and preparing, publishing, and distributing bulletins, plans, and reports; and for other necessary expenses, including travel, rent, repairs, and not to exceed $5,000 for the construction of buildings, $478,890.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Page 69 line 12, strike out "$478,890" and insert "$418,890."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, this amendment, if adopted, would take $60,000 out of one of the numerous corn-borer items in this bill. It would still leave in the bill $404,000 for investigations of various kinds in connection with the corn borer.

There are Members on the floor to-day who were not here yesterday. I should like to have their attention while I call up the evidence on the corn borer. We have been making appropriations since 1919. From 1919 to 1926 we made appropriations of $1,765,480, and we have continued down to the present time. We have already appropriated $18,000,000 for chasing the corn borer. The Department of Agriculture has told our committee year after year for the past four years that the corn borer has never done any commercial damage of consequence in all the United States. Yet this bill carries three-quarters of a million dollars more for the European corn borer. I am trying to save $60,000 at this time. I want your support. You are here to represent the taxpayers. The evidence has been presented day after day and hour after hour. The hearings are available. You all have the opportunity of knowing whether this is a destructive pest or whether it is not. The evidence given to us is to the effect that it is not a destructive pest, and you are leaving in the bill ample funds with which to combat it in any proper way, even if it were.

Mr. MOUSER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes.

Mr. MOUSER. Has the gentleman personally visited infested territories, gone into the fields, and seen the actual destruction which occurs when the corn borer is present?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I have before me the evidence of those who have been in control of the investigations and the maintenance of quarantines against the corn borer for all of these years. I have quoted their statements. Then a statement was made to me yesterday by two Members to the effect that even those who are conducting the quarantine stations on the roads have said that they had never seen a corn borer. We have been employing 1,700 of them at an average of $4.56 a day to fight a pest which they have never seen in all of their lives.



Mr. MOUSER. Is it not a fact that the testimony before your committee is that this infestation has spread from New England into Indiana, and that it is now rapidly spreading toward the South?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes; but I want to tell my friend that the evidence is that it has spread from 15 to 25 or 30 miles a year, and that it will continue to spread regardless of what they do. That is in the hearings repeatedly.

Mr. MOUSER. Does not the gentleman think that the control work for which these millions of dollars have been spent has been effective in stopping its spread?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The evidence is that they can slow it up a little, but the evidence also is, and the actual facts are, that it has spread in 22 years from over about Boston and some place up in New York, until it has reached out into Indiana and Ohio. The evidence also is that in all of that time it has never caused $100,000 of damage in all of the United States in any place, and probably not in 22 years.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MOUSER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOUSER. I want to say to the gentleman that I have personally visited some sections in the country infested by the corn borer. I know it destroys the cornfields in these entire areas, that the corn is undernourished by the presence of the borer, and that the ears do not develop properly. So, after spending all of this money, it seems to me it would be false economy not to appropriate a reasonable amount to check it.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The particular item out of which I am trying to eliminate $60,000 is for the development of an attachment to put on a corn-husking machine. This attachment is to grind up the stalks and the worms. However, they do not use those machines very extensively in the great corn areas, so we are developing an attachment for a machine which the farmer does not use.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Answering the gentleman's inquiry as to the extent of the damage, the greatest damage done by the corn borer is the $18,000,000 we have spent on him, is it not?

Mr. MOUSER. No; that is not true. If the gentleman had ever seen these fields, he would not state that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this section and all amendments thereto close in five minutes.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Chairman, the various items affecting the control and eradication of the corn borer were more or less thoroughly discussed yesterday. I rise now principally to read a telegram which came to me this morning from the president of the Indiana Corn Growers' Association, a gentleman who is not only one of the leading citizens of my State but one of its leading corn growers. He says in his telegram:

> Indiana Corn Growers' Association strongly urges continuation of corn-borer quarantine appropriation.

This is signed by Arthur Stewart, president of the Indiana Corn Growers' Association.

Yesterday I referred to a telegram I had just received from Dean J. H. Skinner, director of the agricultural experiment station at Purdue University.

Certainly the president of our Corn Growers' Association has no ulterior motive, and certainly Dean Skinner, one of the great agronomists of this country, a man who is thoroughly familiar with this situation, has no selfish interest in it. His only desire is to protect the corn industry of this country.

I have a letter from Dean Skinner this morning, from which I quote this paragraph:

> The Federal quarantine has made it possible to hold the corn borer in check and prevent its wide distribution throughout the Corn Belt, thus giving time for scientific investigators to develop a body of knowledge in regard to the life history of this insect and work out methods of controlling it.

It was stated yesterday, and I am not in position to dispute it, although I doubt it, that there has not been more than $100,000 of damage so far from the corn borer. I repeat to-day what I tried to emphasize yesterday. If this be true, it is a tribute to the efficacy of the preliminary work which was done to lessen the potential menace of this pest. I sincerely hope the amendment of the gentleman from Washington will not be agreed to and that we shall follow the course adopted yesterday of voting down these amendments.

Mr. MOUSER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURNELL. Yes.

Mr. MOUSER. As a matter of fact, the evidence that there has not been any greater damage shows the effectiveness of the control.

Mr. PURNELL. That is exactly correct.

Mr. MOUSER. That is the gentleman's point, and I just wanted to emphasize that.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Farm management and practice: To investigate and encourage the adoption of improved methods of farm management and farm practice, $430,467: *Provided*, That of this amount $150,000 may be used in ascertaining the cost of production of the principal staple agricultural products.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Page 70, line 3, strike out the figures "$430,467" and insert "$495,467."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, this amendment eliminates $35,000 relating to the corn borer for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It seems that the memory of some Members is short, so I must repeat a bit of history. On page 473 of the hearings you will find this colloquy. Doctor Marlett, chief of the bureau, was asked, "Can you control it, Doctor?" He answered, "You can not." "Can you stop its spread?" He answered, "You can not." "Can you exterminate it?" He replied, "In my judgment, you can not."

That is the evidence I want to drive home to Members of the House. Time and again the department has told us that it goes on spreading regardless of the quarantine. They perhaps do slow it up a little. They fly over the heads of the 1,700-college-boy brigade, and go on and lay more eggs in 24 hours than the light brigade of 1,700 catches during the whole season. [Laughter.] Why? According to the testimony, in 10,000,000 automobiles examined they found 730 worms. That is no more worms than one miller in 15 minutes could lay eggs for. [Laughter.]

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I yield.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman's amendment is an increase in the appropriation instead of a decrease.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The first figure in the second sum in my amendment should be "3." I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may be corrected to so read.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. BANKHEAD). Without objection, the correction will be made, and the Clerk will report the amendment as modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Page 70, line 3, strike out the figures "$430,467" and insert "$395,467."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I understand, Mr. Chairman, that our committee chairman agrees that this small sum of $35,000 should be eliminated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I thought it could be eliminated. It is only in a research item by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics on the operation of machines to clean up the cornstalks, and the Bureau of Agricultural Engineering is working on the same thing. I did not see any necessity of duplicating it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CHRISTGAU. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CHRISTGAU moves to amend, on page 70, at the end of line 5, by striking out the period and inserting a colon and the following: "*Provided further*, That the Bureau of Agricultural Economics make available to the farmers of the United States, and other public agencies also assisting farmers, all the information which it has or is able to obtain concerning probable conditions of supply of and demand for their products in the markets for their products in the coming marketing season, in such time as said farmers and public agencies shall be able to use it in the planning of agricultural production for the year; and that the Department of Agriculture shall further assist farmers and public agencies by planning with them the changes in agricultural production that are needed in the different regions or areas in the United States in view of the conditions of supply and demand as above determined."

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. CHRISTGAU. Will the gentleman reserve it?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I will reserve the point of order and let the gentleman speak five minutes.

Mr. CHRISTGAU. Mr. Chairman, I bring this proposition to the attention of the House on account of a change in the policy of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. In the past the bureau supplied the farmers of the country with information relative to the supply and demand of farm products and that information was the basis for the planning of production in many regions of the country; but on account, I imagine, of the unfavorable situation in agriculture, and the fact that outlook reports are somewhat pessimistic, the farmers are no longer receiving accurate information with respect to supply and demand of farm products. On account of the serious situation in agriculture, the farmers have to make drastic readjustments in their production. In order to plan their agriculture intelligently they should be familiar with two trends in agriculture, one with respect to the demand for farm products and the other with respect to changes in supply. The United States Department of Agriculture is the one organization in the United States which can determine to a large extent the situation that exists with respect to supply and demand of farm products. If we are going to have any improvement in agriculture, we must give the farmers information on which they can make adjustments so that their production will fit in with changes in supply and demand. I do not think the Bureau of Agricultural Economics is responsible for that change in policy. I think possibly authority higher up is responsible, but I call to the attention of the House the fact that that policy ought to be changed. We are spending thousands of dollars for gathering information, and it ought to be available to the farmers for their use.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

The Clerk read as follows:

Marketing and distributing farm products: For acquiring and diffusing among the people of the United States useful information, on subjects connected with the marketing, handling, utilization, grading, transportation, and distributing of farm and nonmanufactured food products and the purchasing of farm supplies, including the demonstration and promotion of the use of uniform standards of classification of American farm products throughout the world, including scientific and technical research into American-grown cotton and its by-products and their present and potential uses, including new and additional commercial and scientific uses for cotton and its by-products, and including investigations of cotton ginning under the act approved April 19, 1930 (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 7, secs. 424, 425), and for collecting and disseminating information on the adjustment of production to probable demand for the different farm and animal products, independently and in cooperation with other branches of the department, State agencies, purchasing and consuming organizations, and persons engaged in the marketing, handling, utilization, grading, transportation, and distributing of farm and food products, and for investigation of the economic costs of retail marketing of meat and meat products, $812,320: *Provided*, That practical forms of the grades recommended or promulgated by the Secretary for wool and mohair may be sold under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, and the receipts therefrom deposited in the Treasury to the credit of miscellaneous receipts.

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. KETCHAM: Line 8, page 71, before the word "*Provided*," insert "*Provided*, That of this amount not less than $20,000 shall be used in making a comprehensive economic study of the production, supply, demand, and utilization of fats and oils including the interchangeability of such products in their use."

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I invite the attention of members of the committee on both sides of the aisle to what I consider an important amendment. This involves no increase in the particular item. It does allocate $20,000 to one of the phases of work that is comprehended by this particular section. Two or three days ago on the floor of the House we heard an eloquent plea by the Commissioner from the Philippine Islands [Mr. OSIAS] for Philippine independence. Those of you who are here know that one of the factors entering into that question is the relationship of the importation from the Philippine Islands of certain of their products that come into active competition with certain agricultural products in the United States. I refer particularly to fats and oils.

I think all of you understand that one of the large importations from the Philippines coming in without any charge whatsoever is oils and the materials out of which the oils are manufactured. We do not know exactly the extent to which these oils displace our own fats and oils, but I am here to say to you that the available figures we do have indicate clearly that these fats and oils have been coming into the United States increasingly and have been, in turn, displacing from the Southland cottonseed oil, and, on the other hand, the cottonseed oil has come into the manufacture of certain productions and that, in turn, has displaced the lard products that come from the great Central West and forced them into export trade, where our farmers have been obliged to take a lower price than they would have been obliged to take had these products been sold in the domestic market. I suppose all of you noticed that in the Ways and Means Committee a suggestion was offered within the last day or two that a tax be placed upon these oils. If that be necessary, the whole question of the Philippine importation of oil and the general substitution by these oils for our own domestic production and the bad effect on agriculture are immediately to be thrown into discussion. It seems to me that one of the wisest expenditures of money that we could make, not an increase of this appropriation, is to definitely allocate $20,000 to a study of that very vital thing that concerns every farmer both North and South.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Last year the gentleman had a bill here, which I fought bitterly, to amend the oleomargarine law. It affected these oils that come in from the Philippines and also cottonseed oil. That bill was passed. The gentleman predicted that the result of the bill would be that dairy products would increase in price and be more valuable to the farmer. I notice that all those prices have gone down. How does the gentleman expect to help them by this change?

Mr. KETCHAM. I am very glad the gentleman has brought that illustration to my mind, because, while it is true prices of butter have gone down, I am here to say that conditions have even more adversely affected native oils, and I would have overlooked that completely if he had not called it to my attention.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The gentleman is always so friendly that I am glad to help him out.

Mr. BACON. Is it not true that the coconut oil that comes in from the Philippines is mostly used in soaps? I think the figures will show that.

Mr. KETCHAM. My information is that a very large share of this product goes into the manufacture of products for which our native fats and oils were originally used, soap being prominent among them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. KETCHAM. The figures indicate that instead of what the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON] has stated, these products coming in from the outside have been gradually creeping into the manufacture of food products as well, and particularly in connection with oleomargarine, to which my friend, Mr. LINTHICUM, made reference.

Mr. BACON. If the gentleman will yield, I do not think that is true as far as coconut oil is concerned. It is mainly used in the manufacture of soap, and the prevention of its coming in will only increase the price of soap and will not do anything else.

Mr. KETCHAM. I am sure if that fact were true it need to be set out very clearly, but as I read the statistics they are to the opposite effect.

If we go back to 1917, for instance, we find that the amount of coconut oil as a constituent of oleomargarine was 17.3 per cent. If we come down to 1930, the last year for which these figures are available, that sum had amounted to 45.38 per cent.

Mr. PATMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. PATMAN. Did the gentleman know that coconut oil gets a special rate over the railroads?

Mr. KETCHAM. Yes; it does.

Mr. PATMAN. A small rate that does not pay more than half the transportation cost.

Mr. KETCHAM. That is correct.

Mr. PATMAN. And the other commodities which the farmers use must bear that additional burden.

Mr. KETCHAM. That is true, and all of that should be comprehended in this investigation and study for which I am asking this allocation.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Is it not a fact that if the committee adopts the amendment which the gentleman has offered and this investigation is made, the committee which conducts the investigation will certainly determine whether or not the statement made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON] is justified by the facts?

Mr. KETCHAM. There can be no question about it.

May I ask your careful attention to the statement I am about to make? If we take the total amount of oil and fat consumption in the United States for a year it amounts to about 7,942,000,000 pounds. Now, if we go into that, we will find that back in 1921 there were imported 578,000,000 pounds of these foreign oils, but that importation had increased in 1930 to 1,597,000,000 pounds, or approximately multiplied by three. When that amount comes in there can be no question but that it displaces a very large amount of our native fats and oils to the disadvantage of farmers in the South and farmers in the North, and it should be corrected.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. No matter how worthy the amendment which the gentleman has offered may be, the effect of it will be to divert this much money from other products which are provided for in this bill.

Mr. KETCHAM. May I say that I hope that will not be the case? I hope to make such a good argument for this proposition that, without restricting other activities when this matter comes to the attention of another body possibly, the needed sum will be provided.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. But it will decrease the amount of money available for these other products.

Mr. KETCHAM. I hope not.

Mr. HARE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. HARE. The gentleman has submitted very interesting facts and data. In other words, the gentleman has submitted them so clearly and so plainly and so forcefully that I am convinced the gentleman has won his argument that Philippine oil or copra from the Philippine Islands comes in competition with domestic fat and other domestic oil to such an extent that it is unnecessary to get any additional information, and I am prepared to act on the information already furnished by the gentleman.

Mr. KETCHAM. I am very grateful that my argument has made such an impression. I am sorry to say there are some others who are still unconvinced. They must be convinced and the information must be brought up to date, particularly as to interchangeability.

Mr. HARE. Well, I will ask five additional minutes for the gentleman to convince the membership.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. While the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. HARE], who just spoke, may be convinced, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange both are not satisfied and they want this appropriation and this investigation.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Does not the same condition prevail as to sugar and other things which come from the Philippines as pertains to these oils?

Mr. KETCHAM. It does.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KETCHAM].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. KETCHAM) there were—ayes 31, noes 44.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

In all, salaries and expenses, $5,163,291.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the totals be corrected in accordance with the amendment just made.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry into effect the provisions of the United States cotton futures act, as amended March 4, 1919 (U. S. C., title 26, secs. 731–752), and to carry into effect the provisions of the United States cotton standards act, approved March 4, 1923 (U. S. C., title 7, secs. 51–65), including all expenses necessary for the purchase of equipment and supplies; for travel; for the employment of persons in the city of Washington and elsewhere; and for all other expenses, including rent outside of the District of Columbia, that may be necessary in executing the provisions of these acts, including such means as may be necessary for effectuating agreements heretofore or hereafter made with cotton associations, cotton exchanges, and other cotton organizations in foreign countries, for the adoption, use, and observance of universal standards of cotton classification, for the arbitration or settlement of disputes with respect thereto, and for the preparation, distribution, inspection, and protection of the practical forms or copies thereof under such agreements, $389,060.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. PATMAN: Page 75, line 13, after the word "cotton" at the beginning of the line insert "including the use of cotton bagging instead of jute bagging."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I hope if the point of order is not sustained that the committee will agree to the

amendment. It is merely for the purpose of giving authority to enter into such agreements as may be necessary for the purpose of using cotton, to wrap cotton with, instead of jute.

It will not be compulsory. It will merely be studying the question, and it will involve the use of considerably more cotton that is now being used. This is just a step in the right direction. I doubt the wisdom of importing into our country a product which is not produced in America—not one pound of it—a product which is used to wrap up a native product and then ship it back across the sea. Jute is produced in India. It is produced with cheap labor. The people who work in the production of jute receive from 14 to 16 cents a day for their labor. This commodity is brought into our country and is used in competition with the cotton that is grown in America. It occurs to me it would at least help in solving our cotton surplus problem if we used cotton as a wrapper for our cotton. No one can say it is not a better wrapping that jute, and it will certainly reduce the amount of our cotton surplus.

Mr. FOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. FOSS. Is there any law which now prevents the use of cotton?

Mr. PATMAN. Absolutely none; but no arrangements have been made for sale of cotton by net weight. The present system penalizes one who uses cotton wrapping instead of jute. We desire to change that system. I hope the committee will agree to the amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I feel constrained, after the eloquent and elaborate explanation made by the gentleman from Texas to press the point of order. I make the point of order, first, that it is not germane, and, next, that it is not authorized by existing law.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. PATMAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. BANKHEAD). The Chair is prepared to rule. The Chair regrets to have to come to the conclusion, based upon the proper construction of this section as the Chair understands its purposes, that he must sustain the point of order.

The proposition of providing for an investigation of jute is, of course, an absolutely new proposition. It is nowhere mentioned in the text of the section and projects an absolutely new element into the investigation. The Chair also thinks that the amendment invades the executive discretion now vested in the Secretary under the act and that therefore it is legislation.

The Chair, therefore, sustains the point of order.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PATMAN: On page 75, line 13, after the word "cotton," insert "including the use of cotton bagging."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I hope the gentleman will not insist on his point of order. I feel the people in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, where they produce so much of the dairy products that are put upon the markets of the United States, have a great deal in common with the people of the South who produce cotton, and, of course, its by-product, cottonseed. The people of the South are satisfied with the cotton business. They are willing to continue in that business, but if something is not done that will give them a living wage they are going to go into other lines of business, and the line of business they will go into will be in direct competition with the business that is the most valuable business in the gentleman's State—that is, dairying.

Mr. STAFFORD. We certainly invite competition from the great Lone Star State, which the gentleman so ably represents.

Mr. PATMAN. Possibly the gentleman does not look upon it seriously.

Mr. STAFFORD. The State of Texas can not enter into competition with the dairy products of my State, and we invite that competition.

Mr. PATMAN. I invite the gentleman's attention to the fact that we will possibly be forced into that business.

Mr. STAFFORD. Whether the gentleman's State enters that business voluntarily or is forced into it, we invite the competition.

Mr. PATMAN. Permit me to suggest to the gentleman that we can produce dairy products and put them upon the market for a price much less than the gentleman's State can produce them. Let me tell the gentleman the reason why. We have a better climate than he has in his State. Our land is not as high as his land. We can buy land just as fertile as his land for one-third the price. We have a good season. We have 11 months of grass, whereas you have only two or three months of grass. We do not have to have airtight barns. We can use any kind of a shed for our cattle. It does not take the amount of money to go into the dairy business in the South that it takes in the gentleman's State. So, considering the price of land and the climatic conditions, we can produce dairy products and sell those dairy products much cheaper than the gentleman can in his State and make money. So if we are forced into that business it will be a detriment to that great industry in the gentleman's State.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have never had the pleasure of visiting the great Lone Star State and becoming acquainted with its personnel except by coming in contact with the rare Representatives who have represented that great State in the last 28 years. If all the gentleman has forecasted can be done in the great State of Texas, I can not conceive why the people there have not engaged in that line of production.

Mr. PATMAN. They have been satisfied with growing cotton.

Mr. STAFFORD. They are not satisfied with the growing of cotton to-day with the low price they are receiving, 6 cents.

Mr. PATMAN. If you are going to make cotton growing unprofitable, then they will go into the dairy business.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the climate and soil of Wisconsin were favorable for the development of cotton raising, the people would go into the business of cotton raising. I am surprised at the gentleman's statement. If the people of Texas know, as the gentleman has forecasted, that they can enter the dairy industry at one-half the cost, I can not understand why the people there have not entered upon that kind of production.

Mr. PATMAN. They are doing it now, and the gentleman will be surprised to know just what has been done in the last year or two while the price of cotton has been so low.

I think I have stricken out the objectionable part of the amendment, and I hope the gentleman does not insist upon his point of order.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment not only is not germane, but it is not within the purview of the United States cotton futures act or the cotton standards act, and I invite the attention of the Chair to Title VII, paragraph 56.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. PATMAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is prepared to rule. The Chair will call the attention of the gentleman from Texas to the language which he is seeking to amend:

Including such means as may be necessary for effectuating agreements heretofore or hereafter made with cotton associations, cotton exchanges, and other cotton organizations in foreign countries; for the adoption, use, and observance of universal standards of cotton classification.

The immediate part of the paragraph relates entirely to cotton classification. The gentleman from Texas, by his

amendment, offers to inject into the instructions given under this paragraph "the use of cotton bagging."

In the opinion of the Chair, under the principle just stated on the other point of order, this is clearly legislation upon an appropriation bill; and, also, in the opinion of the Chair, it is not germane to the paragraph.

The Chair therefore sustains the point of order.

Mr. GLOVER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, on page 75, line 16, strike out "$289,060" and insert in lieu thereof "$189,060."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GLOVER: On page 75, line 16, strike out "$289,060" and insert in lieu thereof "$189,060."

Mr. GLOVER. Mr. Chairman, I am prompted to offer this amendment by the fact that for the past two days the committee of which I have the honor to be a member has had before it the head of the department having charge of the enforcement of this section, the grain and cotton futures acts.

You will remember that during the last year the President of the United States called the attention of the public to the abuses that were growing out of short selling of wheat, cotton, and other agricultural products. The head of this department, who has been before us for two days, I believe, knows about as little about the department he is representing as any man we could possibly have there. [Laughter.]

The truth of the matter is that unless a change can be had in this department I am going to introduce a bill having for its purpose the repeal of the act that created this department in the Department of Agriculture. If it can not be used for a better purpose than it is now used, it ought to be abolished.

We have had before us to-day a man from this department who was advocating, if I could understand him, short selling. Every man that knows anything about the markets knows that short selling has been the thing that has crushed the farmers of America—the wheat farmers and the cotton farmers. Why, they can run the market down and down as far as they want to; and I asked the gentleman over there when he was before the committee some very pertinent questions, which you will find in the record, as to how they handle and manage this thing. They can give you the price of cotton a year before the seed is planted. They tell you what the price is going to be in December of next year, and they have this all printed now.

I asked him how they knew that. I know they are wise, but I do not know how they get that information. I asked the question as to how they could fix the price so far ahead, and here is the answer I got. "Why," he said, "that is easy. An offer has been made to buy 10,000 bales of cotton for December and somebody else agrees that at that time he will sell him that many bales of cotton in December and that fixes the price for December."

Now, is not this a beautiful spectacle? Here is a cotton exchange with 400 men sitting in a ring gambling on cotton. Suppose you and I are in there and I say, "I will sell you 10,000 bales of cotton for December at 10 cents," and you say, "I will take it." Oh, they say that is an enforceable contract. It is if you and I want to enforce it, but both of us know at the time the offer is made and the acceptance is had that neither one of us expects to ever enforce the contract, and this is the way they fix the price ahead several months.

When the President of the United States saw the effect of short selling on the markets and called the attention of this department to it, the head of this department, under this act and under the cotton futures act, should have instituted prosecutions against the exchanges that were carrying it on. Did they do this? Why, no; absolutely not; and if you read the record you will find they are trying to make you believe the President had the wrong information about it. He knows what is the matter. He said in his statement about it that if it were permissible he would publish the names of the short sellers. I think this department ought publish their names. They ought to prosecute not only the man who is doing it, but they ought to cut out such exchanges from doing business in the United States if the practice of short selling to force the agricultural product down is carried on.

I may state to you, gentlemen, it is a question of whether these exchanges are going to govern the United States or whether we have got to govern them, just as sure as you are living. I am one of the kind who believes that they have no right to gamble on the product of the farmer at all, and I shall fight for that principle until I am convinced otherwise. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arkansas.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry into effect the provisions of the United States grain standards act, including rent outside of the District of Columbia and the employment of such persons and means as the Secretary of Agriculture may deem necessary, in the city of Washington and elsewhere, $833,370.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word in order to obtain some information. I notice that here is an appropriation of $833,370 for the enforcement of the provisions of the United States grain standards act. I want to ask the gentleman from Texas, in view of some information that has come to me, if there is any provision made for the study of a standardization of cottonseed?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No; that would take legislation.

Mr. PATTERSON. There are several stations established in different places where it would be convenient to carry that on.

Mr. PATMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. I would like to invite the gentleman's attention to the fact that the Federal Trade Commission has recently concluded an investigation of that very question the gentleman has brought up. I believe that it is regarded that standardization of cottonseed at this time would be against the interests of the farmer. I think the gentleman will conclude after reading the testimony that he does not want it.

Mr. PATTERSON. I should be glad to read that testimony. This information came from a man in my State who is interested in farming. The farmer of my section certainly needs help, and nothing should be enacted to set him back or handicap him.

Mr. PATMAN. I could give the gentleman an illustration.

Mr. PATTERSON. I should be glad to read the testimony, but I do not care to take up the time of the committee at this time; so, Mr. Chairman, I will withdraw my amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the control and prevention of spread of the European corn borer, $295,000.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 81, strike out lines 7 and 8.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of my amendment is to eliminate $295,000 for the control and prevention of spread of the European corn borer.

We have already eliminated the quarantine line and now we propose to appropriate $295,000 to go down into the field a few miles farther on and see if there are any corn borers. I do not want the committee to take that illogical position. Scouting was logical as long as we maintained the quarantine line. The quarantine-line item has been abandoned, and I see no reason for searching further for corn borers beyond. The department's best authorities tell us they can not stop it.

Mr. JONES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I yield.

Mr. JONES. If the gentleman's statement is correct, it seems to me that if there is no quarantine maintained that this money is not needed. I understand the gentleman to say that the quarantine has been abandoned.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. They have eliminated the quarantine line.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman is in error in that. We propose to maintain the quarantine. Here is nursery and greenhouse stock of one kind and another in this area, and we are going to maintain the quarantine and issue certificates before it can be shipped out.

Mr. JONES. Then you have not abolished the quarantine in these areas?

Mr. SIMMONS. No. The only thing which has been eliminated is the road patrol.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I did not mean to misrepresent, and think I did not. When we were discussing the item and decided to eliminate the $500,000 for quarantine lines the gentleman from Nebraska took the phone and asked the department some questions about this, and reported back that they said in the department that the "scouting should be maintained." It was decided then that the scouting item should be retained in the bill. That, to me, is very conclusive that we were appropriating $295,000 for that purpose; and I made my statement just now on that state of facts.

Mr. SIMMONS. The original breakdown for this item was for administration, clean-up, and control work, then first generation area and second generation area, then maintenance and quarantine enforcement for flower and vegetable inspection. We left the administration in, but cut it about 40 per cent. We left the clean-up and control work in the first generation area, but cut those items about 40 per cent, and we left the flower-and-vegetable inspection item in, but we cut out the vehicular-inspection item in the first and second generation areas. We left the scouting item in. So that if you strike out this item, then every State in the Union that does not have a corn borer in it will have the right to put on a quarantine against the shipment of any products that might carry a corn borer.

You will force the noninfested States to put on a State quarantine. This is the most important item in the whole thing.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. I think it is least important and a waste of public funds. This is the last of the corn-borer items in the bill. After painstaking, unbiased examination of the witnesses and their evidence before our committee it is my sincere conviction we should not expend more than $50,000 annually on the corn borer, and that the $18,000,000 already spent is largely wasted. However, I have high regard for those who think differently. Doctor Marlatt, Doctor Larrimer, and Mr. Strong, whom I have quoted frequently, are among the department's most noted scientists and are men of wide experience. Our chairman, Mr. BUCHANAN, and Mr. SIMMONS are devoted friends of agriculture, as are the other members of the committee. We have worked harmoniously, and I regret that we could not join our efforts in eliminating the corn-borer items from this bill and thereby save the Federal Treasury $750,000.

Mr. MOUSER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. When the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS] was discussing this question of appropriations for the elimination and control of the European corn borer he admitted that he personally had never seen an infested field. I have no personal interest in this matter other than the danger ahead to the farmers who are raising corn if some control work is not provided.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOUSER. Yes.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Doctor Marlatt stated before our committee that there were some places in New York where they had had the corn borer for 15 years, and the farmers still did not know it was there. So that it is not remarkable that I have not seen it in passing back and forth.

Mr. MOUSER. The gentleman would be very much enlightened if he could have the privilege of visiting an infested area. During the past two years I visited the area around Toledo, Ohio, and personally went into cornfields where there were not any ears on the stalks of corn. The stalks of corn were opened, and there were from six to eight corn borers in the stalk, taking out the very life of the stalk, not giving any chance for the corn to ear. According to the gentleman's statement, the Government has spent $18,000,000. There must have been some reason for that expenditure. At least the Congress has been appropriating money for control work, and now in this spirit of economy by failure to appropriate here we may indulge in false economy, thereby destroying the benefit of millions of dollars that we have heretofore expended.

The facts indicate that this is one of the most menacing things the farmer has had to contend with. It started in New England and now it is over in Indiana. At Michigan City, Ind., during the past summer they found automobiles carrying corn infested with this corn borer. If this borer has the opportunity of going into the moth stage, it lays eggs in the cornstalk and there evolves from that moth the corn borer. In Ohio it is now menacing the southernmost part of the State, and unless checked it will be in Kentucky and there will not be a section where they raise corn in the United States that will not be affected. I was astounded when the gentleman said that there had been evidence presented to indicate damage of only $100,000. I have seen hundreds of acres of corn in Ohio destroyed, and I imagine that the damage in Ohio alone is much greater than $100,000. When that statement was made to the committee I took it up with the Department of Agriculture, and they stated to me that the proper evidence as to damage was not before the committee, that it was much greater than that, and they were sorry they did not have the opportunity of calling in the proper witnesses and developing that evidence. Some of them knew of this committee hearing on very short notice and did not have an opportunity to prepare for it. I hope the gentleman's amendment will be defeated in the interest of practical economy.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Not to exceed 10 per cent of the foregoing amounts for the miscellaneous expenses of the work of any bureau, division, or office herein provided for shall be available interchangeably for expenditures on the objects included within the general expenses of such bureau, division, or office, but no more than 10 per cent shall be added to any one item of appropriation except in cases of extraordinary emergency, and then only upon the written order of the Secretary of Agriculture: *Provided*, That a statement of any transfers of appropriations made hereunder shall be included in the annual Budget.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the gentleman whether he would be willing to write the Department of Agriculture and ask them in the expenditure under the interchange of money item in this department not to strike out the item on phosphoric acid and potash, so that the committee will have that information another year that we have been denied this year in connection with fertilizers.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We do not strike out the item.

Mr. GOSS. I hope they will not take away from that phosphoric acid and potash item and put the money into some other item in the bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I feel confident that the Secretary is not going to do that.

Mr. GOSS. They must have done it last year.

Mr. BUCHANAN. This is a 10 per cent exchange, and is merely put in to meet emergencies that happen in the bureau, to let them take care of things where they do not have quite enough money. Then it takes only 10 per cent of the item.

Mr. GOSS. And the gentleman gives his assurance that they will not take it off these two items?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman means no per cent of it?

Mr. GOSS. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Why should they enjoy any special privilege over any other item?

Mr. GOSS. That is the point that I am trying to bring out.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I can assure the gentleman that these items will not be overburdened. They will be treated fairly with every other item, but I would not want to undertake to give them a special privilege.

The Clerk read as follows:

That not to exceed $200,000 of the lump-sum appropriations herein made for the Department of Agriculture shall be available for the purchase of motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles necessary in the conduct of the field work of the Department of Agriculture outside the District of Columbia: *Provided*, That such vehicles shall be used only for official service outside the District of Columbia, but this shall not prevent the continued use for official service of motor trucks in the District of Columbia: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to expend from the funds provided for carrying out the provisions of the Federal highway act of November 9, 1921 (U. S. C., title 23, secs. 21 and 23), not to exceed $50,000 for the purchase of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles for use in the construction and maintenance of national-forest roads or other roads constructed under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture, including the replacement of not to exceed two such vehicles for use in the administrative work of the Bureau of Public Roads in the District of Columbia: *Provided further*, That appropriations contained in this act shall be available for the maintenance, operation, and repair of motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, but expenditures for that purpose, exclusive of garage rent, pay of operator, tires, fuel, and lubricants, on any one motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle, except a bus, used by the Department of Agriculture shall not exceed one-third of the market price of a new vehicle of the same make or class, and in any case not more than $500: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Agriculture may exchange motor-propelled and horse-drawn vehicles, tractors, road equipment, and boats, and parts, accessories, tires, or equipment thereof, in whole or in part payment for vehicles, tractors, road equipment, or boats, or parts, accessories, tires, or equipment of such vehicles, tractors, road equipment, or boats purchased by him.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have sent to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 88, line 6, after the word "him," insert the following: "*Provided further*, That no part of any money appropriated by this act shall be used for purchasing any motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle (except busses and station wagons) at a cost, delivered and completely equipped for operation, in excess of $750, including the value of a vehicle exchanged where exchange is involved; nor shall any money appropriated herein be used for maintaining, driving, or operating any motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle not used exclusively for official purposes, and 'official purposes' shall not include the transportation of officers and employees between their domiciles and places of employment. This limitation as to price shall not apply to any motor vehicle purchased for official use of the Secretary of Agriculture."

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to prevent the purchase by the Government of costly automobiles for the use of certain of its higher-paid officials—a practice that has grown up in recent years and should be stopped. Every passenger-carrying automobile that appears in the budget of the Department of Agriculture costing over $750 is a vehicle that will be used by officials residing in cities, and these officials will operate the vehicles largely in cities. The vehicles that will be used in the field are vehicles that cost from $600 to $750. My thought is to make the cost limit $750 so that the official may get a good, serviceable car for use in the performance of his official duties. The Congress should not provide an expensive automobile or a showy one merely because he draws a good salary. If Congress buys medium-priced cars rather than expensive ones there will not be so many calls made upon us for transportation. These officials will buy their own automobiles as Congressmen buy theirs.

Mr. JONES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLINS. I yield.

Mr. JONES. Is it the purpose of the gentleman to offer this same kind of an amendment to the Army and other appropriation bills?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

Mr. JONES. So that they will have to use the same type of car?

Mr. COLLINS. I propose to offer this amendment to all of the appropriation bills.

Mr. JONES. Then the gentleman does not intend to make the farmers ride in Fords and allow the Army officers to ride in Pierce-Arrows?

Mr. COLLINS. I intend to offer this amendment to all appropriation bills; and, as I understand it, this particular amendment is agreeable to the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. JONES. I have no objection. In fact, I think the amendment is a good amendment, provided we go all along the line.

Mr. COLLINS. That is what I propose to do.

Mr. JONES. And make it apply to every appropriation bill and every department of the Government.

Mr. COLLINS. That is what I propose to do.

Mr. JONES. If the gentleman will treat them all alike, it is a good policy during the emergency.

Mr. COLLINS. I propose to do that identical thing.

Mr. KVALE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLINS. I yield.

Mr. KVALE. Does the gentleman's amendment prohibit the use of these funds in paying for the maintenance or operation of vehicles owned by the employees themselves and used in connection with their official duties? As I understood the reading of the amendment, it seems to me the wording of the amendment would prevent the use of these moneys in paying the legitimate cost of maintaining their automobiles. Except for that I am heartily in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman, but I hope the gentleman will correct the wording so that that injustice will not follow.

Mr. COLLINS. I believe the gentleman is mistaken in his construction of the amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLINS. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does the gentleman intend to prohibit a Government employee from using a Government vehicle in going to and from his place of business?

Mr. COLLINS. I intend to do that very thing.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is just crippling him to that extent in making serviceable his time.

Mr. COLLINS. He can ride in his own automobile the same as I do.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman realizes that large commercial establishments furnish passenger automobiles for their employees or permit them to use automobiles which they use in their business in going to and coming from work.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLINS. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. Because some employees are permitted to take automobiles home with them is the reason we find so many families of these men driving Government cars, using them at night, and the reason that some Government employees in Washington, after they get home at 4.30, taking off the Government license tag and putting on their private tag and engaging in the taxicab business, using the Government car, Government oil, and Government gasoline. They should not take Government cars home.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. COLLINS) there were—ayes 34, and noes 27.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to collect moneys due the United States on account of loans made under the provisions of the acts of March 3, 1921 (41 Stat. 1347), March 20, 1922 (42 Stat. 467), April 26, 1924 (43 Stat. 110), February 28, 1927 (44 Stat.

1251), February 25, 1929 (45 Stat. 1306), as amended May 17, 1929 (46 Stat. 3), March 3, 1930 (46 Stat. 78, 79), December 20, 1930 (46 Stat. 1032), February 14, 1931 (46 Stat. 1160), and February 23, 1931 (46 Stat. 1276), $500,000 of the unexpended balance of the appropriation contained in Public Resolution No. 114, approved January 15, 1931, is continued available until June 30, 1933, of which amount not to exceed $80,000 may be expended for departmental personal services in the District of Columbia.

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I had the curiosity to check up on the appropriations referred to in this paragraph. I am not sure whether the practice of seed loan appropriation bills began before the first of these acts or not, but they happen to cover most of the period of my own service here, and I have watched with some apprehension the growth of such dispensing of the benevolence of the Federal Government to help regions and classes.

Seed loan appropriations

Mar. 3, 1921	$2,000,000
Mar. 20, 1922	1,500,000
Apr. 26, 1924	1,000,000
Feb. 28, 1927	253,000
Feb. 25, 1929	6,000,000
Mar. 3, 1930	7,000,000
Dec. 20, 1930	45,000,000
Feb. 14, 1931	20,000,000
Feb. 23, 1931	2,000,000
January, 1932	25,000,000
Total	109,753,000

I hope there is no man in this House who excels me in sympathy for affliction. I do not question the mercy of these provisions. I am glad if they have helped, but I have great sympathy also with the attitude taken by one of the candidates for President on the Democratic side, Governor Ritchie, and also with our own colleague, whom I may be pardoned in referring to by name, Mr. BECK, of Pennsylvania, in their belief that it is a misfortune to saddle on the Federal Government the responsibilities that hitherto have been carried by the State governments. While I may differ with them in respect of the application of the principle to some one particular problem, I am in full accord with them on the principle as such.

Let me point out the dangers here involved. We have just authorized an appropriation of $25,000,000 for seed loans without any inquiry whatever, as far as has come to my notice, either as to the extent of the need or the reasons for making the loans. An appeal to our sympathies on the general proposition that men are suffering tempts us to rash action.

I am told that a startlingly small proportion of the loans made last spring have been collected, and I observe that this paragraph contemplates the expenditure of $500,000 simply to collect unpaid balances. Surely this is a burden on the Treasury that ought to be considered. I would suggest to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Agriculture that one of them might usefully ascertain how large a percentage of the loans of 1930 and 1931 has been repaid and what is the likelihood of their repayment and that of the new loan's present circumstances. Possibly they would find that our growing practice of lending money to some one class in some one region is becoming an encouragement to debt which, after all, is the worst thing that can come to an individual or to a class of individuals. Furthermore, if the habit of letting individuals borrow from the Public Treasury is to grow, at least we ought to consider whether the borrowing should be from the Federal or from the State treasury.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMMONS: On page 88, line 23, insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to make advances or loans, for the purposes and under the conditions specified in Public Resolution 112, approved December 20, 1930 (46 Stat. 1032 and 1033), as amended (46 Stat. 1167), to farmers who suffered serious crop losses from drought, storms, hail, or pests in 1931, or who may suffer such losses in 1932, the unexpended balances of the appropriations for such loans (46 Stat. 1039 and 1160), except as provided in the preceding paragraph, are hereby reappropriated and made available to June 30, 1933: *Provided*, That a first lien on the crops to be planted or grown in 1932 shall, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, be deemed sufficient security therefor: *And provided further*, That not to exceed $2,000,000 of such unexpended balances shall be available, under such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture may prescribe, for advances or loans to individuals throughout the United States for the purpose of assisting in forming local agricultural-credit corporations, livestock loan companies, or like organizations, or of increasing the capital stock of such corporations, companies, or organizations qualified to do business with the Federal intermediate-credit banks or to which such privileges may be extended."

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I shall be very brief about this, if the gentleman will permit me to make this statement.

This proposal would permit the Department of Agriculture to continue loans in the drought and grasshopper stricken regions so the farmers could feed and carry their livestock through the winter. It is a loan that can not be made under the provisions of the $50,000,000 authorization in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act, as that is limited absolutely to crop-production purposes. This language has been construed to have a broader meaning than the new law. There is a need for the enactment of this provision. I will state very frankly to the chairman that it is subject to a point of order if the gentleman from Texas determines to make it.

Mr. LUCE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I have not the right to yield.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair, without making any formal ruling, sustains the point of order.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I was interested in the statements made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE] a moment ago. I, too, doubted the wisdom of the program which the gentleman was discussing, at the time of its inception. I think I made the only speech that was made on the floor of the House in opposition to the beginning of that program; but the program has been established as a policy of the Government. It was brought about by a species of economic favoritism in tariffs, freight rates, and financial control that had bled the agricultural section white and destroyed the purchasing power of the farmer.

Regardless of what the merits of that program may be, I confess I am unable to differentiate between making small loans of two or three hundred dollars to the farmers and the policy that was established in the $500,000,000 corporation that was voted through the other day to make loans to insurance companies, bankers, railroads, and other financial institutions.

If it is unwise for the Federal Government to make loans to the great farming group with a few million dollars as the total, how does it become wise to appropriate $500,000,000, with a possible expansion to $2,000,000,000, to take care of certain other great groups?

Mr. LUCE. May I answer the gentleman?

Mr. JONES. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LUCE. The gentleman will recall that some of us fought every attempt to fasten on that bill loans to individuals. We did not believe it was wise and tried to stop it.

Mr. JONES. Then the gentleman thinks a corporation is superior to the individual? The corporation is an artificial person; the individual is a natural person. On what basis does the gentleman justify a Federal loan to a corporation, an artificial person, and say that is wise and a sound policy, and that a loan by the same government out of the same till to an individual, a legal, natural person, can not be justified?

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I justify that by saying that all these loans were to be made upon the basis of adequate security.

Mr. JONES. Well, I want to state to the Chairman that every one of these agricultural loan bills that has been presented has required a first lien on the gross production of the farmer throughout the whole crop year, and the gentleman did not put into this $500,000,000 bill that the gross production of the insurance company, of the railway company, and of other financial institutions should be mortgaged and a first lien given on those things.

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, we were not so unwise as to require that.

Mr. JONES. Of course, it is the gentleman's philosophy, then, that it is wise when the Government provides loans to certain groups, but it is unwise when it makes loans to other groups. The gentleman says he is willing to extend his sympathy to the great group that is engaged in farming. Many times they have been the victim of financial and governmental policies that have discriminated against them. The gentleman can button up his sympathy and keep it. It is not sympathy they want or need. A man can not live on sympathy alone. When a governmental policy is established, I want the farmer to have the same rights that are accorded to industry. That is American, and that is fair.

Mr. LUCE. If the gentleman will now permit me to finish the statement, the security that is required from these institutions is such that the Nation is guaranteed a return of its money.

Mr. JONES. Is it?

Mr. LUCE. Let me ask the gentleman one question——

Mr. JONES. Right on that point, let us take one point at a time. As I understand, under the terms of that bill, if any of these bonds and debentures are unpaid, the Government must appropriate the money to pay such bonds and debentures. If I read the terms of the bill aright, the Government subscribes the original capital and underwrites the bonds. No one knows whether there will be a loss, nor how much; but Uncle Sam foots the bill.

Mr. LUCE. Now, on the question of security, Mr. Chairman, am I right in my understanding that not one-third of the loans made last spring have yet been repaid?

Mr. JONES. I do not know what that amounts to with respect to the loans made last spring. Collection on them has not been completed and times are abnormal. But with respect to the previous loans an average of above 80 per cent has been paid, and on the loans of two years ago 92 per cent has been paid.

I want to make a plea for the tiller of the soil who lives in the far stretches of this country, and who has trusted you and me to see that he is protected in his rights. He feeds the people and produces the basis of our wealth.

He does not ask for favoritism. He asks only for a square deal. He only asks for an even chance in the race of life. He asks to be relieved of the discriminating burdens that have weighed him down. He asks to be relieved of the chains that selfish groups have forged about him. He asks for equal treatment as an American citizen in any program that is laid out by the Nation.

That much he has a right to demand.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. I do this because I can not get my consent to remain silent while the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE] praises the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill put over last week with one breath and with the next breath criticizes the seed, feed, and fertilizer items which have been voted for the farmers in the past and is being taken care of in a penurious way at this time. The gentleman is very inconsistent in this matter but is no more inconsistent in this than he is in contending that the loans under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill are to be well or amply secured, so that the Government can not lose, while the farmers' production loans are not at all safe.

I did my very best to amend the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill so as to require all loans by proper indorsements to be made safe, and I was defeated in this by the fight led by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE], and I am not at all willing for him to now boast of his work on that bill while he criticizes the small loans that the farmers need in this crisis for production purposes. If these loans of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the sum of $100,000,000 each to the big bankers and trust companies of New England and New York are to be safe, why did the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE] lead the fight by every possible parliamentary tactic and otherwise to prevent the directors and other officials of these institutions indorsing their own loan papers?

Everybody who has at all studied this so-called Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill knows these loans are not to be secured so as to prevent losses to the Government. The gentleman from Massachusetts knows that himself, even if he is not willing to admit it. The big bankers and trust company officials who are to get this money in sums of $100,000,000 each know that they are to put up a job on the American people by selling outright to this corporation paper that they know is not safe and which they are not willing to indorse.

I am hoping that by some kind of legerdemain, luck, chance, or something else, the big corporations of the country will not be able to get away with as much of the people's money under this bill as the gentleman from Massachusetts evidently desired should be obtained by the bill. May we hope that the officials who are to administer this tremendous amount of money will not permit all the orgy of plunder that the gentleman from Massachusetts insisted should be authorized by the bill, when he so vigorously fought to authorize loans of $200,000,000 to each of these favored banks, trust companies, and other financial organizations, and when he fought to prevent these bank, trust, and other financial officials indorsing and becoming responsible for the extremely large amounts of money he evidently hoped for them to get under this act.

The gentleman from Massachusetts led the fight to prevent any of the money of this corporation being loaned to the common people. He was most anxious that all of it in enormously large items should be loaned to corporations. He was most anxious that none of it should be loaned to the farmer or the laboring man or other human beings.

He was even apparently very anxious that none of it should go to any one who would use it to the aid of the farmer or the laboring man as he even fought amendments for this purpose offered by the chairman of his own committee and others. He seemed very determined to prevent an amendment by which I sought to provide that this money should be loaned where it would help the farmers and the unemployed to get jobs. He seemed to want the bill to be worded so none of this money would go to any human being unless that person was an official of a corporation.

It may be that this act will be administered much better than I anticipate. If it is it will be because of the good purpose and intent of those administering it and not because the gentleman from Massachusetts helped to work out a great bill providing for assistance to the whole people of the Nation. He certainly did all he could to bring into existence a measure authorizing loans of $200,000,000 to each of the favored large financial institutions on notes, bonds, and other obligations which neither he nor the officials of the institution thought were safe enough for them to indorse.

I certainly feel that the gentleman after all of this and because of all of this is now estopped from raising his voice against these small pittances in the way of loans to farmers for production purposes.

The Clerk read as follows:

SOIL-EROSION INVESTIGATIONS

To enable the Secretary of Agriculture to make investigation not otherwise provided for of the causes of soil erosion and the possibility of increasing the absorption of rainfall by the soil in the United States, and to devise means to be employed in the preservation of soil, the prevention or control of destructive erosion, and the conservation of rainfall by terracing or other means, independently or in cooperation with other branches of the Government, State agencies, counties, farm organizations, associations of business men, or individuals, including necessary expenses, $289,160, of

which amount not to exceed $21,200 may be expended for personal services in the District of Columbia.

Mr. MOORE of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 89, line 9, strike out the sum "$289,160" and insert in lieu thereof "$314,160."

Mr. MOORE of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I think this activity of the Department of Agriculture is one of its most constructive activities. If one will study the report of its investigations concerning soil erosion he will find it quite instructive. In several places in the United States—11 in all, I believe—there are soil-erosion stations. We have but to travel through the country to notice the eroding of the soil. Not only has the soil been taken from the hillsides, but it has washed down the valleys and covered up good soil there, and in that way destroyed good soil in two places.

This is an effort that has been fruitful of good results, and it seems to me will be very helpful in the years to come.

This amendment would increase the appropriation $25,000. It would give a little more assistance to the Appalachian station, the station in the piedmont section in Georgia, and the station in Wisconsin. It has not been very long since we read of the great devastation in China, when thousands of people were made homeless. What had happened?

In years gone the soil had been eroded and the inhabitants of China, as I heard one representative from the Agricultural Department say, left the hills and the mountains and went down into the valleys, about the only place where they could live, only to be driven back into the barren hills by floods. It seems to me that in this effort to make a study of soil erosion and how to rehabilitate the soil, and reforestation in places, and in order that we may terrace the lands by the devices that have been developed under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture, we should be generous in our appropriations. A great deal of the moisture and rainfall that would ordinarily wash down the hillside and erode the soil may be conserved by these terraces. That will prevent drought and it will also conserve the water for springs and wells.

Mr. REED of New York. The scientists say that following the natural process, it takes 10,000 years to replace 1 inch of fertile soil.

Mr. MOORE of Ohio. I am very glad to have that observation. We can notice this all over the country in many places, where the soil has been eroded. This country is rich, and in the past we have not had to think about the matter. We could wear out the soil at one place and move on to another. But it can all be destroyed in time. I think it a fine thing that the Department of Agriculture is making a study of this matter in this constructive manner so that we may conserve the soil.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. The Department of Agriculture told the committee that erosion takes out of the soil each year twenty-one times as much as the production of crops, which emphasizes the necessity for the study of erosion.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Ohio. Yes.

Mr. GOSS. We found in the Military Affairs Committee recently when we had these experts from the Department of Agriculture that nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potash were taken out of the soil in erosion as well as through plant life. I have been trying for two days to get some appropriation here to look into that very subject, and every time I have been voted down. I would be glad to support the gentleman, but I wish he would go a little further.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. MOORE of Ohio) there were—ayes 24, noes 52.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia: Page 89, line 9, strike out "$289,160" and insert "$350,000."

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I make this motion not for the purpose of getting a vote on this amendment. I know that would be futile in view of the vote that has just been cast. I do want the floor for just a few more minutes.

I can not reconcile myself to the idea how anyone who wants to loan $200,000,000 at a single clip to one and each of the big corporations of the Nation gets so much wrought up over the suggestion of a little relief to the common people. Too many people feel that the Constitution is being outraged by even small loans to the farmer for any purpose, but at the same time are most happy and care nothing about the Constitution or any other right of the common people when it comes to loans of $200,000,000 without any indorsement to the big corporations of the Nation. Oh well, I just can not understand this kind of a legislative mind, neither can I fathom the meanderings of a mind reaching such a construction of the Constitution so I will pass the question, for the present, at least.

I do want to make one other observation. The United States Government last year got more than $43 in taxes out of cigarettes, cigars, chewing tobacco, and other manufactured tobacco products every time the farmer got $28 for producing the leaf tobacco necessary to produce that same manufactured product. Think of it. The Government's $43 was net and the farmer's $28 was gross; that is, it was for his labor, use of land and other property, and every other cost of production.

Much has been said about the Government subsidizing the farmers. My tobacco farmers are subsidizing the Government to the tune of about $500,000 per year and I can not help feeling indignant when I see people who are the direct recipients of this enormous tax collected out of my people object to even a small part of this money being loaned back to these same farmers to enable them to make more tobacco, with the Government to get many times more out of the tobacco business than these producers.

Certainly it seems to me no one should object to any reasonable loans to these people in this time of distress. If the farmers had received one-tenth the help from the Government that has gone to the home section of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE] they would not now be in need of this assistance.

Mr. Chairman, I am very much in favor of economy, but my very nature rebels at the kind of economy that opens the Treasury doors wide for those who, to a large extent, have caused this panic and refuses to reloan to my farmers even a small fraction of the money that came from taxes on the manufactured products which they helped to produce in their raw form.

I believe in economy that is fair to all sections and all classes. To my mind, none other is worthy of the consideration of this Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I offered my amendment in order to obtain the floor and ask unanimous consent to withdraw it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

For carrying out the provisions of section 23 of the Federal highway act approved November 9, 1921 (U. S. C., title 23, sec. 23), including not to exceed $81,020 for departmental personal services in the District of Columbia, $8,905,000, which sum is composed of $2,945,000, part of the sum of $12,500,000 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1932 by the act approved May 5, 1930 (46 Stat. 261), and $5,960,000, part of the amount authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1933 by the act approved May 5, 1930: *Provided*, That the Secretary of Agriculture shall, upon the approval of this act, apportion and prorate among the several States, Alaska, and Porto Rico, as provided in section 23 of said Federal highway act, the sum of $12,500,000 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, by the act approved May 5, 1930, making deduction of the amounts allocated from the appropriation of $3,000,000 for national-forest highways contained in the act entitled "An act making supplemental appropriations to provide for emergency construction on certain public works during the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931, with a view to increasing employment," approved December 20, 1930 (46 Stat. 1031): *Provided further*, That the Secretary

of Agriculture shall incur obligations, approve projects, or enter into contracts under his apportionment and prorating of this authorization, and his action in so doing shall be deemed a contractual obligation on the part of the Federal Government for the payment of the cost thereof: *Provided further*, That the total expenditures on account of any State or Territory shall at no time exceed its authorized apportionment: *Provided further*, That this appropriation shall be available for the rental, purchase, or construction of buildings necessary for the storage of equipment and supplies used for road and trail construction and maintenance, but the total cost of any such building purchased or constructed under this authorization shall not exceed $2,500: *Provided further*, That during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, the expenditures on forest highways in Alaska from the amount herein appropriated or from similar appropriations heretofore made shall not exceed $350,000, and the apportionment for forest highways in Alaska from the sum of $12,500,000 authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year 1933 shall be $350,000.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order to the language on page 90, line 4, reading as follows: "making deductions of the amounts allocated from the appropriation of $3,000,000 for national-forest highways contained in the act entitled 'An act making supplemental appropriations to provide for emergency construction on certain public works during the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931, with a view to increasing employment,' approved December 20, 1930 (46 Stat. 1031)," the point of order being that the language is legislation on an appropriation bill.

On the point of order I desire to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will be glad to hear the gentleman from California briefly on the point of order.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Permit me to call the attention of the Chair to the act of December 20, 1930. That act reads:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of providing for emergency construction on certain public works during the remainder of the fiscal year 1931 with a view to increasing employment, namely.

Then, under the heading of "Forest Service highways," it is stated:

National-forest highways: For the construction and improvement of highways within the boundaries of the national forests, fiscal year 1931, $3,000,000.

The $3,000,000 appropriation referred to is proposed to be taken from an appropriation of $12,500,000 as provided in the act of May 5, 1930. The act of May 5, 1930, is a separate and distinct law to which the act of December 20, 1930, makes no reference. No inhibitions are made in the act of December 20, 1930. The money under the $12,500,000 appropriation in the general road authorization gives specific instructions as to how the $12,500,000 is to be allocated to the various States.

Permit me to read to the Chair that portion of the act of May 5, 1930, dealing with the $12,500,000 appropriation:

Be it enacted, etc., That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 23 of the Federal highway act, approved November 9, 1921, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for forest roads and trails, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the following additional sums, to be available until expended, in accordance with the provisions of said section 23: The sum of $12,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932; the sum of $12,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933.

In the act of December 20, 1930, there is no language showing that it is an amendment of a former act, and therefore I contend that under the Holman rule the deduction made is not justifiable, as it does not confine itself to the appropriation under consideration, namely, $12,500,000, of the act of May 5, 1930.

I therefore contend that the language to which I have made a point of order is legislation on an appropriation bill, inasmuch as it proposes to change existing law. Under the rules of the House there have been many instances of this kind which I will not take the time to make reference to now.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. MCCORMACK). The Chair is prepared to rule. The point of order made by the gentleman from California [Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT] is directed to the language in line 4 on page 90, beginning with the word "making," and continuing down to and including the figures "1031" in line 11. The question is whether or not the language objected to effects a change in existing law.

The Chair has carefully examined the language, due to advance notice given by the gentleman from California, which the Chair appreciates, and the Chair is of the opinion that it does effect a change in existing law.

The portion of the paragraph to which the point of order has been raised can not be justified under the Holman rule, for the reason that the same is not necessary to bring about a reduction. The House may refuse to appropriate or may appropriate a portion only of that which has been authorized. If, however, in appropriating money for a certain project the Committee on Appropriations adds language such as we have here, and which is clearly legislation and which is not necessary to effect a reduction, the Chair feels it his duty to sustain a point of order.

The point of order is sustained.

The Clerk read down to and including line 15 on page 91.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MCCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

PURCHASE OF MATERIALS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN BY GOVERNMENT SERVICES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the President of the United States, which was read by the Clerk and referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 26, 1932.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Instances arise from time to time in the procurement of supplies and equipment by the various Government services where, due to requirements of existing law, it becomes necessary to award contracts for materials of foreign origin notwithstanding that suitable articles of domestic production or manufacture are available. By special provisions of law, the War and Navy Departments have been enabled, during the current fiscal year, to give preference to American goods except where to do so would lead to unreasonable cost. I am informed, however, that other departments are not authorized to extend such a preference. It would be of substantial advantage to American manufacturers and producers if Congress should authorize all departments and Executive establishments uniformly to give this preference, and I suggest the enactment of legislation providing that in advertising for proposals for supplies, heads of departments shall require bidders to certify whether the articles proposed to be furnished are of domestic or foreign growth, production, or manufacture, and shall, if in their judgment the excess of cost is not unreasonable, purchase or contract for the delivery of articles of the growth, production, or manufacture of the United States, notwithstanding that articles of foreign origin may be offered at a lower price.

Respectfully yours,

HERBERT HOOVER.

Hon. JOHN GARNER,
The Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate recedes from its amendment to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making

an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 6. An act for the relief of the Union Ferry Co., owners of the ferryboat *Montauk*; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 217. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of J. G. Shelton; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 224. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis Semler; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 249. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of William T. Stiles; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2656. An act to exempt from the quota husbands of American citizens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

S. 3058. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Rio Grande Southern Railroad Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 3119. An act for the relief of J. D. Stewart; to the Committee on Claims.

S. J. Res. 33. Joint resolution to authorize the President to award gold medals to Wiley Post and Harold Gatty in recognition of their achievement in making an airplane flight around the world in less than nine days; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. J. Res. 230. Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, January 27, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Wednesday, January 27, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

(10.30 a. m.)

Upper Mississippi River (House Doc. 137, 72d Cong.).

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS—SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 2

(10 a. m.)

Parcel-post matters (H. R. 4525, Senate bill 621).

Mail matter for the blind (H. R. 6392, H. J. Res. 34).

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

(9.30 a. m.)

Revision of patent laws.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(10 a. m.)

Prerequisites to becoming a naturalized citizen (H. R. 287 and H. R. 298).

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m.)

Proposed tax on oil.

COMMITTEE ON ROADS

(10 a. m.)

National aid to roads of $125,000,000 per annum (H. R. 4716); also authorization for forest roads.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Section 15a (H. R. 7116 and H. R. 7117)—interstate commerce act (recapture clause).

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Akron investigation.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(10 a. m.)

Regular meeting.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UTILITIES (DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

(8.30 p. m.)

Street railway merger (H. J. Res. 154).

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

(10 a. m.)

Uniform requirements for Government contracts (H. R. 255).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

405. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a communication from the President of the United States, recommending the enactment of legislation to authorize all executive departments to give preference to American goods in the purchase of supplies except where such procedure would result in unreasonable cost (H. Doc. No. 234), was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. CROSSER: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. J. Res. 252. A joint resolution to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees; without amendment (Rept. No. 274). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Committee on the Public Lands. S. 457. An act authorizing an addition to the Cache National Forest, Idaho; without amendment (Rept. No. 275). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. EVANS of Montana: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 6485. A bill to revise the boundary of the Mount McKinley National Park, in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 276). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1275. A bill for the relief of Anna Marie Sanford, widow of William Richard Sanford, deceased; without amendment (Rept. No. 277). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3724. A bill for the relief of Charles Thomas; with amendment (Rept. No. 278). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4280. A bill for the relief of Lieut. James Floyd Terrell, Medical Corps, United States Navy; without amendment (Rept. No. 279). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5198. A bill for the relief of Wilhemia Wilkie; without amendment (Rept. No. 280). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4246. A bill to authorize an appropriation for the relief of I. L. Lyons & Co.; with amendment (Rept. No. 281). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2514. A bill for the relief of the estate of Samuel Schwartz; with amendment (Rept. No. 282). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2036. A bill for the relief of Margaret B. Knapp; without amendment (Rept. No. 283). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DOMINICK: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 796. A bill for the relief of the James River Bridge Corporation; with amendment (Rept. No. 284). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. RANKIN: A bill (H. R. 8443) to provide for making the Tombigbee River navigable; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. GILLEN: A bill (H. R. 8444) to amend section 501 of the act entitled "An act to provide adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War, and for other purposes," approved May 19, 1924, and acts in amendment thereof; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TREADWAY: A bill (H. R. 8445) to confine Federal aid in respect of highways to States which protect such highways from undue wear and tear by motor trucks; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8446) providing for the erection at Crawford, Oglethorpe County, Ga., of a suitable memorial to the memory of William H. Crawford; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. CURRY: A bill (H. R. 8447) to divide the northern judicial district of the State of California into two judicial districts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GLOVER: A bill (H. R. 8448) to authorize the erection of a 150-bed Veterans' Administration home at Hot Springs, Ark., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MILLIGAN: A bill (H. R. 8449) to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters and to revise the laws pertaining thereto, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HARLAN: A bill (H. R. 8450) to authorize the construction of a new general kitchen at the Veterans' Administration home, Dayton, Ohio, and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McDUFFIE: A bill (H. R. 8451) to authorize the erection of a suitable statue of Maj. Gen. George W. Goethals within the Canal Zone; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 8452) to round out the boundaries of the Uncompahgre National Forest, to protect and develop its resources, and to compensate the Ute Indians for such appropriation; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HOWARD: Resolution (H. Res. 123) requesting the President to transmit to the House of Representatives a list of the names of all persons who certified to the President one Harvey W. Couch as a member of the Democratic Party; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LEWIS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 256) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States fixing the commencement of the terms of President and Vice President and Members of Congress and fixing the time of the assembling of Congress, and increasing the terms of Representatives to four years; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. SCHUETZ: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 257) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DAVIS: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 13) to print and bind the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall of the statue of Gen. John Sevier presented by the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on Printing.

Also, concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 14) accepting the statue of Gen. John Sevier, presented by the State of Tennessee, to be placed in Statuary Hall; to the Committee on the Library.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BEAM: A bill (H. R. 8453) for the relief of Stanley T. Gross; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8454) for the relief of Andrew B. Putman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 8455) granting an increase of pension to Julia Mehlman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FINLEY: A bill (H. R. 8456) for the relief of George Burchfield; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FREEMAN: A bill (H. R. 8457) granting a pension to Eliza Phoebe Henry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8458) granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Lunna; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GARBER: A bill (H. R. 8459) granting a pension to Joseph K. Sullivan; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GIFFORD: A bill (H. R. 8460) granting an increase of pension to James S. Morton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARDY: A bill (H. R. 8461) granting an increase of pension to Ellen Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8462) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Blades; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8463) granting an increase of pension to John J. Hughes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8464) granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Hamilton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HORNOR: A bill (H. R. 8465) granting an increase of pension to Ira C. Gibson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8466) granting an increase of pension to Bart H. Hickman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mrs. KAHN: A bill (H. R. 8467) authorizing the President to appoint Capt. DeWitt Blamer, United States Navy, retired, a rear admiral on the retired list of the Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KARCH: A bill (H. R. 8468) for the relief of Eustace Parks; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8469) granting an increase of pension to Maria Buchmueller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8470) for the relief of Maggie Spratley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KELLY of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8471) for the relief of John Moss; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KNUTSON: A bill (H. R. 8472) granting a pension to Carrie Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8473) granting a pension to Josephine Black; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8474) granting an increase of pension to Herbert A. Ruh; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8475) granting a pension to William C. Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LOVETTE: A bill (H. R. 8476) for the relief of Richard L. Nave; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8477) granting a pension to Landon T. Lewis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 8478) for the relief of James N. Meadors; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAAS: A bill (H. R. 8479) for the relief of Nellie T. Francis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 8480) granting a pension to Mary Melissa Ross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOREHEAD: A bill (H. R. 8481) granting an increase of pension to Alice Jane Furlong; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 8482) granting an increase of pension to Luella M. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 8483) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Babcock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8484) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Moody; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAGON: A bill (H. R. 8485) for the relief of Moses Flowers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SANDERS of New York: A bill (H. R. 8486) granting an increase of pension to Jane Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SEIBERLING: A bill (H. R. 8487) granting a pension to Nora Carr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 8488) for the relief of Dr. A. M. Newton, of Pocatello, Idaho; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SUTPHIN: A bill (H. R. 8489) to authorize the settlement, allowance, and payment of claim of Walter Bell; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SWANK: A bill (H. R. 8490) granting a pension to William L. Collett; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TURPIN: A bill (H. R. 8491) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Herring; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

844. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of Ella Huffman and others, of Hesston, Kans., in behalf of Federal supervision of motion pictures; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

845. By Mr. BACON: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of New York, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to State conventions for ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

846. By Mr. BLOOM: Petition of Ladies' Auxiliary 37 to Branch 36, National Association of Letter Carriers, New York Letter Carriers' Association, recording their vigorous disapproval of the House bills 4711 and 5467, and urging the Congress of the United States to defeat any proposals or measures seeking to reduce wages now paid to letter carriers in the Postal Service; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

847. Also, petition of Harlem Chapter, No. 3, of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War, indorsing the passage of House bill 1, providing for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

848. Also, petition of executive committee of the Merchant Tailors Society of the City of New York, protesting against increased rates on certain commercial mail; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

849. Also, petition of members of the Maryland Hotel Men's Association, urging the modification of the national prohibition act to permit of the manufacture and sale of beer and wine, and requesting the passage of the necessary legislation for submitting to the States the question of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

850. By Mr. CHINDBLOM: Resolution of the woman's Bible class, North Shore Baptist Church, Chicago, Ill., representing 106 people, in opposition to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

851. Also, resolution of the Edgewater (Chicago, Ill.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, representing 90 people, in opposition to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

852. By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Alpena, S. Dak., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

853. By Mr. CLARKE of New York: Petition of Mrs. Val J. Iversen and other citizens of Hancock, N. Y., protesting against modification or resubmission to the States for repeal of the national prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

854. By Mr. CRAIL: Petition of Santa Monica Bay Chapter, Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, favoring adequate appropriations for the Organized Reserves, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the citizens' military training camps, the National Guard, and the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice; to the Committee on Appropriations.

855. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of citizens of Amsterdam, N. Y., for maintenance and enforcement of prohibition law, and protesting against resubmission to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

856. By Mr. CULKIN: Memorial of Charles D. Howlett and 27 other citizens of Hamilton, Madison County, N. Y., favoring the Sparks-Capper amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

857. By Mr. DE PRIEST: Petition bearing signatures, names, and ages of petitioners of the counties of Miller and Ouachita, Ark., asking the enactment of a law giving just and reasonable pension to the ex-slaves of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

858. By Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT: Petition of Orin Duncan and 200 other residents of Anderson, Calif., protesting against enactment of legislation for compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

859. Also, petition of A. Logan and 200 other citizens of Anderson, Calif., protesting against Senate bill 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

860. Also, petition of Emil E. Larsen and about 200 other residents of Eldorado County, Calif., protesting against Senate bill 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

861. By Mr. FULBRIGHT: Petition of citizens of Cape Girardeau, Mo., opposing submission or change in prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

862. Also, petition of citizens of Parma, New Medrid County, Mo., opposing submission or amendment of prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

863. Also, petition of citizens of Cape Girardeau, Mo., opposing submission or change in prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

864. Also, petition of citizens of Cape Girardeau, Mo., opposing submission or changing prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

865. Also, petition of citizens of Cape Girardeau, Mo., against submission or change in prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

866. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of the Midland Flour Milling Co., Kansas City, Mo., urging support of House bill 48; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

867. By Mr. GIBSON: Petition of Prospect Pomona Grange, No. 25, of Barton, Vt., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

868. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Irasburg, Vt., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

869. By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: Petition of Howard Camp, No. 18, United Spanish War Veterans, of Point Pleasant, W. Va., unanimously approving House bill 7230 and recommending its passage; to the Committee on Pensions.

870. By Mr. HOPE: Petition of Ida Perry and Mrs. E. A. Kennedy, of Anthony, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement, and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

871. Also, petition of Mrs. George M. Byal and 13 others, of Ness City, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or

repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

872. Also, petition of Mrs. A. M. Stevenson and 23 others, of Sterling, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

873. Also, petition of Louise Egbert and 17 others, of Ness City, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

874. Also, petition of Martha E. Kenyon and 29 others, of Little River, Kans., favoring prohibition and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

875. By Mrs. KAHN: Petition of the board of supervisors, city and county of San Francisco, San Francisco, Calif., urging the amendment of the Volstead Act to permit the sale, distribution, and consumption of beverages with an increased alcoholic content; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

876. By Mr. LAMNECK: Petition of W. T. Rockey, H. J. Lynch, Clarence Pfeiffer, and others, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation at this time as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations commonly known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

877. By Mr. LEWIS: Petition of residents of Kitzmiller, Md., regarding enforcement of the prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

878. By Mr. MAPES: Petition of Edith Walvoord, president Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Holland, Mich., and 48 other members, all residents of Holland, Mich., in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

879. By Mr. PARTRIDGE: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Norway, Me., supporting the prohibition laws and their enforcement and protesting against any measure looking toward the modification of the eighteenth amendment, its resubmission to the States, or its repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

880. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Franklin County and the union class of the Farmington Congregational Church Sunday School, Farmington, Me., supporting the prohibition laws and their enforcement and opposing the resubmission of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

881. By Mr. PEAVEY: Petition of various citizens of the city of Rhinelander, Oneida County, Wis., urging support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

882. By Mr. REID of Illinois: Petition of Elsie M. Mehnert and 458 other citizens of Naperville, Ill., favoring prohibition and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

883. By Mr. ROGERS: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Manchester, N. H., protesting against any change in the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

884. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of Empire State Automobile Merchants Association, Albany, N. Y., and the Brooklyn Motor Vehicle Dealers Association, opposing a tax on automobiles, parts, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

885. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of Mrs. Joseph L. Kelley and 93 other residents of Bismarck, N. Dak., and vicinity, against any measure looking to the modification, resubmission, or repeal of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

886. By Mr. SNELL: Petition of residents of Saranac Lake, N. Y., relative to the enforcement of prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

887. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of Levi F. Johnson and other citizens of Brownsville, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

888. Also, petition of O. L. Keyes and other citizens of Caribou, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

889. Also, petition of W. R. Christie and many other citizens of Presque Isle, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

890. Also, petition of W. A. MacPherson and other citizens of Easton, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

891. By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Petition signed by H. P. Andrews and 28 other adult residents of Goldendale, Wash., protesting against the enactment of the compulsory Sunday observance bill, S. 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

892. By Mr. SWICK: Petition of the Women's Missionary Society of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Mars, Butler County, Pa., opposing the resubmission of national prohibition to the States by a resolution to a State convention or State legislatures for ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

893. By Mr. TREADWAY: Petition of Florence E. Bouchane and 40 other residents of Pittsfield, Mass., in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

894. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Theodore W. Noyes and others, petitioning Congress to urge the rejection of House bill 6285, etc.; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1932

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 26, 1932)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (H. J. Res. 230) making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and it was signed by the Vice President.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Bratton	Coolidge	Fletcher
Austin	Brookhart	Copeland	Frazier
Bailey	Broussard	Costigan	George
Bankhead	Bulkley	Couzens	Glass
Barbour	Bulow	Cutting	Glenn
Barkley	Byrnes	Dale	Goldsborough
Bingham	Capper	Davis	Gore
Black	Caraway	Dickinson	Hale
Blaine	Carey	Dill	Harris
Borah	Connally	Fess	Harrison

Hatfield	Lewis	Oddie	Thomas, Okla.
Hawes	Logan	Patterson	Townsend
Hayden	Long	Pittman	Trammell
Hebert	McGill	Robinson, Ark.	Tydings
Howell	McKellar	Robinson, Ind.	Vandenberg
Hull	McNary	Schall	Wagner
Johnson	Metcalf	Sheppard	Walcott
Jones	Morrison	Shipstead	Walsh, Mass.
Kean	Moses	Smith	Walsh, Mont.
Kendrick	Neely	Smoot	Waterman
Keyes	Norbeck	Steiwer	Watson
King	Norris	Stephens	Wheeler
La Follette	Nye	Thomas, Idaho	White

Mr. FESS. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] is necessarily absent to-day on official business. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. JOHNSON. I announce that my colleague [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] is still ill and confined to his bed. I ask that the announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I desire to announce that my colleague the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS] is unavoidably detained from the Senate to-day. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a petition from E. R. Hughes, of Oklahoma City, Okla., praying for the enactment of Senate bill 2449, to provide certain privileges to blind persons, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram from Dr. H. L. Green, of Quincy, Ill., relative to the nomination of Charles G. Dawes as director of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram from the Orr Brown & Price Co., of Columbus, Ohio, in favor of the so-called Capper-Kelly fair trade bill, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate the petition of Otto Gresham, attorney at law, of Chicago, Ill., relative to the right of an individual to sue in the courts of the United States, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a memorial in the form of a resolution of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Walhalla, S. C., remonstrating against a proposed referendum on the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution and favoring adequate appropriations for law enforcement and education in law observance, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BARBOUR presented memorials of sundry citizens of Jersey City and Paterson, N. J., remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions of members of the First Presbyterian Church of Hamburg, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Bridgeton, and sundry citizens of Salem, Quinton, Alloway, and Hancocks Bridge, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and opposing a proposed referendum on the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the memorial of Rev. Milton T. Wells, pastor, and members of the congregation of the First Baptist Church of Butler, N. J., remonstrating against a proposed referendum on the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented the petitions of sundry citizens of Riverhead, Moira, and Chateaugay, in the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Elmira and vicinity, in the State of New York, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or other restrictive religious measures, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Buffalo and vicinity, in the State of New York, remonstrating against the burden of present and proposed Federal taxation and favoring a drastic reduction in the cost of maintaining the Government, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented the petition of the Lovejoy District Citizens' Association, of Buffalo, N. Y., praying for the passage of legislation providing for the manufacture and sale of 4 per cent beer, which was referred to the Committee on Manufactures.

He also presented petitions of members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Syracuse and sundry citizens of Wallace and Friendship, all in the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

COOPERATIVE MARKETING

Mr. GEORGE. I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD a letter signed by J. R. Harris & Co., and numerous citizens of Georgia with reference to cooperative marketing, also a newspaper article taken from the Atlanta Constitution with reference to the same general subject, and an editorial that appeared in the Constitution of Sunday, January 17, with reference to the same matter. I ask that the letter and newspaper articles be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WRENS COMMUNITY CENTER,
Wrens, Ga., January 25, 1932.

Senator WALTER F. GEORGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR GEORGE: We notice in the paper that Senator NORRIS has introduced a resolution to investigate the Farm Board, the cooperative, and the traders. It looks very much like all of this has come about because of the cotton dealers objecting to the Government even trying to help farmers get organized in marketing their products cooperatively.

Cooperation is the thing that is going to be the solution of the farm problem. A lot of progress is being made by farmers in cooperative marketing and while they are making a lot of progress they are obliged to be making some mistakes especially in times like this. While the traders and opponents of the Federal Farm Board and the cooperatives are talking about what they have done in years past for the farmers and the mistakes of the Farm Board and the co-ops, as actual farmers we want to keep before you in our Congress some of the real facts about cooperation.

A short time ago the Atlanta Constitution wrote a fine editorial on how farmers in Denmark had improved their financial condition through cooperation. Some of us here wrote the Constitution a letter to express our appreciation for their editorial as well as to point out some of the things that the farmers of this community have done as members of the cotton cooperatives and by local cooperation. Last Sunday our letter was carried by the Constitution and was used as a basis for one of the strongest editorials we have ever read on the subject of cooperation. You will note that we have attached the editorial page of the Constitution and have marked the editorial.

We can not come to Washington, so we want facts like these to get before the committee that is going to investigate the Farm Board and the cooperatives. If it is proper on our part we would like to ask you to get the Constitution editorial printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of all the Senators and Congressmen. We do not want to ask you to do anything that is improper, but we would like for those Congressmen and Senators who are going to pass on cooperation and what is being done in a cooperative way to know what our farmers in this community are doing on account of cooperative marketing and cooperative organization.

It is true we may make some mistakes in running our business, but in time we will learn how to correct them, but there will never be a time as long as time lasts that the cotton shippers will do anything to help us get our cotton marketed better or many other things that ought to be done for farmers but which have got to be done by the farmers themselves and through cooperation.



We appreciate you as a representative of ours and the people of Georgia. We feel that you will be guided at all times by what is right for the farmers when any question comes up in Congress affecting agriculture.

Yours very truly,

J. R. HARRIS & Co.	T. C. ELLIS.
C. C. MCCOLLUM.	C. H. EVANS.
J. L. WIMBURN.	P. K. WREN.
A. L. SWANN.	G. W. ADAMS.
J. H. SIMONS.	E. N. ADAMS.
J. J. PILCHER.	O. G. FLORENCE.

[From the Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.]

SUCCESS OF WRENS COMMUNITY CENTER DEMONSTRATES PROBLEMS OF FARMERS CAN BE SOLVED BY COOPERATIVE EFFORT

EDITOR CONSTITUTION: We read your editorial on Wise Danish Farmers which appeared in the Constitution a few days ago. We want to congratulate you on this editorial. If every farmer in the State had the vision and the experience contained in your editorial our farm problem would be different from what it is and our farmers would be in much better financial condition, and think how this would help other people who are engaged in other lines of business that depend on the farmer.

We are not sure whether you have ever heard of the "Wrens Community Center" or not, or whether you know what we are doing along the line that you set out in your editorial, but we believe you will be interested in what we have accomplished. About four or five years ago the members of the Cotton Cooperative Association in this community decided that they would put up a cooperative gin for saving money and for getting their cotton ginned as it should be.

Farmers as a matter of human nature are more interested in their cotton being ginned right than anyone else. We did not have the money with which to pay for the gin, so we borrowed this money from the Cotton Cooperative Association on a low rate of interest and for a period of years in order that we could repay same without difficulty. We charged the regular price for ginning; in fact, the same price as charged by our then competitors. In about three years' time we had gotten our cotton ginned better than ever before and had paid for our gin, and we had paid for same out of the profits, and as stated above we had not charged anybody any more for ginning than they had always paid.

There was another gin in the town and we took it over on a satisfactory basis from the owner. We now own both gins and our town and community need them. By this time our cooperative gins owned by the farmers of this community and built and developed under the leadership of the Cotton Cooperative Association were as valuable property as we had in our town.

We have been diversifying and trying to make our farms self-sustaining. Of course, that called for growing a lot of grain—principally corn and wheat. Last year we put up one of the most modern flour mills that could be bought. We are operating this now and it is a part of our local cooperative enterprise. So you can see, being in the cotton cooperative, we have been able to get our cotton sold cooperatively and we have also been able by cooperation to have established the best gins we have ever had and to even own them ourselves, and we have also been able to establish other real service organizations like flour and corn mills.

We have just started, but we have accomplished things that we never would before we were organized. We have gotten better service in ginning and in getting our wheat and corn processed, and we have not paid any more in gradually getting possession of these facilities for ginning and for toll and in grinding wheat and corn than we did before we started to cooperate.

We thought you would be interested in knowing something of what is being done in cooperation in our section. There is a lot of education to be done and we want to say that the Atlanta Constitution has started on this question and we hope that it has started on it not to stop but to stay with it until farmers as a whole are doing in our State what they are doing in Denmark.

Another thing that you will find to be true with the community that has cooperative enterprises—its people for the most part believe in diversified farming. They believe in good roads; they believe in growing the best quality farm products; they believe in good schools; they believe in good churches; they are public spirited; and one of the reasons why such is true of them is that when they have their farming business on a cooperative basis they are in position to be better citizens from a financial standpoint. A lot of our educational and social problems are traceable to causes that are economic. The cooperative way or plan is one of the best methods for solving the farmer's economic problems.

We again want to thank you and we hope you will keep up your good work for cooperation and cooperative marketing.

WRENS COMMUNITY CENTER.

J. R. HARRIS & Co.	JAMES L. NEWBURNE.
T. S. WREN.	C. C. MCCOLLUM.
G. W. ADAMS.	P. K. WREN.
E. N. ADAMS.	T. F. RHODES.
O. G. FLORENCE.	J. J. PIECHER.
G. W. BRINSON.	T. C. ELLIS.
E. P. ROGERS.	E. H. RIVERS.
E. J. YOUNG.	F. F. RIVERS.
J. W. D. YOUNG.	C. H. EVANS.
J. W. CLARK.	A. L. SWANN.

[From the Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., of Sunday, January 17, 1932]

WISE FARMERS

The successful solving of many of their problems by a group of Georgia farm owners through the formation of a local cooperative association is convincingly told in a communication from the Wrens Community Center.

Although their cooperative effort is comparatively new, these Georgia farmers, to use their own words, have "accomplished things that we never would have before we were organized."

They have gotten better service in ginning and in the processing of their wheat and corn, at no greater cost than they paid to privately owned gins, and have bought two gins, which they have paid for out of their profits. Now, these gins are as valuable business property as is to be found in the progressive little town of Wrens.

Although the Wrens Community Center was launched as a cotton cooperative movement, the advances in diversification and grain planting have been such that the erection of a flour mill became necessary. That is now also the property of the center, paid for out of its profits.

The 20 members of this community center who sign the communication to the Constitution point out that such cooperative organizations lead the people of the communities they serve to be more enthusiastic supporters of good roads, good churches, and good schools.

"There is a lot of education to be done," add these progressive Georgia farmers, "and we are glad the Constitution has started on this question, and we hope that it will not stop until our farmers as a whole are doing what those of Denmark have been doing for many years."

If every community in Georgia had an organization similar to the Wrens Community Center, rural conditions in the State would be revolutionized.

Each farmer would be the part owner of his own gin and flour mill. Canneries and cooperative ice and lighting plants would cut costs and furnish an outlet for surplus products.

Our farmers would become better business men, and with this increased knowledge of business affairs would insist upon better government.

Starting on borrowed capital, the members of the Wrens Community Center have shown the farmer of every county in the State how easy it is for them to accomplish their own salvation.

Other States have proven that only through cooperative effort can agriculture be put on a sound and profitable basis, and the sooner the farmers of Georgia realize that the day has passed when farm profits can be expected entirely through individual effort the better it will be for them.

FEDERAL HOME-LOAN BANK LEGISLATION

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. I present and ask to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a telegram from the Massachusetts Cooperative Bank League favoring enactment of the Federal home-loan bank bill.

There being no objection, the telegram was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOSTON, MASS., *January 27, 1932.*

HON. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate:

Massachusetts Cooperative Bank League, in convention January 11, 159 banks, representing 80 per cent total resources, voted unanimously favoring Federal home-loan bank plan. Personally favor inaugurating system. Would help in present Massachusetts situation. Request you favor bill before committee and Senate.

ERNEST A. HALE,
Treasurer Suffolk Cooperative Bank, Director First District United States Building and Loan League.

SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I ask to have published in the RECORD and also printed as a public document an article addressed to the Committees on Naval Affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives and to the appropriate subcommittees of the Committees on Appropriations by Oscar T. Crosby, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

To the Committees on Naval Affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives, United States of America, and to the appropriate subcommittees of the Committees on Appropriations:

I have the honor to suggest the inclusion in any bill now pending in Congress affecting naval appropriations or authorizations of a paragraph taken from the naval appropriation bill, approved August 29, 1916, and reading as follows:

"That if at any time before the appropriations authorized by this act shall have been contracted for there shall have been established, with the cooperation of the United States of America, an international tribunal or tribunals competent to secure peaceful determinations of all international disputes, and which

shall render unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments, then and in that case such naval expenditures as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal or tribunals shall be suspended, if so ordered by the President of the United States."

In March of 1916 Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, introduced this provision as an amendment to the naval bill then under consideration.

In advocacy of its enactment I appeared before the House Committee on Naval Affairs. It was, without further urging, adopted by both Houses and appeared in the finished bill above mentioned.

As a declaration of national policy in 1916, it still stands; but, in strict terms, its application ceased when the constructions authorized in the naval bill of that year had been contracted for. Yet the importance of such a declaration is now as great, or greater, than in 1916.

Within eight months from the passage of the bill we entered the Great War. The treaty of Versailles did not bring into existence such a tribunal as was contemplated by Congress in the provision cited. In the absence of a tribunal backed by centralized force national navies remain as potential competitive fighting units even as in all time past. Nor can any mere limitation of armaments change that situation.

Some believe that the League of Nations, the World Court as now organized, and the Paris pact (Brian-Kellogg) would constitute a defense against the occurrence of war. I do not share that belief. These ambitious peace mechanisms seem to me ineffective as real barriers against war. Even the most hopeful among their partisans must now entertain doubts and feel disappointment.

If the objective indicated in the provisions under consideration is still held in view, we should respect our declaration until that objective is gained. No committal is involved as to the merits of a big navy versus a little navy policy nor as to the merits of treaty limitations versus national freedom in preparedness.

Through the pronouncement in question we, the strongest nation in the world, say, in effect, to others: "We will stop our naval constructions if you will join with us in the organization of a reliable substitute for war, namely, in the establishment of a true international tribunal and of a centralized force as a sanction for its decrees. Thus we moralize our "militarism"; we sterilize our preparedness of all taint of "aggression."

In spite of all existing treaties or any that are likely to result from the conference soon to be held in Geneva, it remains that each nation looks to its own armaments for upholding its own views of its own interests—and the old order leading to war remains substantially unchanged.

I may add that as early as 1910 the Congress registered its approval of the idea involved in the legislation now proposed. This is shown in the appended copy of Public Resolution 47. It is not proposed to repeat this resolution, but it is instructive to read the record of legislative trend in the direction of that form of sanction which is the foundation of public order within every sovereign state.

I shall not endeavor to set forth all the cogent reasons which might be arrayed in favor of continuing to follow a road already marked by notable milestones set by congressional action. Eminent authorities—presidential and otherwise—might also be cited, but I know the great pressure upon your time must cause you to prefer short statements from restless reformers. I shall be glad to appear before any committee if desired.

Respectfully,

OSCAR T. CROSBY.

WARRENTON, VA., *January 20, 1932.*

P. S.—Some appropriate arguments are set forth in Senate Document 378, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, being copy of a letter addressed by me to Senator Shafroth, March 23, 1916.—O. T. C.

"Public Resolution 47—House Joint Resolution 223

"Joint resolution to authorize the appointment of a commission in relation to universal peace

"*Resolved, etc.*, That a commission of five members be appointed by the President of the United States to consider the expediency of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to diminish the expenditures of government for military purposes and to lessen the probabilities of war: *Provided*, That the total expense authorized by this joint resolution shall not exceed the sum of $10,000 and that the said commission shall be required to make final report within two years from the date of the passage of this resolution.

"Approved, June 25, 1910."

This enactment followed a hearing before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, May 7, 1910, shown in a print ordered by the committee. Mr. Crosby presented arguments favoring the resolution and introduced other speakers.

It was said that President Taft was much gratified by the enactment. Nevertheless, for reasons not made public, he went out of office without appointing the commission. A great opportunity was lost.

REPORTS OF THE COMMERCE COMMITTEE

Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Committee on Commerce, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 2985. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Connecticut River State Bridge Commission, a statutory commission of the State of Connecticut created and existing under the provisions of special act No. 496 of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, 1931 session, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Connecticut River (Rept. No. 143);

S. 3083. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Monongahela River between the city of Pittsburgh and the borough of Homestead, Pa. (Rept No. 144); and

S. 3113. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg. (Rept. No. 145).

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

Mr. WATERMAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on January 26, 1932, that committee presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 573) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

Mr. BORAH, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably the nomination of Livingston Satterthwaite, of Pennsylvania, to be a Foreign Service officer, unclassified, a vice consul of career, and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America.

Mr. NORBECK, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, reported favorably the nomination of Charles G. Dawes, of Illinois, to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, reported favorably the nominations of the following-named persons to be members of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932:

Harvey C. Couch, of Arkansas; and

Jesse H. Jones, of Texas.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations reported will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JONES:

A bill (S. 3325) granting a pension to Florence A. Gilbert; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

A bill (S. 3326) for the relief of Homer N. Horine; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3327) granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Runnels;

A bill (S. 3328) granting a pension to John Winn;

A bill (S. 3329) granting an increase of pension to Frankie Dowdy; and

A bill (S. 3330) granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Melton; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3331) for the relief of Buster Jones; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FLETCHER (by request):

A bill (S. 3332) authorizing and directing the Treasurer of the United States to accept silver bullion, 950 fine, at the rate of 50 cents per troy ounce, in payment of any debt to the United States from any foreign government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

A bill (S. 3333) for the relief of the estate of Oscar F. Lackey; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3334) for the relief of William M. Sherman (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HEBERT:

A bill (S. 3335) granting a pension to Raymond G. Gaudette; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

A bill (S. 3336) to amend section 200 of Title II of the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 3337) granting a pension to the regularly commissioned United States deputy marshals of the United States Districts Court for the Western District of Arkansas, including the Indian Territory, and the regularly commissioned United States deputy marshals of the United States District Court for the Territory of Oklahoma, and to their widows and dependent children; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana:

A bill (S. 3338) granting an increase of pension to Marion B. Ridgate (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3339) for the relief of C. E. Campbell, otherwise known as Ebin Campbell; and

A bill (S. 3340) providing for the advancement on the retired list of the Army of Robert Todd Oliver; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FESS:

A bill (S. 3341) to authorize the erection of a permanent occupational therapy building at the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Chillicothe, Ohio; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 3342) to authorize the Secretary of War to secure for the United States title to certain private lands contiguous to and within the militia target range reservation, State of Utah; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3343) to require all exit doors of public buildings to open outwardly; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

A bill (S. 3344) for the relief of Maggie Kirkland; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3345) for the relief of Frank L. Ragsdale; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

A bill (S. 3346) to provide for the escheat to the United States of certain deposits in national banks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A bill (S. 3347) for the relief of certain Indians on the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHALL:

A bill (S. 3348) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Flynn; to the Committee on Pensions.

AMENDMENT OF THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930

Mr. HARRISON submitted nine amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 6662) to amend the tariff act of 1930, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

ISABELLE FREEMAN BELL

Mr. SMITH submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 148), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the appropriation for miscellaneous items, contingent fund of the Senate, fiscal year 1931, to Isabelle Freeman Bell, widow of Samuel A. Bell, late a skilled laborer of the Senate under supervision of the Sergeant at Arms, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

MARY A. CHAPLINE

Mr. BARKLEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 149), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the appropriation for miscellaneous items, contingent fund of the Senate, fiscal year 1931, to Mary A. Chapline, widow of Charles B. Chapline, late an employee of the Senate folding room, under supervision of the Sergeant at Arms, the sum of $250, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO CERTAIN MILITARY POSTS

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I submit a resolution of inquiry and ask for its present consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 150) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War is requested to report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date with respect to each of the forts or military posts herein specified, all information available in the records of the War Department as to (1) the amount of land owned by the Government at such fort or military post; (2) the value of all property including buildings, equipment, and improvements situated at or connected with such fort or military post; (3) the amounts heretofore appropriated by the Congress for the purchase, establishment, equipment, and improvement of such fort or military post and all appurtenances connected therewith; (4) the number of buildings and structures at each fort or military post; (5) the number of troops that can be accommodated at such fort or military post; and (6) the number of troops now quartered at such fort or military post:

Fort Brown, Brownsville, Tex.
Fort McIntosh, Laredo, Tex.
Fort Clark, Brackettville, Tex.
Fort D. A. Russell, Marfa, Tex.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas asks for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. McNARY. I think it had better go over under the rule. The Senator can call it up to-morrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over under the rule.

FEES FOR GRAZING LANDS IN NATIONAL FORESTS

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. On behalf of the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY] and myself, I submit a resolution, which I ask may be referred to the Committee on Agriture and Forestry.

The resolution (S. Res. 151) was read and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Agriculture is requested to fix the fees to be charged during each of the years 1932 and 1933 for the grazing of sheep and cattle on lands within the boundaries of national forests at not more than 50 per cent of the fees charged during the year 1931.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

CONDITIONS IN MANCHURIA (S. DOC. NO. 55)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying documents, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate of the United States:

In response to Senate Resolution 87 of December 17, 1931, I transmit herewith a report by the Secretary of State, inclosing copies of documents referred to therein.

HERBERT HOOVER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 27, 1932.*

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6596) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.

GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL—ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT CURTIS

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a notable short address on the appreciation of George Washington delivered last night in the city of Washington by the Vice President of the United States. The occasion was a meeting of the chamber of commerce of this city to view a picture of Washington, identifying him with the great celebration that is now coming on. The picture was made by a firm that contributed it to the commission without charge, and it will be seen throughout the United States and the world.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me sincere pleasure to be with you this evening. I am honored that you invited me to address you. To-night we are celebrating two important events—the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Washington Chamber of Commerce and the bicentennial of the birth of that great man, George Washington.

As a member of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission I can assure you that your cooperation in promoting the success of this great nation-wide patriotic undertaking is deeply appreciated, and I congratulate you upon your sponsorship of the George Washington bicentennial talking picture, to be shown publicly for the first time to-night, the production of which was made possible through the public spirit of Warner Bros. (Inc.).

In the last 25 years the Washington Chamber of Commerce has justified fully its organization. Its usefulness and the ability of its members and officers are proved. It has contributed wisely, enduringly, and often to the civic betterment of the city of Washington and its people. This year it has a greater opportunity than ever to be of service. The bicentennial celebration of the birth of the Father of our Country will bring millions of visitors to the city. These visitors must be housed and fed, instructed, and entertained. The bicentennial commission, of which the President of the United States, Herbert Hoover, is the chairman, has arranged an excellent program throughout the nine months of the celebration.

This year represents the Nation's opportunity to become closely acquainted with Washington and its people. It represents Washington's opportunity to enhance the pride of all our citizens for the city, which is a fitting memorial to our greatest hero. Each resident will, I am sure, realize his position as host to these visitors. He will endeavor to please our guests and be ready in turn to be pleased with them.

I have never talked to a visitor to this city who has not voluntarily commented on its beauty and desirability as a place in which to live. There could be no better tribute. It is well deserved. Nowhere is there a finer collection of public buildings, hotels, apartment houses, and private homes; a more impressive array of schools, colleges, churches, hospitals, libraries, and museums; better facilities in the fields of art, literature, and science; more beautiful parks; wider, safer, and better paved and lighted streets and avenues. The transportation facilities are adequate and diverse. The climate, the food, and water supply are admirable. Here in Washington man and nature have worked well together to produce a city beautiful, a city worthy as a memorial to the man whose name it bears. Washington typifies truly the inspiration which comes to each citizen of the United States at the mention of the name of George Washington.

I shall not attempt more than a brief outline of his life and the effect he has had and still has on our destinies after the passage of 200 years. He was born February 22, 1732, in Westmoreland County, Va. At 16 he had charge of the survey of the Lord Fairfax estate in the Shenandoah Valley. So well did he do his work that Fairfax appointed him public surveyor. Thus commenced his public career. He was in turn frontiersman and soldier, legislator, soldier again, and finally statesman.

At the outbreak of the war between the Colonies and the mother country he was in the Virginia Legislature. Shortly thereafter he was elected Commander in Chief of the Army, and took command. During the desperate years which followed, his life was filled with dramatic moments which are known to all of us—Valley Forge; crossing the Delaware; rallying the troops at Monmouth; the surrender at Yorktown; and in 1783 his farewell to his officers.

The war was done. The Colonies were free. Henceforward we see George Washington, the statesman. Here again certain dramatic events stand forth in our minds—George Washington at the Constitutional Convention, his inauguration as our first President, his reelection, and his refusal of a third term, his Farewell Address, and his retirement. His great career closed with his death on December 14, 1799. One hundred and thirty-two years have passed. Yet he remains one of the greatest single influences in our lives. His words and deeds are with us yet, influencing and guiding us. As he was to the people then, so he is to us now—"first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

With Washington as their leader, our colonial forefathers cleared away the wilderness and laid the foundation of the Nation, which has become the most powerful in the world—the United States. The qualities of truth, courage, and devotion in the youthful Washington developed and are revealed to us in his manhood by his words of wisdom and prophecy, by his acts of leadership and sacrifice. His words are as pertinent to our welfare now as they were then. It is as important that we heed him and follow his advice now as then.

It was never more necessary that, as Washington advised, the country be kept in a state of complete national defense. It would be wonderful if the strong nations of the earth would agree upon a plan of disarmament which would reduce their armies and navies to the smallest strength needed for defense. But the fear of offense keeps them from doing so. Unless all will disarm, none will. So we must keep both our Army and Navy strong enough for complete national defense; likewise that new branch of defense, the air force.

We have always heeded Washington's advice to observe good faith and justice toward all nations. To cultivate peace and harmony with all is still one of our principal aims. We hope for, have done, and are doing everything possible to bring about world peace. But it must be peace with honor. Peace not involving us in the quarrels of other nations. His advice of "no entangling alliances" might almost have been given with present-day conditions in mind. He was indeed clear thinking and far-seeing.

Now, as then, we should chart and follow our own course, not that of any other nation. Now, as then, should we be indignant at every attempt of a foreign power to establish an influence in our councils. To-day there are in our midst men of alien thought and race who would sow the seeds of discord and disunion among us, who would overthrow our cherished ideals and traditions. We must rid our beloved country of all alien criminals and racketeers. As I have said more than once, the sooner such aliens are deported the better it will be for all.

What George Washington had to say on the subject of the established Government might be of interest at this time:

"Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions and Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government."

I have cited some examples of the almost prophetic wisdom of this noble character. I think there could be no more fitting close to this address than to quote you Abraham Lincoln's estimate of George Washington. Its simple dignity and sincerity can not be enhanced.

Lincoln said:

"Washington is the mightiest name of earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty; still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name an eulogy is expected. It can not be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on."

DEPORTATION OF ALIEN SEAMEN

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, on the desk of each Senator is a copy of the printed hearings on the bill now before us. When the committee considered the bill there were a number of members of the committee who were new to the subject. There was no debate in the committee in regard to it, and the bill was reported out without hearings being held. Later the committee granted hearings, and last week hearings were held. There were only two or three members of the committee who were able to be present. At some of the hearings there was only one Senator present. Consequently, it seems to me important to call attention to the hearings and to the material that appears in them.

Mr. President, the bill is one which will cause very serious dislocation of our merchant marine. It is opposed by every steamship operator and by the operators of merchant vessels operating under foreign flags. The State Department, in a very able statement presented by Assistant Secretary of State Carr on behalf of the Secretary of State, strongly opposes the measure, because it is believed it will lead to serious difficulties with foreign nations.

Mr. President, these are times when we are trying our best in various ways to avoid international complications. We believe in avoiding international treaties which limit our freedom of action, and with that I am in entire accord. There are many Senators who believe in limiting the amount spent on the national defense, because they fear that if we spend money on ships, cruisers, airplane carriers, and airplanes it will lead foreign nations to do the same. They

fear that it may lead to international complications if we strengthen our national defense. Personally, I do not believe that it would. I believe the national defense is the best way of securing peace.

But, Mr. President, I should like to invite the attention of those Senators to the fact that in this bill we are sowing the dragon's teeth. They are the seeds of difficulties with foreign nations which make our relations with them unpleasant and which have in the past led to war. I do not say that they will lead to war in the future; I sincerely trust that they will not; but if we pass the bill and it becomes a law, it will so affect the carrying trade of at least 10 nations by interfering with their rights as to who shall serve on board their ships when those ships come into United States ports that it would be very strange if they did not impose similar reservations on our own ships and seek reprisals.

Mr. President, I am not drawing on my imagination when I say that the bill is very seriously regarded by foreign nations. In the hearings which are on the desks of Senators, on pages 3, 4, and 5, may be found selections from protests which have been made by foreign nations to the State Department. The Belgian Government in a communication stated that "the apparent aim" of this legislation to impose regulations in immigration matters is actually something which goes "contrary to certain customs generally accepted in international law." They state, very courteously, "that its application would create the most serious difficulties for Belgian ships frequenting United States ports."

Mr. President, it is generally held by the proponents of this legislation that it is intended to keep off the ships in the Pacific aliens from Asia who are not admissible to American citizenship, and that it will not affect our trade with Europe, yet we find the Belgian Embassy protesting that it will present "the most serious difficulties" for Belgian ships.

The Canadian Government objects and calls attention to the fact that "the proposals would result in drastic interference with the composition of crews of foreign vessels in United States ports. They would thus infringe on the accepted principle which provides against interference with the domestic economy of a foreign vessel."

Mr. President, may I call attention to the fact that every day there come into the ports of Puget Sound steamers from Canada, and under British practice there are probably in the crews of those steamers Chinese from Hong Kong and Indians from India, subjects of the British flag, serving properly, under the regulations of the Canadian merchant marine, on those ships; but under this proposed law it would be necessary for the authorities in Seattle to take those subjects of the British Crown off those ships, put them in jail until they could make certain inquiries, and then ship them back at the expense of the foreign government. This would interfere with the natural right of Canada to conduct her merchant marine in the way in which she desires to conduct it. Naturally she protests.

We find the Danish Government protesting that the bill, if passed, "would entail serious hardships * * * to Danish ships trading to ports of the United States," and that it would apply to aliens who are racially excluded and would seriously affect Danish ships using oriental crews.

Mr. President, what right have we to dictate to Denmark what kind of a crew she shall have in a ship flying the Danish flag that crosses the Pacific and comes into one of our ports?

If we should pass this bill and it should become a law, we would invite reprisals. We would invite foreign nations to tell us what kind of people we shall have on our ships when they go into foreign ports. It is more difficult to tell an American citizen by his speech or by his looks than perhaps the citizen of any other country, because our country has such a great mixture of races. We have millions of American citizens who speak Italian, millions who speak Polish and Russian, and millions who speak other foreign languages, and who speak English only imperfectly; yet some of those citizens on an American ship coming into a foreign port might very well, under a reprisal act drawn precisely like this proposed act, be taken off those ships and put into jail at that foreign port until they were able to show that they were bona fide seamen and bona fide American citizens.

It was things similar to this, Mr. President, that led to the War of 1812, when our ships were held by British men-of-war and American seamen were taken off them on the theory that they were not American citizens but were British subjects. In other words, this is the kind of legislation that leads to international difficulties, to reprisals, and eventually to a state of mind which verges upon a willingness to break relations with us. Why should we, under the guise of protecting our shores against foreign undesirable immigrants, pass legislation which would interfere with the right of foreign nations to run their merchant marines in their own way just as we run ours in our own way?

The German Government has made various protests against this proposed legislation. The German Embassy in a note dated March 3, 1931, states:

> The possibility of the enactment of these bills is causing the Government great concern, since that would not only deviate from international practice but would also seriously affect the rights of the German shipping companies * * * because the contracts concluded between the German shipping companies and their crews are governed entirely by German law.

While the bill does not affect our treaty rights with Germany, it actually does interfere with the right of the Germans to run their merchant marine in their own way.

The British Government has made several very strenuous and earnest objections to this measure.

Mr. President, I think most Senators know that the British ships operating across the Pacific have a considerable number of British subjects of Asiatic origin in their crews who would be prevented from serving on those ships by this legislation, if enacted. British ships coming from Hong Kong are quite likely to have in their crews a large number of Chinese from Hong Kong who are British subjects, and yet if such ships came into our ports with those British subjects, under this bill, if passed, the port authorities would be obliged to take those British subjects off the ships, lock them up, and send them back at the expense of the steamship company.

Similarly, Indian coolies are rightfully employed on British ships; they are British subjects, and why should they not be so employed? We can control their coming ashore, but what right have we to say to a British ship coming in, "You must surrender certain British subjects on your ship because we do not want them as immigrants; they will be locked up and deported on a separate vessel"?

Mr. President, I ask that the reading clerk may read the very brief but very strong presentation of its views made by the British Government only a few days ago. It covers the situation so fully and presents it so clearly that it is the best presentation I have seen of the views of those who are trying to prevent international complications from arising.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HEBERT in the chair). Without objection, the clerk will read for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

> The avowed purpose of this bill is to reinforce the existing measures which exclude certain categories of aliens from the United States. In practice its effect would go much further. It is the general international understanding and practice and in accordance with international comity that when private ships of a foreign state are in port the territorial authorities refrain from interference with their internal economy. The bill in question, however, provides for interference with the composition of the crews of foreign vessels while in United States ports and is therefore in conflict with a well-established, well-recognized, and useful international practice. Moreover, it lays down that certain categories of aliens shall not be employed as seamen on foreign ships calling at United States ports. The British Embassy, under instructions from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, have not failed to draw attention to this aspect of the bill in past years.
>
> From the practical point of view also certain features of the bill would create many and grave difficulties for shipowners and masters. Section 6, for instance, provides that clearance shall be refused to vessels departing from United States ports unless they carry out a crew of at least the same number that they brought in. This provision, as again the British Embassy has pointed out

in the past, would be extremely difficult to comply with and might easily result in long and costly delays and make punctual fulfillment of sailing schedules impossible * * *.

But it is section 7 of this bill which causes the gravest concern to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. This section of the bill lays down that no vessel shall bring into a United States port any alien seaman excluded on racial grounds from the right of immigration to the United States unless he be a citizen of the country under whose flag the ship sails. Thus in practice all vessels with Asiatic elements in their crews, save only the vessels of Asiatic countries with crews consisting of their own citizens and, it seems, United States ships with Filipinos, would be debarred from entry to United States ports unless at the cost of deliberately incurring the penalties which the bill provides for its violation. All other ships in which Chinese and lascar seamen were employed would be gravely embarrassed by such a provision; but the measure would bear particularly hard on British tramp steamers trading with American ports in the course of their world voyages. For these especially the technical difficulty of eliminating from their crews the Asiatic elements in question would be so great as possibly to result in the necessity of their omitting United States ports from their sailing schedules, for the bill would leave them with no alternative but to submit on arrival to the removal of the Asiatics in question to a United States immigration station for deportation in a ship other than that in which they were brought and at the cost of the vessel in which they came.

In effect it would dictate to other countries in what manner they shall man ships which convey passengers and goods to and from the United States. If other countries should adopt similar and, perhaps, even mutually conflicting measures, international shipping would be brought to a complete standstill * * *.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me just to make a comment?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. It is the purpose of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED], as I understand, to eliminate from the bill section 7, which has just been commented upon in this letter. That is the purpose of the pending amendment. Am I correct in that?

Mr. BINGHAM. That is correct.

The Chief Clerk resumed and concluded the reading, as follows:

There remains one aspect of the bill to which the British Embassy are instructed to draw particular attention. Operating as it does to debar British ships from employing as seamen even the natives of British colonies and dependencies, Indian lascars, for instance, and other British subjects who by reason of their race are debarred from the privilege of immigration to the United States, it conveys the impression of being specifically directed against the British Empire. As has been pointed out, it would involve a discrimination in favor of Japan, inasmuch as by specific exception from the general provisions of its article 7 it permits the ships of any sovereign nation to be manned with subjects of that nation but not with racially excluded citizens of its colonies or dependencies * * *.

In the circumstances above described it will be appreciated that this bill, if passed, would deal a grievous blow to British shipping and could not fail to cause very considerable feeling in British shipping and commercial circles who would naturally ask that steps be taken to protect their interests.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. I came in while the clerk was reading, and did not hear the first of the reading. Whose testimony is that?

Mr. BINGHAM. It is a statement from the British ambassador to the Secretary of State in a letter dated January 5, 1932, explaining what they believe would be the effect of the bill. It is very well put. It is in the testimony which the Senator will find on his desk, inserted by the Assistant Secretary of State on pages 5 and 6 of the testimony.

Mr. President, under the immigration laws we keep out all Asiatics, because they are not admissible to citizenship. At the present time crossing the Pacific there are many steamers operated by Americans—not as many as I should like to see, but there are steamers of the Dollar Line and some other lines. There are many steamers operated by the British; there are steamers operated by the Norwegians, the French, and the Dutch that use Asiatics in their crews. When they come into port it is the custom of the captain to pay for an extra watchman to see that they do not escape, because he knows that they will get into difficulty and that he will get into difficulty. At any rate, I am in entire sympathy with any efforts made to see that these aliens do not escape.

However, under this bill these foreign nations, particularly the British, the French, and the Dutch, that have colonies in Asia and that use their subjects on their ships, would have to change all their practices in crossing the Pacific and coming into our ports. They would have probably to abandon a good deal of their trade, and we would have to abandon ours, and it would go into the hands of the Japanese and the Chinese.

Under the Chinese flag or under the Japanese flag a ship with 100 per cent Asiatics can come into port every day. They are all, of course, bona fide coolie seamen. None of them are admissible under any other flag into that port. They would have to be taken off the ship, locked up, and sent home in some other ship; but if they came in on a ship under the Japanese flag or if they came in on a ship under the Chinese flag, they can come in; 50 of them can jump overboard and swim ashore and disappear; nothing happens to the steamship company, and we get that number of alien seamen into our ports, which we all deplore. There is no way in which that could be prevented.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. BINGHAM. I do.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am sure the Senator wants to be entirely fair in his discussion.

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I should like to call his attention to the fact that it would be necessary for the Japanese vessel he is describing in his example to depart with the same number of alien seamen with which she entered.

Mr. BINGHAM. Not under this bill, Mr. President. My reading of it is that they could take on board seamen of any country. They would not have to take the same number of aliens.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think the Senator will find that it must be the same number of alien seamen.

Mr. BINGHAM. And if they were unable to secure them, then they could not depart? Is that the provision?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. As I read the bill, it would provide that a ship entering with a certain number of aliens on board would be required to depart with the same number. She could not get her clearance papers unless she did have the same complement of aliens in departing that she had in entering.

Mr. BINGHAM. Does the Senator refer to section 6?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes.

Mr. BINGHAM. I do not see any reference to alien seamen there. In fact, an amendment embodying the sense of what the Senator says was suggested by the State Department as a way of meeting the difficulty.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. COPELAND. I fear that the Senator from Wisconsin is mistaken about the ship being required to take aliens. He will find, if he looks at page 3, line 15, that when departing, the ship must carry a crew of at least an equal number. It does not say that it shall be an equal number of aliens.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think the Senator is correct about that, and that I am mistaken. I was under the impression that it provided for departure with a crew that contained the same complement of aliens as those with which the vessel entered.

Mr. COPELAND. That is one of the complaints against the bill from the American standpoint—that a ship might come in and 15 aliens leave it, but in replacing those aliens they might take 15 Americans, so that we would have our number of unlawfully admitted aliens increased by 15, and our number of actual citizens decreased to the same extent.

Mr. BINGHAM. That was my understanding; and if the Senator will look at the testimony on page 20, he will find that the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] refers to that very fact, and asks whether there would be any objection to this

provision which would permit American boys to take the place of the aliens on shipboard.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. NORRIS. I am wondering if the objection the Senator makes would not be fully provided for if a simple amendment were added so that they would have to take out the same number of aliens that they brought in. Would not that meet the objection?

Mr. BINGHAM. Yes; that would meet that objection, Mr. President; and I think that amendment was suggested by the State Department but has not been included in the bill. If the Senator will prepare it, I shall be very glad to vote for it.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. The difficulty with the proposal made by the Senator from Nebraska is that if it were made mandatory that aliens only should be used to make up the deficiency by reason of desertion, the ship might be held up a long time in an effort to find those aliens. It might well happen that on West Street, in New York, the seamen waiting for work would be all Americans, as many of them are; but I think there would be the same objection on the part of foreign critics if the ships were required to take aliens only, because of the difficulty of locating them.

Mr. NORRIS. On the other hand, if the Senator will permit me, if we are trying to keep out aliens who are not entitled to be here, we shall have to resort to something of that kind. Otherwise foreign shipping could completely nullify our immigration laws. Probably it would mean a hardship. They would have to exercise greater care in preventing these men from getting away if they are not entitled to.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, if the Senator from Connecticut will bear with me a moment in replying——

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. COPELAND. We are in conflict in this bill with the splendid La Follette Act, the seamen's act of 1915, because that act permits any seaman on the ship, by giving notice to his captain of his intention to leave the ship, to leave it; and there is a proviso in the act that that shall apply to foreign ships as well as to ours.

If the quick turnover were interfered with—and that is a very important thing in shipping, as I understand, that they shall come and make their call and go away again as quickly as possible—if they were under the necessity of actually examining microscopically every prospective seaman to make sure that he was an alien, it would very seriously interfere with shipping and undoubtedly would lead to reprisals which would embarrass us in other countries.

Mr. BINGHAM. May I call the attention of the Senator from Wisconsin to the testimony on page 16 of the hearings, in which Mr. Hodgdon, representing the State Department, said:

> If the provision of the bill read that they should take out as many aliens as deserted here of like kind, that is, aliens who are not entitled to permanent residence, then you would have a real immigration bill. This appears to be a seamen's bill and not an immigration bill. But the popular opinion of the bill is that it is going to stop the illegal increase in the alien population in the United States by immigration as the result of alien seamen deserting. So what have we gained? We are in statu quo.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield.

Mr. KING. I do not want to interrupt the Senator. Apropos of the statement just read by my friend, one of the leading opponents of the bill has been for several years the attorney for the shipping interests—the international shipping interests as well as the local shipping interests, if we can differentiate. The testimony does not indicate that we can. He has appeared upon several occasions; and when that suggestion was made two or three years ago when he testified he said it was a futile thing; that you could not go out when a boat was ready to start and, if there were a lot of deserters, find aliens to take their place. It might take you a month, it might take you weeks; and in the meantime the vessel would be held up, and it would constitute a complete embargo. He said the protests would be so great that that plan is absolutely unfeasible, notwithstanding it might be desirable to have the vessels take aliens.

Mr. BINGHAM. I wish the Senator from Utah had been as anxious to please the steamship companies in other matters in this bill as he was in this particular. It has been shown that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] was under a misapprehension in regard to my statement that the bill permits a Chinese ship to come in under the Chinese flag with a crew of bona fide seamen composed 100 per cent of Chinese, and 50 of them might jump overboard and swim ashore, and then the ship would have to take whatever seamen it could get to take their places to take the ship back to China. The point I am trying to make is this: We are by this bill driving our own ships off the Pacific, interfering with the entrance into our ports of the ships of foreign nations like England and Holland and France that have colonies in Asia who use their subjects on board their ships, and playing into the hands of two other friendly countries, Japan and China, by making it easier for them to secure business, because they can bring crews 100 per cent Asiatic into the ports, and we are not really protecting our ports against the entrance of aliens. We are promoting the commerce of two Asiatic nations at the expense of the commerce of our own Nation and of European nations.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KING. I apologize for interrupting my learned friend in his, no doubt, very able discussion. I do not agree at all with the conclusion just drawn by my friend.

The Senator knows that within a very few weeks now, under existing laws, American steamship companies will be compelled to man their ships with at least 66 per cent American seamen. They may not employ Chinese or Japanese—that is, those who are excluded—but they can employ any other seamen that they may desire, other than those that are excluded. Under the present law, if we do not amend it, an English ship or a ship of any other nation may come into our shores with excluded seamen—with Chinese, with Japanese, with Malays, or lascars. If we do not pass this bill, our American shipping will be at a disadvantage.

Mr. BINGHAM. And if we do pass it our shipping will disappear from the Pacific.

Mr. KING. I do not agree with the Senator at all. In the first place, the wages now paid to Japanese are greater than the wages paid in many of the European countries, and are fast approaching the level paid to American seamen. The Japanese do not desert. The Japanese will stay on their own ships. The Chinese are not at all a factor in the shipping in the Pacific.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senator will make them a factor in the shipping of the Pacific.

Mr. KING. One American upon our ships is doing the work of two Japanese, and we can operate our ships as cheaply as the Japanese can operate theirs. As I say, the Chinese are no factors at all in the Pacific trade or elsewhere.

Mr. BINGHAM. But the Senator would make them a factor. Everyone knows that there are large Chinese shipping companies operating ships flying the Chinese flag going up and down the coast of China, and away into the interior. Everyone knows that the Chinese were a seagoing race, with a mariner's compass, long before our ancestors ever ventured out of sight of land. Everyone knows that many of the most daring seamen in the world are on ships flying the Chinese flag. To be sure, they are known as "pirates." To be sure, they have made certain parts of the southeastern Asiatic

waters unsafe for the ordinary tramp steamer. But the fact remains that those ships are operated by adventurous Chinese seamen, born and brought up on the water. The fact that Chinese ships do not cross the Pacific to-day is due to other causes. If this bill shall be enacted, it will not be long before we shall see steamship companies operating ships flying the Chinese flag operating across the Pacific. To be sure, they may have on board, as many Chinese steamers do to-day, a Scotch chief engineer to keep the engines running, engines being a little difficult for Chinese chief engineers. They may have a British or a Norwegian captain, as many Chinese steamers have to-day. But the crew will be composed entirely of Chinese, and we shall have irritated and interfered with the legitimate commerce of our friends of Europe, who have colonies in Asia, and we shall have driven our own ships off the sea.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield.

Mr. FLETCHER. It seems to me that this whole matter may be boiled down to this, and the Senator's argument carried to its conclusion leads to this, and I am prompted to ask him a simple question. Does the Senator favor the use of aliens in crews on American ships or shall we exclude them. That is the whole problem.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, that is not involved in the argument I am making. May I ask the Senator a question? Is the Senator in favor of telling foreign nations what kind of crews they shall have on their ships?

Mr. FLETCHER. Not at all.

Mr. BINGHAM. Then the Senator is opposed to this bill. That is what this bill does. It does not simply say to American ships, "You can not have aliens on board"; it says to foreign nations—for instance, it says to England—"You can not have in the crew of your ship that comes from Hong Kong to San Francisco any British subject of the Chinese race who came from Hong Kong." It says to Holland, "You can not have on board any Javanese who are Dutch subjects on your ships. They can not come into our ports, even though they are Dutch subjects who originate in Java." It says to France, "You can not have on your ships crossing the Pacific and coming into our ports from French Indo-China those Chinese who are subjects of the Republic of France."

That is why I am objecting to the bill. If the Senator will draft an amendment to provide merely that American ships shall not carry aliens, he will remove the chief objection to this bill I am urging at present, which is that it attempts to instruct foreign nations how to do their business and invites them to make reprisals on us, which may lead to very serious international complications.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. If I may be permitted by the Senator from Connecticut to say a word to the Senator from Florida, it seems to me that the Senator from Florida could accomplish what he has in mind by an amendment to the shipping act. I suppose it is perfectly competent for us to say that any American ship, whether it receives Government subsidies or not, must have a crew composed entirely of Americans. But the trouble with this bill, if I may be permitted to say it, is that it does not relate to our shipping but places such restrictions upon foreign ships that there are sure to be reprisals which will affect adversely the American merchant marine. I commend to the Senator what seems to me to be the seriousness of the pending bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I can see the force of that position, but I gather from the argument of the Senator from Connecticut that he is stating that the American merchant marine would be driven off the sea because we would have to compete with foreign ships carrying crews paid very much lower wages, and so forth, which led me to ask whether or not the Senator intended that American ships ought to be permitted to have crews composed of aliens.

Mr. COPELAND. I did not get that impression from what the Senator from Connecticut said, and he will correct me if I am wrong. I thought he was bringing out the point that if we were to pass this bill it might, for instance, drive into the Atlantic trade Japanese ships, because they could come into that trade under this bill, if it shall be enacted, without the slightest restriction upon their activity, and with their lower standards of living and their cheaper wages they could drive our trans-Atlantic ships off the ocean. That is what I think the Senator from Connecticut had in mind, as I understood him.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, may I say in reply to the question of the Senator from Florida that I think he and I are agreed in our desire to promote the American merchant marine? We want to see the American flag on the high seas. We want to see American ships manned by Americans. To accomplish that and to enable our ships to compete with foreign ships paying the wages paid by foreigners it is necessary to grant increased subsidies. I do not know the position of the Senator on subsidies, but personally I would be willing to vote increased subsidies to ships in order to enable American ships to meet competition on the Pacific.

This bill goes much further than that, however. It involves us in difficulties with foreign nations. It places a preference, it gives a bonus, to two Asiatic nations, and says, "You can operate across the Pacific with Asiatics, and your competitors in Europe—the Norwegians, the French, the Dutch, the British—can not do so. They can not operate across the Pacific even with their own subjects, if they come from British, French, or Dutch possessions in Asia."

It does not seem to me that that is fair. It is interfering with their business. It is not minding our own business. It is not building up the American merchant marine. It is building up the Chinese merchant marine and it is building up the Japanese merchant marine, so far as the Pacific is concerned.

For the reasons I have stated, I am in favor of the amendment offered by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the pending amendment, as just indicated, is the amendment offered by the able senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED], who is unavoidably absent to-day. I think the position of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania should be briefly restated before a vote is taken.

Certainly no one in this Chamber could remotely suspect the senior Senator from Pennsylvania of any interest inimical to the most rigid, drastic immigration limitation that can be applied. If there is one man more than another who has stood upon this floor for the protection of our American shores against immigration it is the senior Senator from Pennsylvania. Therefore it must be obvious to all of us that his proposal, this pending motion, does not arise out of any desire to break down any new limitations that can be applied successfully to immigration. That certainly is my own position also. We would join in drawing the immigration ban against every possible jeopardy from alien seamen.

The senior Senator from Pennsylvania is seeking to reach a totally different objective. It is an objective which this pending bill does not presume, upon its face, to touch at all, yet which inherently this bill does affect most seriously. It is the life of the American merchant marine.

Let us come back to the real question which is submitted to the Senate by my able friend the senior Senator from Pennsylvania in the pending proposal, to wit, that entirely aside from the question of immigration the pending measure is a threat to a continuing merchant marine, particularly upon the Pacific Ocean, under the American flag. I emphatically associate myself with his position.

He is not without credentials when he presents that point of view, and when I echo it I call the Senate's attention to the fact that the United States Shipping Board, the official adviser of the United States Government in respect to matters of this technical character, has passed a resolution reading as follows:

Resolved, That the United States Shipping Board does not approve the passage of S. 202 in its present form and at the present time, because the board believes the bill to be inimical to the best interests of the American merchant marine.

Mr. President, any such positive warning from such an authoritative source can not be safely ignored by a Senate contemplating judicial determination. Surely we can consider, set off by itself, the question of whether or not this bill is inimical to the American merchant marine without being accused, directly or indirectly, of having an interest in breaking down new immigration restrictions. The question raised by the pending motion, submitted by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, relates exclusively to the question of whether or not we shall do something which probably is inimical to the American merchant marine. It specifically relates to employment because there is no maritime employment whatsoever unless we keep our ships upon the sea.

Mr. President, this bill never went to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, where matters relating to the merchant marine are supposed to be canvassed. It has never had one moment's consideration by that branch of the Senate which has primary jurisdiction over a phase of the pending measure which, we are deliberately and officially advised, is inimical to the American merchant marine. If we destroy the possibility of competitive operation of American ships by putting them at a competitive disadvantage, we render profound disservice to the country and all its seamen and all its people. Even an immigration measure must not be permitted to do more harm than good. The inimical element, when identified in the proposed legislation, should be removed.

Why is it inimical? The Senator from Pennsylvania presented the unanswerable proofs on yesterday. The Senator from Connecticut has made it perfectly obvious why it is inimical, and I rise only to add emphasis to what he has said, and to observe that if the American merchant marine upon the Pacific must be forced precipitously to be manned 100 per cent with American crews, including the steward's departments, it is next to a physical impossibility for it to hope successfully to compete with its Asiatic competitors for the Pacific trade, when these same competitors can come over these same lanes and into these same American ports without these same strictures.

It must be remembered that we have set up in our merchant marine law a deliberate, progressive schedule, under which we are supposed ultimately to reach the climax of American personnel upon our ships—a climax which we certainly all want ultimately to reach. Whether meditated or not, here is an effort to amend, if not to destroy, the deliberate schedule which thus has been set up in the regular fashion in our regular merchant-marine legislation covering this fundamental point. I submit it is the wrong way to approach a question of such far-reaching implication, and I submit that we trend in an exceedingly dangerous direction.

Mr. President, next to the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] the man upon this floor, who, perhaps, has the best information respecting a problem of this character, is the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE], who for many years was chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives, and whose name is connected with that of the senior Senator from Washington in the authorship of the great merchant marine act, under which we are proudly developing our maritime commerce under the American flag. I want to ask the attention of the junior Senator from Maine to a question, if he will permit me to submit it.

I should like to ask the Senator whether it is not a fact that in the development of our merchant-marine legislation a careful schedule was prepared and created by statute under which there is a progressive program to control the American element in the crews of American ships. I ask the Senator to give me his view upon this question and whether he thinks it wise for us to depart from the basic law as is proposed in the pending measure.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I did not intend to project myself into this debate, but I can not resist the urging of the question.

What the Senator has said is true. The whole matter of percentage of Americans which should be in crews of American vessels has been under consideration at various times in the past and was specifically under consideration when the 1928 act was passed.

I do not know how fully the Senator from Michigan desires me to answer his question; but if I am not trespassing, may I give a little of the history of past legislation on this subject?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I wish the Senator would proceed.

Mr. WHITE. There never has been in this country and so far as I know there never has been upon the statute books of any marine nation of the world a provision requiring that all the crews of the vessels of those nations should be of the nationals of those nations. When we passed the ocean mail act of 1891 there was written into it a provision with respect to the percentage of the crews which should be American. It provided in the first instance in the first year one-fourth part only of those crews should be American. It then provided that for the next two years one-third only should be American, and that after the third year one-half only should be American. I have not taken the opportunity to look it up, but my recollection is that those figures were exclusive of the steward's department, though I may be in error as to that.

When the seamen's act of 1915 was enacted, sponsored by one of America's great, the father of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], there was written into it no provision with respect to the citizenship of our crews, although there was carried in the law a requirement that a certain percentage of the crews should be able to understand the language of the master of the vessel.

When we came to the 1928 act, we undertook to raise higher the standards for our ships. After long consideration, after debate on the floor of the House of Representatives, we provided that in the first four years of the operation of that law one-half of the crew should be American. The general provisions of laws have been for many years that all officers must be American. Then there was provided in the 1928 act that at the expiration of four years two-thirds of the crews, including the deck and engineer's and steward's departments, should be American citizens. That four years ends this coming May.

Mr. VANDENBERG. May I interrupt the Senator to inquire why it was thought inadvisable to require a complete and sudden Americanizing of the crews and why those particular percentages were chosen?

Mr. WHITE. The percentages themselves were somewhat arbitrary. They were based upon the best judgment of the committees drafting the legislation that that was all we could reasonably hope for and that it was all we ought to exact.

I have said that there is no maritime nation of the world which undertakes to require that all its crews shall be exclusively of its nationals. Neither Great Britain nor Germany nor France nor the Scandinavian countries nor Japan require that. The trouble with this piece of legislation, as I see it, is that it applies not only to that limited number of vessels receiving aid from the Government of the United States under the 1928 act but to all vessels of all nations, and it applies to all vessels of the United States, whether engaged in foreign trade, in the intercoastal trade, or in the coastwise trade.

Mr. President, out of more than 25,000 vessels of the United States documented under our laws only approximately 265 or 270 are receiving aid under the merchant marine act of 1928, and yet here is a proposal to place immediately upon the vessels sailing in the Pacific a requirement that 100 per cent of their crews shall be American citizens.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. KING. I dislike to interrupt the Senator from Maine, but the Senator is in error if he assumes that the bill requires the United States or any other nation to have 100 per cent of their nationals as crews.

Mr. WHITE. It does not so provide in terms, but in practical effect it does, because upon the Pacific the crews of American vessels are made up of Americans or they are made up of Asiatics. The alternatives are a mixed crew of that character or a crew of 100 per cent Americans. That is the practical effect of the bill, whatever the letter of its provisions may be.

Now, if the Senator from Michigan will permit me further——

Mr. VANDENBERG. With pleasure.

Mr. WHITE. The vessels sailing upon the Pacific are three-quarters of their time in tropical climes. Experience has demonstrated that we can not take a white man and put him into the holds of the steamers, put him into the steward's department of those steamers, and require him to serve there three-quarters of the time in those torrid areas.

So far as I am concerned I am quite willing to pass by the commercial aspects of the matter, but I am against the proposal because of social considerations. I am not myself willing, Mr. President, to give assent to a proposal which means that an American boy or an American seaman must go down in the stokehold of one of those steamers in the Far East and work in these veritable "black holes of Calcutta." In my view that is not a dignifying of American labor, but is a degradation of American labor.

Mr. President, these steamers, as they move about in the Far East stopping at eastern ports, have passenger lists made up of Filipinos, Chinese, Malays, and lascars, and Asiatics of all characters and of all nationalities. I am not myself willing to support a measure which means that an American boy must go into the steward's department on one of those boats, whether in the first class, the second, or third class or steerage of those vessels, and wait upon those Asiatics, shining their shoes, doing the menial tasks of a steward. That is not my conception of the dignity of American labor. I am not for any measure that takes Asiatics out of the stokehold and out of the steward's department of vessels in these eastern trades and puts in their places American citizens and American boys.

I hope I have answered the Senator's question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I realize the interruption has been proceeding out of order, but it has been proceeding very responsively to my request. I confess to the Senate and the Chair that I have now accomplished the purpose for which I originally rose. The junior Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE] has been sitting here quietly and modestly, armed with perhaps greater information respecting this subject than most of the rest of us put together. He has been sensitive—I think supersensitive—to the feeling that his comparative youth in this body should hold him quiet in his seat, perhaps due to a particularly acute and inherited esteem for this body which comes down from his grandfather, the distinguished former Senator Frye, of Maine. I did want him to testify. He has made all the speech I wish to submit to the Senate on my own account in respect to this problem.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I think the chairman of the committee in charge of the bill desires to be heard.

Mr. McNARY. I think we should have a quorum under the circumstances. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Brookhart	Costigan	Glass
Austin	Broussard	Couzens	Glenn
Bailey	Bulkley	Cutting	Goldsborough
Bankhead	Bulow	Dale	Gore
Barbour	Byrnes	Davis	Hale
Barkley	Capper	Dickinson	Harris
Bingham	Caraway	Dill	Harrison
Black	Carey	Fess	Hatfield
Blaine	Connally	Fletcher	Hawes
Borah	Coolidge	Frazier	Hayden
Bratton	Copeland	George	Hebert
Howell	McGill	Pittman	Townsend
Hull	McKellar	Robinson, Ark.	Trammell
Johnson	McNary	Robinson, Ind.	Tydings
Jones	Metcalf	Schall	Vandenberg
Kean	Morrison	Sheppard	Wagner
Kendrick	Moses	Shipstead	Walcott
Keyes	Neely	Smith	Walsh, Mass.
King	Norbeck	Smoot	Walsh, Mont.
La Follette	Norris	Steiwer	Waterman
Lewis	Nye	Stephens	Watson
Logan	Oddie	Thomas, Idaho	Wheeler
Long	Patterson	Thomas, Okla.	White

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED], which will be stated by the Secretary.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Pennsylvania proposes to strike out all of section 7, as follows:

SEC. 7. No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who if he were applying for admission to the United States as an immigrant would be subject to exclusion under subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924, except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew, exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant. Any alien seaman brought into a port of the United States in violation of this provision shall be excluded from admission or temporary landing and shall be deported, either to the place of shipment or to the country of his nativity, as a passenger, on a vessel other than that on which brought, at the expense of the vessel by which brought, and the vessel by which brought shall not be granted clearance until such expenses are paid or their payment satisfactorily guaranteed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the bill under consideration is not new; it has been before the Senate for a number of years and in substantially the same form it was considered in the House of Representatives in 1924. The same objections now urged against the bill were urged when it was being considered in the House, and they have been vigorously asserted in the Senate during the past six or eight years.

The bill has been considered by the Senate Committee on Immigration four or five times, and extensive hearings have been conducted. There was no necessity, Mr. President, for further hearings by the Senate Committee on Immigration because all possible objections to its provisions had been presented and its merits and demerits, if any, had been fully considered. Notwithstanding the lack of need for additional information, those in charge of the bill agreed that the Senate committee might receive any statement for or against the bill and report the same to this body. That has been done, and there is before us the testimony given before the committee on the 22d and 23d of this month.

I understood that the chairman of the committee [Mr. HATFIELD] was to address the Senate at this time, but I am advised that he will be detained for a short time. Pending his return I shall occupy the floor and discuss briefly some questions raised by opponents of this bill.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM] complains because the bill was not referred to the Committee on Commerce. I am not able to follow his argument. This bill is supplemental to the immigration laws; it is essentially and primarily an immigration measure, dealing with immigration problems. The inadequacy of the present immigration laws has been referred to by officials of the Government charged with their enforcement and recommendations made looking to the strengthening of their provisions. The claim is often made that our immigration laws have been fairly effective in closing the "front doors" to undesirable or inadmissible aliens, but they have left open the "side doors," through which more than 500,000 persons have illegally entered the United States during the past 8 or 10 years.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. Surely the Senator from Utah does not contend that those persons came as alien seamen?

Mr. KING. The testimony given before the Senate Committee on Immigration and statements emanating from Government officials attribute most of these illegal entries to persons who entered our ports as seamen but who were not seamen in the true sense, and evaded the immigration laws, in order to enter the United States. They were mala fide seamen and not entitled to come to our shores.

When the immigration laws of 1917, supplemented by other laws culminating in the act of 1924, placed restrictions upon immigration and limited the number of immigrants who might annually enter the United States, many persons sought to evade the laws and discovered that they might or could reach our shores by pretending to be seamen and shipping as such upon vessels sailing to our ports. So tens of thousands of aliens who were not seamen, who did not intend to become seamen, were accepted by masters of vessels and were brought to the United States, where they were admitted upon the claim by them and the officers of the vessels upon which they were shipped that they were bona fide seamen and as such were entitled to be admitted upon the same grounds as persons are admitted who are bona fide seamen.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. Did not the official representatives of American and foreign shipping companies publicly testify before the Immigration Committee last Saturday, as shown on pages 42 and 63 of the hearings, that it was the established policy of the shipping companies to detain persons racially excluded on board their ships and prevent their leaving such ships in American ports? In other words, do they not forbid seamen of excluded races from coming ashore who, under the La Follette Seamen's Act, are given the right of 60 days' entrance into the country?

Mr. KING. There was testimony such as indicated by the Senator, but there is an abundance of evidence showing that excluded aliens do enter the United States in derogation of the immigration laws, and that aliens racially excluded ship as seamen who are not seamen, and thus reach the shores of our country. The evidence also establishes that many aliens are smuggled into the United States, that they come in ships from beyond the seas and by devious means effect entrance.

Mr. DAVIS. Is there not a fine of $1,000 under the immigration law imposed on foreign seamen coming ashore without permission of the captain of their ship?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS. They keep oriental seamen on board the ships, or, in other words, make the ship a sort of prison to prevent them from coming ashore. Does not such a practice constitute involuntary servitude?

Mr. KING. The law imposes a fine, as stated by the Senator, when our inspectors require the captain to detain persons not legally admissible and he is derelict in his duty. But thousands of persons brought to our shores in foreign and American ships leave the ships and mingle with our population. As stated, many are mala fide seamen and are not entitled to the privileges of seamen. Some are racially excluded from our shores; others have no proper visas, or for various reasons are not of right entitled to entrance and should be deported. It is contended that ships are not prisons and may not hold even mala fide seamen against their will.

There are decisions of courts that do so hold individuals upon ships is illegal and in contravention of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which prohibits involuntary servitude. I have received a letter since coming into the Chamber a few minutes ago—which may not be quite germane to the question propounded, but I shall be glad to read a few lines, as indicating the treatment accorded seamen in the ports of many other countries. Before doing so, however, let me say that when the La Follette Seaman's Act was under consideration, it was made plain that these ships in our ports could not be converted into prisons, and that there should be no involuntary servitude even upon foreign ships while in American ports. So our laws have not prevented bona fide seamen from leaving their ships and having shore leave for 60 days.

Under the pending bill bona fide seamen may enter the United States; mala fide seamen are denied the right, but they are not held upon the vessels carrying them. They are taken in charge by the Government and detained on shore until they are returned to the port from which they came or to the country of which they are subjects. However, they have their day in court; they may appeal to the Secretary of Labor to determine whether they are illegally held. If the decision is favorable to them, they are released. I call the attention of Senators to the fact that there are maritime nations that erect almost impossible barriers against alien seamen who enter their ports, regardless of their race or color. For reasons or without reason they capriciously act and refuse to permit alien bona fide seamen to enter their ports.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. Under the La Follette Seaman's Act, section 4530, the shipmaster is obligated to let a seaman come ashore whether he is an alien or a noncitizen or ineligible to our citizenship. Is not that the case?

Mr. KING. That is true, generally speaking, of bona fide seamen.

Mr. COPELAND. Under this bill if a ship came into one of our ports and there were a seaman on board who did not care to go ashore, who did not care to become an applicant for citizenship, yet under this proposed act he could be taken from the ship. Is not that correct?

Mr. KING. I do not agree with the Senator's construction of the bill. If the person is a mala fide seaman, then he is subject to detention and will be taken to the detention camp to be held for deportation.

Mr. COPELAND. I think that is in the language of the bill.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. The Senator from New York asked a question with reference to a subject in which I am interested in my consideration of section 7. Line 9 on page 4 says that—

> Any alien seaman brought into a port of the United States in violation of this provision shall be excluded from admission or temporary landing and shall be deported, either to the place of shipment or to the country of his nativity, as a passenger, on a vessel other than that on which brought.

The question I have in mind is this:

Suppose a Chinaman, for instance, had been employed on a Swedish boat and the boat came into a port of America. Under this law, as I have construed this sentence from not a very extended study, it seems to me that the authorities would be compelled to take him from that boat and to have him shipped back on a boat other than the one on which he came. Is that contrary to the Senator's construction?

Mr. KING. Under the present immigration laws such alien could not legally enter the United States, and under this bill, as I understand it, the alien, whose status is that of a person recently excluded from the United States, would be subject to detention and deportation by the United States at the expense of the vessel bringing him to our ports. It would be the duty of the Government inspector when he discovered the alien to take him to a detention camp, as it would be his duty to remove a person who had a contagious disease or who was not admissible as an immigrant and hold him until he could be deported upon some other vessel than that upon which he came to the United States, and at the expense of the vessels that brought him to the United States.

The Senator understands that for many years in the United States, whether morally right or otherwise—I shall

not enter into the ethical question—the American people decided that persons of certain oriental races should be excluded from the United States, and our immigration laws were enacted to secure that result. This bill is not intended to abrogate existing immigration laws, but, rather, to supplement them.

Mr. BLACK. May I say this to the Senator with reference to this section as thus construed:

The Senator probably knows my views on immigration. In so far as I am concerned, if I could, I would strengthen the laws and reduce the number of immigrants into this country, particularly during times of depression. I am in sympathy with the object of the Senator in the passage of this bill. It is true that we do say that Chinese and persons of certain other Asiatic races can not become citizens; but I am wondering if the Senator thinks we should go to the extent indirectly of legislating in such a way that a Chinaman would be prohibited from being employed on a boat of any other country if that boat intended to come to a port of this country.

If it is merely a question of prohibiting the immigration into this country of the Chinese or any other group, I am strongly for the idea; but, somehow, I can not believe that it would be morally justifiable on our part to pass a law which would say to a Chinaman, because he is a Chinaman, that he could not be employed on a Swedish boat which might land in America, and yet an Englishman or a Frenchman or a native of some other country could be employed on that boat. I am wondering if it would not invite, and justly invite, some kind of retaliatory legislation which would prevent an American from getting a job on some other boat.

Personally, I should be very glad if the Senator would consent to some kind of amendment to the measure, if it is at all in line with his idea, which would not place us in the attitude of putting up an impassible barrier against a Chinaman or an Asiatic who wants to work getting a job on some foreign boat. If it gets down to the question of his landing, that is a different proposition; but, as strongly as I am opposed to foreign immigration, I do not believe I could get my consent to vote for a bill containing a stipulation that might prevent a man, simply because he belongs to a particular race, from working under the sovereignty of another nation on boats which are under the sovereignty of another nation.

I have not understood from the Senator's remarks heretofore that he wanted his bill to go to that extent. That was the idea I had in mind.

I beg the Senator's pardon for the long explanation; but in order to have the issue clearly drawn I did not find it possible to state my views in any briefer way.

Mr. KING. I think I understand the Senator. I can understand that there might be, in the minds of some Senators——

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. HATFIELD. The Senator knows, of course, that nationals sailing under their own country's flag have a perfect right to land in American ports. He also knows that Asiatics sailing upon a foreign ship or upon an American ship have no right of entry into an American port. Notwithstanding this, we find in the record of the recent hearings that those who are not admitted to American ports were detained upon ships in the ocean, not permitted to land in American ports. The Senator is aware of that fact?

Mr. KING. Yes; that is, racially excluded aliens have been held on board of ships by the officers of such ships during the period they were in our ports.

Mr. HATFIELD. That is an answer to the interrogation of the Senator from Alabama, I believe. This proposed law does not change the existing conditions at all. The law that now controls still prevails in case of the enactment of Senate bill No. 7.

Mr. BLACK. I beg the Senator's pardon, but will he allow me to make just one statement in reply?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. Not in reply, because my questions are not asked with any antagonism to the purpose of this bill. I favor the purpose of it. I understand, however, that the bill, if enacted, would bring about this result: That a Chinaman could enter into the ports of this country on ships of his own country.

Mr. HATFIELD. That is true.

Mr. BLACK. That a Japanese could enter into the ports of this country on a boat of his own country.

Mr. HATFIELD. That is true; and have the same consideration and treatment that others have.

Mr. BLACK. That a Frenchman could enter into the ports of this country on the boats of his nation, just as anyone else could.

Mr. HATFIELD. And those of other nations as well.

Mr. BLACK. That is correct. But, going further, if I correctly construe this bill, it would prevent and absolutely prohibit any Chinaman or any Japanese or a member of any other of the so-called excluded races from securing a job on a boat of any country except his own if it intended to come into an American port, but it would permit a Frenchman or an Englishman to come into this country on the boats not only of his own country but of any other country in the world.

Mr. HATFIELD. That is not my understanding as to the Asiatics.

Mr. BLACK. Section 7, I think—and I have asked the Senator and he agreed with my construction—is very clear to that effect. The point I make is this: Being as strong an opponent of foreign immigration into this country, I believe, as any Member of the Senate, having offered on several different occasions a bill to put up the bars absolutely for a period of years, to prevent any foreign immigration, at the same time I am not content to vote for any measure which, in my judgment, is not fair to the people of any other country. I can not see any justice in excluding a Chinaman from getting a job on a Swedish boat, and at the same time announcing to the world that we would approve the idea of a Frenchman getting a job on a boat of another country. It would seem to me to be a barrier which could not be justified, either in morals or in good faith between nations.

If section 7 has been improperly construed by me, and means no more than protecting the rights of Americans to jobs on boats, I am for it. I agree 100 per cent with the statement of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] yesterday; and I know from personal experience that out of the 7,000,000 unemployed there is not the slightest difficulty in obtaining men for every capacity on boats. I know from my own knowledge that college men from excellent institutions in this country are to-day riding the high seas as ordinary seamen at $45 per month, less than is paid to good cooks, in an occupation that has been mentioned as such menial employment that it is impossible to secure them. But with that belief, with the idea of fairness and justice to all peoples and all races, which I think we should always have uppermost in our legislation, if I am correct in my interpretation of section 7 I can not vote for a provision which puts the strong arm of the United States all over the high seas of the world and tells a Chinaman that because he is a Chinaman this Government objects to his securing a job on the boats of a foreign nation.

That is the total extent of the criticism I personally have of this section, if I have correctly construed it. In the main objectives of the distinguished Senator from Utah, who has long been a leader in this fight, I thoroughly concur. I applaud him for the fight he has made; but, knowing his usually most liberal sentiments and his broad and tolerant viewpoint of the people from all the nations of the world, I am sure he has never intended and does not intend to bring about a situation which would place us in the attitude of putting the back of our hand against the employment of the humblest Chinese ever born upon boats flying the flag of a foreign country.

I will state to the Senator from West Virginia that that is my position; and in my judgment the statement he

made does not answer it. If I am wrong in my construction, or if an amendment is offered so as to meet that objection, I shall be delighted to vote for it; but personally I can not bring myself to the position where I will consent to vote for any provision in a law which makes it absolutely impossible for a member of the Chinese race to secure a job on a boat of another country in which we have not the slightest concern.

Mr. KING. Because of the questions propounded and the discussions by Senators in my time, and I have no objection, it is impossible for me to submit any connected statement or to complete any argument attempted. However, the course pursued enables Senators to ascertain the implications of the bill and to present their views upon its provisions. A word in answer to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK]. If a Chinese or Japanese or Frenchman, who is a mala fide seaman, takes service upon any ship for the purpose of evading our immigration laws, he is subject to deportation when he enters the ports of the United States.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. If section 7 shall be amended so as clearly to express that purpose, then I will be in hearty accord with the Senator; but, in my judgment, at present it would serve to bar a member of the Chinese race, even if a bona fide seaman, from coming on any boat into any of our ports. I did not believe in the beginning that the Senator from Utah intended any such effect, but I do believe that section 7 as written would have that effect.

Mr. KING. I shall give that matter further attention.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. The individuals to whom the Senator from Alabama has been referring can not come in now under existing law. They would be racially excluded. The Senator is talking about immigrants who are racially excluded, or immigrants who come into our country under the guise of being seamen. Under the circumstances the Senator supposes, if they did not come in under the flag of their own country, as I am informed, under the law as it now exists they could not land in this country.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, if that is true, then this bill would be wholly and completely unnecessary. But as to any Chinaman or the member of any other race who comes mala fide, not because he wants a job to earn his daily bread, but in order surreptitiously to come into this country and live, I am in hearty accord with the method which is here proposed to be followed. But I insist that a fair reading of this section leads one to the irresistible conclusion that we are asked to legislate so that a Chinaman, or the members of certain other races, will be prohibited by the strong arm of the American Government from getting jobs on a Swedish boat, or a Danish boat, on an English boat, or the boat of some other country with which we have no concern. I do not believe it is fair or just or honorable on our part to attempt to use indirectly this influence to prevent a Chinaman from getting a job wherever people want to hire him, so long as he is not evading the laws of our country.

With the idea of the Senator I am in accord, that if he is not a bona fide seaman, and comes here, either by connivance with the shipping company or otherwise, for the purpose of disguising himself as a seaman when he is not, he should be excluded. I do not believe the Senator is in favor of that. Knowing the views of the Senator, I do not believe he would favor going to the extent to which I believe this measure would take us. It would go to this extent, that if a Chinaman—and I mention a Chinaman because the Chinese are one of the excluded races—gets a job on a Danish boat, which he has a perfect right to do, which I would not want to prevent, and I feel sure the Senator from Minnesota would not, and that boat happens to have as its destination an American port, that our inspectors must go on that boat, seize that Chinaman, who has been rightfully employed on the Danish boat, take him off, and send him back on some other boat to his native land. I claim that would be inhuman.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I would like to ask the Senator from Alabama a question. Suppose a Danish boat with a Chinaman on board left France and stopped at Jacksonville, Fla., but its ultimate destination was Caracas, for example. Would the law cover that situation, where the ship was here just in transit to some definite port?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, if the Senator from Utah will permit me, as I construe this section, it would absolutely prohibit any foreign boat from landing at any port in this country if it had a Chinaman on it, even if the seaman did not take his departure from the boat. Thereafter, if it did come into a port of this country, the inspectors would be compelled to go on to the boat and take the Chinaman off by force and send him back home on some other boat.

Mr. TYDINGS. Then, as I understand the Senator, the net effect of it would be that Chinamen would be excluded from all ships all over the world, because if a ship employing a Chinaman even incidentally on any tour touched an American port, there would be complications so great that the ship would not want to take the risk of having that Chinaman on board.

Mr. BLACK. They would be denied a clearance from this country, and the position I take is that we have gone certainly as far as any nation should with reference to the Chinese.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, to what language does the Senator from Alabama have reference?

Mr. BLACK. I have reference to the language of section 7. The Senator will note that the first part of the section is very clear, to the effect that "except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew."

Now note:

> Exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant.

In other words, that simply means that no boat carrying the members of races which have been racially excluded from the United States as immigrants can land at any port of the United States.

Going on to the next paragraph, it is noted that any seaman brought in in violation of this provision—that is, one who is racially excluded—"shall be excluded from admission or temporary landing."

Look at the next:

> And shall be deported, either to the place of shipment or to the country of his nativity, as a passenger, on a vessel other than that on which brought.

In other words, it does not even permit the boat which brought the Chinaman to take him back to the place from which they started, although he may have been a bona fide seaman.

My judgment is that it would not be fair or just legislation, and that this country should not attempt by legislation in the Congress of the United States, to prohibit a Chinaman from getting a job on a boat of a foreign country, unless he went on there with the corrupt intention of coming into this country contrary to our laws to become an immigrant.

With reference to any law which will prohibit such a thing from occurring I am in hearty accord, but I am very much opposed to this country taking this position, which I think might bar Chinese all over the world from obtaining jobs and work such as honest ment ought to have whatever their nationality.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield to me?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. The Senator from Utah is very generous in yielding. I want to call attention, in addition to what the Senator from Alabama has said, to the fact that section 2, on the first page, provides for machinery to be set up so that when a ship comes in, except a ship in distress—and I suppose even then—an examination shall be made to determine the nationality of the seamen.

Then, as the Senator has pointed out, section 7 makes it mandatory, if a person is found who is not eligible for admission to our country, that he shall be taken bodily and deported at the expense of the ship that brought him into the country.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Senator knows that under existing laws certain aliens are excluded from the United States.

Mr. COPELAND. If the Senator will permit me, I know that; but let us assume a ship in with an alien aboard who does not seek to land. He knows he is excluded. He is a bona fide seaman. He stays on the ship. But it is the duty of our inspectors to find out what sort of a person he is, and if he is not among the acceptable class he shall be deported. That is the language of the bill.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have been trying to understand the phraseology used in section 7, assuming that it were to pass as now written, and it strikes me that it is at least ambiguous, if not contradictory. Let me read it and see if the Senator from Utah does not agree in all seriousness that the section contradicts itself. Section 7 provides:

SEC. 7. No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who if he were applying for admission to the United States as an immigrant would be subject to exclusion under subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924.

That lets a Chinaman out of the picture, does it not?

Mr. KING. If I understand the Senator, the present law would not be modified.

Mr. TYDINGS. The measure goes on, after a comma—

Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen—

That brings in the Chinaman, does it not?

Mr. KING. We do not desire to declare or enforce an embargo against any nation. In this age of trade and commerce it would be unwise and wrong to prohibit the vessels of other nations from entering our ports. We may, however, subject them to reasonable regulations and restrictions. Britain imposed many restrictions upon foreign ships visiting her shores and Australia prohibits certain aliens from leaving their ships when in her ports.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let me continue:

Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded.

He may be brought in under the first phrase and excluded under the last phrase of the three phrases, because it provides—

Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen—

But in the next line it provides—

or any person not racially excluded.

It strikes me that in the first phrase, on line 3, an exception is made, and then the exception is contradicted in the same sentence on line 5.

Then it goes on further to contradict itself by saying, in line 6, "exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant."

I say to the Senator that as I read this, even if it projects the thought which the author of the bill has in mind, it strikes me as being so contradictory that a wrong interpretation would be placed upon it, because, first, it excludes, then it makes an exception, then it lets the foreigner come in, and then finally says, "exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant."

If I may have the attention of those who are interested in this bill, let me read the whole section through, so that the whole thing can be followed, and see if it does not contradict itself in several places. Section 7 reads:

SEC. 7. No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who if he were applying for admission to the United States as an immigrant would be subject to exclusion under subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924, except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew, exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant. Any alien seaman brought into a port of the United States in violation of this provision shall be excluded from admission or temporary landing and shall be deported, either to the place of shipment or to the country of his nativity, as a passenger, on a vessel other than that on which brought, at the expense of the vessel by which brought, and the vessel by which brought shall not be granted clearance until such expenses are paid or their payment satisfactorily guaranteed.

The Senator lets him in, then he bars him, then he lets him in again, and then takes him out again. That is exactly what the bill provides, it seems to me. For example, if I may analyze it a moment further, the last four lines on page 3 and the first line on page 4 exclude any alien from coming into the United States who would be denied the right to become a citizen.

Mr. KING. As the law at present does. It does not change the law. It is merely confirmatory of existing law.

Mr. TYDINGS. No vessel can come in here with such a man upon it. Is that correct?

Mr. KING. Under the present law there are racial exclusions.

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; and the bill as written prevents a vessel from coming here which has a Chinaman upon it as a member of the crew. That is what the first five lines of section 7 say if they say anything. Then the bill provides:

Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation.

The Senator says he can not come in and then he inserts in the bill an exception and provides that a ship can bring in such excluded person. Then the bill goes on to provide:

Who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew.

Now we have him in. The bill has said that we could not bring him in under the immigration act even as a seaman. Then the Senator's bill says he can come in as a member of a vessel's crew.

Mr. KING. If he is a bona fide seaman.

Mr. TYDINGS. But the Senator says in line 6 of his bill, page 4:

Exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant.

I believe I see the object at which the Senator is driving, and my purpose in rising is merely to say that I do not believe the selection of words and phrases is clear and that it makes the section contradictory of each one of its separate provisions. It ought to be rewritten so that the judge or the customs official who interprets it will not find that each three lines contradict the three lines which have gone before.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Senator knows we are confronted with a rather delicate situation in dealing with immigration where the immigration laws exclude certain races. The bill recognizes existing law, but proposes to make some modification by providing that bona fide seamen upon vessels of a nation whose nationals are excluded may enter if they are bona fide seamen, and enjoy the same privileges as are granted to bona fide seamen of nations outside of the exclusion category.

As I understand the bill, it goes further and declares that dependencies of nations, where those dependencies contain races which are excluded, come within the provisions of the bill and their seamen may not be brought in even by the nation of which they are subjects. That is to say, to give a concrete illustration under the bill as I interpret it, a Chinese national may enter the United States if he is a bona fide seaman upon a Chinese ship; Japanese may enter the United States if bona fide seamen upon a Japanese vessel. A Chinese would be subject to the provisions of the bill for deportation if he should come to the United States on a vessel other than that which belongs to the nation of which he is a national.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Is it the Senator's interpretation of section 7 that if a Chinaman should come here upon a Danish ship and the ship should land, he could be taken off of that ship and be deported and would not be permitted to return to his ship and go with it?

Mr. KING. I think that is a correct interpretation of the bill.

Mr. BORAH. That would prevent a Chinaman from having a position upon any ship which might want to touch at a port of the United States.

Mr. KING. Persons racially excluded may not have the benefits of individuals who are not excluded under the operations of the bill. The bill does not extend to races now excluded the privileges extended to the nationals of other nations; but it does legalize the entrance of persons racially excluded if they are bona fide seamen and enter our ports under the flag of their own nation. To that extent this bill enlarges or expands the present immigration law and grants rights and privileges to racially excluded nationals who under the present law might not be permitted to enter.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. If the Senator will give his attention to the first five lines of section 7, he will see that they read—

> No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who if he were applying for admission to the United States as an immigrant would be subject to exclusion under subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924.

Let us suppose a Chinaman comes to the port of Baltimore upon a Danish ship. The ship comes up the Chesapeake Bay to the immigration station. Before the ship can land at all it has to be inspected, of course, and go through the various steps preliminary to docking. It is found that a Chinaman is on that ship. What happens?

Mr. KING. Would he be admitted to the United States now?

Mr. TYDINGS. No; but the Senator says the vessel shall not bring in such a person. Would the Senator send the vessel out to sea?

Mr. KING. The penalty would be that the person referred to would be deported.

Mr. TYDINGS. But the bill says no vessel shall bring any such person here.

Mr. KING. In such a case the inspector would challenge the person and take him ashore as he would take any person seeking entrance as an immigrant who was ineligible to enter. If a person should be upon a ship without a proper visa, the inspector would cause him to be removed from the vessel to a detention camp, there to remain until deported. If a person racially excluded under the present law were to be found upon the same vessel, he would be subject to the same treatment and the vessel under the present law would be subject to a fine of $1,000. Under this bill, instead of a penalty of $1,000, the vessel is required to pay all costs incident to the detention of the person as well as the costs of deportation.

Mr. TYDINGS. The immigration officer says to the captain of the Danish steamer, "You have a Chinaman on board and we will have to take that Chinaman off the boat." The captain of the Danish steamer reads to the immigration officer the bill, which would then be the law, which goes on to say—

> Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew.

But before we get down to "any person not racially excluded," the Senator's bill provides, notwithstanding the Chinaman may not be brought in, that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation. The Danish ship is a ship of a sovereign nation and is a member of her merchant marine.

The point I am trying to make is that I am not taking issue with what the Senator is seeking to obtain, but it did occur to me that this section is so contradictory that without some one reading it in the light in which the Senator from Utah is reading it, an entirely different interpretation would be placed upon it than the intended interpretation.

Mr. KING. I do not think it is contradictory in the sense the Senator intends. It merely strengthens existing immigration laws and declares that notwithstanding certain races may not come to the United States, nevertheless in the interest of trade and commerce and in pursuance of that rule or spirit of comity existing among nations, the immigration law will be relaxed or modified in order that bona fide seamen may enter the United States even though they are racially excluded, provided they are serving upon vessels of their own nation. While there is an apparent contradiction, I submit that a proper reading and interpretation of the entire bill make reasonably certain the object to be attained.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a further question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield further to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let us suppose the ship belongs to the Danish merchant marine, the Danish nation being a sovereign nation. It comes up the Chesapeake Bay with a Chinese seaman on it. Then the Danish ship has a perfect right to bring the Chinaman into the port of Baltimore as a seaman, because he is within the exception which provides:

> Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person who is not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew.

Mr. KING. The Senator places the wrong interpretation upon it.

Mr. TYDINGS. The point I make, and I have made it all along, is that I see exactly what is in the Senator's mind, but I do not believe the bill clearly sets forth that idea. I may be dense about it myself.

Mr. KING. I think the Senator is in error.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have not looked up the present immigration law to determine whether anywhere there is a legal definition of a bona fide seaman. What is meant by that expression? How long does a man have to be a seaman before he becomes a bona fide seaman? Are there any regulations as to what shall constitute a bona fide seaman?

Mr. KING. I think the seamen's act attempts a definition of the words "bona fide seaman," but there is no difference of opinion among the courts as to seamen or those engaged in ocean commerce as to what they mean. A seaman is not necessarily one who handles spars and sails. An engineer is a seaman. A person who in good faith accepts employment upon a vessel to perform any work in connection with the operation of the ship is a bona fide seaman.

Mr. BARKLEY. Regardless of the length of time he has occupied that position?

Mr. KING. I believe that is true. A cabin boy on his first trip, if he is there in good faith and seeks employment and discharges his duty in good faith as a cabin boy, would be a bona fide seaman.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Arizona?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. ASHURST. I wish the Senator would consider adding to the definition, which he has correctly given, this one phrase:

And intends to return to the port whence he departs.

Mr. KING. Yes; that is assumed. I thank the Senator. Of course, if a person enters upon the discharge of the duties of a seaman for the purpose of coming to our shores and then abandoning the ship, he is not a bona fide seaman.

Mr. BARKLEY. That involves the question of intent. After entering on the job he might change his mind and desire to stay in the country at the first port where he landed.

Mr. KING. The Senator knows that in the administration of our criminal statutes the question of intent is sometimes very difficult to determine.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suppose there would be no way to determine it.

Mr. KING. It would be difficult to determine in advance; we are not clairvoyants; and those who administer the law find difficulty in reaching just and fair conclusions when the ascertainment of one's intent is involved.

But it is a question for the inspectors to determine. They have to use their best judgment. They may make mistakes; they make many mistakes now in determining many questions calling for their decisions.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. I myself am very clear as to what this amendment will do, and I may state that I do not agree with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] that there is any doubt about it, because the word "exclusive" is a restriction on the preceding language. However, I understood the Senator from Utah to say that it was his judgment that this provision really expanded the rights of Chinamen. I am not familiar with shipping, but is it true that to-day vessels from foreign countries are not permitted to have Chinese remain upon them in our ports?

Mr. KING. They are not permitted to land them, and they are held there, as I might say, as prisoners. Guards are put over them, as was stated by a Senator on the other side of the Chamber, and they are detained on board the ship. It is the view of many, notwithstanding the exclusion act, that writs of habeas corpus would, upon application, be granted which would release excluded seamen who are held against their will by those in control of vessels. I am inclined to think that a writ of habeas corpus would release them and enable them to land. However, if they secured their freedom, they would be subject to arrest by the Government and to be detained until deported. I might add that the testimony before the committee indicated that large sums were derived annually from fines imposed upon vessels for bringing Chinese and other nationals to the United States in violation of the immigration laws.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield further to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. May I ask the Senator if there is any doubt at all but that if this law shall be passed, it will be an effectual bar, in so far as the Chinese and Japanese are concerned to their securing jobs on any ships in the world which intend to land at ports in the United States?

Mr. KING. There is nothing to prevent their employment, but if they come to the United States they will be subject to deportation, as I interpret this bill.

Mr. BLACK. Then, as a matter of fact, the practical effect of this bill is that, in so far as the racially excluded nationals are concerned, it will be an effective barrier against their obtaining jobs on any vessel in the world that intends to land at a port of the United States. That would be a fair interpretation of it, would it not?

Mr. KING. This bill seeks to prevent the illegal entrance into the United States of persons claiming to be seamen when they are not, whether they be Chinese, Japanese, English, or nationals of any other country. It does not supersede the existing exclusion laws, although it may be deemed a modification in so far as it permits bona fide seamen belonging to races that are excluded to come to our shores as bona fide seamen on ships flying the flag of the nations of which they are citizens. It also requires departing vessels to take away as many seamen as they brought to our shores. For years vessels have entered our ports with full crews, and often with an excess number of persons in their crews, and have departed leaving behind many who entered and with no substitutes to take their places.

Mr. BLACK. I may say to the Senator I can see no possible benefit to these people who are now permitted to come into our ports so long as they do not enter our territory, but since there are two purposes in view, and many of us are thoroughly in sympathy with one purpose but feel that the other purpose is too harsh, is there not some way of dividing section 7?

In so far as the amendment proposing to strike out section 7 altogether is concerned, I am not favorable to it, because I desire to vote with the Senator on the question of preventing the mal-use, if I may use that term, of a job as a seaman, unlawfully to gain admission into this country; but personally I can not bring myself to the point of believing that it is right to put up a barrier against a Chinaman or a Japanese getting a job on any boat in the world and leave it open to a Frenchman or an Englishman or to the nationals of other foreign countries.

Mr. KING. May I say to the Senator that in some countries alien seamen have difficulty in going ashore, because of imposed restrictions. In Australia persons of certain races are not permitted to land. There are restrictions against orientals. Italy has restrictions applied to alien seamen.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. Just a moment. According to a letter which I have just received from an American seaman, in Italy some nationals, including Americans, are not allowed to go ashore. It is a sovereign right of nations to determine who may enter their borders.

Mr. BLACK. I agree with the Senator that it is a matter for each nation to decide in accordance with the established principles of comity existing between them and in consonance with humanitarian principles.

In so far as the racial exclusion law is concerned, I do not consider that that enters into this discussion, because I am not favorable to any movement which will permit a breaking down of our present immigration laws. I have not had a letter either for or against this bill, so far as I know, nor has anyone said anything about any particular section of it to me. My conception of it has come wholly from a study of it here; and, in the respect I have indicated, it runs contrary to the conception I have of fairness and justice to people all over the world, for I can not see, after we exclude a Chinaman from admission into our country, that it is correct for us to pass a law which reaches out the strong arm of the Federal Government and says, "You can not get a job on any boat in the world." I do not believe it is right for us to use our vast power by reason of our superior place in commerce and trade to tell a member of the Chinese race that he shall not get a job on a Danish boat or a Swedish boat. It seems to me to be contrary to the first principles of humanity.





Mr. KING. We do not say that he can not get a job there. The master of a vessel knows, however, that certain races are excluded under the immigration policies of the United States. He knows that if he brings such excluded person into the United States, the latter, under the decisions of courts, may prevail in habeas proceedings, brought to liberate him from enforced control over his person by the master of the vessel upon which he came to the United States. It may be true that after securing his release, he will be taken into custody by an immigration official and deported. The measure before us has the support of organized labor and the seaman's union of the United States. This is their bill, and they have given it serious consideration. In weighing the problems and factors involved in the provisions of this bill, those proposing it believed that under the thirteenth amendment, which forbids involuntary servitude, persons severally excluded from the United States can not legally be held on board any vessel entering our ports.

The master of a vessel under the New Zealand flag or the English flag who ships a person racially excluded from the United States knows, if he brings him here, that the latter may not enter the United States; he knows that that man may not be held on board against his will and that habeas corpus proceedings may be instituted for his liberation. He knows that his vessel may be penalized and compelled to pay a considerable sum to meet the costs of detention and deportation.

What shall we do? We modify the existing law and say to the Japanese and the Chinese and to those who are racially excluded, "You may come, because we do not want to create embargoes against any country, but you must come on a ship of your own nation; you must come under the flag of the country to which you owe allegiance. We will modify existing laws so that if you are a bona fide seaman you may enter the United States and remain 60 days, enjoying the same privileges accorded to bona fide seamen of other nations, but you must then depart; but if you are a mala fide seaman, then you may not come to our shores."

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, if the Senator from Montana will allow me to proceed a moment further, I will say to the Senator from Utah that, in so far as involuntary servitude is concerned, so far as I know, there has been no complaint, there have been no habeas corpus proceedings; but if we are going to use the great power of the United States to keep people from getting jobs, why should we "jump on" the Chinese, a weak race, that is now having its territory threatened with invasion?

Mr. KING. The Senator has no greater concern for the Chinese than have I. I regret the troubles and sorrows to which they have been subjected. I should like to aid and help them in all proper ways, as I should like to extend help to all afflicted peoples. As I have said, the question before us can not be dissociated from prior legislation. That legislation sought to exclude certain races. This bill recognizes the condition thus created and only seeks to make effective the general purpose of such legislation.

Mr. BLACK. I think that is an entirely different question. That is a question with reference to the blending of races. We took the position in this country that it was not for the good of our people, and was contrary to our public policy, to permit people to come in and bring about a blending of races in a way which might be injurious to both. But here no such question is involved. I will join the Senator 100 per cent in any effort to prevent them coming into this country contrary to our laws. I have not the slightest sympathy with the shipowners, subsidized with millions of dollars, who make complaint that it will cost them more to hire American laborers than it will Chinese laborers. I think that suggestion should be discarded; I do not even like to hear it raised in this body; I do not even like to hear the plea made here that the shipowners of this country, who are drawing millions of dollars from the Federal Treasury, are afraid they will have to raise salaries. But we are considering the proposition of enacting a law which will permit Frenchmen to come here, to have jobs on any vessel in the world which will accord like permission to Englishmen and to Swedes.

The sum total of the effect of this proposed law is that we place another barrier against a race which has been struggling over a period of hundreds of years, living in surroundings because of which, perhaps, they are delighted to get jobs as seamen, even if they are held here in subjection for 30 days or 60 days and not permitted to leave the vessel, in order that they may earn a livelihood as seamen. I hope that the Senator will find some way to divide the proposition so that those of us who favor prohibiting their coming here when they are not bona fide seamen can vote for that part of the section but not vote to bar a Chinaman from getting a job on any boat in the world.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. If the Senator from Utah will permit me, it occurred to me that he had not addressed himself particularly to the point raised by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], who, as I understood, did not, as does the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK], question the wisdom of the policy expressed in section 7, but questioned the language employed in order to carry out that policy.

I am inclined myself to think that the language ought to be modified. It reads:

> No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who, if he were applying for admission to the United States as an immigrant, would be subject to exclusion under subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924.

I am of the view that that is all that need be said, and that the subsequent language embarrasses the operation of the act to carry out that policy. That would exclude the Chinaman or the Japanese under the provisions of subdivision (c) of section 13, because they would not be subject to admission under that section, which reads:

> No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien—

And then it gives the excepted clause. So that under this no vessel can bring into a port of the United States one who is ineligible to admission under this provision.

The bill goes on in the next sentence:

> Any alien seaman brought into a port of the United States in violation—

Bear in mind that the first part of the section, so far as I have read, down to the figures "1924" on line 2, operates to exclude those racially barred, and to exclude no one else. The bill continues:

> Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded—

That is just exactly the case. These are racially excluded by the provisions of subdivision (c) of section 13.

There is a great deal of confusion there as to whether the words "not racially excluded" modify both "citizen or subject" or whether they modify only the word "person." Then, that having been done, from that are excluded those who are racially excluded from coming into the United States, which is nothing more nor less than a repetition of the first part of the section. So that the prosecutor who is going to prosecute the proceedings, instead of simply contenting himself by making a charge that the person was excluded under this provision, would be obliged also to demonstrate that the ship was a merchant ship of some foreign nation and that the person was not racially excluded. In other words, we throw an added burden upon the prosecutor without attaining any end at all by any of the language after "1924," on line 2. In other words, what I mean is that the language after "1924," in line 2, down to and including the word "immigrant," on line 9, is utterly superfluous.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am very much interested in the interpretation of the language by the Senator from Montana. It was my understanding, however, that that language permitted a vessel flying the flag of a nation racially excluded, to land in ports of the United States; and if that were stricken out, it would debar, for instance, a Japanese vessel, flying the Japanese flag, from landing in the ports of the United States.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. No; not at all. Section 7 reads:

No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien—

So, if the vessel has on board any alien not eligible to admission under the immigration act, that vessel can not bring in that seaman.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE and Mr. BARKLEY addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. To whom does the Senator from Utah yield?

Mr. KING. I yield first to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is true. The exception is that—

Any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Yes.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. And under this provision, as I read it, vessels flying the Japanese flag could land in the United States, although their nationals or their crews are not permitted to come in as immigrants.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Exactly. A Japanese ship has a crew composed of people not absolutely excluded on racial grounds from admission to the United States.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am supposing that the vessel has a crew of citizens of Japan, who are racially excluded.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Exactly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. This exception would permit that vessel to land in a port of the United States.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. But how, when it says?—

Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded?

We assume, if the crew are Japanese, that they are all racially excluded; so that everybody aboard that ship with a Japanese crew is racially excluded and those can not be brought in. In other words, we simply repeat, in that language, the language which we have in the first part of the section.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Does not the second clause refer to those who may be excluded for other reasons than racial reasons?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. No; it does not, because it provides—

May * * * bring * * * any citizen or subject—

Which might include those that are excluded upon quota grounds; but that is qualified by the language "not racially excluded"—

Any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded.

Mr. BARKLEY. It eliminates those not racially excluded. The ship may bring in those not racially excluded, but at the same time who might be excluded for some other reason.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Yes; but they are not shut out by the first part of the section.

Mr. BARKLEY. But if the Senator's suggestion is followed and only the first part of that section remains, it seems to me it would be impossible for any ship flying the Japanese flag to land. It could not come into port unless it had a crew that was alien to Japan.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. So it would, if this provision were left in the bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think the whole section is so involved that it meets itself coming back.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. The same situation would exist if we left in the language "except," and so forth.

A Japanese ship comes in with a Japanese crew. Why are they not all excluded? They are excluded, obviously, under the first provision of the section; and then the bill says:

Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded—

Her entire crew are racially excluded.

Mr. BARKLEY. If a Japanese ship comes into one of our ports, why is there any objection to allowing it to come in, assuming that it has a crew of its own nationals?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am not arguing the policy of this thing at all.

Mr. BARKLEY. I understand.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am just devoting myself to the language.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is not very clear what the policy of this section is. I am frank to say it is very confusing to me. I do not know what it means; but if the Senator's suggestion is followed, and all of it is stricken out except the first clause, that would make it impossible for a Japanese ship to come into port unless it had a crew made up of aliens to its own country.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Quite right; and if it stands as it is——

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator does not want that to happen, does he?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I should not think so, but that is the effect of it if the language is left. The point I am making is that the thing is not changed at all by any language after "1924," in line 2. It is left exactly the same as it would be if that language were not there at all.

Mr. KING. I am not convinced that the Senator's interpretation of this section is correct, but I ask the Senator if he has any suggestion to make with reference to it?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I should want first to know what the policy is. Who is it that it is desired to admit? That is to say, what persons are we willing should come in? Apparently we are willing that a Japanese crew should come in on a Japanese ship, or that a Chinese crew should come in on a Chinese ship.

Mr. KING. Yes; if the seamen are bona fide seamen.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. It would not be at all difficult to express that; but this language does not do it.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I am not quite able to follow the Senator from Montana. I think the language of section 7 means this, stating it in a paraphrased form:

That the nationals of any country except those who are racially excluded may enter our ports if they are bona fide seamen, not mala fide seamen; that nationals racially excluded under present immigration laws may enter our ports if they are bona fide seamen and are members of crews of vessels of the nation to which they owe allegiance.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. If that is the purpose, it can be expressed very easily.

Mr. KING. Let me amplify that, if the Senator will pardon me. It also means that the nationals of any country, if they are living in colonies or dominions, and those colonies or dominions do not have a flag or a merchant marine of their own, are subject to the same exclusion as are the nationals of the excluded races.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I would suggest that the Senator just put it in this way:

Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring as a member of the vessel's crew any excluded citizen or subject of such nation who is a bona fide seaman thereof.

That is all that is needed.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I agree with the suggestion of the Senator from Montana that the language as em-

braced in the bill, in section 7, does not permit the bringing in of any seaman, however bona fide he may be, who is racially excluded, because the language is:

> Any person not racially excluded who is a bona fide seaman.

If he is racially excluded and is a bona fide seaman, he still can not come in.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. LONG. Then, according to that, a Japanese ship can not come in, and a Chinese ship can not come in. That just closes the ports of the United States to the Far East. Why does it not?

In other words, suppose, as the Senator from Montana says, we take section 7 and after the figures "1924" put a period and stop. It reads in this way:

> No vessel shall, unless such vessel is in distress, bring into a port of the United States as a member of her crew any alien who if he were applying for admission to the United States as an immigrant would be subject to exclusion under subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924.

That means that no vessel can bring in a Chinese or a Japanese—no vessel. Now, as the Senator from Montana suggests, an amendment can be drawn which will permit a Japanese ship to bring in Japanese and permit a Chinese ship to bring in Chinese; but——

Mr. KING. May I say to the Senator that we do not need that? That is already in section 7. It is clear that Japanese upon a Japanese vessel or Chinese upon a Chinese vessel may enter the United States if they are bona fide seamen.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. May I ask the Senator a question? I am seeking information.

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Where is the language which assures that conclusion?

Mr. KING (reading):

> Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation——

Mr. HATFIELD. Where is the Senator reading from?

Mr. KING. The top of page 4.

> Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen—

Japan would be a sovereign nation. China would be a sovereign nation. Returning to the bill:

> Except that any ship of the merchant marine of any sovereign nation may freely bring any excluded citizen or subject of such nation or any person not racially excluded—

There may be some ambiguity if the entire section is not considered.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That is where I think the difficulty arises in connection with the Senator's interpretation.

Mr. KING. It reads:

> Who is a bona fide seaman as a member of the vessel's crew, exclusive, however, of any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of any colony, dependency, or mandate who is racially excluded from coming to the United States as an immigrant.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. LONG. I heard the remarks of the Senator from Montana, and also those of the Senator from Maryland, to the effect that this language is so involved that the concluding clause is not clear enough to permit the admission of anyone. Anyone would be excluded unless there is a clear enough clause to admit him.

Mr. KING. Undoubtedly.

Mr. LONG. It makes no difference if he is excluded, you have given a privilege to a Chinese ship and to a Japanese ship to admit him, which you deny to the American ship. It makes no difference; it is as objectionable one way as the other.

I take it the Senator means that he would not undertake to say that Japanese should not come in here as sailors, and he would not undertake to say that Chinese should not come in here as sailors. I take it that is the Senator's position.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I have stated repeatedly that the purpose of the bill, as it is interpreted by those who drafted it, is to exclude from coming into the United States those who are racially excluded under the law from entering the United States, except that if they are upon a ship of their own nation, and are bona fide seamen, they may come and enjoy the privileges of bona fide seamen, but that notwithstanding they may come upon a vessel of their own nationality, they may not come on the vessel of some other nation.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to one more question?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. LONG. Therefore the Senator gets back to the same proposition, that an American ship with a thousand sailors and one Chinese cook can not bring in what the Chinese ship with a thousand Chinese sailors can bring in?

Mr. KING. The Senator made the same statement yesterday, and I stated then, and repeat now, that under the exclusion laws, whether they were wisely enacted or otherwise I am not considering now, a Chinese may not come to our shores now upon an American ship or upon a Chinese ship. He is excluded. We are not willing to go so far as to say to China, or to Japan, or to any other nation whose nationals are excluded under the immigration laws from coming into the United States, "We will have no commerce with you; we are not willing to go so far as to say that you may not come into our ports under your own flag, with your own nationals, but you may not have your nationals come into our ports under the flag of some other country."

The Senator obviously, if I understand the deductions to be drawn from his question, means that it is unfair for us to deny the right of Chinese to come into our ports on American ships, even though we permit them to enter our ports on Chinese ships when they are bona fide seamen. I am unwilling to say that the vessels of Japan or China shall not come into our ports, or that the ships of those nations shall not come into our ports, if their crews are bona fide.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BLAINE. At first glance the language of the section appears somewhat confusing, and if that confusion is permitted to remain in one's mind very long, it would appear that it was contradictory. But I think it is perfectly clear.

I want the Senator's opinion of what I conceive to be the purpose of the section, and I will try to state it very briefly. The purpose of section 7 is to exclude all sailors who are racially excluded or mentioned in subdivision (c) of section 13 of the immigration act of 1924, except that they may come in on a vessel of the merchant marine of the sovereignty of which they are citizens.

Mr. KING. Exactly.

Mr. BLAINE. There seems to be no confusion about the matter if that is clearly kept in mind. If Great Britain, for instance, has upon one of her ships of the merchant marine a crew made up of subjects of the British Empire, in that case none of that crew may be a citizen or subject, for instance, of India.

Mr. KING. That is right.

Mr. BLAINE. The East Indian being excluded under the immigration act, the British vessel could not bring in a subject of India, because India is under mandate or a colony, or a dependency of Great Britain.

Mr. KING. Exactly.

Mr. BLAINE. As the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] suggests to me, the same applies to the Dutch ships. The whole purpose of the measure is to prevent the coming to America of those persons who are racially excluded, and we recognize the right of nations whose nationals are excluded to engage in commerce with America, and thus we permit them to use a full crew of their own nationality in perfect freedom.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, that is the interpretation I place upon the section. I ask the Senator whether he followed the suggestions made by the Senator from Montana and agrees with the views which that Senator expressed?

Mr. BLAINE. I came into the Chamber just as the Senator from Montana was concluding, I am sorry to say.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, if there are no other questions to be propounded I shall proceed and attempt to discuss the various sections of the bill and answer some of the objections urged against it. I have been so interrupted that it has been impossible to speak with any continuity.

First, let me address myself very briefly to one or two suggestions which have been made by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM]. He seems to be solicitous for American shipping. When he was speaking I called his attention to the fact that within a few weeks many American vessels will be required to carry in their crews at least two-thirds who are Americans.

On the Pacific coast we are employing, I am advised, a number of racially excluded persons upon our ships. If this bill shall not be passed, many American ships, indeed most of those engaged in foreign trade, will be at a disadvantage when the law referred to becomes operative. When they are compelled to employ American citizens to the number of two-thirds of their crews, and other nations are permitted to employ all orientals they desire to employ—and the contention was that the employment of orientals gave an advantage to the ships carrying orientals—then it would seem, according to the Senator's own argument, that he was seeking the disadvantage of American ships.

Mr. WHITE rose.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator from Maine wish to ask a question?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit, the fact of the matter is that the law requiring a two-thirds percentage of American crews applies only to those ships which receive benefits under the merchant marine act of 1928, and out of some 25,000 ships documented in the United States only 266 ships, or about that number, are receiving such benefits.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I identified the matter about which I was talking with the vessels the Senator refers to. I did not mean to make the statement so broad as to comprehend all American ships; but upon the Pacific coast, as the Senator knows, a considerable number of Chinese are being employed, and the principal cargo and passenger ships are those receiving subsidies from the United States.

Mr. WHITE. Upon the Pacific coast, if the Senator will permit me, we have documented approximately 6,500 American vessels. Almost 3,000 of those are registered for the foreign trade, and of that 3,000, only 81 are drawing aid from the Government. Only 81 ships going to the East, or down the west coast of South America out of 3,000 are drawing any governmental aid whatsoever.

Mr. KING. I submit that most of the vessels referred to by the Senator are engaged in coastwise trade or in voyages from coast to coast. My understanding is that most of our ocean trade—cargo and passenger—at the present time is carried by vessels that receive governmental aid. That is particularly true, as I am advised, of the American ships engaged in Pacific Ocean trade.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. How many of those 3,000 are flying the American flag?

Mr. WHITE. Those are all American ships, registered for the foreign trade. There are approximately 3,000; I do not know the exact number.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Senator from Maine must know that this international shipping organization is composed very largely of foreign ships, and that they have so far impregnated—if I may use that expression—our merchant marine as to almost dominate it. It fixes rates, calls conferences, and determines shipping policies. The representative of the international shipping interests has appeared in most if not all of the hearings and has objected to this legislation. One of their attorneys, who has appeared heretofore, came before the committee a few days ago and opposed this bill and stated that the international shipping organization was opposed to it.

To return to the point I was making, the American ships which are receiving a subsidy from the United States will, within a very short time—as I recall, in May—be required, in filling their crews, to employ American citizens to the extent of two-thirds.

On the Pacific coast, as was stated by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM], if I understood him correctly, ships which are not under the American flag employ very largely Chinese and Japanese crews, and he contended that that gave them an advantage. Obviously, if that be true, then, if we are denied the opportunity to employ orientals upon American ships, and other nations are permitted to employ orientals upon their ships, the disadvantage to American shipping becomes accentuated, according to the argument made by the Senator from Connecticut.

If the bill passes, vessels which employ orientals may not bring them into our ports except they are under the flag of their own nation. There is evidence that the wages paid by the Japanese are not very much less than the wages paid to American seamen. They are greater than the wages paid to Chinese seamen and seamen of some European and South American countries. Moreover, the evidence is, as I obtain it from seamen, that upon Japanese ships there are employed nearly double the number of seamen that are employed upon American ships. I make no invidious comparisons. I do not wish any criticism to be drawn from the observation I am making, but it is a fact that one American seaman does do as much as two Japanese or two Chinese seamen.

The Japanese, accepting the policy of Americans in raising wages, have increased wages upon their vessels and are constantly increasing them. There have been two increases in Japanese wages during the past two or three years. Japanese sailors, learning of the high wages paid in the Pacific to American seamen, have demanded increases and are receiving increases, so that the expenses resulting from those higher wages are constantly being augmented.

May I say that we have not suffered very much in the matter of violation of the immigration laws from mala fide Japanese seamen coming to the United States. The Japanese seem to be attached to their ships, and very few, as I am told, Japanese seamen have deserted in our ports. There have been large numbers of Chinese who have deserted, who have come surreptitiously to our shores as mala fide seamen or have been smuggled in.

Returning now to the Chinese. Contrary to the statement made by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM], if I understood him correctly, there are but few Chinese ships which are carrying trade and commerce throughout the world. My friend referred to the fact that the Chinese 4,000 years ago knew of the compass. When American ships appeared in Chinese ports upon American naval craft in the 1850's, there were few, if any, Chinese ships. They had a few junks and small boats of limited tonnage that performed but little service. China is not a maritime nation, and we need have no apprehension as to competition from her in Pacific Ocean transportation.

So that the contention of the Senator from Connecticut that we were going to build up the Chinese marine and commerce and that China will drive our ships from the ocean, it seems to me, has no foundation in fact. As a matter of fact the expense of operating American ships with the seamen we have employed, taking it by and large, is but little, if any, greater than that resulting from the operation of ships under other flags.

The junior Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE] expressed great solicitude for American boys and spoke about the tropical climes to which our ships go, and in the interest of humanity he protested against American boys working upon ships that visit tropical climes. As stated by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] a few days ago, we have millions of boys, men, and women in the United States who would be glad to find occupation anywhere.

The statement was made by one of the Senators on this side of the Chamber a few moments ago that he knew of graduates of universities accepting positions upon ships with a compensation for their labor of $45 a month.

We know that most of the modern ships are comfortable and commodious; they are not like the ships of 50 or 100 years ago. There are comforts and advantages, even for the humblest workman, upon them which many people upon land would be very glad to enjoy. The appeal for the American boy made by the junior Senator from Maine, it seems to me, loses its force in the light of the facts and the economic situation to-day.

Mr. President, the purpose of the bill is manifest and the necessity for it seems obvious. Let me read a statement made by a representative of the Department of Labor who appeared a year or two ago before our committee. He and others testified to the fact that large numbers of seamen deserted, mingled with the population, and remained here, putting the Government of the United States to an expense of millions of dollars to ferret them out and deport them. He stated that upon some of the vessels coming from oriental ports into United States ports there were as many as 50 or 60 or 70 Chinese who became deserters and mingled with the population and, as I indicated, subjected our country to heavy burdens in order to effect their deportation.

When we realize that 500,000 or 600,000 have illegally entered the United States within the past 10 years, most of them under the guise of seamen when they were not, it is obvious that there are leaks in our immigration system which should be repaired.

I invited attention yesterday to a statement made by Secretary Doak that quite recently 100,000 mala fide seamen had come into the United States, that the department was seeking to effect their deportation, and that some of them who had been here more than three years insisted that the running of the statute of limitations prevented their deportation. Fortunately the court construed the law differently from the construction placed upon it by those aliens who had illegally and fraudulently come into the United States, and many are being deported.

How are we going to prevent these constant evasions? The evasions come through men shipping as seamen when they are not. Hundreds and thousands of them are coming into the United States. One can not read the testimony that was given in the hearings a few days ago, as well as testimony given in four or five other hearings, without reaching the conclusion that there must be some supplemental legislation to close the doors against these mala fide seamen who enter the United States.

But to return to the statement I was about to read. One of the most efficient employees of our country was Mr. Hurley, who had been in the Immigration Service for many years. He testified as follows, referring to a particular vessel:

> The owners of the vessel were fined $9,000 for violations of the immigration laws. The agents at Marseille, upon learning of the fate of the master of the steamship *P. L. M. No. 21*, ordered a search of another vessel which was leaving for the United States, and eight contraband aliens were discovered on board. The master of the latter-mentioned vessel lost his position.

May I divert for a moment to say that I have here a statement and report of a number of cases which were tried in Germany in matters brought to the attention of the courts there, where it was alleged that conspiracies existed for the purpose of shipping as seamen persons who had been denied visas and were not eligible to come into the United States. A number of them were convicted in foreign countries for their conspiracies to violate our laws, and apparently the cases involved infractions of domestic laws as well.

In some of those cases, in Germany and Poland, reference was made to the fact that there was a system of smuggling aliens into the United States who were ineligible to entrance for citizenship and who were not admissible to our shores, but who came here as seamen for the purpose, of course, of evading our laws and finding homes in the United States.

Proceeding with the statement which I started to read:

> The steamship *P. L. M. No. 21* belongs to the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean Railway Steamship Co., and I might add, in addition, Mr. Chairman, I read in a report that reached my desk that the chief officer who was in command of the above-named vessel on the return voyage, as Mr. Furuseth has stated, lost his position.

Of course the owners of the boat were fined and the evidence disclosed that the master of the vessel was cognizant of the fact that he was carrying persons who were inadmissible to our shores.

> I would like to say this: That in so far as desertions are concerned, there is considerable truth in the statements made at this hearing that a number of the deserters do reship foreign. Nevertheless a large number, as Senator REED knows, remain in this country in violation of the immigration laws.
>
> Last June I proceeded to the Delaware & Lackawanna Steel Works, located at Tonawanda, N. Y., and investigated a complaint lodged with the department and bureau by American citizens residing in that city, who stated that there were a large number of what they called "ship jumpers" employed in the plant. The man who had charge of the employment service in the plant informed me that there were 400 East Indians, Malays, Arabs, and Africans employed in the plant at that particular time. On the first day, with the assistance of two officers detailed from the Buffalo office, we obtained the sworn statements of 10 aliens who admitted that they had deserted from vessels and had entered the country in violation of the immigration laws.
>
> I made arrangements to return to the plant the following morning.

Remember, there were 400 aliens in that plant.

> When I arrived at the plant the man in charge of the employment service informed me that not one of the class of men above mentioned had shown up that morning for work.

When they learned the immigration officials were on their trail they scattered like chaff and sought hiding places and working places in other portions of the United States.

> I then proceeded to Niagara Falls and made investigation of a complaint against the Carborundum Co., and with the assistance of an officer detailed from the Niagara Falls immigration office I obtained the sworn statements of approximately 40 aliens who admitted that they had entered the country in violation of law, some having entered the country surreptitiously over the Canadian boundary and several as deserting seamen.
>
> I returned to Buffalo and telephoned to the employment agent of the Delaware & Lackawanna plant, who informed me that none of these Malays, etc.—

The ones that he had referred to—the 400—

> had returned to work. In order to satisfy myself of the truth of this statement, I boarded an electric car and proceeded to the plant and notified the superintendent of the employment service that I desired to check up on the men employed in the boiler room. After completing this work I obtained sworn statements from about 20 more aliens.

This was in another plant.

> These aliens were natives of Malay, Africa, East India, or Arabia, and admitted that they had entered the United States in violation of the immigration laws.
>
> These aliens, Mr. Chairman—and this is an absolute fact—when they found out that I was conducting an investigation at this particular plant with a view to ascertaining their right to be and remain in the United States, absconded and proceeded to Perth Amboy, N. J. One of our inspectors attached to the Ellis Island force arrested 29 aliens of the class referred to, who were employed in one of the large industrial plants in Perth Amboy, N. J. The arresting officer informed me that the chief of police of Perth Amboy stated that there are at least 2,000 Malays, East Indians, Arabs, and Africans working in the industrial plants at Perth Amboy and adjacent cities and towns, and that he desired the immigration authorities to deport them, on the ground that they were in the country illegally and that they are engaged in bootlegging, committing all sorts of crimes, and are causing the police considerable trouble.
>
> A few years ago I made an investigation in the anthracite-coal region of Pennsylvania. In one particular plant—the Lehigh-Wilkes-Barre Coal Co., which operates 14 collieries—I arrested 125 to 150 aliens, all of whom admitted that they were deserting seamen.

One hundred and twenty five to one hundred and fifty.

> Furthermore, I conducted investigations in various railroad yards, and I arrested approximately 250 aliens who had entered from vessels without inspection, who were employed as strike breakers, taking the place of union shopmen who were then on strike.
>
> Senator HARRIS. When was that? Last year?
>
> Mr. HURLEY. A year ago last fall, I believe.
>
> Now, gentlemen of the committee, this question of dealing effectively with the cases of deserting alien seamen is a big problem. It is a well-known fact that any of our officers can proceed to any of the large industrial plants in this country—and especially in the eastern part—and if he conducts a careful investigation can discover a large number of aliens who have entered illegally, many of whom will be found to have come to this country as seamen. I recently conducted an investigation of the alleged unlawful presence in Chicago, Ill., of a number of alien gunmen, and among

the 30 aliens who were taken into custody under warrants of arrest several of them admitted under oath that they came to this country as seamen and entered without inspection, remaining here illegally.

He then asked to insert in the record as a part of his testimony an article from the Chicago Daily Tribune entitled "Getting Rid of Murderers." I read now from that article:

Every respectable citizen of Chicago breathes easier and sends a vote of thanks to President Coolidge, Secretary of Labor Davis, the immigration authorities, and the city's own detective bureau. Twenty-one Sicilians, gathered up in the tough dives of the bootleg gangland, face deportation. One hundred others were taken into custody and were passed through the sifting process.

Still other scores, escaping the first dragnet, have packed their bags and fled the city. In one night Federal and local authorities did more to put down such gang murders as have become an unchecked mania in Chicago than all previous efforts put together.

And the end is not yet. More raids are promised, more grillings, and more deportation trials. Jeremiah Hurley, directing supervisor of immigration, is in Chicago at the head of six assistants, and he will stay until the situation is cleared up.

Deportation is the one thing the undesirable alien fears. He has learned he can beat the police and the court and the rope. Graft and pull reduce the hazard of being a hired killer to a minimum, and the pay is big. Taught in his native school of the Mafia and Camorra, the alien gunman makes nothing of committing a murder or half a dozen murders. He makes a trade of it.

How these alien murderers got into the county will do for the next step. Chicago is interested now in getting them out of the country. It had to call in the Federal Government, appeal to the White House, to get the job done. It is grateful to the men who are doing it.

Then Mr. Hurley proceeds:

I do not know what can be done except to adopt some legislation that will tighten up the immigration laws so as to prevent a large number of inadmissible aliens, traveling in the guise of seamen, entering in violation of the immigration laws. * * *

From my experience in dealing with the officials of the International Mercantile Marine and the Cunard Line, I know it will not interfere with the operation of their vessels, for the reason that they are trying to do their very best to obey our laws.

I wish to say in passing, Mr. President, that the evidence before the committees at various hearings indicates that there are some vessels that do everything in their power to prevent mala fide seamen being employed upon them and entering our ports; I wish all vessels would pursue the same course; but the evidence shows, particularly during a number of years in the past, that there seems to have been but little regard upon the part of some of those in charge of vessels paid to the character of those whom they employ. The evidence also shows that many persons paid as much as from $200 to $1,100 to some one in order to be shipped into the United States upon vessels from foreign ports. Furthermore, evidence was offered indicating that $1,100 were paid by some who came to the Pacific coast surreptitiously and in violation of the law, and from $200 to $400 were not infrequently paid by persons who sought illegal entrance into the United States and who shipped from European ports.

A great many came into the United States illegally as seamen, when they were not, from Mediterranean ports—hundreds and thousands of them—and are now to be found, or were to be found, in various ports of the United States, of course, taking the place of American workmen and contributing, as some of them did, to the criminal activities that have brought so much criticism upon our country.

But with the other steamship lines—

Mr. Hurley proceeds—

it is a real problem. On one vessel flying the Greek flag 185 crew men deserted out of a total crew of 350.

One of the provisions of this bill requires vessels departing from our shores to take with them as many seamen as they brought to our shores. Here is an instance where 350 were brought as seamen and the ship departed with only 165:

Eight of the deserters were marine firemen. With the Greek and Spanish lines we are in considerable trouble.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. KING. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, this bill, if enacted into law, would not correct the evil about which the Senator is now talking. The immigration law permits bona fide seamen, no matter whether they can be naturalized in our country, no matter whether they are eligible to citizenship under our usual laws, to come in. The immigration law specifically exempts bona fide sailors. I will make reference to that section of the law, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. KING. May I inquire if my friend from New York contends that there are not deserting seamen who have come to our shores by the thousand and that the greater number of them are mala fide seamen?

Mr. COPELAND. So far as their intent is concerned, of course they were not bona fide seamen, but who can judge that except the man himself? However, the bill the Senator is advocating so eagerly and so eloquently, if passed, will not correct that condition in the least; the situation will be exactly the same, because the bill will permit a Chinese ship to come in manned exclusively by the nationals of that country, and under the immigration law those bona fide seamen of that Chinese ship would be permitted to go ashore.

Mr. KING. There is no question about that.

Mr. COPELAND. Yes. Then the Senator's bill is not in any sense an immigration bill, but relates only to the matter of restriction of the privileges allowed of the crews of vessels.

Mr. KING. The Senator must understand that in life we deal with realities. There is no Utopian land that my friend and I will reach before we pass to the Great Beyond.

Mr. COPELAND. If the Senator from Utah will permit me to say so, perhaps no one in the Senate better understands that fact than I do.

Mr. KING. As a doctor and a philosopher the Senator does.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, may I inquire if the Senator from Utah desires to pursue his argument further at this time?

Mr. KING. I will yield to the Senator in order that an executive session may be had, as I understand that is the program.

Mr. McNARY. That is the intention a little later, but in the meantime I understand the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] desires to submit a conference report, if the Senator from Utah will be kind enough to yield.

Mr. KING. I yield the floor for the present.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. JONES submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 16 and 24.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, and 45, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 9: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 6, 7, and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out "$90,000, of which sum $70,000 is made available for the payment of salaries in the District of Columbia" and insert in lieu thereof "$20,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In

lieu of the sum proposed insert "$225,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"OFFICE OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC PARKS OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

"Mount Vernon Memorial Highway: Not to exceed $4,000 of the appropriation 'Salaries, maintenance, and care of buildings, 1932,' and $10,000 of the appropriation 'General expenses, maintenance, and care of buildings, 1932,' contained in the independent offices appropriation act, fiscal year 1932, are hereby made available for the fiscal year 1932, for the maintenance of the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway and other Federal lands authorized by the act of May 29, 1930 (46 Stat. 482)."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

"The amount authorized to be deducted from appropriations for the fiscal year 1932 for the Indian Service and placed to the credit of the appropriation for contingent expenses, Department of the Interior, for the purchase of stationery supplies, is hereby increased from $50,000 to $55,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 17: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert the following:

"Traveling and miscellaneous expenses: The Secretary of the Treasury, upon request of the Attorney General, is authorized to transfer to the appropriation 'Traveling and miscellaneous expenses, Department of Justice, fiscal year 1932,' not exceeding $12,000 from any other appropriation for the fiscal year 1932 under the control of the Department of Justice."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out all of the matter inserted by said amendment after the numerals "1931" in line 10; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Navy Department, except the claim of Harry D. Simons as set forth on page 7 of said Senate Document No. 46, $1,711.88."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 31: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 31, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"War Department, except the claims of Dee Tian and Judge Anacleto Diaz as set forth on page 25 of said Senate Document No. 46, $2,550.70."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 32: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 32, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$37,107"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 42: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 42, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "independent offices" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "United States Shipping Board"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference have not agreed on amendments numbered 15 and 23.

W. L. JONES,
FREDERICK HALE,
HIRAM BINGHAM,
CARTER GLASS,
KENNETH MCKELLAR,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

JOSEPH W. BYRNS,
J. P. BUCHANAN,
WILL R. WOOD,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

THE GOLD STANDARD AND BRITISH TRADE

Mr. MCNARY obtained the floor.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me in order that I may send to the desk and ask to have read a short letter from M. H. Dodge?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oregon yield for that purpose?

Mr. MCNARY. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I send the letter to the desk and ask that it may be read.

There being no objection, the letter was read and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH., *January 22, 1932.*

Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER,
Senator from Montana, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We have just received a copy of a newspaper, The Samachar, from Zanzibar, Zanzibar Island, issue of November 22, 1931, that contains an article that we believe will be of interest to you. We take pleasure in quoting the article.

"THE GOLD STANDARD AND THE BRITISH TRADE

"Proofs are accumulating to show that the suspension of the gold standard in England has given an extraordinary push to British trade and industry in general. The Manchester Association, of Importers and Exporters, Reuter says, have sent a statement to the Premier, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and president of the board of trade urging that the Government should give an assurance that there is no present intention of returning to the gold standard. It is a conundrum for economists. The fall of the sterling led to the suspension of the gold standard in England. But this fall at once reduced the prices of British manufacturers by 20 to 25 per cent and placed British manufacturers at a great advantage as compared with the other manufacturing countries of the world with whom Britain was up to now unable to compete owing to her goods being much costlier. The result is that unemployment is getting reduced by leaps and bounds, as claimed by the new national Government, and all the business centers of Great Britain are humming with business activity. The boycott of Japanese goods in China has also come in handy. No wonder that the said Manchester association should be eager for an announcement by the Government that the gold standard would not be resumed, at least at present.

"All this leads to the shrewd suspicion that this suspension of the gold standard and such other steps taken of late by Great Britain were a very clever ruse—a very well-staged play—to find a way out of the recent falling off in British trade and industry under the camouflage of the financial stringency, which it is claimed led the British Government to adopt the said measures to stave off further fall in sterling and to balance the budget, and so on. Whatever it may be, the suspension of the gold standard has undoubtedly done an immense good to British trade."

It is certain many heartily approve of your bill relating to the remonetization of silver, but few will take the trouble to tell you so. More power to you in your good work.

Yours respectfully,

THE TANGLEFOOT CO.,
(THE O. & W. THUM CO.),
M. H. DODGE,
Foreign Sales Manager.

P. S.—Many believe that unless such action is taken it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to recover our export trade.—M. H. D.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MCNARY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. McNARY. At the request of several Members who are absent, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ind.
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Schall
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Sheppard
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Shipstead
Barkley	Dill	King	Smith
Bingham	Fess	La Follette	Smoot
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Steiwer
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Stephens
Borah	George	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glass	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glenn	McKellar	Townsend
Broussard	Goldsborough	McNary	Trammell
Bulkley	Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Bulow	Hale	Morrison	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harris	Moses	Wagner
Capper	Harrison	Neely	Walcott
Caraway	Hatfield	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Hawes	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Hayden	Nye	Waterman
Coolidge	Hebert	Oddie	Watson
Copeland	Howell	Patterson	Wheeler
Costigan	Hull	Pittman	White

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The VICE PRESIDENT. Reports of committees are in order.

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters, which were placed on the Executive Calendar.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President, the nomination of General Dawes for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the nominations of the other members have been approved by the Committee on Banking and Currency and the reports have been handed in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. They have been handed in.

Mr. NORBECK. I desire at this time to ask unanimous consent to take up the nomination of General Dawes.

Mr. HARRISON. Will not the Senator ask that all of them be considered by unanimous consent?

Mr. NORBECK. Certainly. I thought I would take one at a time.

Mr. HARRISON. I see. The Senator, then, intends to follow his request by asking unanimous consent to consider the others?

Mr. NORBECK. Yes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I desire to enter an objection. I do not think we ought to be hasty in confirming nominees for such important positions as those to which these gentlemen have been appointed. Therefore, I think the matter should take its regular course.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations will remain on the calendar.

If there be no further reports of committees, the calendar is in order.

TREATY

The Chief Clerk announced Executive KK (70th Cong.), a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929.

Mr. McNARY. In the absence of the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], I ask that the treaty go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the treaty will go over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Frank Evans, of Utah, to be a member of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. McNARY. I ask that the nominations for the Federal Farm Board go over for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, they will go over.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION—WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of William E. Humphrey, of Washington, to be Federal trade commissioner for the term expiring September 25, 1938.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I made inquiry yesterday as to whether hearings had been held on this nomination, and I was advised that they had been held. I should like to ask the chairman of the committee who reports the nomination what developed in those hearings.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, the full Committee on Interstate Commerce held hearings on the question of the confirmation of Mr. Humphrey. Everyone who asked for an opportunity to be heard was heard. So far as I understand, the principal objections made to Mr. Humphrey were not sustained, because there seemed to be a misunderstanding. The Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] was at the hearings; and, as I recall, while I was not present all the time, Representative PATMAN conceded that the charges that he had in mind did not apply to Mr. Humphrey, or at least not exclusively to him.

After the hearings had exhausted themselves, the committee reported Mr. Humphrey's nomination favorably. As I recall, the only objection on the part of those present was raised by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART]. The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] was not present, although I understood that he had some objection to Mr. Humphrey's confirmation. Outside of that, there was no objection from the committee.

The hearings were extensive. They were not printed, but they are available to anyone. The reason why they were not printed was because it did not seem to be necessary, and they are available to anyone who may desire to read them.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I held the nomination of Mr. Humphrey up in the committee and it developed in the hearing that when Mr. Humphrey was first appointed upon the Federal Trade Commission he was and had been attorney for some of the lumber interests of the northwestern part of this country. In other words, he had been a lobbyist for them here in Washington.

He was appointed on the commission, however, and served on the commission at least one term, and since he has been on the commission matters relating to the lumber industry have been assigned to him. It is quite natural that that should have been done because he was a lobbyist for them prior to the time he was put on the commission.

Whether he has acted unfairly since he has been on the commission with reference to those interests I am unable to say, but it is quite in keeping with the policy of the present administration and of the previous administration to appoint lobbyists on these commissions to take care of the industries which the commissions were created to look after.

Mr. President, in addition to that Mr. Humphrey represented Mr. Blair Coan, who, the Senate will remember, was sent out to Montana with the idea of "getting" both my colleague and myself. He did appear for him, and I am told he received a fee of only $200. That was previous to the time he was put upon the commission, however.

In addition to that, I think it must have been quite evident to many who heard the testimony before the committee that Mr. Humphrey was, to say the least, not entirely competent for the position to which he has been appointed. Outside of that he is all right, and I am afraid that if somebody else is appointed, we will get some one just as bad as he is.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] has already made a statement with reference to what transpired in the committee with regard to the hearings. I am not a member of the committee, but I was present. As suggested by the Senator, the particular matters which were called to the attention of the committee by a Representative from my State seemingly were satisfactorily explained, so far as that Representative was concerned.

I want to indicate my opposition to the confirmation of Mr. Humphrey, because I regard him as not qualified by his

past associations, or by his outlook, properly to represent the public on the Federal Trade Commission. One of the chief functions of that body is to investigate and correct trade practices of the great corporations and other commercial interests of the United States. I do not regard Mr. Humphrey as being in sympathy with the spirit of the law establishing the commission. I regard him as one who is in sympathy with the identical interests he is supposed to correct and regulate through the Federal Trade Commission.

I refer particularly to the matter of the adoption by various industries of what are known as trade practices. I believe that many of those trade practices, frequently initiated by the industries and approved by the Federal Trade Commission, become the shield behind which such industries violate the antitrust laws. They become a refuge rather than an instrument of correction and regulation by the Federal Trade Commission.

I was not a Member of this body at the time, but I recall when Mr. Humphrey was first appointed to the Federal Trade Commission. I did not then regard him as qualified, if we are to consider the public interest, for that position. I remember that shortly after his appointment as Federal trade commissioner he made a public address, in which he indicated, in effect, that under his administration business was to have a free hand, that business was not to be interfered with by the Government, clearly implying, of course, that big business, in the respects in which the Federal Trade Commission was supposed to regulate it and correct its abuses, was not to be annoyed and harassed by the commission under his direction.

I refer particularly, among other trade practices and conference agreements adopted, to that of the oil industry. In the hearings Mr. Humphrey stated that he did not vote for that trade conference agreement, but the facts developed that while he had not voted for the first trade practice agreement in the petroleum industry, because he was absent at that time, he had on a subsequent occasion, when a new trade conference agreement on petroleum had been presented, voted for it, and that is the trade conference agreement being observed now by the oil companies throughout the United States.

In view of the report of the committee, opposition may be futile, but I want to register my vote against the confirmation of Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I would be satisfied on this occasion to have a roll-call-record vote to register my vote against this confirmation and to say nothing about it, because on a former occasion, when Mr. Humphrey was first appointed, I went into some detail as to why I felt I could not vote for his confirmation. I do not care to go into that now, as it is in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I feel now as I did then. I think I stated on the former occasion—and if I did not I want to state now—that I am moved in my opposition to Mr. Humphrey's confirmation by no personal feeling whatever against Mr. Humphrey. It just happened that my first election to Congress was to the Fifty-eighth Congress, and Mr. Humphrey came to the same Congress and we were inducted into office at the same time.

In those days in the House of Representatives, under a very long established practice, newcomers were expected to, and did, remain quiet for quite a while. I see my friend the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] smiling at that assertion. If he wants to contradict it, I will yield to him now.

Mr. WATSON. I am in entire agreement with the Senator, and both the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Indiana religiously observed the custom.

Mr. NORRIS. In fact, if we did not religiously observe it we were put out of church pretty quickly. We found that that was the only way to get along.

I mention this only to show that newcomers flocked by themselves; they were in a class by themselves, and therefore those who came in at the same time usually became very well acquainted. So I became very well acquainted with Mr. Humphrey. I hope I am not stretching the truth a particle when I say that we were very good friends, and, as far as I know, we have always remained personal friends since.

Mr. President, I think Mr. Humphrey is not constituted in a way that qualifies him for the position to which he has been appointed. He possesses the ability; as far as I know, he is perfectly honest and reliable, but his viewpoint is such that it seems to me he never ought to be appointed to a position on the Federal Trade Commission, which body has to deal with practices of big corporations and unfair competition between corporations and the smaller fry.

I think Mr. Humphrey is perfectly conscientious in his viewpoint. At least, I have no information to the contrary, and I am assuming that that is true. I think he is a very good lawyer and would make an excellent showing trying a lawsuit. But in all the service I had with him, which extended over a good many years, in various controversies which took place in the House of Representatives between those who I thought were moved by machine control and boss influence in politics, there never was any doubt where Mr. Humphrey would land or where he would go or where he belonged. Never in a single instance did he ever vary, so far as I know, in lining up where his friends, as well as his enemies, knew he would line up.

I agree entirely with what the Senator from Texas has said. I get my idea from my own personal knowledge, and while I realize that Mr. Humphrey may be right in all controversies and I be wrong, nevertheless, holding the ideas which I entertain, I would not for a moment consider a man with the viewpoint of Mr. Humphrey for a position of this kind. There are other positions which I think he would be perfectly well qualified to fill, and I would be glad to support him for such positions if he were nominated for them.

The Senator from Texas referred to trade organizations. I do not want to criticize those who believe in such organizations and in their practices. They may be all right. In my judgment, they are all wrong, a hundred per cent wrong.

No one is a more outstanding representative of those organizations, no one believes in them and the various methods to which they have resorted, which, in my judgment, result always in a circumvention of law, than the President himself, who has made many speeches, some of which I read on the floor of the Senate when he was Secretary of Commerce; he always being called upon to deliver the key speech whenever these great organizations met. So he selected a man for this position who I think agrees with him entirely from an economic point of view.

I concede, of course, that people who have such views have just as good a right to them as I have to mine; that they may be right and that I may be wrong. I concede their conscientious convictions, but in my judgment the little man, about whom we ought to be careful and whose rights ought to be guarded with jealous care, never gets a square deal when he comes into court or comes before a commission composed of men, however honest and able they may be, who hold such views.

For these reasons I am opposed to the confirmation of Mr. Humphrey. I wanted to say this much so that the RECORD might show, if there is to be no roll call, that I would vote against his confirmation.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I think it is my duty to state that when Mr. Humphrey's name came up certain complaints were lodged against him by a Representative from Texas, Mr. PATMAN. He appeared in person and made specific charges. The gravamen of the charges was that certain combinations or certain organizations had come, at their own instance, as I understood, and asked to go before a member or members of the Federal Trade Commission and lay before them certain rules governing their practices and to get their approval by the Federal Trade Commission.

As to the specific points brought out by the Representative from Texas as being detrimental to competition, a certain combination killing competition, Mr. Humphrey categorically denied that he participated in them, stating that, on the contrary, he believed such combinations were destructive of helpful and legitimate competition and that he voted against them.

The chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce is present, and I would like to have his attention for just a

moment. I have made the statement that the charges which were brought by the Representative from Texas, Mr. PATMAN, specifically set out that Mr. Humphrey categorically denied that he voted for these practices which were proposed to be adopted, but contrary to his views. Am I correct or not?

Mr. COUZENS. That is my understanding, so far as it applies to the cotton industry.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I said the charges that were brought. Subsequently the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] asked certain questions in reference to the oil industry. Mr. Humphrey was not as clear and specific with reference to his attitude toward the petroleum industry, but he left the impression on the committee by his denial and his statement that he was opposed to trade practices that look toward a suppression of healthful and legitimate competition. That was the general tenor of his attitude before the committee. He cited us to the record, which he states can be obtained at the Federal Trade Commission, as his vote and his attitude.

I felt that it was my duty to make this statement. I have known Mr. Humphrey only as a candidate for the position he now occupies and very casually as a member of the commission, but I was very much surprised, when the charges were brought, at the frankness with which he denied them and seemingly satisfied Mr. PATMAN, the Representative from Texas.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I know how utterly futile it is for me to rise and undertake to oppose the confirmation of any of these nominations. However, I want to take this opportunity to place myself on record with reference to the policy of the administration and its members in reaching out into the affairs of every industry supposed to be regulated in this country and appointing their representatives to sit on these bodies which are supposed to supervise their affairs. We have had our laws nullified by the activities of appointees of this kind. It seems to be the unvarying custom of this and the previous administration, as it was exemplified in the case of a vacancy on the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court stood 4 to 4 on the valuation of the public utilities of the United States, and a vacancy was to be filled. The then acting administration, similar to the present administration, reached out and appointed as the ninth member of the Supreme Court of the United States one of the leading corporation attorneys of the country who had been maintaining the very view upon which the Supreme Court of the United States at that time was divided. Such appointments have nullified the Power Commission, they have nullified the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and have nullified the Trade Commission in the same manner. I intend to vote against the confirmation of every such man who seeks reappointment on these commissions.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I do not think it is necessary to say anything in regard to Mr. Humphrey in view of the fact that no charges have been sustained. I have known Mr. Humphrey for nearly 40 years, and I am glad to hear the statement here that there is really no question as to his honesty and his integrity. He and I may not always have agreed with reference to various propositions. When he was named before, I felt satisfied as to his honesty, his integrity, and his sincerity of purpose. I am glad that after six years of service there is no question raised in regard to those matters.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination?

Mr. NORRIS. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAILEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE], but I understand that he would vote, if present, as I propose to vote. Therefore I am at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. BARKLEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN]. I understand that if present he would vote as I intend to vote. Therefore I am free to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. JONES (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] during his absence. I find that I can transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HASTINGS], which I do, and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I am paired with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED]. I withhold my vote.

Mr. FESS. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] is necessarily absent on official business.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the following-named Senators are detained on official business: The Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. BULOW].

The result was announced—yeas 53, nays, 28, as follows:

YEAS—53

Ashurst	Davis	Jones	Smoot
Austin	Dickinson	Kean	Steiwer
Bailey	Dill	Kendrick	Thomas, Idaho
Barbour	Fess	Keyes	Townsend
Barkley	Glenn	Lewis	Trammell
Bingham	Goldsborough	McNary	Tydings
Broussard	Hale	Metcalf	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harrison	Moses	Wagner
Capper	Hatfield	Oddie	Walcott
Carey	Hawes	Patterson	Watson
Coolidge	Hayden	Robinson, Ind.	White
Copeland	Hebert	Schall	
Couzens	Hull	Shipstead	
Dale	Johnson	Smith	

NAYS—28

Black	Cutting	La Follette	Norris
Blaine	Fletcher	Logan	Nye
Borah	Frazier	Long	Sheppard
Bratton	George	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glass	McKellar	Walsh, Mass.
Bulkley	Gore	Morrison	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	King	Norbeck	Wheeler

NOT VOTING—15

Bankhead	Harris	Pittman	Stephens
Bulow	Hastings	Reed	Swanson
Caraway	Howell	Robinson, Ark.	Waterman
Costigan	Neely	Shortridge	

So the Senate advised and consented to the nomination of Mr. Humphrey as a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

POSTMASTERS

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. ODDIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that action will be taken.

THE NAVY

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Navy.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I ask that nominations in the Navy be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order will be made. That completes the calendar.

TREATIES

Mr. BORAH, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably the following treaty and convention:

Executive A, Seventy-second Congress, first session, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights with Poland, signed at Washington on June 15, 1931; and

Executive FF, Seventieth Congress, second session, a convention of maritime neutrality, adopted on February 20, 1928, at the Sixth International Conference of American States at Habana, Cuba.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The reports will be placed on the calendar.

The Senate resumed legislative session.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 252) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

INCREASES IN CURRENCY CIRCULATION

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I have recently had some correspondence with Secretary of the Treasury Mellon requesting his views on a proposal to attach the circulating privilege to an additional issue of United States bonds, so that provision would be made for an increase in the national-bank circulation up to the authorized limit. I ask that this correspondence be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of the Senate and the public.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The correspondence is as follows:

JANUARY 15, 1932.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It is being suggested in many quarters that further increases in currency circulation will contribute to the relief of the existing credit stringency. In this connection it is pertinent to observe that though the national banks of the country are permitted by law to issue national-bank notes, secured by Government circulation bonds, to an amount not exceeding their total paid-in capital, the existing national-bank-note circulation is considerably less than one-half of the possible authorized total.

On September 29, 1931, the date of the last call of the Comptroller of Currency upon the national banks for a statement of their condition, for which the figures are yet available, a total of 6,658 national banks reported total paid-in capital of $1,656,374,000. On December 31, 1931, the total of the national-bank notes outstanding was reported as $656,402,000. Here is a permitted margin on our bank-note circulation, roundly, of $1,000,000,000 which is not at present being utilized.

Though the national banks theoretically may issue their bank notes to the limit of their paid-in capital, they are in fact greatly restricted in this privilege by reason of the fact that sufficient circulation bonds for this purpose are not available.

The Treasury statement of the public debt as of October 31, 1931, shows that the Government's circulation bonds, bearing 2 per cent interest, then outstanding totaled $674,625,580. These comprised the so-called consols of 1930, issued in 1900, of which $599,724,000 are outstanding, and the two issues of Panama Canal 2 per cent bonds, 1916–1936, of $48,954,180, and 1918–1938, of $25,947,400.

It is self-evident, therefore, that at the present time the national-bank-note circulation is held down below $700,000,000, as compared with a possible $1,650,000,000. It occurs to me that this situation offers the opportunity to increase substantially the currency circulation, if that be in fact desirable, and at the same time furnish a ready market for a substantial issue of Treasury bonds at a low coupon rate.

It would appear entirely possible to issue at this time circulation bonds, with a coupon rate of not over 2¼ per cent, totaling approximately a billion dollars, with the assurance that the national banks would absorb this issue, and by issuing their own bank notes, not only increase the currency circulation but in no wise impair their own cash position, since their own bank notes would offset their investment in the new issue of circulation bonds.

The Treasury by this operation could fund on a long-term basis, at a low interest rate, some of the present short-term indebtedness. Or if that were deemed inexpedient, the capital requirements of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which the Treasury is to be called upon to supply, to the amount of $500,000,000, and the Treasury's contribution of $125,000,000 of capital funds to the Federal land banks, could be safely and easily met by an issue of circulation bonds.

I shall highly appreciate information as to whether the Treasury deems such steps expedient and desirable; and, if not, the reasons therefor.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID I. WALSH.

Hon. ANDREW W. MELLON,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, January 21, 1932.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of January 15, 1932, in which you ask my comment on the proposal to attach the circulation privilege to an additional issue of United States bonds, so that provision will be made for an increase in the national-bank circulation up to its authorized limit. This would mean additional bonds bearing the circulation privilege to the amount of about $1,000,000,000.

There are now outstanding about $675,000,000 United States 2 per cent bonds bearing the circulation privilege, and about $665,000,000 of these bonds are deposited with the Treasurer of the United States as security for the issue of circulating notes by national banks. If $1,000,000,000 additional bonds bearing the circulation privilege were made available and the coupon rate fixed at 2¼ per cent, the outstanding 2 per cent bonds would be adversely affected unless the tax rate on circulation were made to conform. Moreover, with a total of $1,675,000,000 bonds outstanding bearing the circulation privilege, all with a coupon rate under the market, it would seem that unless all such bonds were used as security for the issue of national-bank currency the market for all these bonds would be adverse. I have no evidence before me that would warrant the belief that the circulation of national banks could be increased some $1,000,000,000 even were it thought desirable.

The Congress, in the Federal reserve act, made provision for an elastic currency responsive to the requirements of business. In the present depression there has been no currency shortage, and although there has been a great increase in the currency outstanding, the Federal reserve system has met the increase without strain. If the suggestion conveyed in your letter were adopted, the total circulation of national banks might be increased, but in view of the existing provision for currency supply, any such increase would in all probability be offset through retirements of Federal reserve notes. I believe such a change would be unwise, as national bank circulation is not elastic, as is the case with Federal reserve notes, and is not immediately responsive to changing conditions.

If the country were confronted with a currency shortage, or if the established provision for currency supply were deemed inadequate, it might be urged with very good reason that, as an emergency measure, provision be made for increasing the national-bank circulation. I do not find the conditions now existing would warrant such action.

Very truly yours,

A. W. MELLON,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE NORTHWEST

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. President, for many weeks there has been a hearing going on in my State conducted by the governor which is of interest to all the farmers of Minnesota and, I am sure, of great interest to the farmers of all the agricultural States.

The hearing somewhat covers the ground of the fight that has been going on for 25 years between the cooperatives representing the farmers in an effort to cooperatively market farm products and the private grain exchanges.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech of the counsel in behalf of the Farmers Union pertaining to the hearing be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CLOSING ARGUMENT OF TOM DAVIS, OF MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., COUNSEL FOR THE FARMERS UNION TERMINAL ASSOCIATION, IN THE HEARING BEFORE HON. FLOYD B. OLSON, GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA, JANUARY 18, 1932

Your Excellency, a hearing without parellel in the history of this State has now come to a close.

A fraud—a colossal fraud—which has clutched at the throats of the farmers of the Northwest for 50 years has been dragged out into the light of day.

The chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers of the Nation are now on trial before you.

For years the farmers of this country have been fighting for economic justice and for a marketing system which would protect them from the unjust and gigantic tribute exacted by the grain gamblers of America.

For the first time in our history, laws have been enacted for the purpose of enabling the farmers and producers to market their products and to sell their grain on a nation-wide scale without paying tribute to grain gamblers, boards of trade, and chambers of commerce all over this country.

These selfish interests could not stop the passage of such laws, and they were passed as a result of the efforts of the Farmers Union Terminal Association and some other cooperatives and farm organizations.

When these laws were passed, those interests which had enjoyed the privilege of making a profit out of the needs of the farmers realized that if this movement were successful the most gigantic graft of the ages—the robbery and despoliation of the farmers of America—would be forever at an end.

The chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers knew that honest men were at the head of the Farmers Union Terminal Association. They knew that millions of dollars were brought into this Northwest area for the benefit of the farmers, the business men, and the small bankers through the efforts of the Farmers Union Terminal Association and other cooperatives. They realized that the cooperative movement was going to be a success. They

knew they could not successfully attack the program of the Farmers Union Terminal Association in the open.

A CAMPAIGN OF FALSEHOOD

The chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers have resorted to a campaign of propaganda and falsehood against the Farmers Union Terminal Association and the cooperative movement. This proceeding is a part of that campaign and the most glaring example of their corruption, their perfidy, and their dishonesty.

The ostensible purpose of this proceeding was an effort upon the part of Senator Mullin to remove the railroad and warehouse commission of Minnesota because of certain acts falsely charged against the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

The real purpose was to destroy the cooperative movement and to destroy the faith of the people in the laws which have been enacted for their benefit. The Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis did not dare to bring these proceedings in their own name and they have used Senator Mullin as a smoke screen to assist the grain gamblers in destroying the cooperative movement. They never expected, and do not now expect, to remove the railroad and warehouse commission in this proceeding.

Throughout all these tedious proceedings, the pretended purpose of which was an attack upon the honesty and integrity of one of the best friends the farmers of Minnesota ever had—the Hon. O. P. B. Jacobson—the real purpose and the real people stand out as clear as day.

The men and women on the farms, in the factories, and homes of Minnesota can follow with ease the slimy, crooked trail which like a serpent runs through all these proceedings.

That trail, your excellency, leads to the door of the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis.

This proceeding was initiated by the chamber of commerce. It reeks with the perjury and fraud of officials and employees of the chamber of commerce. It has but one purpose and one objective, and that is to destroy the cooperative movement in the Northwest.

ATTACK AIMED AT FARM BOARD

This pretended attack upon the railroad and warehouse commission is, in fact, an attack upon the Farm Board. It is an attack upon the marketing act. It is an attack upon the Grain Stabilization Corporation—all under the dishonest guise of a silly attempt to get you to remove the railroad and warehouse commission.

This is a result which relator and his attorneys never hoped to attain.

This is a result which would stamp these proceedings as pure politics and as partisan propaganda.

This the Governor of Minnesota will never be a party to.

This the ruler of our sovereign State will never lend his hand to.

And why?

Because the charges made by relator have not been proven.

Because the evidence relied upon by relator and his attorneys to bolster their tottering tissue of falsehoods reeks with fraud, with cunning, with conniving, and the rankest perjury ever known in any proceeding, judicial or otherwise, in the history of our State.

Because the chamber of commerce, and it alone, is responsible for and initiated this hearing in an effort to discredit the marketing act.

Because the grain gamblers would use your high office to strike at the one law, the Federal marketing act, which gives to the producers and farmers of this Nation hope for economic justice and fair dealing.

The Farmers Union Terminal Association came into this hearing to answer, not only the false charges against the Farmers Union Terminal Association but the dishonest attack against the marketing act.

The Farmers Union Terminal Association came into this hearing to call the bluff of the chamber of commerce and to drag them out into the light of day where the people of Minnesota and this Northwest can see the fraud, the corruption, the deceit, the treachery of this octopus which has strangled the farmers and producers and which now seeks to destroy the laws which were enacted for their benefit.

We now demand that the chamber of commerce be put where they belong before the people of this Nation.

The Farmers Union Terminal Association came into this hearing because they wanted to, and not because they had to.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PLOT UNCOVERED

The chamber of commerce came into this hearing, not because they wanted to but because they had to. We dragged them in by their heels and held them up so that the people could see once and for all who the real crooks and the real thieves are.

Some of their officials have perjured themselves before the governor of this State in an effort to protect the chamber of commerce in this dirty transaction.

When these charges were first made and first laid before your excellency they were heralded from the front pages of the newspapers of the Northwest, and there was created in the minds of the people the false notion that the Farmers Union Terminal Association had been guilty of misconduct.

How utterly these charges have fallen, and yet how shamelessly have the interests desiring to destroy a cooperative organization persisted in trying to poison the public mind against men and against an institution that are giving the best that is in them for the welfare of the farmers of this Nation.

Sitting in the background and spending the money of the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers in an effort to put across this kind of a deal are Mr. McHugh, the secretary of the chamber of commerce, and his assistant, Eddie Hughes, the runaway witness who was afraid to face the music and tell the truth.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PAID THE BILL

These were the men who furnished the ammunition for this dastardly, dishonest attack against the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the marketing act, the Grain Stabilization Corporation, and the Farm Board.

Not a single one of their charges has been proven; not a single one of their aspersions and privileged libels and slanders has been established.

In order to bring this proceeding to remove the railroad and warehouse commission, it was not necessary for relator and his counsel to make unjust and dishonest charges in their petition against the Farm Board, the Grain Stabilization Corporation, and the marketing act.

Only one interest could profit by creating in the minds of the people a distrust of the marketing act and of the agencies set up to give relief to the farmers of the Northwest. That interest is the grain gamblers of this Nation.

We intervened because these charges were leveled at an organization that has fought the farmers' battles. Because the real purpose back of this proceeding was to tear down the faith of the farmers and the people in the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

This was the result which the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers hoped to accomplish.

This is the first shot in a battle which must go on until the farmers of this Nation, through laws and through organization, have the right to market their products without becoming the victims of the chamber of commerce or the grain gamblers of this land.

The Farmers Union Terminal Association is a cooperative organization, owned and controlled by its stockholders, who are farmers and producers. They, and they alone, elect their board of directors who, in turn, elect their officers.

It is an organization in which every stockholder has a voice and its purpose has been and will be to give to the farmers some real service in the marketing of their products.

These proceedings, with McHugh, of the chamber of commerce in the background, were intended to destroy the names and reputations of not only elected public officials but of men and of organizations who are honestly and sincerely fighting for the public welfare.

No name has been too sacred, no reputation too honored, but what it has been attacked by those responsible for this proceeding.

CHARACTER ASSASSINS

The chamber of commerce desires above all else to destroy the faith of the people in Mr. Huff, the president of the Farmers National Grain Corporation, and in Mr. Thatcher, general manager of the Farmers Union Terminal Association. The grain gamblers know that the ability and integrity of these two men are unquestioned. They know that the farmers of the Northwest are fully aware of the sacrifices and the hardships these men have endured and of the work they have done in behalf of the producers.

The institutions which can profit most by destroying the faith of the people in these loyal and able servants are the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis and the Chicago and Duluth Boards of Trade.

Let us analyze the charges contained in relator's complaint.

The one thought that should be constantly kept in mind is this: If these ridiculous charges made against the Farm Board, the Stabilization Corporation, and the marketing act were proven, who could hope and expect to profit by such a contingency? None could hope to gain or profit by such a result but the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis and the grain gamblers of this Nation.

THE MARKETING ACT

On page 1 of petitioner's complaint we find an allegation quoting the marketing act. Now, it may be said that these allegations and others contained on some five pages of this so-called complaint were essential to a proper understanding and presentation of this matter. But counsel for relator are insisting that you remove the railroad and warehouse commission for certain illegal acts. If they should be removed for illegal acts, it would make no difference whether such acts charged against the commission had been committed by a cooperative organization or by a member of the chamber of commerce.

Why are these things in the complaint?

Who wanted them there?

What have they to do with the specific charges of wrongdoing?

These charges have nothing to do with this proceeding. The broadcasting of these charges, dishonest as they are, constituting the most baseless slanders ever set on foot, can do only one thing and that is to cause the people to lose faith in their Government and in the laws passed for the good of all instead of for the profit of the few.

After particularly alleging the set-up of the Farm Board, the Stabilization Corporation, the Farmers National Grain Corporation, and the Farmers Union Terminal Association, relator proceeds to make wholesale charges, which are false, as to the officials of these organizations.

Not a shred of evidence has been produced to sustain any charge of wrongdoing on the part of these organizations. The only purpose of these charges was to benefit the chamber of commerce

and the grain gamblers. They alone profited by the broadcasting of these charges.

I call your excellency's attention to one allegation reading as follows:

"There is outstanding subscribed stock of the Farmers National Grain Corporation with a par value of $640,000, of which some 10 per cent, or $64,000, has been paid for in cash and notes taken for the balance. This corporation, with only $64,000 of paid-in capital stock, made a net profit in 1930 of $666,000 after all expense of operation, salaries, etc., were deducted. This sum represents largely commissions paid to the Farmers National Grain Corporation, as agent of the Grain Stabilization Corporation, comes out of the $500,000,000 revolving fund and hence out of the taxpayer."

An attempt was made by relator to prove this charge.

What relator's counsel failed to state and what they have been unwilling apparently to prove is that the compensation paid to the Farmers National Grain Corporation for the handling of grain was the same commission that was paid to the private grain concerns and members of the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis and the Duluth Board of Trade.

PRIVATE ELEVATORS ALSO PROFIT FROM STORAGE

It will interest you to know that numerous elevator companies in Minneapolis, Duluth, and in Chicago were paid the same commission as was paid the Farmers National Grain Corporation for the handling of grain for the Grain Stabilization Corporation.

What the grain gamblers are complaining about is that the Farm Board and the Grain Stabilization Corporation allowed a cooperative to handle grain.

The Farmers National Grain Corporation, a cooperative, functioned so efficiently and so well for the interests of the producers that these commissions were lost to the grain gamblers.

What the grain gamblers wanted was a monopoly and not competition.

What they got was competition, and plenty of it.

The profits made by the Farmers National Grain Corporation revert back to the cooperative organizations who own and control the stock in the Farmers National Grain Corporation, and, in turn, these profits are returned to the cooperative elevators and the individual farmers.

The people are not complaining about this. There was no occasion to set forth these charges in the complaint of relator except that it was desired by the chamber of commerce in an attempt to discredit the marketing act.

On page 4 of their complaint they again set forth a charge that profits were made by the Farmers National Warehouse Corporation in the city of Duluth, Minn., by the storing of grain.

But counsel for relator offered no evidence to sustain this charge.

The Railroad and Warehouse Commission of Minnesota had no jurisdiction over such matters. It was not necessary, in order to hear the charges in the present matter, to refer to these things. It was done with a desire to create a false impression and poison the public mind. Such a result could benefit only the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers. The taxpayers are not complaining about this. The farmers know it is for their benefit. The cooperative elevators receive their proportionate share of these profits, and what every farmer should do is to join the Farmers Union Terminal Association and help in seeing that the marketing act remains as a law in this country so that these farmers and farmer-cooperative elevators can get these profits which have always been gobbled up by the grain gamblers.

And again, for the benefit of the chamber of commerce, relator further states:

"The agricultural marketing act requires that the members of the Federal Farm Board shall not actively engage in any other business, vocation, or employment and fixes the salary of such members at $12,000 per year.

"The Federal Farm Board, however, permits the Farmers National Grain Corporation and its allied Grain Stabilization Corporation to pay its officers and managing agents salaries greatly in excess of this sum."

This has nothing to do with the matter before your excellency. It is a matter within the control of the Farmers National Grain Corporation. They have the right to decide what salaries to pay their officials. The Federal Farm Board and the Railroad and Warehouse Commission of Minnesota have no jurisdiction over such a matter.

Again relator states:

"George S. Milnor receives a salary of $50,000 per year and the other officers in proportion, which sums, together with the net profit of $666,000 shown on the books of the Farmers National Grain Corporation, are paid out of the so-called revolving fund."

SALARIES? SUCCESS IS WHAT HURTS THEM!

There is a limit to one's credulity and there is a challenge to one's intelligence, and in the charge above quoted both of them are attained. Granting that Mr. Milnor receives a salary of $50,000 per year as general manager of the Farmers National Grain Corporation, what has it to do with these proceedings?

The Farmers National Grain Corporation handled a business last year of 391,000,000 bushels of grain, with a net profit to the producers of two and one-half million dollars. Many a general manager and officer of corporations handling far less volume of business are paid greater salaries than was paid in this instance.

The salary paid to Mr. Milnor is but an infinitesimal proportion of the amount that the grain gamblers of this Nation have annually stolen from the farmers of this country.

A business running into hundreds of millions of dollars a year needs a general manager of ability and integrity. No one has ever questioned either the ability or the integrity of the general manager of the Farmers National Grain Corporation.

It is because he has succeeded too well. It is because Milnor and Thatcher and Huff have too well protected the interests of the farmer that the chamber of commerce is squealing. It is because Thatcher and Huff and Milnor can not be bought or bribed or bullied that the grain gamblers are whining and seeking to destroy the faith of the people in the only law passed for the protection of the American farmer, the marketing act.

The chamber of commerce is whining about the salaries of the officers of the Farmers National Grain Corporation but seem to forget the salaries paid by the millers and the private grain interests, running into millions of dollars, every dollar of which comes out of the pocket of the American farmer and not one penny of which ever gets back to him. It is the purpose of the cooperative movement to get this money back to the farmer and not let the grain gamblers keep it.

WHAT ARE PRIVATE GRAIN TRADE SALARIES?

Does the chamber of commerce think for a moment that the farmers of this country do not know that hundreds of men in the private grain trade draw salaries far in excess of any officers of any cooperative, and every dollar of this salary is paid by the American farmer and comes out of his pocket?

The Farmers Union Terminal Association and other cooperatives are giving these profits back to the farmer and producer. That is why the chamber of commerce is squealing.

The marketing act may need improvement. If necessary, I would join with you and every other progressive forward-looking man in seeing that teeth are put into that law that will more fully protect the American farmer and producer.

The one institution that doesn't want that law improved is the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis and its allied gamblers.

They want the law repealed and destroyed. They want the people of this Nation to lose faith in that law so that they, and they alone, can continue to rob, cheat, and defraud the farmers and producers as they always have.

It is charged that salaries are "paid out of the so-called revolving fund." This is another falsehood and its only purpose is to injure the marketing act—to benefit the chamber of commerce.

No effort was made to show that the salary of Mr. Milnor was paid out of the revolving fund or that it comes out of the pockets of the taxpayers.

All they desired was to make the charge, have it broadcast and headlined through the newspapers, and then slink away and hope that the damage had been done, not by proving anything but by merely making a dishonest and unfounded charge.

This is in keeping with the conduct of every character assassin throughout all time. Only men who profit by fraud, only men who resort to dishonesty, would make such a charge. Who is it that profits by fraud? Who is it that profits by dishonesty? Who is it that has profited by unfair dealing? The Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis and the grain gamblers of this Nation.

Now, Governor, what are the facts? Namely, this: The Farmers National Grain Corporation is a private corporation the same as any private corporation. It functions through officers, and in order to protect the interests of the farmer and the farmers' cooperatives who own and control the Farmers National Grain Corporation it must have men of experience, ability, and integrity, and they have such men at the head of that institution. Men who have defrauded no one but who have fought a decent, clean fight for the farmers. Their salaries are paid out of the profits they make and not out of the revolving fund.

WHO IS DOING THE COMPLAINING?

Is there anything wrong with such an institution? The only ones who are complaining are the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers. They have been in the habit of taking all the profits and keeping them. Now, because a cooperative organization pays its officers salaries which are necessary in order to have the best men they can obtain to protect their interests, and then pay part of these profits back to the farmers and to the cooperatives, we find that the colossal thieves of the ages, the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers, are whining and crying because they can not keep all the profits in their own pockets. They are crying and whining to high heaven because the farmers know that there is a profit in the handling of grain, and that, under the cooperative plan, the more liberal the laws are made the more those profits will come back to the farmer and producer. This is just what the chamber of commerce does not want. This is just why you have been compelled to sit here all these long weeks.

Let us turn to another charge, reading as follows:

"The declared policy of the Federal Farm Board is to make no loans to farmers or farmer elevator companies on their wheat who do not belong to or are not affiliated with its regional cooperative associations, such as the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the plan being to compel all producers, or their agents, to come into or be a part of its set-up and bound by its rules and regulations. The loan is made by the Farm Board to its national or regional association and by it to its members."

This statement is true, but the remarkable fact is that the very plan above outlined is what raised havoc with the grain gamblers. The policy above set forth and quoted is a good policy, and the Federal Farm Board should have the appreciation and support of every producer in the Nation for being big enough and fearless

enough to adopt such a policy instead of taking its orders from the grain gamblers and the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis.

That policy was for the purpose of breaking down a selfish monopoly in the handling of grain that has bled the farmers of this Nation out of their life's blood.

That is the policy the Farmers Union Terminal Association is fighting for, and every producer should support such a policy and should join this movement and uphold the hands of the officers of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, who are making this fight for the producers of this country. The grain gamblers and the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis are afraid that the farmers will realize and know the benefits which have already been obtained for the producers through the efforts of the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

EVERY FARMER SHOULD SUPPORT COOPERATION

Every farmer should join the Farmers Union Terminal Association without putting the organization to the expense of solicitation. The evidence brought out in this hearing should convince every farmer in this country that it is not only for his best interests but that it is his duty to join the Farmers Union Terminal Association and build up one great, powerful cooperative organization that will forever destroy the power of private monopoly and the citadel of privilege and give to the farmers that which is their right and for which they have been fighting for years—an honest, efficient, nation-wide marketing organization. If nothing else comes out of this hearing, you should be commended for having enabled the farmers to know what this fight is all about.

On page 5 of Relator's Complaint we find the following charge:

"The Farmers Union Terminal Association, regional agent of the Farmers National Grain Corporation, through M. W. Thatcher, its general manager and active officer in charge of its operations, and assisted by L. M. Abbey and their subordinates, have put into effect in this northwestern wheat-growing area certain illegal and fraudulent practices for the purpose of swelling the profits of the Farmers Union Terminal Association for the purpose of creating a large fund for the payment of salaries, bonuses, and commissions to certain of its officers and agents."

This charge has not been proven. What was its purpose except to benefit the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers and to attack General Manager M. W. Thatcher, of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, and to destroy the faith of the farmers in a man who has given every waking hour of his time for the past 25 years in behalf of the cooperative movement?

The grain gamblers hoped to destroy the good name and reputation of Bill Thatcher, whose loyalty to the cooperative cause is known throughout the Northwest.

THE OLD GAME OF ATTACKING LEADERS

The Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis and the grain gamblers would give a million dollars to ruin Bill Thatcher, and they have spent thousands of dollars spreading libels and lies against this man because they know that he is unpurchasable.

Throughout all of these years, while he has been fighting the battle of the farmers and the producers, he has been subjected to false indictments, to persecution, and through it all he has remained faithful and true to the cause of the producers and the toilers. This proceeding was inspired by McHugh in order to destroy a man who knows what this fight is about and who is able to whip the chamber of commerce.

WHEAT AND POLITICS

The charges made in this proceeding are on a par with the falsehoods and libels contained in a book entitled "Wheat and Politics," issued by one J. W. Brinton. The same purpose which actuated the writer of this book controlled the chamber of commerce in this proceeding.

When Eddie Hughes, the assistant secretary of the chamber of commerce, was on the stand he was asked this question:

"Have you ever read a book called 'Wheat and Politics'?"

His answer was:

"Yes; I have read it."

He was then asked:

"Do you know a man by the name of Henderson?"

And his answer was:

"No, sir. I don't know which Henderson you mean. I know a Henderson."

Counsel then said:

"The Henderson I mean is the man who went to Brinton and gave him $2,500 for a thousand of those books."

How quickly counsel for the relator objected to this evidence.

Why was relator unwilling to let you know whether or not the chamber of commerce sent Henderson to buy these books?

Who else but the chamber of commerce would want a thousand copies of this trash?

It is a well-known fact that this book, issued by Brinton, has been sent to the managers of elevators all over this country and that statement after statement contained in this book refers to many of the charges set forth in relator's complaint.

The information upon which the charges in this proceeding were made was furnished to relator by the chamber of commerce.

Eddie Hughes tells us that he has read this book Wheat and Politics, and if he doesn't run out of the United States, he may some day have to tell the people that he furnished Brinton the alleged information against the Farmers Union Terminal Association which is contained in this book.

BRINTON TRIED TO GET A JOB

Brinton, the man who wrote Wheat and Politics, is a personal enemy of Thatcher. During the summer of 1931 he hung around the offices of the Farmers Union Terminal Association begging for work, and when he couldn't get it he went out to destroy the Farmers Union Terminal Association and to lie about the man who refused to give him a job.

He has been as willing in his book Wheat and Politics to lie about Thatcher and the Farmers Union Terminal Association as Weiss has been willing to perjure himself on the stand.

This man makes the statement in his book that "the Thatcher organization committed a crime against the farmers and defrauded them when it bought the wheat, or it committed a crime and defrauded the Government when it sold this wheat—and it probably did both."

The above statement is the most contemptible falsehood ever uttered. Even the chamber of commerce could not stoop as low as this. And if the chamber of commerce will ever dare to make a statement like this, they will pay to the Farmers Union Terminal Association a million dollars for libel. I dare the chamber of commerce to make that kind of a statement.

Of course, it can be made by a man who is not financially responsible and who would not be worth the cost of the paper necessary to sue him.

Only the grain gamblers can profit by the sending out of this book. Every farmer and every elevator man who has received a free copy of this book must know that somebody who has an interest in destroying Bill Thatcher and the Farmers Union Terminal Association is responsible for sending out this book.

THE ROGUE'S GALLERY

The chamber of commerce should hire Brinton and put him in the same office and in the same room with McHugh and Eddie Hughes. What a pretty picture this would make for the farmers to look at.

If I had my way, I would hang this picture in every elevator in the land and I would put under this picture:

"Here is McHugh, who was enjoined by the Federal Trade Commission because of his practices against the equity cooperative exchange.

"Here is Eddie Hughes, who fled the State to protect the chamber of commerce.

"And, ladies and gentlemen, in the middle I want you to look upon J. W. Brinton, the man who begged Bill Thatcher for a job and who, when he couldn't get it, wrote a book in order to destroy the men who are now making a success of the fight against the grain gamblers of the country."

The cooperative movement is born of the sacrifices, the heartaches, the tears, and the toil of the men and women on the farms and fields of America. It is for them that I am talking to-day.

It is for the farmers that the cooperative organizations are fighting and it is the duty of every forward-looking man and woman to help establish a great cooperative institution for the marketing of the farmers' products to the end that their exploitation shall cease forever in America.

It is because the grain gamblers fear that the cooperative movement will become more of a success that they are moving heaven and earth to destroy this movement in its beginning.

WILL THE FARMERS UNDERSTAND?

It is to the interest of the farmers and producers to realize that these false and libelous attacks against Huff, Thatcher, and Milnor, and the other men who are leading the cooperative fight are spread throughout the newspapers of this land for the purpose of destroying the faith of the farmers in the best friends they have ever had.

This proceeding before your excellency is but a part of the concerted, well-organized propaganda that is being spread throughout this Nation against the Farm Board and against the Farmers Union Terminal Association in order to break down and destroy the marketing act.

The farmers must not forget when they read these attacks in the newspapers or in books like Wheat and Politics that the only interest which can gain by destroying their faith in the cooperative movement is the grain gamblers who have millions upon millions to stake in this fight and who have made millions upon millions of dollars out of the farmers of this Nation.

This is a fight between the grain gamblers, with unlimited millions at their command, and the farmers and producers of this land, who can only win with the success and triumph of the cooperative cause.

This is propaganda and a scheme to destroy the faith of the farmers in the cooperative movement. If this can be accomplished, then the grain gamblers will be back in the saddle and the farmers will pay the bill.

No wonder that the chamber of commerce would spend thousands of dollars in getting information upon which this proceeding is based.

No wonder that Eddie Hughes ran out of the State.

No wonder that he has read Wheat and Politics and is familiar with it.

No wonder is it that he didn't know which Henderson it was or whether it was the man who paid Brinton $2,500 for a thousand copies of the book.

We are not afraid of this contest, and in spite of all the newspaper attacks and the paid propaganda that have been spread through the land, if the farmers will get the facts they will stand firmly back of the men and back of the organizations that are fighting their battles.

If the Farmers Union Terminal Association and the cooperative organizations of this country are successful, it means once and

for all the end of grain monopoly. It means that plunder and privilege and looting and stealing from the farmers of this land will be forever at an end.

THE SPECIFIC CHARGES

We now come to the so-called specific charges of wrongdoing against the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

Charge No. 1 is as follows:

"1. By charging its members and others a commission for the sale of grain when bought by itself for its own account.

"The Farmers Union Terminal Association is a commission merchant under the Minnesota statutes and holds a license from the State of Minnesota as such.

"Section 6204 of the General Statutes for 1927 reads:

"'No person, persons, firm, or corporation, whether doing business in a chamber of commerce, board of trade, or elsewhere in this State, engaged in selling grain, etc., as commission merchant, or for others for a compensation in any manner, who shall hereafter receive or accept for sale for account of the consignor or owner thereof any such property, or who shall sell or attempt to sell or dispose of such property for account of such consignor or owner, shall hereafter be interested, directly or indirectly, as purchaser or otherwise than solely as the agent of such consignor or owner, etc.'

"Section 6205 provides that any person who shall violate any provisions of this act shall upon conviction be punished by imprisonment or a fine, and that their license shall be void and that they shall be disqualified for two years from obtaining a new license.

"The Farmers Union Terminal Association has repeatedly violated this statute by charging a commission on the grain it has bought for itself and for grain it has bought for Farmers National Grain Corporation, whose agent it is."

This charge is false, and I would be inclined to say it was knowingly false. It is the charge of a crime against the Farmers Union Terminal Association, and if true the officers of the Farmers Union Terminal Association would have been long ago indicted.

This charge is the result of either abysmal ignorance or of cunning deceit.

It was broadcast through the land. It was headlined in the newspapers of the Northwest. Governor, what was its unholy purpose? Only one thing—to deceive and mislead the people. Whom, and whom alone, could it benefit? Only the miserable outfit who sponsored this proceeding, the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis.

THE OLD EQUITY FIGHT

The farmers of this country are well aware of the fact that the investigation by the Federal Trade Commission, made at the request of the Equity Cooperative Exchange, showed that in numerous instances cars of grain shipped by the farmers to Minneapolis were handled as many as 11 times by different commission firms and commissions or profits charged against the farmer's grain for every time it was handled by a commission firm.

Cooperative laws were passed in order to prevent this kind of a steal and to allow the cooperatives to keep control of the grain from the time it leaves the farmer's hands until it reaches the mill.

These laws were passed to put an end to the looting of the farmer. They were passed to make the grain gamblers quit their stealing.

The history of fraud and of dishonesty and of the looting of the farmers of the Northwest by the chamber of commerce is the very reason that section 6204, charged in relator's complaint, was enacted. It was passed in order to make the grain gamblers quit their stealing.

The Minnesota Legislature, in 1921 and 1923, passed laws specifically permitting a cooperative to sell grain to itself, and only in this way could the cooperatives carry out their program and benefit the farmer.

The above charge was dismissed at the very start of these proceedings, but the chamber of commerce had had the benefit of having this charge headlined in the newspapers and circulated all through the country for the purpose of poisoning the minds of the customers of the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

Charge No. 2 reads as follows:

"2. By purchasing for itself grain shipped to it on consignment at less than the market price.

"It not only buys grain itself and charges a commission, but in many instances pays the shipper 2 cents per bushel less than the prevailing market price on that day."

An attempt was made to prove this charge. Eddie Hughes, assistant secretary of the chamber of commerce, was on the stand as a witness. It was he who pretended to furnish the evidence on which this accusation was based. He could have been asked if he knew of any instance where the Farmers Union Terminal Association ever bought grain below the market price. Why was he not asked this question? The charge was not proven, but again it is well known that the chamber of commerce was the party interested in making such an accusation.

MORE PROPAGANDA

This dishonest attack had been broadcast over the Northwest, creating suspicion and distrust against the Farmers Union Terminal Association and the cooperative movement, but after weeks of taking up the time of the governor and of the railroad and warehouse commission, he closes his case, "We move to dismiss this charge."

We now come to charge No. 3, reading as follows:

"3. By charging the local elevator a so-called 'service charge' of three-fourths of a cent per bushel on each bushel of grain in a local elevator on which the farmer had secured a storage ticket, and by virtue of which had made a loan from the Grain Stabilization Corporation, through the Farmers Union Terminal Association when delivery of that wheat was called for by Grain Stabilization Corporation, and was deducted from amount due the local elevator for storage and handling of said grain.

"In these cases Farmers Union Terminal Association performed no service whatever for the local elevator, and such deduction was illegal and fraudulent. Many of such deductions have been refunded on the insistence of the local elevator."

At the close of the evidence, relator's counsel also moved to dismiss this charge.

It was stated by the relator in the last paragraph of this charge that the "Farmers Union Terminal Association performed no service whatever for the local elevator, and such deduction was illegal and fraudulent."

This is a serious charge if true, and if false it is a serious indictment of the good faith of relator.

It was a false charge. It was not proven. But mark you, governor, this charge had been broadcast throughout the land. The evidence clearly showed that a service was rendered to the local elevator; that work of a substantial character was done to protect the interests of the local elevator, and that the charge was made because the Farmers Union Terminal Association was a member of the Duluth Board of Trade, and that the board insisted on that charge being made by its members.

These charges were refunded to those who remained loyal to the Farmers Union Terminal Association and the cooperative movement after the Farmers Union Terminal Association had repeatedly requested the Duluth Board of Trade to allow it to do so.

And the evidence shows that the profits made by this service charge, as well as all the profits made by the Farmers Union Termineral Association, are and will be refunded to the farmers and to the elevator companies in dividends to the stockholders, both preferred and common, and in patronage dividends to the shippers of grain.

On the other side of this picture, what do we see? We see that the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers belonging to the chamber of commerce make this same charge, but they keep the money. They pocket the cash, and none of it goes back to the farmers or the elevator company.

The chamber of commerce are squealing like a stuck hog because they can not steal it all and keep it all. They are whining because the farmer gets some of it back. They are crying because the people now know how the toilers are chested.

This is private business without governmental interference! This is the freebooter's license to rob the producer to the limit of the law! The palatial homes in Minneapolis and Duluth of the grain gamblers of this Nation represent these profits, and in these homes you will find the farmers' daughters working as menials.

THEY TAKE BUT NEVER GIVE

In this winter of '31 and '32 there are tens of thousands of farmers on the frozen prairies of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana who had lost all of their crops through the scourge of grasshoppers and because of drought.

Those farmers have not sufficient to keep body and soul together.

They are without the funds to pay school teachers and keep their schools open.

Their sons and their daughters have had to leave home and come to the city and rap at the doors of the homes and the factories and the workshops, begging for work in order to try and get something to help the folks back home.

All this while, Governor, we can see in the palatial homes in the cities of Minneapolis and Duluth and Chicago the self-satisfied members of the chamber of commerce and boards of trade. They are enjoying themselves off the profits they have made from the toil and the work of the farmers of this Nation.

While these farmers are fighting to keep from starvation, the grain gamblers and their families are spending the profits out of this unholy system of exploitation in California and in Florida.

While the farmer is swinging his pitchfork the grain gambler is swinging his golf clubs.

While the farmer is begging for bread the grain gambler is drinking his highball.

While the little children of the farmers are denied the chance of education the grain gamblers are hauling their children with private tutors through the Southland.

In this emergency and while the grain gamblers are trying to wreck the Farmers Union Terminal Association, that cooperative organization has assisted in sending more than 200 carloads of food and clothing into these destitute areas.

Thousands upon thousands of overcoats, suits of clothing, dresses, overshoes, shoes have been packed into these cars through the efforts of the Farmers Union Terminal Association and sent into this stricken area to all farmers, regardless of their membership in the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

WHO PREVENTED US FROM GETTING FREE FREIGHT FOR DROUGHT RELIEF

Governor, you know that many of the members of the chamber of commerce are stockholders in the railroads of this country, and when the Farmers Union Terminal Association wanted to ship a carload of vegetables to the starving people of Montana they had

to pay for every carload that was shipped from $350 to $700 freight charges.

The men at the head of the Farmers Union Terminal Association have been devoting their days and their nights not to making profits but to spending the profits that have been made in order to give some relief to the farmers of the Northwest. This is the organization that you are asked to destroy. The employees and officers of the Farmers Union Terminal Association have dug down into their pockets until it hurt and contributed thousands upon thousands of dollars of their personal funds in order to help carry on this program to save the farmers from starvation and from death.

While the grain gamblers are trying to wreck the Farmers Union Terminal Association, this organization is right now grinding 50,000 bushels of wheat into flour and giving it free of cost to the starving farmers of the Northwest.

And while the Farmers Union Terminal Association has been fighting the fight of humanity, what has the chamber of commerce been doing?

Why, Governor, they have been spending thousands of dollars to wreck this organization and to vilify and traduce the good name and the reputation of men who are willing to give of their time and of their money in order to save the farmers of the Northwest.

The most disgusting spectacle I have ever seen is the picture of the fat and self-satisfied profiteers leveling their mud batteries at men who are devoting their time for human need.

If the thousands of dollars that have been spent by the chamber of commerce and the grain gamblers to destroy the marketing act and to wreck the cooperative movement had been used to feed the starving farmers of the Northwest it would have resulted in the saving of human life and the alleviation of human suffering for thousands of suffering humanity.

Now we come to another charge. Charge No. 4 reads as follows:

"4. Excessive and exorbitant handling charges on grain covered by farm storage loans. A charge of 8 cents per bushel was deducted."

The Farmers Union Terminal Association is a cooperative organization owned and controlled by farmers and producers, and, it is true, it made an 8-cent charge to the farmers who borrowed money on the grain stored on their farms.

This claim that the charge was excessive was not proven, and at the close of the evidence relator's counsel moved to dismiss it. He should have been fair enough to have stated to you that it was a proper charge, an honest charge, and one which no honest man could criticize.

You will remember how day after day was taken up in the presentation of this matter, in the refutation of this false charge, and in showing you the history of the loan program which was carried on by the Farmers Union Terminal Association. It was a work which would merit the approval of every forward-thinking citizen.

THE 8-CENT CHARGE

The 8-cent charge made to the farmer for this loan consisted of what? Interest for the entire period of the loan; delivery charges paid to the local elevator or paid back to the farmer, if he loaded the grain himself; the cost of insurance and bonds; the expense of field men to inform the farmers as to the benefits of the program; expense of broadcasting and of public meetings and of the issuance of the Farmers Union Herald, which contained information enabling the farmer to understand just what this 8 cents was for.

In this connection I quote from the Farmers Union Herald for November, 1929, the following:

"Question. When the Farm Board made its announcement that a hundred million dollars would be made available to cooperative marketing associations for the purpose of stabilizing wheat prices it was also announced that the basic price would be $1.25 for No. 1 northern, basis Minneapolis, and $1.12 basis Duluth.

"In your published table the basic prices used are $1.17 for No. 1 northern and $1.04 for No. 1 durum.

"Answer. Eight cents are set aside and held in reserve for marketing expense. No one could tell exactly what the marketing expense would be; therefore, the Federal Farm Board wanted the figure placed high enough so no losses would be sustained in getting the grain to market. This 8 cents per bushel is divided into two parts, so far as the Farmers Union Terminal Association is concerned. An allowance of 4½ cents is set aside for interest, insurance, operating, and sales expense. Three and one-half cents per bushel is set aside and held in reserve to be paid to country elevators to cover handling and loading costs. If the elevator ships the grain to us, the elevator will be allowed the 3½ cents per bushel. If the elevator does not ship the grain covered by storage tickets on which we advance money to the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the elevator will not be paid anything and the 3½ cents per bushel will be refunded to the grower.

"Q. Is the 8 cents which the Farmers Union Terminal Association allows for handling costs a 'fixed' charge?—A. No; it is merely estimated on a basis of safety. If we advance too much money to the grower, we will 'hold the bag' for the excess, so we have estimated costs on what we think is a fair margin. We guarantee that it will not be more; and if it is more, we lose."

Every farmer who made this loan knew all about this. This charge was approved by the Farm Board. It was not exorbitant but resulted in a loss to the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

Regardless of that loss, the Farmers Union Terminal Association is not complaining, because through this loan program they were able to get the farmers of the Northwest over $10,000,000 on their wheat at the pegged price of $1.25.

The farmer has not complained about this 8-cent charge because it benefited him and gave a service.

The evidence shows that the Farmers Union Terminal Association, in an effort to help the farmers through these times, inaugurated a loan program before the passage of the marketing act and were loaning money to the farmers up to approximately 70 per cent of the market value of their grain.

THE FARM STORAGE CALLS

The Farmers Union Terminal Association, realizing that the farmer was being robbed, started out in North Dakota and Montana to pass farm storage acts which would enable the farmer to store his grain on his farm and thereby save 1 cent per bushel per month. It took money to carry on this campaign, to get speakers, to hire halls, to pay for radio broadcasting, to meet the members of the legislatures of these States, and to pass these laws. This was a service rendered by the Farmers Union Terminal Association, and for that service they are entitled to the everlasting gratitude of every farmer in North Dakota and Montana.

The evidence of Mr. Thatcher clearly shows not only the fairness of the charge but the sincerity, the sacrifice, the effort, and the work that was performed by the Farmers Union Terminal Association in order to give to the farmers the benefit of this loan program.

WHAT THE FARMER PAID THE PRIVATE GRAIN TRADE

Before the Farmers Union Terminal Association and other cooperatives entered this field what did the farmer have to pay when he borrowed money on his grain? The farmer knows it was 8 per cent and more. He borrowed to the extent of 70 per cent of the market price of his grain and took a chance on that market price going down. If it went down, he pocketed the loss and the line elevators and the members of the chamber of commerce got their 8 per cent and got his grain.

Under his agreement with the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the farmer could not lose. He received a loan at the pegged price of $1.25, and, after deducting freight and handling charges, if the grain was in Minot, N. Dak., he received approximately $1 a bushel, even when the market price was 10 to 20 cents lower than the price he obtained.

If the price went up, he could sell his grain, pay the loan, and get the benefit of the raise in price. If the price went down, all that the Farmers Union Terminal Association could do was to take the grain and the loss was borne by the stabilization operations of the Farm Board.

Now, the Farmers Union Terminal Association borrowed 70 per cent or 75 per cent on this pegged price from the Federal intermediate credit bank and borrowed the rest from the Federal Farm Board and gave as security the storage tickets for the wheat, whether the wheat was on the farm or in the elevator.

This was a benefit to the farmer and to the local merchant in the Northwest, for the farmer could get his money and if the price went up dispose of the loan and take his profit, and if the price went down, he had borrowed, through the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the full market value of the grain and in addition thereto the pegged price. That money, Governor, through the efforts of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, to the extent of over $10,000,000, was left in the Northwest, spent with local merchants in this time of depression.

Let me give you an example of what the situation of the farmer was before the Farmers Union Terminal Association and other cooperatives had entered this field. We have, for instance, an old line elevator at Minot, N. Dak., with a capacity of 30,000 bushels. The farmer brings in his wheat. He receives a storage ticket and he is charged 1 cent per bushel per month storage charges.

ROBBED OF MILLIONS

Thirty thousand bushels is a small capacity, and what happens? The elevator at Minot ships this wheat into Minneapolis to a member of the chamber of commerce and, without the knowledge and consent of the farmer, it is sold on the market. In this procedure we can assume that at least 300,000 bushels of wheat is annually handled in this way by this elevator. This is an illustration of how millions of bushels are handled on each crop and the farmers have been robbed out of millions of dollars by this practice.

The farmer had to pay 1 cent per bushel per month on all of this wheat, which was not in storage so far as the grain gamblers were concerned but which was in storage so far as the farmer was concerned. When the farmer's wheat was sold in Minneapolis, a 1½-cent charge per bushel was made against him. The money received from the sale was held in Minneapolis, deposited in the banks there, and when the farmer wanted some money on his storage ticket, he went to the local bank or elevator and invariably paid 8 per cent for money on a storage ticket. In addition to this, he was paying 1 cent per bushel per month for storage for wheat that was not in storage.

Before the Farmers Union Terminal Association obtained the passage of these storage laws and entered upon this loan program, the farmer's grain was sold without his knowledge or consent. The market was glutted and the price depressed. The money was kept in Minneapolis and other cities where the terminal markets were located to the credit of the commission merchant and the farmer was still charged 1 cent per bushel per month for the storage of this grain which had been sold. And then when he borrowed money he was charged as high as 8 per cent interest for borrowing his own money.

This condition still obtains and that is what the Farmers Union Terminal Association is fighting against.

After the passage of the farm storage acts in North Dakota and Montana the farmer could keep his grain on the farm, save the storage charges, and get the benefit of this loan program.



The testimony in this case shows that through the efforts of M. W. Thatcher, the general manager of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, a pegged price was obtained for wheat on the Minneapolis and Duluth markets of $1.25 per bushel for No. 1 wheat, and that this was 7 cents more per bushel than in any other market, which was a recognition of the value and quality of the wheat raised in the spring-wheat region and which brought several million dollars additional profit to the farmers of the Northwest.

WHY THE PEGGED PRICE WAS LOWERED

This price which the farmer was receiving would have remained where it was but for the complaints made by the milling interests, who were members of the chamber of commerce.

No wonder they hate Bill Thatcher! No wonder they want to wreck the Farmers Union Terminal Association!

As a result of these complaints by the millers the farmers suffered a loss of 5 cents a bushel.

It is the old, old story that whenever the people pass a law which takes away from monopoly the privilege of making a profit out of the needs of the people they squawk to high heaven. Governor, when these laws were passed and these agencies put into operation it took away from the grain gamblers of the Nation the privilege of making a profit out of the needs of the farmers. It is the intent and purpose of these laws to forever take away that privilege from the grain gamblers, and that is why they are squealing and hollering and resorting to the most contemptible methods ever known in the history of this Nation to discredit the marketing act.

Every law which has ever been passed which attacks privilege and which attacks monopoly in order to benefit the producers and the laborers has always met with the most vicious, dishonest, and unfair opposition of those who have that privilege and have that monopoly.

This was true when the parcel post law was passed, when the express companies had a monopoly and had a privilege of making a profit out of the needs of the people.

And for 20 years progressive men and women fought for the parcel post law, and for 20 years, through conniving, through fraud, through corruption of legislators, the express companies who had enjoyed this privilege opposed the passage of this law.

To-day every citizen realizes that while this law functions at the expense of the taxpayers of this Nation and that the expense comes out of the Treasury of the United States, that it is a benefit to the mass of people.

THE TRUE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT

The purpose of government is to serve the people and not private interests, and the fight that is being carried on now by cooperative organizations throughout this Nation is a fight against privilege, is a fight against monopoly, is a fight to take away from these monopolists the right to make a profit out of the needs of the people and to put these profits back into the hands of those who are entitled to them—the producers and the toilers of our land.

Every time an elevator or a farmer ships a carload of grain to the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the profits made from the handling of that carload of grain go back to the shipper in the form of a patronage dividend.

Every time he ships a carload of grain to the private grain dealers, any profit made in the handling of that grain stays in the pocket of the grain dealer.

The grain gamblers know that if they can injure and damage the Farmers Union Terminal Association and mislead the farmers so that they will not ship to the Farmers Union Terminal Association, that all of the profits made in the handling of this grain will be kept in Minneapolis, Chicago, or Duluth.

Every farmer who wants to increase his profits should ship his grain to the Farmers Union Terminal Association and help to build up an institution which will return hundreds of thousands of dollars in coming years to the farmers of the Northwest.

THE TWO PLUGGED CARS

We come now to charge No. 6, reading as follows:

"6. By 'plugging' cars of wheat and flax by putting 2 feet of screenings in the bottom of each car, the screenings being of no value."

The evidence shows that only two cars were so plugged. All that is necessary to say in regard to this is that the man who plugged these two cars was discharged by the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the man Weiss, the perjurer, the cheat, the fraud—the man who was sent to the Farmers Union Terminal Association by a member of the chamber of commerce.

The man who, when he was discharged, ran hot-footed to a member of the chamber of commerce, a brother of Senator Mullin. The man who then went to McHugh to give him an affidavit against the Farmers Union Terminal Association. And how gladly McHugh, the secretary of the chamber of commerce, received him into his arms.

We are conversant with the testimony of how these affidavits were drawn. We know they were inspired by McHugh and by members of the chamber of commerce.

We are fully aware of the perjury and brazen falsehood that was hurled into your teeth during these proceedings by this witness Weiss.

LAKEVILLE BLUNDER OF THE CHAMBER

And now we come to charge No. 7, reading as follows:

"7. By issuing illegal warehouse receipts at the Lakeville elevator."

No attempt was made to prove this charge. The making of it was a dishonest trick. It could benefit nobody but the chamber of commerce, and, after hearing the evidence in this case, you know that they are the parties who suggested it. Eddie Hughes, the vanishing witness, was the man who furnished this sort of testimony to Mullin and later admitted it was false, but still we find it in the charges. And when all the evidence is in, all we get is the bland statement that relator dismisses the charge.

Charge No. 8 reads as follows:

"8. By selling 20 cars of No. 1 Dark Northern wheat out of the Lakeville elevator, that warehouse receipts were outstanding on, that did not belong to it, and substituting inferior wheat therefor, and subsequently shipping out the inferior wheat under the warehouse receipts calling for No. 1 Dark Northern."

No evidence was offered to prove this charge. No attempt was made to establish it.

Who, Governor, could profit by the broadcasting of these charges except the chamber of commerce?

Who furnished this evidence? The answer is Eddie Hughes, the assistant secretary of the chamber of commerce. He furnished this evidence and later confessed it was false.

All of these charges which I have discussed were initiated by McHugh and by Hughes. They furnished the evidence, false as it was, which enabled relator and his counsel to broadcast the charges. I hope they deceived Senator Mullin. I know they deceived counsel for relator.

The reason that McHugh gave for drawing these affidavits and furnishing this testimony to Mullin and his attorneys does not ring true.

M'HUGH HAS FOUGHT COOPERATION FOR YEARS

He is the same man who was restrained by the Federal Trade Commission from pursuing his nefarious tactics against the Equity Cooperative Exchange, and the evidence shows that 80 per cent of the paid-up members of the Farmers Union Terminal Association were formerly members of the Equity Cooperative Exchange.

He is the man among others that the Federal Trade Commission found guilty of the most contemptible acts, some of which are as follows:

"By means of boycott and threats of boycott the said chamber and the members thereof conspired and agreed among themselves and with others to induce its members and others to refuse to buy from, sell to, or otherwise deal with the said Equity Cooperative Exchange, its stockholders, or the members of the St. Paul Grain Exchange. The said respondents (including McHugh and the chamber of commerce) for more than 10 years last past have been engaged in a conspiracy and agreement among themselves and with others to annoy, embarrass, and to destroy the business of the said Equity Cooperative Exchange, its stockholders, and the St. Paul Grain Exchange and its members, with the purpose and the intent of the said chamber, its officers and members, to secure and maintain for it and its members a monopoly of the grain trade at Minneapolis, Minn., and within a hundred miles thereof; that all these activities mentioned herein in these findings on the part of the said chamber, its officers and members, secured and retained for them a monopoly of the grain trade at Minneapolis and within a hundred miles thereof, and unduly hindered and restrained competition in interstate commerce between the members of the said chamber, on the one hand, and the said Equity Cooperative Exchange and its stockholders and the members of the St. Paul Grain Exchange, on the other."

And again the Federal Trade Commission found:

"The respondents (including McHugh and the chamber of commerce), between May, 1912, and May, 1917, with the plan and purpose of injuring and destroying the business of the said Equity Cooperative Exchange and the said St. Paul Grain Exchange, published, in trade and daily newspapers, false and misleading statements concerning their financial responsibility and the methods used by them and their officers and members in transacting business in grain."

Again, the Federal Trade Commission, in this proceeding against McHugh and the chamber of commerce, found that they had "falsely accused the Equity Cooperative Exchange of conducting a fraudulent transaction and of charging a shipper 'double commission' on certain carloads of grain shipped to said exchange by the 'Farmers Elevator Co., of Glenburn, N. Dak.'"

With reference to this, the Federal Trade Commission further said:

"Upon investigation the Railroad and Warehouse Commission of Minnesota found and stated that no fraud had been committed by the Equity Cooperative Exchange or its sales agent, P. E. Cooper, in respect to such transaction."

Again, the Federal Trade Commission found:

"The respondent, John G. McHugh, as secretary of the said chamber, wrote other letters which were intended to destroy and which did injure the credit and standing of the Equity Cooperative Exchange with banks, farmers, and customers and the public generally."

As a result of this conduct, the Federal Trade Commission found that McHugh and the chamber of commerce "have committed acts to the prejudice of the public and competitors of respondent chamber and competitors of the members of respondent chamber and which acts constitute unfair methods."

This is the same McHugh who drew the affidavits in this case.

This is the same McHugh who furnished the evidence to relator and his attorneys to start these proceedings.

This is the same McHugh who is now trying to do to the Farmers Union Terminal Association exactly what he did to the Equity Co-

operative Exchange—to ruin it by false and dishonest charges and propaganda.

Why did McHugh have Hughes collaborate with Mullin and his attorneys in the preparation of these false charges?

Why did they spend thousands of dollars in hiring men and in taking photographs?

And why, Governor, was it necessary for them to pass these things on and give them to Mullin and his counsel in order to start these proceedings?

There could be only one purpose and that was to destroy the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

Why did McHugh refuse to give to the Railroad and Warehouse Commission the affidavits which he had drawn?

The same methods, the same underhanded trickery, the same sneaking around and using others to do his dirty work has been used by McHugh in bringing about this proceeding as was used by him in destroying the Equity Cooperative Exchange.

There can be no doubt in any man's mind that the chamber of commerce, and it alone, is responsible for the drawing of the false affidavits which are relied upon in this proceeding to ruin and destroy the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

ELEVATOR "M"

Now, we come to elevator "M." The charge is contained in paragraph 5 on page 6 of the complaint, and it reads as follows:

"5. By tampering with wheat inspection samples in substituting No. 1 dark northern wheat in the samples in place of No. 2 and No. 3 wheat contained therein, and thus securing a false inspection report upon which false warehouse receipts were issued, which it sold to and borrowed money from the Grain Stabilization Corporation, thus defrauding the taxpayer.

"To illustrate: On March 28, 1931, at elevator 'M' in Minneapolis it had 320,748 bushels of No. 1 dark northern wheat and 723,656 bushels of 29 different varieties of inferior wheat.

"During the month of April it had this wheat regraded and reinspected, and its employees, acting under orders of L. M. Abbey, superintendent of terminals, changed the samples and secured a regrade of No. 1 dark northern for all of this wheat so that on May 2, 1931, without any wheat having been shipped in, its report showed 1,042,741 bushels of No. 1 dark northern on hand in elevator 'M.'"

A mere statement of the above shows its utter dishonesty. The relator charges that the taxpayer was defrauded. This is an absolute falsehood. As these proceedings progressed, it must be apparent that the relator is more interested in his brother, a member of the chamber of commerce, than he is in the taxpayers. He has taken up the time of the governor of this State for several weeks, taken you away from your duties, and taken up the time of the railroad and warehouse commission, and taken them away from their duties without any thought of the taxpayer.

In brief, the charge is that the Farmers Union Terminal Association tampered with the samples when the wheat was run in April, 1931. One fact stands out in this case: That the purchaser was not defrauded and is not complaining and that the taxpayer has not been defrauded and is not complaining.

WEISS, THE PERJURER

The miserable charges made by Weiss as to the tampering with the samples was first made in the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis.

The affidavit signed by Weiss, which McHugh said Weiss would not sign until he got some one to corroborate him, was signed in the chamber of commerce, and, mark you this, Governor, the affidavit was signed by Weiss without anybody to corroborate him.

Let us analyze these proceedings. Weiss is discharged by the Farmers Union Terminal Association, and the first man he goes to is Mr. Mullin, a brother of the senator and a member of the chamber of commerce. The next men he goes to are Eddie Hughes and McHugh, who represent the chamber of commerce. All he claims is that the samples were changed.

When under oath before the railroad and warehouse commission he testified that he did not change any of the samples, but that Anderson, the superintendent, was the only man who changed the samples.

When he was under oath before the governor of this State he first testified that he did not change any of the samples, and then, in order to bolster up this case, he also testified under oath that he himself changed some of these samples.

In order to fasten this ridiculous charge upon the Farmers Union Terminal Association, Weiss states that in March, 1931, he had a talk with Mr. Abbey, the terminal superintendent of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, but all he claims is that Mr. Abbey told him to run the wheat in elevator "M" for No. 1 wheat. He further states that Mr. Abbey called him into a private room and gave him certain secret instructions.

The testimony of three reputable men shows that Weiss was perjuring himself with this line of testimony. Mr. Abbey, the terminal superintendent of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, testified that he never had any such talk with Weiss and that all he told him to do was to run the elevator for No. 1 wheat.

Abbey's statement is corroborated by the testimony of Mr. Barry and Mr. Googins, neither of whom has any interest whatsoever in the outcome of this proceeding. Both of them stated to you under oath that Weiss never left the room during this talk with Abbey or ever went into a private room with Abbey.

Weiss's testimony last June before the railroad and warehouse commission and his testimony before you in this proceeding stamp him as an unmitigated liar, and the testimony of these reputable men further proves that he is nothing but a perjurer; and with Weiss proven to be a perjurer the main bulwark of this case has fallen like a house of cards.

The chamber of commerce, who is responsible for starting these proceedings, fully realize that if Weiss is believed, that it is evidence of a crime.

Men are governed by motives, your excellency, and where there is no motive for doing an act, reasonable minds realize that those who charge such an act usually state a falsehood.

When the question of the weigh-up of elevator M was first suggested by Mr. Abbey, the terminal superintendent, it is admitted that he wanted to run the elevator and weigh and grade this grain car in the usual way, and in the doing of which there was an utter impossibility of tampering with the samples. It was Weiss, the perjurer, who suggested to Abbey that the grain should be run by building a hopper on the track scale. It must be apparent to you that this gave Weiss the opportunity to build up the false testimony he has given in this case.

Under oath Weiss tells you that Abbey never asked him or suggested to him to tamper with the samples or to in any way impair the integrity of this grain. All the wheat in elevator M was easily made into No. 1, and the only motive that can be drawn from such conduct on the part of Weiss and of McHugh is that Weiss was the willing tool of the chamber of commerce.

EVERETT, THE OTHER CHAMBER TOOL

The only other evidence upon which this case was founded was the testimony of one Everett. These proceedings have developed that Everett was formerly an employee of the chamber of commerce; that a member of the chamber of commerce sent him to the Farmers Union Terminal Association where he was given employment; that after the Farmers Union Terminal Association had discharged Everett from their employ, Everett went to the chamber of commerce offices and there gave an affidavit which was dictated and drawn for him by McHugh and Eddie Hughes, which affidavit was used with Weiss's statement to institute these proceedings.

After Everett had given this alleged evidence to the chamber of commerce he was employed by the chamber of commerce, and right now is one of the chamber's trusted and honored employees.

It is an old trick of conspirators throughout history to plant men inside of an organization which they want to destroy, and the evidence clearly shows that both Weiss and Everett were gotten into the Farmers Union Terminal Association for no other purpose than to bore from within and to make trouble for the cooperative.

Now, Everett's testimony does not claim that any samples were tampered with but he makes the ridiculous statement that the stream of wheat was split in order to make No. 1 wheat, but the evidence shows that this was a physical impossibility in the construction of the elevator.

Any intelligent man realizes that the cutting of this stream could not benefit the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

Who could conceive of such a thing except a fraud and a cheat?

Without anything to be gained by such a proceeding you are asked to believe the testimony of Everett in this regard, the same man, Governor Olson, who was sent to us by a member of the chamber of commerce and who is now in the employ of the chamber of commerce.

As lawyers we know that men are controlled by their association and the fact stands out in this case that the association of Weiss is constantly with the chamber of commerce.

No one could gain by the making of such a charge except the grain gamblers, and these charges bear a striking similarity to what was done by McHugh and his associates when they were restrained by the Federal Trade Commission from pursuing such tactics.

Further refuting the testimony of Weiss we have Mr. Anderson, the superintendent, who was on the stand here, a man of unquestioned integrity who has no personal interest in this lawsuit. Anderson testified that he never tampered with a sample and he is corroborated by Mr. Kamb, another man of integrity.

In other words, we have the sworn statements of five witnesses showing the utter unreliability of Weiss, the main witness for the chamber of commerce in this case.

WEISS'S CONTRADICTIONS

Let us analyze the testimony of Weiss. The first time he was under oath was when he made an affidavit in the office of the chamber of commerce and there he states, under oath, that he told Abbey that he would take the samples. On cross-examination here he admitted that he never talked to a single State man about the taking of the samples; that he always knew that State employees took the samples and that no State employee ever told him that they would not take the samples.

In his affidavit he states the samples were taken by Anderson, elevator foreman, and that Anderson placed the samples in sacks furnished by the State inspection department.

When these affidavits were obtained the railroad and warehouse commission upon learning of it asked McHugh, of the chamber of commerce, to come over to them and present these affidavits, and he refused. They had to subpœna him, and then he came as he did, as a witness before you with a lawyer. He then delivered copies of these affidavits to the commission and they called Weiss before them, and there Weiss testified under oath:

"Q. You are familiar with this affidavit that you made?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. How did you come to make that?—A. One of the chamber men asked me how the Farmers Union was getting by. I told him I wouldn't lie for them or anybody else."

Why was a member of the chamber of commerce interested about the Farmers Union Terminal Association? Why did he want to know how they were getting along? What does that mean to the average man?

And then Weiss testified:

"Q. Who asked you?—A. Eddie Mullin."

This is the brother of Senator Mullin.

And then this man Weiss, under oath, testified before the commission:

"The State man caught a sample and put it in the basket by the pit."

When a witness here he testified that the State men never caught a single sample. When are you going to believe such a man?

Again he testified before the railroad and warehouse commission as follows:

"Commissioner LAUBISCH. Wouldn't the State weigher catch any of the run himself?

"A. Yes; he caught it all."

Again, he testified before the commission:

"Q. Who drew up the affidavit?—A. The secretary of the chamber.

"Commissioner LAUBISCH. McHugh's assistant?

"A. No; McHugh himself."

When he was under oath here he testified that McHugh did not draw the affidavit; that he drew it himself; and that McHugh had nothing to do with it. It is upon the testimony of this monumental liar, and upon his testimony alone, that you are asked to make a finding against the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

Again, Weiss was asked:

"Commissioner LAUBISCH. Then the Grain Stabilization Corporation, through this manipulation of these samples, got a quantity of grain as No. 1 dark northern which, as a matter of fact, is not according to your judgment No. 1 dark northern?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Did you advise them of that fact after you got into trouble with Abbey and quit?—A. No, sir.

"Q. Why not?—A. I didn't think it was necessary.

"Q. Didn't you think it was just as necessary to tell them as it was to tell the chamber of commerce?"

Governor, what was his answer? Here it is. I quote:

"A. I thought the chamber would take care of that."

Why should there be in the mind of this man the idea that the chamber would take care of it unless they had made a deal with him? What was the urge which prompted him to tell the commission that the chamber of commerce would take care of that?

Yes; he thought the chamber would take care of that just as they took care of the Equity Cooperative Exchange.

Wouldn't you like to know the talk that took place between McHugh and Weiss before he came to the conclusion that the chamber would take care of the Farmers Union Terminal Association?

The same man, McHugh, of the chamber of commerce, who inspired the fight against the Equity Cooperative Exchange, is the man who initiated and was the moving power back of this proceeding.

Again, Governor, this question was asked Weiss:

"Q. What reason could you give us for not notifying me, if I should happen to be the buyer or the party who was going to get this doctored grain? I can see easy enough from your point of view why you didn't say anything about it while you were an employee, but after you were let out I don't see why you should not want to protect the buyer?"

Governor, what was the answer? Here it is. I quote:

"A. I thought the chamber would take care of that."

And then this question:

"Q. You mean you thought they would take care of Abbey?"

And then this answer:

"A. You can put it that way."

This is his testimony before the commission, Governor.

The next time we meet with Weiss he is again under oath here, sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and what does he say?

He denies under oath that he ever stated that McHugh drew this affidavit. Why did he do this, Governor? Was he trying to protect McHugh and the chamber of commerce?

At one time or the other he lied, and lied deliberately. He lied under oath when he told you that McHugh did not draw the affidavit, because, Governor, when we had Mr. McHugh, the secretary of the chamber of commerce, on the stand, after hours and hours of questioning, he was forced to admit that he drew every word and every paragraph of the affidavits of Weiss and Everett.

Before you Weiss denied saying that he told Eddie Mullin he wouldn't lie for the Farmers Union Terminal Association or anybody else. Before the commission he says he did make that statement.

Before you he testified that the State men never took a sample. Before the commission he told them that McHugh drew the affidavit; before you he says, "McHugh had nothing to do with it."

Before the commission he testified under oath that he thought the chamber would take care of it. Before you he testified, also under oath, that he never said anything of the kind.

It is upon the testimony of this perjurer, and on his testimony alone, that you are asked to find evidence of wrongdoing on the part of the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

STATE MEN ALL AGREE ON TESTIMONY

There have been upon the stand some six or eight men employed by the railroad and warehouse commission, each and every one of whom say that they took these samples; that there was only one basket there instead of two, as Weiss testified; that these samples were never mixed or tampered with. These men have served the State for the past 20 to 30 years as weighers and as inspectors. They are clean-cut, honest men, and against them is only the testimony of Weiss, who can not be believed under oath.

In addition to this, there is the testimony of Anderson, the superintendent, that he never mixed a sample or in any way tampered with them.

Now we come to a more important matter. Men may lie and men may be mistaken, but circumstances can not lie. When the first run was made in April, 1931, every sample was taken by the State men or under their direction and every bushel of wheat in the April run graded No. 1 and the average test weight was 58.383 pounds.

There was shipped into elevator M from May 7 to July 28, 1931, 260,000 bushels of wheat. The testimony is undisputed that its average test weight was 58.5 pounds. This grain was put in the top of the tanks. From May 2 to July 18 there was shipped out of elevator M 150,000 bushels of wheat, and the average test weight was 58.5 pounds.

WHEAT IN AND OUT OF THE ELEVATOR

Then this significant fact: From July 29 to August 4 there was also shipped out of elevator M 155,000 bushels of wheat of an average test weight of 59.1 pounds. Would any one with average intelligence, if he had tampered with samples in order to make 57-pound wheat weigh 58 pounds before delivery, ship out 155,000 bushels of wheat weighing 59.1 pounds?

What I want to emphasize is this: If the Farmers Union Terminal Association knew they did not have 58-pound wheat, they never would have shipped out 155,000 bushels of wheat that averaged 59.1 pounds to the bushel.

After the April run was closed and storage tickets issued, on May 4 this grain was sold to the Farmers National Grain Corporation. Following this the Grain Stabilization Corporation became the owner of these storage tickets. These storage tickets do not provide for the delivery of the identical grain but for the delivery of grain of the same kind and grade.

When the commission learned of these charges they demanded from McHugh the affidavits of Weiss and Everett. McHugh refused to produce them until compelled to do so by a subpœna. Then he appeared with his lawyer just as he did at this hearing. The only men I have ever known who carried their lawyers with them had something to conceal.

Then, to preserve the identity of the grain, the 12 tanks in question were sealed and three men, working on 8-hour shifts, were placed on guard to see that not a single bushel of that grain was tampered with.

This continued until July 28. The seals were then removed by the railroad and warehouse commission on the advice of the attorney general of this State.

The following morning, July 29, three men employed by the Grain Stabilization Corporation, the buyer of this wheat, were there when the August run commenced. Every bushel of wheat in that elevator was run tank for tank and samples were taken from the belt as the wheat came from the tanks by these three men before the wheat could be run or cleaned or in any other way tampered with.

The undisputed evidence shows that the average test weight of every bushel of wheat in the tanks under question was 58.15 pounds. Who should be more interested in the weight and quality of that wheat than the buyer, the Grain Stabilization Corporation?

Here is a significant fact in this testimony that must not be overlooked: When the Grain Stabilization Corporation inspectors were there they took samples every 15 minutes from the belt as the grain came from the tanks. When they found the grain running light, or under 58 pounds, they took samples every five minutes. That means that when grain was running over 58 pounds they would only take one sample every 15 minutes, but when it was running below 58 pounds they would take three samples in 15 minutes, which necessarily reduced the average. In spite of all this the record shows without dispute that the grain averaged 58.15 pounds.

Experts have testified that when samples are taken from the belt before the grain is dry it will weigh from three-tenths to five-tenths of a pound per bushel lighter than its real weight. The undisputed testimony of Mr. Storch, of the Grain Stabilization Corporation, shows that the scale upon which the tests were made by him and the two men working under him averaged three-tenths of a pound a bushel less than the State scales. These two circumstances clearly indicate that the weight of the wheat in elevator M sold by the Farmers Union Terminal Association to the Grain Stabilization Corporation actually weighed nearer 59 pounds per bushel than 58 pounds.

In addition to the testimony of the inspectors for the Grain Stabilization Corporation, who purchased the wheat, we have the evidence of the State inspectors and State weighers who inspected every bushel of this wheat, car by car, and their tests show that the average test weight of this wheat was 58.875 pounds. Every bushel of this wheat was run into the cars and tested and probed from ten to fourteen times, and shows that there was not a bushel of wheat in this elevator that was not No. 1 wheat.

Every bushel of wheat is tested and weighed by the State men when it comes into an elevator. Colonel Wilkinson testified that after the question was raised as to the integrity of these storage tickets he had an analysis made from the records and samples of every bushel of grain that came into elevator M from the day it was opened until March 31, 1931, when this wheat was run for grade, and that from that analysis he was satisfied that there was enough grain in that elevator in quality and weight to fulfill and satisfy every storage ticket issued against the grain.

He further testified that these 12 tanks were run and tested by the inspectors of the buyer, the Grain Stabilization Corporation, by taking samples at the mouth of the tank on the belt just as he had insisted it should be done all the time.

WHAT THE OFFICIAL TESTS SHOW

We have tabulated each of the tanks in question with the April weigh-up, the cold samples taken by the purchaser at the mouth of the tank, and the official test by the State, and they read as follows:

	The April weigh-up	Cold samples taken at August weigh-up	Official test by State and Federal inspectors at August weigh-up
Tank 103	58.5	58.3	58.8
Tank 104	58.3	58.7	59.15
Tank 105	58	58.1	59.01
Tank 106	58.5	57.8	58.8
Tank 107	58.3	57.8	57.77
Tank 108	58.2	58	58.87
Tank 109	58.5	57.95	58.78
Tank 111	58.4	58.4	59
Tank 112	58.5	57.4	58.69
Tank 113	58.5	58.5	59
Tank 114	58.2	57.9	58.775
Tank 116	58.7	59	58.84
Average weight per bushel	58.38	58.15	58.87

No other testimony should be needed to convince anyone that the testimony of Weiss and of Everett is unqualifiedly false.

It clearly appears that the Farmers Union Terminal Association, instead of defrauding anybody at elevator "M," more than fulfilled the requirements as to the quality and weight of this wheat.

The Farmers Union Terminal Association has been guilty of no misconduct. The purchaser is not complaining. The buyer raises no question. How miserably relator has failed in his attempt to destroy the cooperative movement!

In the minds of many people there arises the thought that if in an elevator there are half a million bushels of wheat grading No. 1 which may weigh 59 pounds to the bushel and half a million bushels of wheat grading No. 2 because it weighs 57.5 to the bushel that a miracle must be performed in order to make a million bushels of No. 1 wheat. The best answer to that is the testimony of this man Weiss, whom we forced to tell the truth when he said:

"Q. Was that the common practice in the Soo elevator to mix grain to make No. 1?—A. When they load under warehouse receipts they did.

"Q. In other words, a warehouse receipt would be issued by this elevator for so many bushels of No. 1 wheat?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. At the time they were issued there probably would not be as much No. 1 wheat as No. 2 wheat, but there would be enough to make the weight?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. That is the common practice in any elevator?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. There is nothing wrong with that?—A. Perfectly legitimate."

In other words, the public should know that when half a million bushels of wheat weighing 59 pounds is mixed with half a million bushels of wheat weighing 57.5 pounds, that the total million bushels will weigh more than 58 pounds to the bushel and is No. 1 wheat.

There is nothing mysterious or miraculous about it. It has always been done and always will be done. This does not require a State senator, in a mad desire for publicity, to get the magician Thurston and go down to elevator M and there have his picture taken with Thurston and, with a silly grin on his face, ask this kind of a question, "How can 720,000 bushels of low-grade wheat become 720,000 bushels of No. 1 dark northern overnight in elevator M with records showing that no new wheat was brought into the elevator?"

When counsel for relator realized that they had fallen down and that no one could believe the testimony of Weiss, we then find them changing front and claiming that after the Farmers Union Terminal Association had sold this wheat to the Farmers National Grain Corporation that you should remove the commission because it allowed the public terminal elevator license to be canceled.

The commission could do nothing but that, your excellency.

THATCHER'S STATEMENT

Mr. Thatcher in his statement before you, among other things, said:

"The representatives of the Stabilization Corporation, the Farmers National Grain Corporation, and the Farmers National Warehouse Corporation were together in St. Paul at the time this matter was discussed as to how the purchaser of the elevator M facilities could become a public warehouseman so that the new warehouseman could issue the regular legal warehouse receipt to replace the one that had been canceled—the actual legal mechanics it had to go through in order to do this thing. Also the question of this grain that was in the house, as to its quantity and character. Those were the things that were involved, and all of the parties wanted to know that. The Farmers Union Terminal Association wanted it, the Stabilization Corporation wanted its receipts, and the new warehouseman wanted to know all of those things; and the only way we knew to determine what was in the house was to weigh it so the new purchaser would be in a position to become a public warehouseman and be in a position as such to issue regular Minnesota warehouse receipts to the Grain Stabilization Corporation. That wasn't decided in five minutes; we had to get information what the law was, what the mechanics was. To us there was nothing mysterious about it. We knew those were the facts and the law.

"I want to state that the officers of the three institutions—four, I should say—the Farmers Union Terminal Association, the Grain Stabilization Corporation, the Farmers National Warehouse Corporation, and the Farmers National Grain Corporation, were all in attendance, as I recall it, were all aware—nobody was being deceived; there was no need of policemen of the State to protect the buyer or the owner of the warehouse receipts—that is to say, they were all there, all engaged in trying to do the thing in an ordinary, businesslike manner, to check out the old owners and check in the new owners and get these warehouse receipts to the Grain Stabilization Corporation—these public-warehouse receipts—to them just as quickly as possible; and these were the steps we understood we had to take in order to qualify the new owner as a public warehouseman, so he could issue the warehouse receipts."

When we intervened in this case we made the following statement:

"Now comes the Farmers Union Terminal Association and asks leave to intervene in this proceeding and states to your excellency that this proceeding is a conspiracy on the part of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce and the private grain interests of the Northwest to destroy the farmers' cooperative movement and to injure the Farmers Union Terminal Association."

And again we said:

"Your petitioner states that said proceeding is not made in good faith; that the relator, State Senator Gerald Mullin, is not now and has not at any time been interested in the farmers' cooperative movement; that a brother of said Senator Mullin is a member of the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis, and that he, along with other officials of the chamber of commerce, has aided and abetted in the plan and scheme to destroy the confidence of the people in the Farmers Union Terminal Association and in the farmers' cooperative movement generally; that the Farmers Union Terminal Association specifically denies the charges contained in the complaint of said relator, and avers that they are made in bad faith and that said Senator Mullin never at any time hoped to secure any order from your excellency for the removal of any member of the railroad and warehouse commission."

We have proven that the chamber of commerce is back of this proceeding, that they initiated it, and that they alone are responsible for it. The very fact that the chamber of commerce is interested ought to put the public on guard. This organization has never stopped at anything in order to destroy the cooperative movement or to rob the farmers of this country.

WITNESSES COMPARED

Many witnesses have appeared before you in this proceeding. Let us compare some of them.

I bring before you the witness Weiss. He was sent to us by a member of the chamber of commerce, and stranger things have happened than the fact that the chamber of commerce would send a man in to destroy the cooperative movement. Before you stands a man who was discharged for drunkenness and misconduct. When he leaves the employ of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, where does he go? He goes to the Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis. What does he do there? He signs an affidavit drawn by McHugh, secretary of the chamber of commerce.

Then we see him before the railroad and warehouse commission testifying under oath.

Then we see him before your excellency, again under oath. In each and every instance we find that he is an absolute falsifier and perjurer.

The thought has occurred to me that when Senator Mullin took his oath of office as a senator he swore to uphold and enforce the laws of the State of Minnesota, and sitting here before your excellency and before the senator was a man who was a downright perjurer. Have you heard of the senator seeking to bring this fraud to justice? He has sat here and attempted to justify the testimony of the perjurer Weiss.

In contrast to Weiss, we have Mr. Storch, of the Grain Stabilization Corporation. It was his duty to see that every bushel of wheat delivered to his employer, the Grain Stabilization Corporation, was 58-pound wheat.

There was no motive for him to deceive, lie, cheat, or defraud. He was an honest employee who made the tests and watched this wheat as it came bushel by bushel out of these tanks, and testified before you, without contradiction, that every bushel weighed more than 58 pounds.

Which of these men would you want to believe? An admitted perjurer or a man against whose integrity not a word has been raised?

Let me paint another picture. In this case, in spite of himself, there has been dragged in Mr. McHugh, the secretary of the chamber of commerce. He didn't want to come here. When he came he came with a lawyer. He was on the stand, and I asked him if he knew Morin. With a simplicity that belied his countenance, he answered, "Yes; he used to work for us."

Then there was dragged out from Mr. McHugh the fact that the testimony and the records upon which this proceeding is based were drawn up and furnished by Morin to the chamber of commerce.

It was revealed that the chamber of commerce paid more than a thousand dollars to Morin. Every bit of Morin's work was turned over to Mr. Mullin for the purpose of destroying the Farmers Union Terminal Association.

CONSPIRACY PROVEN

This shows a conspiracy of the rankest sort. This man McHugh for years has been the moving power against the cooperative movement. It was he who was enjoined by the Federal Trade Commission for his practices in fighting the Equity Cooperative Exchange.

It was he who dictated the affidavits of Weiss and Everett. Many people believe it was he who arranged for Mr. Hughes to run out and away from the governor of this State. Every effort of his life has been against the cooperative movement and against the farmers of the Northwest.

He recognizes his master, the chamber of commerce, and is a faithful servant. Do you think for an instant that when he testified under oath that he did not know where Mr. Hughes, his assistant, was that he told you the truth? As he sat here and fawned before counsel for intervenor there was present in his face and in his soul the consciousness of guilt.

What, I ask you, when the end of the road is reached, can anyone say for McHugh, of the chamber of commerce?

Where has he ever been known to do anything for the cause of the common mass of people?

His whole life has been a life of selfishness, of intrigue, of conniving against every effort that has ever been made to give the farmers of the Northwest decent treatment and economic justice, and it is such a man, the secretary of such an institution, that has been willing to hide behind Senator Mullin in an effort to put across this kind of a deal. It is this man who asks the Governor of Minnesota to destroy the marketing act.

In contrast to McHugh we have M. W. Thatcher, general manager of the Farmers Union Terminal Association. Here is a man who has devoted his life to the cooperative movement. All his efforts have been directed in behalf of the farmers and producers of this country. He was upon the stand for days at a time, and every word of his testimony, in my opinion, is believed by your excellency.

During all of these proceedings he has thrown open his books, his records, everything at his command, in order to enable your excellency to get at the truth. Honest men do this, but dishonest men hide the facts and dishonest men run away from testifying.

Through his efforts as head of the Farmers Union Terminal Association, during these times of depression, every preferred stockholder of the Farmers Union Terminal Association has received 8 per cent on his stock, and in 1931, 20 per cent of the preferred stock was retired, bringing to the farmers of the Northwest tens of thousands of dollars. There has been paid back in patronage dividends thousands of dollars to the farmers of the Northwest. The record of the Farmers Union Terminal Association for the last three years is a record that any man could be proud of, a record of service to the people, a record of sacrifice and of work in order to build up the cooperative cause and make it a success.

It is M. W. Thatcher against this man McHugh, and I welcome you to take your choice.

On the one hand, we have a man whose record is one of service to the people. On the other hand, we have the record of a man who sat upon the stand and with fishy eyes looked out upon the audience and every word he uttered and every syllable he stuttered was in an effort to prevent you from finding out that the chamber of commerce was back of this deal.

Somehow or another I feel that men who sacrifice and work for the common welfare of the mass can be trusted better than those who work for private interests.

Somehow or another I feel that the cooperative movement ought to have the help of the progressives of this Nation. I am sure that these proceedings will result in great good, because they have already convinced the people of the Northwest that the chamber of commerce is back of this deal. This is one of the most dishonest efforts ever made to destroy confidence in public officials and in laws enacted for the public welfare.

HUGHES'S PHOTOGRAPH

Now, I want to draw another picture and it is of Eddie Hughes, the assistant secretary of the chamber of commerce.

Judas Iscariot would be a saint and Benedict Arnold a blessed memory compared to him.

We have not been able to get Mr. Morin, who ran out on us. He was employed and paid over a thousand dollars by the chamber of commerce to get the very information which was handed over to relator and his counsel to start these dirty proceedings. Where he is I do not know. When Mr. McHugh was on the stand we find that he hid behind Eddie Hughes on the hiring of this man Morin.

We then asked McHugh where Hughes was, and what was his reply? "He is away on his vacation and will not return until the Monday after the first of the year."

We then sought to find Hughes.

On the night before Christmas, Hughes came back to Minneapolis and was served with a subpœna. For days he had been in a hotel at Eau Claire, Wis., not taking a vacation but hiding because he was afraid to testify in this case. On the stand he admitted that he ran out of the State of Minnesota in order to avoid testifying.

Then, with as corrupt a heart as ever poured forth fraud and dishonesty, he tells us that the reason he didn't want to testify was because he did not want to embarrass Ed Johnson and Probstfield, two employees of the railroad and warehouse commission. Both of these men testified that what he said was a falsehood and a lie.

In order to protect the chamber of commerce Hughes was willing to lie. He sat upon the stand for half a day and testified that just before Christmas time, the most sacred day of the year, he would be with them.

He testified that while he was at Eau Claire, Wis., he called up the janitor of the chamber of commerce, and then, under oath, said that Mr. McHugh did not know where he was and that his wife and children could not have found him. In all the annals of jurisprudence and all the trials that have ever occurred, a more monumental liar has never been discovered.

He was willing to injure and malign two men in the employ of the railroad and warehouse commission to protect his master, the chamber of commerce. This man should go down in history as the most ridiculous liar that has ever appeared in any proceeding.

So ridiculous was his testimony that your excellency took up the questioning of this man, and the following occurred:

"Governor OLSON. If Mr. McHugh, during the time you were absent from Minneapolis and Minnesota, desired to locate you on a matter of business affecting your duties with the chamber of commerce, how would he find you?

"A. He couldn't have found me.

"Q. Did your wife know where you were?—A. I don't think she did.

"Q. Didn't you call her up on one occasion?—A. She might have known it from where the telephone call came from. It would be the only way she would know it.

"Q. Do I understand you correctly if some matter came up affecting your duties at the chamber of commerce that no one could locate you?—A. That's correct. I have done that before on vacation. It isn't the first time that I have done it; I mean going away without leaving my address.

"Q. Do I understand you to say that when you left Minneapolis for Eau Claire on the first occasion or the second occasion, or both occasions, that Mr. McHugh knew you were taking your vacation at that particular time because you didn't want to testify in this proceeding and disclose confidential information which you had?—A. I think I would put it this way—that I told him I wanted to take a vacation and that I hadn't had one, and that I wanted to go away; and I told him I had what I felt was information which had been given me in confidence in this trial. At that time neither one of us knew there was any subpœna out for me, and I told him I was going and I went.

"Q. That is hardly answering my question.—A. I tried to answer it.

"Q. I say, did Mr. McHugh know when you left that you were taking your vacation at that particular time because you didn't want to testify in this proceeding if you were called as a witness, because of this confidential information that you might be obliged to disclose?—A. I think that is a correct statement of it; yes, sir.

"Q. And is it correct to assume that at some time during your absence they could have discovered your whereabouts by asking your wife where you were?—A. I don't know. I don't know whether he could or could not.

"Q. You don't know whether your wife would refuse or not refuse to disclose your whereabouts?—A. I don't know whether she knew where I was. I didn't tell her where I was going. If that is what you mean. I don't know whether she knew where I was or not.

"Q. Did you tell her how long you expected to be gone?—A. I told her I would probably be gone 10 days or 2 weeks.

"Q. You made no provision in case some accident should happen to your family by which you might be reached and notified?—A. No, sir."

"Governor OLSON. That's all.

"Mr. DAVIS. If your little baby had been sick or died you made no provision for them to get in touch with you? You don't mean that, do you?

"A. That is a correct statement of it; yes, sir."

All the while he was testifying, he had his lawyer here. He ran out of the State, not once but twice, in order to avoid testifying. He tells you that the first man he got in touch with upon his return just before Christmas was McHugh, the secretary of the chamber of commerce, his master and his boss. The second man he got in touch with was the attorney for the chamber of commerce, and it was to this attorney that he first told the ridiculous story that his reason for running away was not to embarrass employees of the railroad and warehouse commission.

Looking this whole transaction over and realizing the perjury and falsity of Weiss's testimony, the dishonesty of McHugh, and the downright dishonesty of Hughes, should your excellency longer hesitate as to what to do in this case?

O. P. B. JACOBSON

Just two more pictures before I close. One is the picture of an old man who for 25 years has served the people of Minnesota. Upon election after election he has been honored with the faith and confidence of the people of this State, and has been elected railroad and warehouse commissioner. I refer to O. P. B. Jacobson, of Otterall County, as honest a man as ever sat in public office. A man who has devoted the years of his service in behalf of the farmers and producers. Governor, the one man above all others in the State of Minnesota who has fought against the Federal grain grading act and for the farmers of the Northwest.

It is this man whose honesty is attacked. It is this man whose integrity is questioned. It is this man whose service to the people is sought to be vilified. It is he, and he alone, who has had to stand the brunt of this attack. Let it be said to the shame and disgrace of those who are responsible for it that the people of Minnesota know that the old viking from Ottertail County has always been honest and square and fair by the people.

Mr. Jacobson has suffered enough. He has never deserved this kind of a deal, and the time has now arrived here for you to exonerate him and let the people of Minnesota realize that the chamber of commerce, in all their greed and all their dishonesty, can not take away from old O. P. B. Jacobson the one thing he holds dear above everything else, and that is his good name and his honest reputation.

SENATOR MULLIN

Let us look at the other side of the picture for a moment before I close. A young man, elected for a short while to the office of State senator, whose brother is a member of the chamber of commerce, brings this proceeding, and under oath charges the various crimes and misdemeanors which have never been proven.

Governor, why did he do so? I want to be charitable, if possible, in this matter. I want to say that perhaps it was his desire to become a hero and a champion of the people that induced him to make these charges. He is extremely young and very unsophisticated. He has been raised in the city and is unacquainted with country ways.

But do not forget this: Before these charges were filed he and his counsel sat down in conference with Eddie Hughes, the assistant secretary of the chamber of commerce, and with Mr. Morin, the witness who ran out and whom we have never been able to get, and prepared these charges. I would like to concede that when he first brought these charges that the gentleman acted in good faith. I would at least hope he did.

But when he has sat here through these proceedings and seen the case reeking with perjury and fraud and corruption, I can not understand why he did not rise up and protest. To be sure, he sought publicity and has received it and will receive it to the end of his day. "Elevator M" will always be his name from this time forth. No matter where he goes or what he does, Jerry Mullin will always be known as "Elevator M," the colossal joke of the ages, the fraud perpetrated upon the Governor of the State of Minnesota.

To my mind, as this case progressed, there came a time when Senator Mullin could have risen to the heights and proved himself one of the biggest men in the State of Minnesota. That time was when the testimony of Mr. Storch, of the Grain Stabilization Corporation, showed that every bushel of wheat which the Grain Stabilization Corporation purchased weighed more than 58 pounds. There was the opportunity for Senator Mullin to have shown himself to be a real man. We all make mistakes, and when we realize them we ought to be big enough to admit them. I am sorry the senator failed to live up to his opportunity.

Governor Olson, the relator in this case, must stand or fall upon the record, and nothing else. No political contingencies can avail him in any degree.

The evidence in this case clearly shows that the Farmers Union Terminal Association has been guilty of no wrongdoing, and I am confident your excellency will so find.

The relator has failed to prove a single charge in his complaint. On the contrary, it has been shown by abundant evidence that the moving power back of this miserable proceeding was McHugh and the chamber of commerce.

The chamber of commerce has failed in their mad attempt to ruin the cooperative movement, but there is evidence in this case which should prove of benefit to the farmers of the Northwest. We know better now than ever before the ways and manners in which the farmers have been mulcted. We know that storage laws should be enacted and that laws should be enacted providing that the farmer should not be compelled to pay freight on his dockage and receive nothing for it.

The chamber of commerce has unwittingly done the farmers of the Northwest and your excellency a great service. They had hoped to ruin the cooperative movement. They have erected the scaffold which will hang the grain gamblers.

APPEALS TO GOVERNOR TO HELP GET LEGISLATION

The producers of this State, the cooperative organizations of Minnesota, and my client, the Farmers Union Terminal Association, want to uphold your hand, Governor Olson, in every effort that you may make for the passage of laws that will give to the producer and the farmer fair treatment that will protect them from exploitation. No greater opportunity and no grander privilege has ever before confronted a Governor of Minnesota, and I know that with your love for the progressive cause you will rise to the occasion, and as a result of your efforts and your leadership the farmers of Minnesota can look forward to a better day.

Governor, the greatest fraud now existing against the farmers is the Federal grading act. Your voice, I am sure, will be raised in protest against this inequity.

If we had the grading acts which O. P. B. Jacobson has fought for, this hearing would not have been possible.

The people of Minnesota want you to join hands with him. For 25 years he has fought for the farmers and sought to protect their interests and has battled against the Federal grain grading act. This act was passed for the benefit of the millers and the grain gamblers of this country. It has cost the producers untold millions of dollars. Your influence and the high position and estate which you occupy will enable you to lead the fight which will give to the farmers of the Northwest and of this country an honest, a fair, an equitable grading act. I thank you.

SIX-HOUR DAY FOR RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a joint resolution from the House and asks the attention of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS].

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 252) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees was read twice by its title.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, may the joint resolution be read at length?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the joint resolution be read for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Interstate Commerce Commission be, and is hereby directed to investigate what would be the effect upon operation, service, and expenses of applying the principle of a 6-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employees because of such application.

SEC. 2. The commission is further directed to report its findings to the Congress on or before December 15, 1932.

Mr. COUZENS. I ask that the House joint resolution may be substituted for a similar joint resolution adopted by the Senate last week.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is not necessary. The adoption of the House joint resolution will have the same effect.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I call the attention of the Senator from Michigan to the fact that the joint resolution to which he refers as having been adopted by the Senate is probably out of the possession of the Senate. Let the Senator ask merely for the consideration of the House joint resolution.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I ask that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the joint resolution will be so referred.

ADDITION TO SKULL VALLEY INDIAN RESERVATION

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, out of order I wish to have considered at this time House bill 6663, recently passed by the House. A similar bill, being Senate bill 2553, was passed by the Senate last week, but the House bill was passed first and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. It has to do with setting aside on the public domain in Utah half a section of land for the use of the Skull Valley Indian Reservation. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Indian Affairs may be discharged from the further consideration of the House bill and that it may be considered at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let it be reported for the information of the Senate.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I shall have to object to the immediate conclusion of the bill. The calendar will probably be called to-morrow or next day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

PREFERENCE TO DOMESTIC ARTICLES IN GOVERNMENT PURCHASES

Mr. JONES. Out of order, I introduce a bill. It is not very long, and I ask that it may be read and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the bill (S. 3349) authorizing the purchasing officers of the Government to give preference to domestic articles was read the first time by its title and the second time at length and referred to the Committee on Appropriations, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That notwithstanding any provision of law to the contrary, the heads of the several executive departments and independent establishments of the Government, shall, in advertising for proposals for supplies or equipment, require bidders to certify whether the articles proposed to be furnished are of domestic or foreign growth, production, or manufacture, and shall, notwithstanding that articles of the growth, production, or manufacture of the United States may cost more than similar articles of the growth, production, or manufacture of foreign countries, purchase or contract for, within the limits of the United States, only articles of the growth, production, or manufacture of the United States, unless in their judgment the interest of the Government will not permit, and if the excess of cost be not unreasonable.

EMERGENCY PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on Friday next I intend to call up Senate resolution 72, submitted by me, providing the parliamentary situation will permit of my doing so.

RECESS

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate take a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 4 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Thursday, January 28, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 27 (legislative day of January 26), 1932

MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

William E. Humphrey to be a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

Claude B. Mayo to be captain.

Eugene T. Oates to be commander.

To be lieutenant commanders

Elmer E. Duvall, jr.
Lloyd E. Clifford.
Willis M. Percifield.
John Meyer.
William S. Holloway.
Mallery K. Aiken.
Hiram L. Irwin.
Rico Botta.
Ralph H. Norris.
Frank C. Fake.
Bronson P. Vosbury.
Donald W. Loomis.
William S. Heath.
Elbert C. Rogers.
Jerauld Wright.
Harry W. Need.
Charles D. Leffler, jr.
Earle W. Mills.
Harry D. Hoffman.
Harold G. Eberhart.
Victor C. Barringer, jr.
Martin R. Derx.
Graeme Bannerman.
Henry S. Kendall.
Stanley M. Haight.
William E. G. Erskine.
Edward W. Wunch, jr.
John D. H. Kane.
James W. Whitfield.
Harold E. MacLellan.
Albert S. Marley, jr.
Peter K. Fischler.
Harry W. von Hasseln.
Guy D. Townsend.
Olton R. Bennehoff.
Arthur T. Moen.
Ross P. Whitemarsh.
Ralph H. Henkle.
Gordon B. Woolley.
Albert L. Hutson.
Walter L. Taylor.
Miles R. Browning.
Ellis H. Geiselman.
Ernest H. Krueger.
Jack H. Duncan.
Watson O. Bailey.
Leland P. Lovette.
Wallace M. Dillon.
Edmund J. Kidder.
Edward D. Walbridge.
Leroy W. Busbey, jr.
Smith D. A. Cobb.
Malcolm A. Deans.
Ralph S. Riggs.
Carlos W. Wieber.
Edwin D. Gibb.
John M. Haines.
William A. S. Macklin.
John W. Rogers.
Charles G. Moore, jr.
Robert L. Mitten.
Mays L. Lewis.
Elmer V. Iverson.
Stanley C. Norton.
Chauncey R. Crutcher.
William K. Phillips.
Ralph C. Alexander.
Samuel H. Hurt.
Herbert R. Sobel.
Allan P. Flagg.
Vaughn Bailey.
Frank O. Wells.
Henry Hartley, an additional number.
William R. Buechner.
Arthur B. Dorsey.
Charles W. A. Campbell.
Jonathan H. Warman.
Joseph W. Bettens.
Charles Antrobus.
Frank E. Nelson.
Philip S. Flint.
Melvin C. Kent.
Anthony Prastka.
Raymond A. Walker.
Ola D. Butler.
Peter J. Gundlach.
Albert M. Hinman.
Stephen A. Loftus.
Herbert R. Mytinger.
Harold A. Turner.
Curry E. Eason.
Brice H. Mack.
Herbert J. Meneratti.
William A. Mason.
John F. Murphy.
Clarence R. Rockwell.
Paul E. Kuter.
Simon L. Shade.
Albert E. Freed.
Harry J. Hansen.
Newcomb L. Damon.
John J. Madden.
Clyde Lovelace.
Martin Dickinson.
William H. Farrel.
George S. Dean.
Charles F. Fielding.
Judson E. Scott.
Robert B. England.
Lars O. Peterson.
Omar B. Earle.
Edwin Fisher.
George R. Blauvelt.
Chester L. Nichols.
Thomas M. Leovy.
Harold F. Fultz.
Benjamin W. Cloud.
Frederick S. Conner.
Howard W. Kitchin.
Leland D. Webb.
William Knox.
Clyde C. Laws.
Thomas E. Flaherty.
Arthur R. Ponto.
Merwin W. Arps.
Jerome L. Allen.
William A. Tattersall.
Grover A. Miller.
Marion C. Erwin.
Lester M. Harvey.
Frederick A. Ruf.
Harry L. Thompson.
John F. Warris.
Francis E. Fitch.
John M. Sheehan.
George R. Henderson.
George T. Owen.
Loverne A. Pope.
Rossmore D. Lyon.
Fred C. Dickey.

To be lieutenants

Kenneth D. Ringle.
William M. Haynsworth, jr.
Albin R. Sodergren.
Robert A. MacKerracher.
John E. Shomier, jr.
Walter C. Holt.
Joseph E. M. Wood.
Frank H. Newton, jr.
Samuel P. Comly, jr.
Francis L. Robbins.
John L. Brown.
David W. Hardin.
Matthew S. Q. Weiser.
William P. E. Wadbrook.
Morris Smellow.
Harry H. Keith.
Joseph T. Sheehan.
Church A. Chappell.
Harold N. Williams.
George K. Hodgkiss.
Thayer T. Tucker.
Claude H. Bennett, jr.
George W. Welker, jr.
John M. McIsaac.
Frank H. Bond.
Thomas L. Turner.
John L. Welch.
Frederick M. Trapnell.
William L. Hoffheins.
Louis F. Teuscher.
William K. Mendenhall.
Richard M. Scruggs.
Frederick A. Edwards.
William E. Hennigar.
Peter W. Haas, jr.
John C. Goodnough.
Joseph L. Kane.
Donald S. MacMahan.
Walter C. Russell.
James H. Willett.
Philip S. Reynolds.
Ralph J. Arnold.
Henry C. Johnson.
John S. Keating.
Fred W. Walton.
Leon N. Blair.
Harry D. Felt.
Percival E. McDowell.
John M. Will.
Karl G. Hensel.
Herbert M. Wescoat.
Arthur F. Dineen.
Robert H. Rodgers.
Samuel G. Fuqua.
Charles D. Beaumont, jr.
Frank E. Shoup, jr.
Frederick Moosbrugger.
Francis M. Hughes.
William R. Thayer.
Alfred H. Richards.
Steele B. Smith.
Charles R. Ensey, jr.
Stanley Leith.
Edwin R. Peck.
John C. McCutchen.
George A. Dussault.
Curtis S. Smiley.
Murvale T. Farrar.
Louis A. Reinken.
Balch B. Wilson, jr.
Howard L. Young.
Marvin M. Stephens.
Olin Scroggins.
Harold Doe.
Josephus A. Briggs.
Robert P. Wadell.
Thomas E. Boyce.
Richard M. Oliver.
Francis D. Hamblin.
James E. Fuller.
Harold H. Connelley.
Pleasant D. Gold, 3d.
Arthur L. Maher.
Philip H. Ryan.

Dwight H. Day.
Boltwood E. Dodson.
Henry M. Cooper.
John J. Jecklin.
Donald E. Wilcox.
Thomas J. Casey.
Aaron P. Storrs, 3d.

To be lieutenants (junior grade)

Donald S. Gordon.
John B. Taylor.
Eldon C. Mayer.
Edward N. Teall, jr.
Monro M. Riker.
Robert A. Johnson.
Edmund E. Garcia.
Henry T. Jarrell.
John Bailey.
Robert B. Morgan, jr.
Byron C. Gwinn.
Richard E. Fenton.
Fred J. Leatherman.
Daniel W. Latimore.
Henry F. Gorski.
Herbert T. Tortorich.
Winston I. Quattlebaum.
James R. Lee.
Robert E. Van Meter.
John Quinn.
Harry E. Sears.
George H. Moffett.
Harlow J. Carpenter.
Joseph Finnegan.
Wilfred J. Hastings.
Philip F. Wakeman.
William S. Pye, jr.
Thomas A. Ahroon.
John A. Bole, jr.
William A. Schoech.
William A. Cockell.
John F. Mullen, jr.
William H. Jacobsen.
David L. McDonald.
Cuthbert J. Bruen.
Theodore F. Ascherfeld.
Joseph F. Quilter.
William S. Parsons.
William J. Millican.
Wells Thompson.
Edward T. Eves.
Earle C. Hawk.
Michael P. Bagdanovich.
Milton G. Johnson.
George P. Enright.
Albert O. Momm.
Rodney B. Lair.
Norman F. Garton.
William M. Searles.
John R. Pierce.
Victor B. Cole.
Evan E. Fickling.
Albert C. Burrows.
Robert O. Strange.
Robert C. Peden.
Irwin F. Beyerly.
John T. Bowers, jr.
Carl A. R. Lindgren.
Hugh R. Nieman, jr.
Daniel J. Wagner.
Allan G. Gaden.
Thurmond A. Smith.
Edwin B. Dexter.
Hurley McC. Zook.
Stephen H. Ambruster.
Elwood C. Madsen.
Michael F. D. Flaherty.
Rollo N. Norgaard.
Robert J. Archer.
Idris B. Monahan.
Thomas Ashcraft.
John L. Collis.
George E. King.
Charles H. Kendall.
Albert J. Walden.
George Fritschmann.
Matthew Radom.
John K. McCue.
James H. Brett, jr.
Francois C. B. Jordan.
Chesford Brown.
Edward A. Hannegan.
Leonard F. Freiburghouse.
Thomas W. Jones.
Neale R. Curtin.
Edwin J. S. Young.
John T. White.
Clarence M. Bowley.
Thomas A. Donovan.
Frederick E. Moore.
Joe E. Wyatt.
J. Clark Riggs, jr.
David W. Todd, jr.
Robert L. Morris.
Alan B. Banister.
John C. Alderman.
John M. Boyd.
Marcel R. Gerin.
John E. Burke.
Roger M. Daisley.
Jesse J. Underhill.
Alfred M. Aichel.
Paul R. Anderson.
Walter N. Gray.
William W. Shea.
Philip D. Gallery.
Stephen N. Tackney.
John A. Williams.
William F. Raborn, jr.
Julian H. Detyens.
Robert T. S. Keith.
Nic Nash, jr.
Lindell H. Hewett.
George K. Huff.
Frank McD. Nichols.
Basil N. Rittenhouse, jr.
Donald A. Lovelace.
Weldon L. Hamilton.
Lex L. Black.
Jack C. Renard.
John G. Urquhart, jr.
Eugene W. Fitzmaurice.
Robert S. Hall, jr.
Guy W. Stringer.
Harry W. Richardson.
Phillip G. Stokes.
Robert A. Pierce.
Charles P. Huff, jr.
John F. Nelson.
John A. Scott.
Max L. Catterton.
Julian H. Leggett.
Earl H. Pope.

To be ensigns

Howard J. Abbott.
Noah Adair, jr.
Charles W. Aldrich.
Edward H. Allen.
Robbins W. Allen.
Charles R. Almgren.
Augustus H. Alston, jr.
Jay S. Anderson.
Richard K. Anderson.
Richard S. Andrews.
Richard N. Antrim.
Philip H. Ashworth.
Thomas Ashworth, jr.
Walter C. Bailey.
Horace D. Barker.
Raymond H. Bass.
Alcorn G. Beckmann.
Frederick J. Becton.
Robert P. Beebe.
Allen C. Bell.
Louis J. Bellis.
Sherman W. Betts.
James O. Biglow.
Edward M. Bingham.
Joseph D. Black.
Orrin F. Black.
Edward M. Blessman.
Charles T. Booth, 2d.
Robert M. Bowstrom.
Frederic R. Brace.
William B. Braun.
John H. Brockway.
Ward Bronson.
Charles B. Brooks, jr.
Henry E. Brossy.
Elliott M. Brown.
Frederick J. Brush.
Edward S. Burns.
Eugene V. Burt.
John W. Byng.
Bruce L. Carr.
John D. Cashman.
Hiram Cassedy.
John F. Castree.
Bryant A. Chandler.
John L. Chew.
Paul W. Clarke.
John B. Colwell.
James I. Cone.
Charles O. Cook, jr.
Lawrence B. Cook.
Eb S. Cooke.
Robert W. Cooper.
Nathaniel C. Copeland.
Thomas H. Copeman.
Warren G. Corliss.
Leo O. Crane.
Richard H. Crane.
Francis D. Crinkley.
Charles L. Crommelin.
John D. Crowley.
John W. Crumpacker.
Ralph Cullinan, jr.
Arthur A. Cumberledge.
Damon M. Cummings.
Arthur N. Daniels.
Donald V. Daniels.
DeAtley I. Davis.
James H. Davis.
Edward M. Day.
George DeMetropolis.
James C. Dempsey.
Lucian F. Dodson.
John O. F. Dorsett.
Harrington M. Drake.
William A. Dunn.
Ralph W. Elden.
Lee A. Ellis.
Ernest B. Ellsworth, jr.
Ralph N. Ernest.
Ernest E. Evans.
Rudolph J. Fabian.
Robert S. Fahle.
Robert B. Farquharson, jr.
Elwin L. Farrington.
James I. Fawcett.
John B. Fellows, jr.
Cleon H. Felton.
Edward F. Ferguson.
Reid P. Fiala.
Benjamin P. Field, jr.
Maxim W. Firth.
William W. Fitts.
John A. Fitzgerald.
William H. Fitzgerald.
Arthur I. Flaherty.
Joseph E. Flynn.
Francis J. Foley.
Joseph F. Foley.
Lorenz Q. Forbes.
Edward L. Foster.
Archie D. Fraser.
George F. Freeman.
William M. Freshour.
Robert E. Gadrow.
Winsor C. Gale.
Wilmer E. Gallaher.
John W. Gannon.
Josef M. Gardiner.
Clarence L. Gasterland.
Will M. Garton, jr.
Peter M. Gaviglio.
Benjamin Ghetzler.
Wayne F. Gibson.
Roy O. Gilbert, jr.
William J. Giles, jr.
Thomas E. Gillespie.
Ralph G. Gillette.
Harry M. S. Gimber, jr.
Frank G. Gould.
Donald S. Graham.
James D. Grant.
Albert D. Gray.
George M. Greene.
Thomas J. Greene.
Edward H. Guilbert.
Byron L. Gurnette.
Oscar E. Hagberg.
Vernon R. Hain.
Henry H. Hale.
Madison Hall, jr.
Norman Hall.
Mann Hamm.
Douglas T. Hammond.
John F. Harper, jr.
George A. Hatton.
Claude V. Hawk.
Carson Hawkins.
Richard R. Hay.
Nelson M. Head.
Robert B. Heilig.
Andrew J. Hill, jr.
Thomas W. Hogan, jr.
Harry W. Holden.
John C. Hollingsworth.
William W. Hollister.
Merrill S. Holmes.
Arnold H. Holtz.
Ernest C. Holtzworth.
Edwin B. Hooper.
Charles M. Howe, 3d.
Francis W. Hoye.
Robert E. Hudson.
George P. Huff.
John N. Hughes.
William C. Hughes, jr.
Raymond P. Hunter.
John D. Huntley.
Alden H. Irons.
Clifton Iverson.

Raymond H. Jacobs.
Clifford T. Janz.
Marvin J. Jensen.
Charles M. Jett.
William H. Johnsen.
Harlan T. Johnson.
Willis O. Johnson.
Alvin A. Jones.
Ashton B. Jones, jr.
Robert E. C. Jones.
Robert F. Jones.
Karl E. Jung.
John F. Just.
James H. Kelsey, jr.
Gerald L. Ketchum.
Joseph V. Kiehlbauch.
Robert D. King.
Victor A. King.
Charles C. Kirkpatrick.
Charles E. Kirkpatrick.
John E. Kirkpatrick.
Millard J. Klein.
Thomas R. Kurtz, jr.
Sidney J. Lawrence.
James T. Lay.
William R. Lefavour.
Joseph W. Leverton, jr.
Bafford E. Lewellen.
Burton C. Lillis, jr.
Carl A. Lizberg.
Robert E. Lockwood.
Ernest W. Longton.
Carlton C. Lucas.
Hylan B. Lyon.
Eugene S. Lytle, jr.
Donald J. MacDonald.
George K. MacKenzie, jr.
Robert W. Mackert.
George B. Madden.
Elliot E. Marshall.
Marshall T. Martin.
Forsyth Massey.
Jesse S. McAfee.
Frank C. McAllister, jr.
John S. McCain, jr.
Reginald R. McCracken.
William R. McCuddy.
Edwin A. McDonald.
William V. McKaig.
Baxter M. McKay.
Francis A. McKee.
Bernard F. McMahon.
Vincent J. Meola.
Francis B. Merkle.
Alfred B. Metsger.
Lion T. Miles.
Justin A. Miller.
Norman M. Miller.
John O. Miner.
George G. Molumphy.
John R. Moore.
Daniel S. Morris.
Charles A. Morrow, jr.
William J. Morrow, jr.
McDonald Moses.
Jesse H. Motes, jr.
Philip W. Mothersill, jr.
Carleton E. Mott.
Horace D. Moulton.
Henry Mullins, jr.
James A. Murphy.
John A. Myer.
Horace Myers.
Floyd B. T. Myhre.
Ray C. Needham.
Raymond H. Nelson.
Samuel E. Nelson.
Rathel L. Nolan, jr.
William C. Norvell.
Joseph E. O'Brien.
Michael G. O'Connor.
Edward J. O'Neill.
James M. O'Toole.
Seymour D. Owens.
Charles K. Palmer.
Lee S. Pancake.
John C. Parham, jr.
William K. Parsons.
Thomas B. Payne.
Harold Payson, jr.
Hepburn A. Pearce.
George E. Peckham.
Francis M. Peters, jr.
James M. Peters.
Richard W. Peterson.
Thomas C. Phifer.
Ransom A. Pierce.
Samuel H. Porter.
Peter G. Powell, jr.
John G. F. Prescott.
Frank R. Putnam.
Lawson P. Ramage.
Frank G. Raysbrook.
Allan L. Reed.
John S. Reese.
Henry A. Renken.
James R. Z. Reynolds.
Alvin F. Richardson.
Clark A. Ritchie.
Horacio Rivero, jr.
Berton A. Robbins, jr.
Edward L. Robertson, jr.
Bernard F. Roeder.
Anthony C. Roessler.
Thomas W. Rogers.
Albert K. Romberg.
David L. Roscoe, jr.
Harold B. Russell.
William M. Ryon.
Robert R. Sampson.
Walter P. Schoeni.
George T. Schultz.
Harry E. Seidel, jr.
Charles F. Sell.
Leland G. Shaffer.
Alfred E. Sharp, jr.
Ward T. Shields.
William B. Sieglaff.
William J. Sisko.
Andrew J. Smith.
Curtis E. Smith.
James T. Smith.
Julius E. Smith, jr.
Norman E. Smith.
Ronald K. Smith.
Victor H. Soucek.
Jerry C. South, jr.
Arthur E. Stafford.
Richard C. Steere.
Edward F. Steffanides, jr.
Frederic S. Steinke.
Andrew P. Stewart.
Walter J. Stewart.
George R. Stone.
Charles T. Straub.
Daniel A. Stuart.
Joseph B. Swain.
Eugene Tatom.
Robert L. Taylor.
Robert A. Theobald, jr.
Willis M. Thomas.
Warren R. Thompson.
Joseph T. Thornton, jr.
Donald W. Todd.
Theodore A. Torgerson.
Joseph C. Toth.
Alfred B. Tucker, III.
Thomas D. Tyra.
Gordon A. Uehling.
Schermerhorn Van Mater.
Charles S. Vaughn.
Alexander C. Veasey.
Louis F. Volk.
James B. Vredenburgh.
Ford L. Wallace.
Kinloch C. Walpole.
Nathaniel E. Warman.
Hazlett P. Weatherwax.
John A. Webster.
James B. Weiler.
Frederick U. Weir.
Charles L. Werts.
Karl R. Wheland.
Justin L. Wickens.
Henry R. Wier.
Donald T. Wilber.
Prentis K. Will.
George K. Williams.
Henry Williams, jr.
Jack B. Williams.
Lowell W. Williams.
Russell C. Williams.
Francis T. Williamson.
Albert H. Wilson, jr.
Arthur L. Wilson.
George S. Wilson.
Peyton L. Wirtz.
James M. Wood.
Lester O. Wood.
Ronald J. Woodaman.
Edward A. Wright.
Sinclair B. Wright.
John T. Wulff.
Evan W. Yancey.
Andrew L. Young, jr.
William P. Woods.

To be surgeons

Enoch G. Brian.
Ross U. Whiteside.
George G. Herman.
Alfred L. Gaither.
Emil J. Stelter.
James F. Terrell.
Jesse D. Jewell.
Harvey W. Miller.
Joseph F. Lankford.
Frank W. Quin.
Francis E. Tierney.
Charles A. Costello.
Forrest M. Harrison.
Harold A. Noreen.
Robert W. Thomas.
Richard W. Hughes.
Harrison L. Wyatt.
Alva A. Shadday.
Cyrus C. Brown.
Henry D. Hubbard.
James L. Manion.
Guy Fish.
Louis E. Fitzsimmons.
John G. Smith.
Isaac B. Polak.
Camille M. Shaar.
Frederick R. Haselton.
Wilbert W. Munsell.
Leslie O. Stone.
Benjamin H. Adams.
Clifford G. Hines.
John B. O'Neill.
James C. Kimball.
William H. Harrell.
Clinton G. DeFoney.
James G. Dickson.
DeWitt T. Hunter.
David O. Bowman.
Harry J. Noble.
Arthur H. Pierson.
Earl E. Sullivan.
Houston B. Fite.
Gilbert H. Larson.
Samuel E. Johnson.
Daniel P. Platt.
John A. Marsh.
Reuben H. Hunt.
James K. Gordon.
Jose A. Perez.
Henry A. N. Bruckshaw.
William F. Kennedy.
Francis D. Walker.
Royal A. McCune.
Franklyn C. Hill.
Charles R. Tatum.
Maurice Joses.
Thomas F. Duhigg.
Benjamin W. Gaines.
James D. Benjamin.
Emmett J. Brady.
Harry A. Keener.
Paul F. Dickens.
Henry C. Kellers.
Lincoln Humphreys.
Albion H. Cecha.
Ernest F. Slater.
Irving E. Stowe.
Francis P. Field.
Everett B. Taylor.
Dwight Dickinson, jr.
William A. Epstein.
Alfred G. Tinney.
Arthur J. White.
Ray E. A. Pomeroy.
Jonathan E. Henry.
Fleete S. Steele.
Aclpfar A. Marsteller.
John A. Topper.
Edward M. Steger.
Earl E. Dockery.
Charles Wheatley.
Clarence N. Smith.
John G. Davis.
William S. Bunkley.
Gleaves B. Kenny.
Roy J. Leutsker.
George E. Mott.
Cyrus R. Currier.
Henry L. Fougerousse.
Otis B. Spalding.
David E. Horrigan.
J. Howard Branan.
Victor B. Riden.
James P. Bowles.
Clyde W. Brunson.
James D. Blackwood, jr.
John B. Bostick.
John T. O'Connell.
Vincent Hernandez.
Ray W. Hayworth.
Stuart J. Trowbridge.
Samuel H. White.
Edward J. Goodbody.
Richard B. Blackwell.

To be passed assistant surgeon

Harry L. Goff.

To be assistant surgeons

Clarence Minnema.
Thomas M. Arnett.
Malcolm W. Arnold.
Lawrence E. Bach.
Robert Bell.
Martin H. Benson.
Reuben A. Benson.
William T. Booth.
Weston T. Buddington.
James B. Butler.
Alvin R. Carpenter.
Alvin J. Cerny.
Harold J. Cokely.
William H. L. Collis.
Victor G. Colvin.
Daniel C. Corriher.
Murphy K. Cureton.
Giffin C. Daughtridge.
Adrian J. Delaney.
Lewis T. Dorgan.
Kenneth W. Eikenberry.
Leslie D. Ekvall.
William L. Engelman.
Benjamin G. Feen.
James E. Fulghum.
Andrew Galloway.
Willard M. Gobbell.
Clark G. Grazier.
Powell W. Griffith.
Ralph D. Handen.
Eugene R. Hering, jr.
George R. Hogshire, jr.
Clifford M. Hughes.
Edward F. Kline.
Frederick R. Lang.
Frank A. Latham.
William P. Locke.
Ralph M. McComas.
Isaac S. McReynolds.
Clarence F. Morrison.
Langdon C. Newman.
Roger R. Olsen.
Erwin H. Osterloh.
Elbert F. Penry.
Paul K. Perkins.
James A. Price.
Howard L. Puckett.
Edward M. Quinn.
Joseph F. Rech.
George B. Ribble, jr.
James J. Sapero.
Oscar Schneider.
Howard K. Sessions.
Robert E. Shands.
Marcy Shupp.
Richard J. S. Silvis.
Francis K. Smith.
Rudolph E. Swenson.
Donald R. Tompkins.
Otto E. Van Der Aue.
Burt O. Wade.
Ernest M. Wade.
John H. Ward, jr.
Robert L. Ware.
Leon H. Warren.
Fitz-John Weddell, jr.
John J. Wells.
John M. Wheelis, jr.
Thomas L. Willmon.
James E. Wilson, jr.
Donald O. Wissinger.
John D. Yarbrough.
Isadore Zugerman.
Joseph L. Zundell.
Eugene R. Hammersley
Charles D. Bell
Paul M. Hoot.
Morris M. Rubin.
John F. Register.
Edward T. Gary.
Gabriel E. Obester.
Louis M. Harris.
Charles R. Moon.
Keitt H. Smith.
Clifford P. Powell.
Thomas W. McDaniel, jr.
Stephen E. Flynn.
Edgar J. Easley.

To be dental surgeons

William F. Murdy.
Clarence A. Chandler.
Ronnie A. Berry.
Nicholas S. Duggan.
William J. Rogers.
Carl E. Reynolds.
Edmund Laughlin.
Edward J. Fitzgerald.
Charles S. Weigester.
Carlton B. Morse.
Rolland W. Quesinberry.
Ralph P. Morse.
Ernest C. Johnson.
Claude A. Angonnet.
Charles H. Morris.
Clifford E. Kelly.
Elmer C. O'Connell.
Harrison J. LaSalle.
Henry C. Lowry.
John L. McCarthy.
Patrick A. McCole.
Henry G. Ralph.

To be assistant dental surgeons

George N. Crosland.
Victor A. LeClair.
Robert W. Wheelock.
James H. Connelly.
Merritt J. Crawford.
Adolph W. Borsum.
Paul M. Carbiener.
Claude E. Adkins.
Richard H. Barrett, jr.
Erwin J. Shields.
Lauro J. Turbini.
Richard M. Bear.
Max W. Kleinman.
Robert W. Moss.
James A. Morton.

To be medical inspectors

Carleton I. Wood.
William W. Wickersham.
William H. Michael.
Joel T. Boone.
Frederic L. Conklin.
Clarence W. Ross.

To be pay inspectors

Omar D. Conger.
James P. Helm.
Robert S. Chew.
Oscar W. Leidel.
Charles C. Copp.
John J. Gaffney.
John A. Byrne.
Richard S. Robertson.
Charles V. McCarty.
Eaton C. Edwards.
John B. Ewald.
Samuel R. White, jr.

To be paymasters

Harry A. Hooton.
Charles W. Charlton.
Palmer J. McCloskey.
John B. Daniels.
Arthur P. M. Shock.
James M. Easter.
Gerald A. Shattuck.
Melvin F. Talbot.
Edwin D. Foster.
Walton Dismukes.
Horace D. Nuber.
William J. Carter, jr.
David W. Mitchell.
Archy W. Barnes.
George P. Seifert.
Thomas M. Schnotala.
Charles E. Sandgren.
Andrew J. McMullen.
Alvah B. Canham.
Frank W. Hathaway.
Theodore S. Coulbourn.
John H. Seifert.
Arthur G. King.
Orville D. Foutch.
LeRoy Moyer.
Edward R. McKenzie.
William C. Colbert.
Benjamin Berkowitz.
Edison H. Gale.
Percy J. Hutchinson.
Herbert C. Lassiter.
William R. Ryan.
James C. Masters.
William E. Lund.
Roy E. Smith.
Lawrence C. Fuller.
Samuel V. Dunham.
Stephen E. Smith.
John L. Cash.
Clarence W. Baker.
Charles W. Brown.
Allen C. Bridges.
Independent W. Gorton.
Arthur A. Lee.
Daniel Lynch.
Edward H. Duane.
Max Baum.
Charles W. Stevenson.

To be assistant paymasters

Clark T. Abbott.
Peyton P. Callaway.
Stanley Mumford.
Joseph F. Tenney.
Marshall H. Cox.
Ignatius N. Tripi.
Charles L. Keithley.
Walter R. Wright.
Frederick A. Kinzie.
Sidney A. Freeberg.
Edward P. Trenholme.
William E. Moring.
Bernhard Tieslau.
Harvey C. Hope.
Francis B. Risser.
Arnold J. Carlson.
Frederick DeB. Witzel.
Warren W. Whiteside, jr.
John H. Sewell.
Harry R. Godbey.
George A. Johnson.

To be assistant naval constructor

John H. Spiller.

To be civil engineer

Ralph D. Spalding.

To be assistant civil engineers

Albert J. Fay.
Howard F. Ransford.
Horace B. Jones.

To be chief boatswains

Daryl W. Cardell.
Edwin M. Jacobsen.
Harold T. Petersen to be chief gunner.

To be chief electricians

George L. Van Slyke.
Harry F. Letts.

To be chief radioelectricians

Delmar L. Tuft.
Albert D. Walker.
James M. Kane.
Augustus L. Day.
Elmer T. Stone.
Douglas S. Green.
William J. Thompson.
Lee J. Delworth.
William R. Morley.

To be chief machinists

Sterling P. Womack.
John J. Deignan.
Ivan L. Brown.
Walter W. Eshelman.

To be chief carpenters

Harry P. Cummings.
Thomas F. Coyne.
George W. Steeves.
Alfred J. Ray.
Henry B. Britt.

To be chief pay clerk

Philip C. Dahlquist.

POSTMASTERS

DELAWARE

Stephen W. Miller, Camden.

IOWA

Roscoe W. Petersen, Bettendorf.
Howard C. Copeland, Chariton.
Andrew C. Link, Dyersville.
Eliza K. Alldredge, Melbourne.
John A. Hale, Tripoli.

KENTUCKY

Roy Fraim, Alva.
Lenard W. Thrasher, Burkesville.
Emma A. Ellis, Campbellsville.
Lizzie B. Davisworth, Cumberland.
Benton W. Mauzy, Dixon.
Albert D. Bouland, Elva.
Claude P. Freeman, Fulton.
Arthur G. Powell, Irvine.
Mary L. Easum, Jeffersontown.
Mary O. Manby, La Grange.
John B. Searcy, Lawrenceburg.
Lillie M. Jackson, Lebanon.
Benoni H. Lott, Lewisport.
Frank A. Mohney, Lynch.
Marsh F. Chumley, McHenry.
John M. Miller, Middlesboro.
Carl A. Reis, Mogg.
Gilson P. Tate, Monticello.
Fred L. Sears, Nicholasville.
Burton Roberts, Richmond.
Inez M. Christian, Sturgis.
Edith Eaton, Uniontown.
Tacie G. Thoroughman, Vanceburg.
James L. Howard, Wallins Creek.

MASSACHUSETTS

Samuel L. Porter, Amesbury.
John D. Quigley, Ashland.
Henry E. Bearse, Centerville.
Maynard N. Wetherell, Chartley.
William H. Lilley, Chicopee.
Walter L. Tower, Dalton.
Gilbert W. O'Neil, Gloucester.
Charles H. Slocomb, Greenfield.
Leroy E. Johnson, Groton.
William F. Keller, Holliston.
George A. Coolidge, Hudson.
Leon C. W. Foote, Lee.
Ernest H. Wilcox, Manchester.
Turner R. Bailey, Medfield.
Charles D. Streeter, Mount Hermon.
Harold Winslow, New Bedford.
George W. Orcutt, North Abington.
James T. Potter, North Adams.
Alonzo W. Jones, Orleans.
Margaret E. Rourke, Prides Crossing.
William E. Chaffin, Scituate.
Wesley G. Rose, South Deerfield.
Maurice Williams, South Easton.
John H. Preston, South Hadley.
Frederick C. Haigis, Turners Falls.
Otis J. A. Dionne, Walpole.
Blanche E. Robinson, Wareham.
Thomas E. Hynes, Wayland.
George D. Roe, Westfield.
Henry O. Bailey, West Newbury.
Mary A. Fallon, West Stockbridge.

NEW YORK

Annie J. McFadden, Ardsley.
Howard E. Whealey, Baldwin.
Clarence G. Jones, Barneveld.
Vida E. Freeman, Bloomingdale.
William G. Fisher, Chadwicks.
Clarence A. Bratt, Clarence Center.
Norman D. Higby, Constableville.
George C. Palmer, Cuba.
Frank P. Morstatt, Garnerville.
Edward T. Cole, Garrison.
Herbert L. Merritt, Katonah.
Charles L. Stackpole, Lyon Mountain.
Ernest K. Smith, Middleburg.
Ambrose D. Eldred, New Hartford.
Carl R. Allen, Oriskany Falls.
Frank V. Palmer, Philmont.
William H. Savage, Seneca Falls.
William T. Williamson, Troy.
Dennis W. Messler, Trumansburg.
Ray C. Kelsey, Weedsport.
Julius H. Fisher, Wellsville.
Grace A. Harrington, West Point.
George T. Anderson, Whitesboro.
C. Irving Henderson, Worcester.

PENNSYLVANIA

William P. Bush, Bellwood.
Henry Doering, Bethayres.
Robert K. Ritter, Bethlehem.
Karl R. Volk, Boswell.
Clarence G. Dixon, Butler.
Chestina M. Smith, Centralia.
George F. Marsh, Clifton Heights.
Samuel E. Spare, Doylestown.
John Martinelli, Fairbank.
Henry W. Redfoot, Fredonia.
Rachel M. Thurston, Iselin.
William N. Baker, Lewisburg.
Clarence E. McGhee, Minersville.
Oscar R. Moser, Mont Alto.
Evalyn M. Roberts, Morganza.
Rapha C. Sieg, Mountainhome.
Mary R. Clapper, New Enterprise.
Frank M. Berk, New Ringgold.
Lina E. Williams, Reno.
Eli B. Weaver, Ruffs Dale.
Daniel M. Witmer, Safe Harbor.
Laura M. Gilpatrick, Seward.
Herman S. Van Campen, Shavertown.
Harry B. Lee, Springville.
Elmer E. Grover, Wapwallopen.
Joseph P. Kearney, Wynnewood.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in Heaven, every new day is worthy of our best endeavor. May we measure our duty by our obligation by taking hold of the ordinary tasks and common experiences and transmit them into permanent values. Let us open our hearts to Thee, even as we would a dear friend who has come to keep us delightful company and make us feel that our labor is altogether worth while. Grant that the law of justice may be upon our lips and the spirit of kindliness in our hearts. We thank Thee for the fine joys of life and for Thy gracious will concerning us. Teach us that life in its divinest essence is nobility of soul, purity of heart, and a zealous activity in doing good. May we walk worthily, labor justly, and hate and despise falsehood and cowardice. In the name of Jesus. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1207. An act granting an increase of pension to Helen K. Snowden;

S. 1569. An act for the relief of Della D. Ledendecker;

S. 1861. An act authorizing the George Washington Bicentennial Commission to print and distribute additional sets of the writings of George Washington;

S. 2569. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis O. Wick;

S. 2894. An act prohibiting misrepresentation as to seating accommodations by theaters in the District of Columbia; and

S. J. Res. 58. Joint resolution to authorize the printing of 100,000 copies of the annual report of the Federal Farm Board for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931.

DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting in the RECORD a speech made by me in defense of the American Legion on January 17, 1932.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

IS THE AMERICAN LEGION AN ASSET

I do not believe the Legion needs any defense from the charges made by Mr. Marcus Duffield, nor am I authorized by the American Legion to speak in its behalf, but feel that there are certain misunderstandings in the public mind which should be cleared up and which can easily be done. I hold no office in the Legion and speak as an individual.

I am only too glad, as a member of the Legion, to defend it against unfair attacks and uphold its principles and purposes as established by the preamble to its constitution, which reads as follows:

"For God and country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a 100 per cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and Nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

President Hoover and General Pershing have both, on public occasions, praised the preamble of the Legion in no uncertain terms. I had the honor of serving on the committee on the constitution at the first convention of the American Legion in the United States, held at St. Louis in May, 1919, and was selected as chairman of the subcommittee on the preamble, which was in fact a subcommittee of the committee on the constitution. The committee on the preamble consisted of Col. Jack Greenway, of Arizona, Judge Davis, of Portland, Oreg., now of Wilmington, Del., and myself as chairman. We worked over the wording of the preamble for 48 hours, shaping and reshaping the wording until I was authorized to report it for the subcommittee of three in its final form, which has never been changed by so much as the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t." Time and experience have ratified and confirmed these few lines.

I have purposely referred to the framing of the preamble as it concisely enunciates the principles and aims of the Legion, and also because of some misunderstanding and confusion created by President Hoover in his address before the Legion convention at Boston in 1930, when he erroneously referred to the Legion preamble as having been written in Paris, which is without foundation of fact.

The intent of the authors of the preamble was for a liberal interpretation of its wording; and as long as that policy is adhered to, I expect to continue to belong to the American Legion and uphold its purposes.

The Legion is the largest and most important patriotic organization in the United States, and its opportunities for service to community, State, and Nation are practically unlimited. It is a powerful organization, composed of civilians bound together through common service in the defense of their country that can be depended upon to form a bulwark for law and order and oppose tyranny or oppression, anarchy or revolution.

I believe under the new national commander, Henry L. Stevens, and the able cooperation of the national legislative representative, John Thomas Taylor, at Washington, that the Legion will take a more aggressive attitude in combatting the spread of communism and all revolutionary doctrines aimed at our free institutions and republican form of government.

The Legion has organized a militant campaign against unemployment and is doing effective work to find positions for unemployed veterans in all the industrial cities of the Nation. It has supported the efforts of the Labor Department to create veterans' employment bureaus, which are functioning efficiently in all the larger cities.

The Legion has organized 10,500 cities and towns to create employment along the Rochester and Buffalo plan, where the Legion demonstrated what could be done by making a house to house drive to persuade people to make repairs and improvements now. The Legion is urging manufacturers to employ additional men to do all necessary work at the present time.

The American Federation of Labor, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, and the churches are all cooperating with the Legion in its nationwide program to relieve the unemployment situation. The efforts of the Legion to obtain jobs for veterans and nonveterans is a fine constructive piece of work.

The Legion has done more for the disabled service men than all other organizations combined, and in making that statement I do not in any way reflect on the splendid work that has been and is still being done by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled American Veterans. However, while some of the ardor of those superpatriots, who repeatedly and dramatically announced during the war that nothing was too good for our disabled, has oozed and dwindled away because it cost money and meant increased taxes, the legionnaires have always placed the welfare of their disabled comrades first on their legislative program. To-day whenever any legislation is being considered in behalf of the disabled war veterans, such as civil-service preference or allowance for widows and orphans, the old cry that nothing is too good for them is seldom, or never, heard. But let some legislation be considered for the able-bodied veteran, such as the adjusted service certificate loan bill, and all the big metropolitan papers will howl in unison about the promises and pledges made to the disabled during the war in order to defeat it.

The American Legion has been unjustly charged with dictating all kinds of policies to the Congress of the United States and with utterly ignoring article 2 of the Legion constitution, which reads as follows:

"The American Legion shall be absolutely nonpolitical and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles or the promotion of the candidacy of any person seeking public office or preferment."

The Legion is absolutely nonpartisan; even its bitterest enemy can not deny that.

The undercover opponents of the Legion, the draft dodgers, the stay-at-homes, the ultraradicals, the peace-at-any-price women's organizations, the political bosses who always fear the onward march of youth, the war profiteers, and big taxpayers are united in the desire that the American Legion should be deaf, dumb, and blind on all the great issues with which our people and Nation are confronted.

I am glad that no individual can from now on say that the Legion dodges great controversial issues. At the last national convention the delegates refused to pussy-foot on prohibition and came out squarely for a referendum on this important issue which affects the lives, welfare, habits, and sentiments of all the American people.

The American Legion needs no defense against any such flimsy charges as made by Mr. Duffield, that it is a powerful political machine like the old Grand Army of the Republic, dominating and dictating to the Members of Congress and to the President of the United States.

There were many legionnaires, including myself, who had felt prior to the Detroit convention held last September that the Legion had failed to pay adequate attention to great public questions and that it had not taken its proper place in formulating public opinion and shaping the destinies of our country. What the Legion thinks to-day should be welcomed and followed by the American people, as the Legion represents a cross-section of our country, all of its members having served in the armed forces of the United States during the World War. If a nation is to be worth dying for in time of war, it must be worth living for in time of peace.

It is the manifest duty of the Legion, the largest veterans' organization in the United States, to take the leadership on most of the nonpolitical and nonpartisan issues affecting the interests of the American people and help in making our country a better place to live in for oncoming generations.

I doubt if anyone will deny that the Legion has far less political influence than the old G. A. R., which had only a fraction of its membership. Within two years after the Civil War 50 per cent of the Members of Congress had served in the Union Army, whereas to-day, 14 years after the armistice, only 15 per cent of the Members of Congress are World War veterans.

There has been more misunderstanding and unjustifiable criticism of the Legion and of all veterans on account of the passage in the closing days of the last session of the bill providing for additional loans to war veterans than of any other legislation since I have been in Congress. I am glad of this opportunity to defend the Legion and all veterans against the massed editorial attacks of most of our metropolitan papers since the increased veterans' loan bill became law. I have no hesitation in saying, without any reservation, that during my service in the House of Representatives I know of no veterans' legislation that has been sounder, saner, or safer as far as the interests of the public and taxpayers are concerned.

The people back home, through reading utterly erroneous articles in the metropolitan newspapers, have been led to believe that Congress, by providing for additional loans of from 22½ per cent to 50 per cent on the adjusted-service certificates held by the World War veterans, has deliberately organized a raid upon the Treasury which will increase taxes and hamper and retard business. These unfair, untrue, and iniquitous charges have been

spread throughout the land by the metropolitan press and are ably supported by numerous magazines and business periodicals. I challenge any individual, newspaper, or magazine to explain just how the veterans' loan bill as passed by the Congress constitutes a raid on the Treasury, or will increase taxes or retard business.

Under the provisions of the bill the veteran has to pay 4½ per cent at compound interest for any loan he may make on his adjusted-service certificate, except in the New York and Boston districts, where he pays 4 per cent, whereas the Treasury Department borrows the money at 3 per cent and makes a profit of from 1 to 1½ per cent on every loan to a veteran, at his expense.

There is no possible way of figuring out how the financing of these loans to the veterans can cost the taxpayers one red cent. But in spite of that, the taxpayers back home have been deceived into believing that they were footing the bill because of numerous unjustifiable editorials appearing in the daily press asserting that the additional loans to veterans would increase Federal taxes. There is in the United States Treasury a fund now in excess of $1,100,000, and added to each year, for the purpose of paying off the adjusted-service certificates when they mature in 1945.

The Treasury Department can use this money by refunding it if it so desires, or it can sell securities on a 3 per cent basis—possibly more from now on—and then loan the money to the veterans at 4½ per cent interest. The greater the number of veterans who receive loans from the Government the larger the profit of the Government at the expense of the veterans.

I do not propose to call Uncle Sam a Shylock, but it certainly is a pretty lucrative business operation, which should bring in a net profit of at least $10,000,000 annually to the Federal Government for the next 15 years. That does not sound so much like a raid upon the Treasury or increasing Federal taxes.

There are a number of misstatements concerning the Legion that have been repeated so often they have almost been accepted as facts by the public. One is that Congress acted in a cowardly manner as a result of demands made by an imaginary soldier bloc, which is untrue and a reflection both upon the membership of Congress and upon the veterans. However, it is effective propaganda in the hands of international bankers, who send a billion dollars of American money to foreign countries each year but are opposed to any loan to our own veterans in an emergency, even if the Government makes a profit out of it, as it might affect the bond market for additional foreign loans.

Collier's Weekly in a recent issue says editorially: "The $1,000,000,000 veterans' loan passed in a mood of political frenzy by the last discredited Congress was a dole for the unemployed." The only truth in this statement is that the Members of Congress who voted for the bill knew that there was a large amount of unemployment among the veterans of the World War, some 50,000 being without jobs in New York City alone. I am informed that in this period of business depression and unemployment there is a great deal of hardship and suffering among the unemployed World War veterans. Although the World War veterans represent only 3 per cent of the population, yet they represent approximately 15 per cent of the unemployed. There are over 700,000 unemployed veterans, or, in other words, 20 per cent of all World War veterans are unemployed. It must be self-evident that the veterans, being between the ages of 30 and 40, most of whom are married and have families to support, have not been able to set aside any surplus or reserve for emergency purposes, such as unemployment in unexpected periods of business depression.

The World War veterans are merely a cross section of the American people, good, bad, and indifferent. However, it is safe to say that over 90 per cent of the veterans are using the loans made on their own Government certificates to pay rent, buy food and clothes for their children, and pay off debts accumulated through unemployment, including interest on mortgages on their homes and small business enterprises, premiums on fire, disability, and life-insurance policies, and very often doctors', nurses', and hospital bills. I have heard of a number of cases where these loans have permitted veterans to secure specialists who have saved the lives of their children.

The bill as passed by Congress was in no sense a bonus, which means a gift. It merely permitted additional loans as an emergency measure up to 50 per cent on a Government certificate, the best security in the world, and owned by veterans who have to pay 4½ per cent compound interest. I resent, and I know that millions of veterans and their friends resent, the articles appearing in the press which call attention to the fact that some individual veteran got drunk on his so-called bonus money and was arrested for disorderly conduct. Of course out of approximately 2,000,000 veterans who, it is estimated, will apply for and receive loans, there will be the 1 per cent that will blow in the money. One per cent will amount to 20,000, and the metropolitan press has regaled their readers with glowing accounts of the misdeeds of the 1 per cent of good-for-nothing veterans and forgot all about the 99 per cent of ex-service men who have used the loans intelligently and for the benefit of their families in an emergency, and at the same time, in my humble opinion, for the advantage and promotion of business generally in every State in the Nation.

My only objection to the bill as passed is the high rate of interest—4½ per cent—imposed upon the veterans, when the Government borrows for less and makes a profit out of each loan. In no case should the loan carry more than 4 per cent, and it would have been fairer to the veteran to arrange the interest at the same rate that the Government pays on its Treasury bills or certificates, or in whatever borrowing operations are necessary to finance the loan.

The United States public debt is now about $17,000,000,000, having been reduced from a war peak of $27,000,000,000 in the past 12 years. It is only right, during the business depression, that we should pause for a breathing spell in reducing our national debt. Then as soon as we pass safely out of the existing emergency, we should continue the sound policy of liquidating our national debt as rapidly as business conditions will permit.

Mr. Duffield seems to be much worried if perchance a legionnaire should at some time in the future be elected President of the United States. Why not elect a legionnaire? Who has more right to aspire to the Presidency than a veteran of the World War, and the sooner one is elected the better it will be for the country.

Mr. Duffield stated erroneously that the Grand Army of the Republic had only 20,000 members in its prime days. Such is not the fact; there were at one time over 500,000 members of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Mr. Duffield has attempted to picture the Legion as a great bellicose, militaristic machine, on the side of war as against peace. It is true that the Legion stands for adequate national defense and for the maintenance of the 5–5–3 ratio in naval construction. The policy of the Legion is that the United States must always be ready to defend itself, particularly in view of the present disturbances throughout the world. Any other course would be sheer folly until other nations reduce their naval and military armaments.

There is probably no group in the United States that hates and loathes war more than those who actually fought on the battlefields of France and saw their friends and buddies shot down by unseen foes, blinded by poisonous gas, or blown up by high explosives hurled from guns miles away. There is little glory in modern warfare, and none know it better than the World War veteran.

The Legion was among the first of the great organizations to indorse the proposal to outlay war, which eventuated in the Kellogg pact.

No; the Legion is opposed to war and all forms of military aggression that lead to war. It has no imperialistic aims and seeks no conquered territories anywhere in the world. It is composed of civilians who served in the armed forces of the United States during the World War, and most of them would be willing, if necessary, to defend their country, both in peace and in war, against its enemies from without and from within.

The charge that the Legion is imperialistic and militaristic comes from the same sources—communists, socialists, pink intellectuals, and pacifists—who hurl identical charges and propaganda against the United States, which has a northern border line of 4,000 miles without a single fort, gun, or soldier, and would not accept even as a gift any additional territory in the world. It has no foundation in fact; but criticisms and attacks, if often enough repeated, deceive some people and obtain a misguided following.

In conclusion, let me point out that the veterans are not asking for charity, or even a bonus. They were certainly entitled in this emergency to have received additional loans on their own service certificates, which costs the Government nothing. As I stated on the floor of the House of Representatives, Secretary Mellon should have given a sumptuous dinner to all those who voted for the adjusted service certificate loan bill in the form in which Congress passed it, as it was the most economical of approximately 50 measures that were introduced, including some for payment in full of the face value of the certificates in cash, which would have cost $3,409,250,000, and which was voted down at the last Legion convention.

The Legion demonstrated conclusively at the Detroit convention that the general welfare of the American people was paramount, and the demands made by many ex-service men for further loans on adjusted-service certificates were emphatically denied, after an open debate, because a big majority of the delegates realized that the Federal Government would have been placed under a terrific financial strain at a time when the Treasury Department already was faced with a huge deficit.

The American people owe a debt of gratitude to the American Legion for its sound constructive action, which has been acclaimed throughout the Nation even by some of its bitterest opponents among newspaper editors.

The Legion stands to-day where it has always stood since its foundation—for the best interest and welfare of our country and of all of its citizens. Without fear of contradiction, I maintain that anyone who defames the Legion does a disservice to the American people and to our country.

PENSIONS

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 6596, an act granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war, with Senate amendments, and agree to the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 37, strike out lines 9 to 12, inclusive.
Page 41, strike out lines 3 to 6, inclusive.
Page 41, strike out lines 15 to 18, inclusive.
Page 44, strike out lines 17 to 21, inclusive.
Page 52, after line 7, insert:

"The name of Jane M. Ford, widow of Abel C. Ford, late of the Ninth unattached company, Massachusetts Militia Infantry, and

pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Ida H. Stinson, widow of Avery F. Stinson, alias Amos Simpson, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary J. McLaughlin, widow of Moses J. McLaughlin, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Margaret A. Kollock, widow of Horace T. Kollock, late of Company B, Thirtieth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Annie P. Hall, widow of David H. Hall, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Almeda Crosby, widow of Enock S. Crosby, late of Battery K, First Regiment Maine Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Susan Dadmun, widow of Josiah A. Dadmun, late musician, Third Regiment New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Susannah Powers, widow of George Powers, late of Company A, One hundred and thirty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary C. Stewart, widow of Irenious D. Stewart, late of Company E, Twenty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Myrtle G. Geoffroy, widow of Gregorie L. Geoffroy, late of Company B, Twelfth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Sabina C. T. Fox, widow of John Fox, late of Troop G, Eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary F. Robbins, widow of Ephriam Robbins, late of Company H, Fourteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month, and $30 per month when attaining the age of 60 years.

"The name of Rosa Webb, helpless child of Stiles Delass Webb, late of Troop D, Third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Mattie J. Price, widow of Cyrus Price, late of Battery G, Fifth Regiment United States Colored Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Harriet C. Church, widow of John A. Church, late of Company K, Twenty-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary A. Cline, widow of Lemiel Cline, late of Company B, Seventy-fourth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of John William Duff, helpless child of William F. Duff, late of Company B, Ninety-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Mary Currier, widow of John Currier, late of Battery B, First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Margaret Cottrill, widow of Henderson Cottrill, late of Company B, One hundred and forty-eighth Regiment Ohio National Guard Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Hattie G. Kennedy, widow of William H. H. Kennedy, late of Company G, Eighty-first Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Flora A. Irwin, widow of Samuel L. Irwin, late of Company H, One hundred and thirty-sixth Regiment Ohio National Guard Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Margaret D. Haines, widow of Caleb F. Haines, late of Company D, Eighteenth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Herman Reissenbigler, helpless child of George Reissenbigler, late of Company F, Twenty-ninth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Tabitha Alkire, widow of Alexander Alkire, late of Troop E, First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Josephine L. Wilson, widow of Joseph S. Wilson, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Margaret E. Wells, widow of William A. Wells, late of Company C, Sixtieth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Jane West, widow of William West, late of Company E, Sixty-second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary Roby, widow of John W. Roby, late of Company B, Ninety-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Kate Ann McGinnis, widow of Neriah N. McGinnis, late of Company H, Twenty-sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Sarah N. Houseman, widow of Henry Houseman, late of Company G, Thirty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Almera J. Chiles, widow of John F. Chiles, late of Company F, One hundred and twenty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Ann M. Stead, widow of Benjamin G. Stead, late of Company H, Thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of J. S. Clyde Baldwin, helpless child of John S. Baldwin, late of Troop E, Thirteenth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Elizabeth Caulk, widow of Alexander Caulk, late of Company I, One hundred and twenty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary J. Goodson, widow of Jesse N. Goodson, late of Company F, One hundred and eighty-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Eliza Darnell, widow of James Darnell, late of Troop I, Eighth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of John G. Smith, helpless child of Samuel R. Smith, late of Company D, Tenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Eliza J. Young, widow of Shelby D. Young, late of Troop E, First Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of S. Audella Burdick, widow of Charles H. Burdick, late of Company K, Thirteenth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Sarah Flier, widow of John H. Flier, late of Company E, Second Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Charlotte E. Patt, widow of Benjamin A. Patt, late of Company I, Fourth Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Fanny L. Johnson, widow of Dutee Johnson, jr., late of Company E, Fifth Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mandilla Nitchman, widow of John Nitchman, late of Company I, Fifty-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Martha Stonesifer, widow of Ishmael Stonesifer, late of Company F, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Laura E. Young, widow of Addison S. Young, late of Company B, Twenty-ninth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Isabelle H. Redfield, widow of David Redfield, late of Troop B, Fourteenth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Medora Bailey, widow of John F. Bailey, late of Battery A, Second Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Elizabeth E. Caskey, widow of Joseph Caskey, late of Company D, Eleventh Regiment Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month, and $30 per month when she attains the age of 60 years.

"The name of Harriet A. Pelton, widow of Lysander Pelton, late of Company C, One hundred and fifth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Jennie B. Southwick, widow of Joseph P. Southwick, late of Company H, Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Ida M. Cunningham, widow of Ellison Cunningham, late of Troop H, Second Regiment Maine Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Jennie S. Fountain, widow of John M. Fountain, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Lucy N. Teel, widow of George Teel, late of Battery E, First Regiment New Hampshire Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and

pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Bridget A. Whittle, widow of Albert B. Whittle, late of Company B, Fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Canzada Pierce, widow of Plummer F. Pierce, late of Company I, One hundred and second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Emma C. Nichols, widow of Robert S. Nichols, late of Company D, Ninth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary C. Atwood, widow of Julius C. Atwood, late quartermaster sergeant, One hundredth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Cindarilla L. Kelsey, widow of William Kelsey, late of Company I, Eighth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Louisa A. Worthington, widow of Eugene A. Worthington, late of Company E, One hundred and sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Beatrice J. Rose, widow of Ludin Rose, late of Troop G, Sixth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Nettie Thaxton, widow of Monroe S. Thaxton, late of Troop A, Seventh Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Valeria Middleton, widow of William Middleton, late of Company E, Second Regiment Potomac Home Brigade Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of John W. Meredith, late of Company D, South Cumberland Battalion Kentucky Capital Guards, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

"The name of Carrie B. Martin, helpless child of Silas E. Martin, late of Company B, Battalion Virginia Substitute, West Virginia Exempts, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Tulula V. M. Bortsfield, widow of Amos Bortsfield, late of Company E, One hundred and forty-seventh Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary White, widow of David A. White, late of Company C, Twelfth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Ella A. Linsea, widow of Emanuel Linsea, late of Company G, Twelfth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Mary Ross, widow of Calvin Ross, late of Company E, Eighty-third Regiment United States Cavalry Volunteer Troops, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Bridget Striegel, widow of Christian Striegel, late of Company H, Forty-ninth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Sarah A. Bolton, widow of John Bolton, late of Company D, Seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Samantha A. Mundell, widow of Ransom Mundell, late of Troop L, Sixteenth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Frank C. Clifford, helpless child of Henry H. Clifford, late of Company E, One hundred and nineteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Della B. Ammons, helpless child of Abraham Ammons, late of Company I, Fifty-first Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Ellen Blodgett, widow of Silas Blodgett, late of Troop H, First Regiment District of Columbia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month, and $30 per month when she attains the age of 60 years.

"The name of Jennie McBurney, widow of Andrew McBurney, late of Company K, Thirty-third Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Rosalie Kunkel, widow of Charles H. Kunkel, late of Company K, One hundred and twenty-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Alice A. Colburn, widow of Lewis A. Colburn, late of Troop A, First Regiment Provisional New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Cynthia Combs, widow of Harrison Combs, late of Company M, Fourteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary L. Cundiff, widow of George A. Cundiff, late of Troop L, Thirteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Anna Spinner, widow of Joseph Spinner, late of Company I, Twenty-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name Viola Compton, widow of Albert Compton, late of Troop L, Third Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Susannah Lanham, widow of Ansel Lanham, late of Troop M, Eighth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mattie P. Busey, widow of Isaac M. Busey, late of Troop B, Ninth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Anna C. Havens, widow of Wilbur F. Havens, late of Company D, Seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary E. Smith, widow of Artemas Smith, late of Company H, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Anna Kelley, widow of Jerry Kelley, late of Company F, Seventh Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Millie Reed, widow of Addison Reed, late of Troop C, Sixth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Mary M. Hudson, widow of Charles C. Hudson, late of Company I, One hundred and forty-sixth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Anna L. Nesbet, widow of Joseph M. Nesbet, late of Troop B, Tenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Anna P. Allen, former widow of Isaac Phipps, late of Company A, Twenty-fourth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month and $30 per month when she attains the age of 60 years.

"The name of Emma K. Pickett, widow of Albert J. Pickett, late of Troop B, Fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Margaret L. Roberts, widow of Calvin T. Roberts, late of Company I, Sixty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary J. Espy, widow of Robert J. Espy, late of Company D, Ninth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Sarah Weaver, widow of John H. Weaver, late of Company K, Thirty-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Lenora Cartwright, widow of James W. Cartwright, late of the Twentieth Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary S. Stowe, widow of John Stowe, late of Company K, One hundred and sixteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Richard Southerland, late of Company A, Hall's Gap Battalion Kentucky State Volunteers, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

"The name of Rosa Risdon, widow of Daniel Risdon, late of Company G, Ninth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Sarah M. Hatfield, widow of Andrew Hatfield, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Amelia Bee, widow of Joel Bee, late of Company M, Sixth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Sarah Pennel, widow of John Pennel, late of Company E, Sixty-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month and $30 per month when she has attained the age of 60 years.

"The name of Henry Ellis, late of the United States Navy, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

"The name of Jane Price, widow of James D. Price, late of Capt. G. W. Porter's company, Butternut Valley Guards, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Esther A. Dixon, widow of Albert E. Dixon, late of Company A, Nineteenth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary F. Dobson, widow of Palmer F. Dobson, late of Troop K, First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her

a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Rosina Dohon, widow of Constant Dohon, late of Troop D, Fourth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Jemima M. Metcalf, widow of George A. Metcalf, late of Troop F, Seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Henry Coonce, late of Captain Hart's Morgan County company, Missouri Mounted Militia, and pay him a pension at the rate of $50 per month.

"The name of Nancy E. Dawson, widow of Aaron Dawson, late of Company D, Thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Ina J. Densmore, widow of Harry M. Densmore, late of Company A, Thirtieth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Isabel J. Estes, former widow of Henry Johnson, late of Company B, Second Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Bell J. Adams, widow of George S. Adams, late of Company E, Second Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Rose A. Fernan, widow of Franklin W. Fernan, late of Company H, First Battalion, Twelfth Regiment United States Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Ann E. Foster, widow of William J. Foster, late of Company B, Fourth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Clara A. Phelps, widow of Allen Phelps, late of Troop M, Twenty-sixth Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Hannah L. Robbins, widow of Frank Robbins, late of Company D, Sixth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary E. Daniels, former widow of William Roach, late of Company D, Seventeenth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Anna M. Walbridge, widow of Lysander E. Walbridge, late of Company E, Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary A. Dittman, widow of Frederick Dittman, late of Troop E, Second Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary H. Keck, widow of John S. Keck, late of Troop G, Fourth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Josephine Stombaugh, widow of Henry Stombaugh, late of Company C, Ninety-ninth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Lona Wright, helpless child of Allen Wright, late of Troop F, Second Regiment Arkansas Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Lucrecia Aydelotte, widow of John Aydelotte, late of Company H, Seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Martha E. Goble, helpless child of Francis M. Goble, late of the Twenty-second Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Dora Klinger, widow of David Klinger, late of Battery C, First Regiment Indiana Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Sarah A. Long, widow of Mansford Long, late of Company H, Thirty-second Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Permelia J. Long, widow of Jasper N. Long, late of Company H, Thirty-first Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Malinda Sprague, widow of Charles Sprague, late of Battery A, Fourth Regiment United States Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Rachel J. Johnson, widow of Childes B. Johnson, alias Charles B. Johnson, late of Company B, Sixty-ninth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Elizabeth Wesley, widow of John Wesley, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Ada F. Williams, widow of Jeremiah Williams, late of Company H, Seventy-fourth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Emily J. Moore, widow of Thomas A. Moore, late of Company D, Seventy-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Nancy Maskel, widow of Ellis V. Maskel, late of Company A, Eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Gertrude Cox, widow of Thomas Cox, late of Tenth Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Ellen J. Owens, widow of Nicholas A. Owens, late of Company A, One hundred and seventeenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Martha A. Pyle, widow of William H. H. Pyle, late of Company K, Eighty-first Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Carrie D. Patton, former widow of Elias Dandridge, late of Company D, Sixteenth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Catharine Beach, widow of Joseph Beach, late of Company K, Fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mertena Swaidner, helpless child of Emanuel C. Swaidner, late of Company D, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Rosa A. Woodrum, widow of Abraham Woodrum, late of the Thirteenth Battery, Indiana Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Elizabeth Burris, widow of Simon Burris, late of Company I, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of Rosanna Kellogg, widow of Francis N. Kellogg, late of Company K, Seventy-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Rose L. Bard, widow of Isaac Bard, late of Company C, Twenty-sixth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Floretta Knopf, widow of Andrew Knopf, late of Battery I, Second Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Sarah E. Smith, widow of Chandler Smith, late of Company A, Eighth Regiment Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Nannie Curry, widow of George W. Curry, late of Troop L, Thirteenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Fannie Lou Cate Harmon, helpless child of James F. Harmon, late of Troop A, Eighth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $20 per month.

"The name of Jane Soulsby, widow of Edward Soulsby, late of Troop D, Second Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Eliza H. Bagley, widow of Moses O. Bagley, late of Company I, Third Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Elizabeth Morehouse, widow of George W. Morehouse, late of Company E, Second Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Mary J. Johnson, former widow of Leonidas Johnson, late of Company K, One hundred and twenty-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Lorena White, widow of Charles R. White, late of Company A, Fifty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Jane McArthur, widow of Henry McArthur, late of Battery K, Fifth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month.

"The name of E. Helen Barkley, widow of James H. Barkley, late of Company G, One hundred and fourteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

"The name of Nancy Church, widow of William Church, late of Company N, Sixth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of $50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, do I understand from the reading of the amendments



that the Senate amendments are merely changes in amounts, or do they include names of additional beneficiaries who are to receive gratuities of the Government?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. They are analogous to House cases and are Senate bills added to this bill as amendments.

Mr. STAFFORD. I came in just a minute late when the original bill was presented by the gentleman. Will the gentleman kindly forecast what the policy of the commitee is going to be as to granting special pension privileges to certain designated beneficiaries?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I am unable to state at this time the attitude of the committee except to say that in all probability the policy pursued in past Congresses will be the policy in this Congress in reporting out various omnibus pension bills.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then I understand, so far as the Senate amendments are concerned, the amounts there stated are conformable to the rule as adopted by the House in granting special pensions in certain cases.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I may say that they are.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were agreed to.

INVESTIGATION OF 6-HOUR DAY ON RAILROADS

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take up for immediate consideration joint resolution (H. J. Res. 252) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Interstate Commerce Commission be, and is hereby, directed to investigate what would be the effect upon operation, service, and expenses of applying the principle of a 6-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employees because of such application.

SEC. 2. The commission is further directed to report its findings to the Congress on or before December 15, 1932.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, why should this come up at this time?

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Texas permit the Chair to make a statement? It has not been the policy of the House and it is not going to be the policy of the present occupant of the chair to recognize gentlemen to call up resolutions or bills by unanimous consent. In view, however, of the peculiar conditions existing in the country at the present time with reference to railroad employees and the executives of railroads, and in view of the unanimous request from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, as well as the leaders on each side of the House, as the Chair understands it, the Chair agreed to grant this recognition. This recognition, however, is not to be considered as a precedent.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I doubt the wisdom of inaugurating any precedent that would indicate that Congress entertains the sentiment that we should establish a 6-hour workday in any line of industry. The American people are workers. They are not idlers. If we should establish a 6-hour workday for railroad employees, we are going to open the door for a 6-hour workday for all Government employees and for one-half of the United States and about an 18-hour workday for the other half of the people of the United States in order to support the others. On account of this being a very unwise proposal I am forced to object.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman from Texas will reserve his objection. I am sure the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER] can make a statement that would convince my colleague he ought not a make the objection, at this time especially.

Mr. BLANTON. Is my colleague from Texas in favor of a 6-hour workday for clerks in stores and a 6-hour workday for farmers, and the other millions of employees in the United States?

Mr. RAYBURN. The gentleman's colleague from Texas is committing himself on nothing by the report and the support of this resolution.

Mr. BLANTON. Is it a mere gesture, Mr. Speaker? Is it just to spend funds and waste time on an idle matter? Is this starting another Adamson law? I shall vote against a 6-hour workday for anybody in the United States, Mr. Speaker. I have worked 10 and 12, 14 and 16 hours a day all my life, and I am not hurt by it. I am in pretty good fix mentally and physically, and I expect to work that way all the rest of my life. [Applause.]

Mr. CROSSER. If the gentleman will withhold his objection a moment, this is not an attempt to establish a 6-hour day. This is simply a resolution asking the Interstate Commerce Commission to report to the Congress what the effect would be. It may be this will confirm the gentleman's views.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, this would be a bad precedent. At least it would indicate to the Interstate Commerce Commission that Congress would stand for a 6-hour workday. I know that the American people are against establishing a 6-hour workday. There are about 100,000,000 people who will not stand for it. I therefore object.

CALENDAR WEDNESDAY

The SPEAKER. This is Calendar Wednesday. The Clerk will call the committees.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar Wednesday business in order to-day be dispensed with.

Mr. CROSSER. I object to that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio objects. The Clerk will call the committees.

The Clerk called the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution No. 252.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio calls up a House resolution, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I raise the question of consideration.

The SPEAKER. The question is, Will the House consider House Resolution No. 252?

The question was taken; and the House voted to consider the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The House automatically resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. BYRNS in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk reported the resolution, as follows:

House Joint Resolution 252

To authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees

Resolved, etc., That the Interstate Commerce Commission be, and is hereby, directed to investigate what would be the effect upon operation, service, and expenses of applying the principle of a 6-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employees because of such application.

SEC. 2. The commission is further directed to report its findings to the Congress on or before December 15, 1932.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER] is recognized for one hour.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Chairman, it will require only a minute or two for what I shall say on this very brief resolution.

This resolution is a very important one at this particular juncture.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Will the gentleman elaborate on the extent to which this does not commit Congress?

Mr. CROSSER. It does not commit Congress at all. It would not make any difference what the Interstate Commission might report to us, Congress is still free to do as it likes. I trust that there is not a substantial number of Members of the House so narrow that they are afraid to have the opinion, or rather findings, of a technical body like the Interstate Commerce Commission. That is all that is proposed by this resolution. And yet you are actually asked to believe that this is an attempt to enact legislation. It is no such thing.

I think there is good reason for requesting that the Interstate Commerce Commission make a study of the subject for the purpose of advising Congress. The resolution does not provide for the employment of additional help to make the investigation. All that the resolution provides is that the commission shall investigate the facts and report the same to Congress.

There is a serious effort being made in Chicago for an adjustment of difficulties between the railroads and their employees. Everyone hopes for an amicable adjustment.

It is the opinion of some who are familiar with the situation that provision for an investigation such as is proposed by this resolution would help to bring about an adjustment.

We believe that in urging this resolution we are serving the public interest. One who is not overly impressed with his own importance ought to be pleased beyond measure to have an opportunity to receive a report as to the probable effect such a change might make if applied to railroad operation. We can do as we think best with such report.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROSSER. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. In the open forum of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, would the gentleman grant me five minutes? He has all the time in his control. This is an open forum. Would the gentleman give me five minutes?

Mr. CROSSER. I yield the gentleman five minutes and reserve the remainder of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman from Texas opposed to the resolution?

Mr. BLANTON. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Is any member of the committee opposed to the resolution? If not, the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Texas for one hour.

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, no. I want only five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understood the gentleman to claim recognition.

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, no. The gentleman from Ohio yields me five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is entitled to one hour if he wishes it in opposition to the resolution, under the rule.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I have a very definite recollection of just how the Adamson 8-hour law was railroaded through Congress. We all know something about the burdens it placed upon all of the people. Its war-cry slogan was 8 hours' work, 8 hours' recreation, and 8 hours' sleep. We found that passage was simply a wage-increase proposition. The railroad employees, in fact, did not want to be limited to eight hours' work. They merely wanted the double wage for the hours of overtime. And they got the double wage. And the American people paid dearly for it.

Many instances occurred where freight trains were hours late when no real occasion warranted it. The entire crew got their double pay for the hours of overtime they worked. This added expense of railroads was passed on to the helpless people. Passenger trains were delayed. Passengers were greatly inconvenienced in arriving at their destination late. But the crews on the passenger train profited by receiving overtime double pay for the hours over eight they put in on the trip. And besides being greatly inconvenienced, these belated passengers had to pay the added expense the railroad suffered, because all railroad expenses are passed on to the people.

I am one who has not forgotten that during the war period, through threats of a nation-wide strike and tie-up, the railroad employees forced Director McAdoo to give them an increase in wages of $764,000,000 and date it back six months. And I have not forgotten that later these same employees, under like threats, forced Director Hines to give them additional increases of $67,000,000. And we all know the result. Both freight and passenger tariffs were increased until many people have quit using the railroads. The Pullman fare from Abilene, Tex., to St. Louis used to be $4.50. It is now $10. From St. Louis to Washington it used to be $4.50. It is now $9. Poor people are not able to ride in Pullman cars. They have to take slow trains and sit up all night in day coaches.

It is the foregoing facts I have in mind when I view with alarm this proposal now before the House to ask the Interstate Commerce Commission to report to Congress of the advisability of a 6-hour work day for railroad employees. There is no move for hundreds of thousands of clerks in stores, offices, and banks to let them work only six hours. There is no move for a 6-hour work day for the several million farmers in the United States. There is no move for a 6-hour work day for the hundreds of thousands of day laborers in the United States. This is a move now for the railroad employees. If we give it this sanction, it will eventuate in establishing a 6-hour work day for them. For six hours they will be paid for a full day, and then for all hours over six they will receive double pay. And the poor, helpless people will pay the bill. And then a move will be made for all Government employees to work only six hours. And we will find our 700,000 Government employees then working only six hours.

Mr. Chairman, every bureau and department which has been before the Committee on Appropriations this session states that they can have printing done in private commercial printing shops for very much less than is charged them in the Government Printing Office. One department claims that it can save 40 per cent; that the charges of the Government Printing Office are 40 per cent higher than outside commercial printing offices. And the Government Printing Office pays no rent, taxes, or overhead. When we investigated the matter we found out that it is because of the higher salaries and the special privileges that all of the employees of the Government Printing Office have over private employees. They do not have to work so long, they have longer vacations, they have longer sick leaves, they have more holidays and Saturday vacations, and things of that sort. And the whole people pay for all of these increases. I am thinking about the interests of the whole people of the United States, the 120,000,000 people of the United States. If you are going to grant a 6-hour workday for railway employees, you should at the same time grant a 6-hour work day for all of the people of the United States.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I will gladly yield in a few minutes. What is there about the employees of railroads that they should be granted all of these special privileges? We used to be told that they had a terrible job. As a matter of fact it is one of the easiest jobs on earth. They ride on a comfortable train, which is well equipped, safe, and convenient, with very little exertion required, and they get high salaries and regular hours. Take a man who is driving an automobile from San Francisco to New York. He is driving along the highways when every moment he might have an accident, while a railroad engineer is driving along a specially safeguarded highway which is protected by every kind of safety system known to the ingenuity of man. Yet they are paid higher than anybody else, and now we are expected to give them a 6-hour work day. This is just a start toward it.

Passing this measure will eventuate in giving them this special privilege, and then the first thing you know we will be called upon to give a 6-hour work day to the 700,000 Government employees all over the United States, and then to the industrial employees of the country, to the detriment of all of the other people in the United States. Is this a

move to grant a 6-hour work day to the clerks in your stores? Is it a move to grant a 6-hour work day to the employees on your streets? Is it a move to grant a 6-hour work day to the farmers and to all of the other workmen of America? No. It is just for one class, and I am against it. Idleness is the devil's workshop, and whenever you start a 6-hour day it will be a detriment to the people rather than a benefit. I am not in favor of it. I believe in the teachings of Abraham Lincoln, that a man should work, and work hard and keep busy and not be idle.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I will yield in a moment. I am a Congressman, but I work all the time. My constituents expect me to work, and they do not want me to vote for a 6-hour work day.

I yield to the gentleman from New York first, and then I will yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Under present working conditions in this country 75 per cent of the people can produce more than we can consume or find a market for. What are you going to do with the other 25 per cent if we do not regulate the hours of labor throughout the United States?

Mr. BLANTON. As soon as we can get a Democratic President we are going to lift this tariff wall from around the United States so that we can trade with the nations of the world and find a market for our products, and we are going to reopen factories in the United States and reopen factories in Europe and bring about good working conditions again. That is how we will solve it, and not by idleness.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Is it not a fact that out of this investigation there is liable to develop most important information that will enable us to do something for the millions that are now not working five minutes a day?

Mr. BLANTON. If it is anything more than a gesture, it will eventuate in a 6-hour day for the railroad employees. If it does not, then it is a mere gesture. It is wasting the time of the Interstate Commerce Commission on a gesture. I am not in favor of the principle. I wish you would go to your business men of the United States and ask them if they are in favor of a 6-hour work day. You would find them all against it. The sound business judgment of the business men of America is against it. I am not going to be coerced and led away by any such folderol as is contained in this resolution. I may be the only man in the House who votes against it, but I am going to back my judgment, which is based upon my knowledge of business affairs in the United States, and I am going to register this one vote against this proposition. That is all I want to say.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. PARKER].

Mr. PARKER of New York. Mr. Chairman, this resolution does not authorize any legislation at all. It simply authorizes an investigation. The older Members of Congress, of whom I happen to be one, will remember that there was brought before Congress an 8-hour bill for railroad labor, with no investigation, practically no hearings, and no information at all. There is no use fooling ourselves. We will be confronted by bills, perhaps not in this Congress but certainly in the next Congress, advocating a 6-hour day for railroad employees. Let us have the facts. That is all this resolution provides for. It empowers and instructs the Interstate Commerce Commission to get the facts as to what would be the effect of a 6-hour day with railroad employees.

I wish to state that this resolution was unanimously reported by the committee, both Republicans and Democrats voting for it. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The clerk will read the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Interstate Commerce Commission be, and is hereby, directed to investigate what would be the effect upon operation, service, and expenses of applying the principle of a 6-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employees because of such application.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to ask the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER] if he has any information as to how much time will be taken up by the Interstate Commerce Commission in getting these data together. In other words, will it be a matter of any considerable expense?

Mr. CROSSER. There is no additional expense provided for. In fact, the resolution provides against it.

Mr. DYER. The gentleman is sure the Interstate Commerce Commission will not require any additional money?

Mr. CROSSER. Of course, I can not bargain for the Interstate Commerce Commission, but my information is they have plenty of help.

Mr. DYER. The gentleman's answer is very satisfactory.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROSSER. I yield.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Would the gentleman desire to express an opinion as to what effect this may have on the conference which is now in progress in Chicago?

Mr. CROSSER. I can give the gentleman my own personal opinion, but that is all it is. My opinion is that it will be helpful toward reconciling the difficulties they are laboring under, which I think in itself is worth while.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

The question here is not whether the Interstate Commerce Commission needs any money to conduct this investigation or not. If so, of course, the Congress will appropriate the necessary funds. This resolution is the first step to Congress taking heed and keeping pace with progress.

The distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. PARKER] referred to the 8-hour bill that was passed some 15 years ago. We have already outlived the 8-hour day. Machinery has made the 8-hour day too long in this country. We are out of that period now. We have arrived at a time where we must create the necessary spread of employment in order to give all of the people of the country the benefit of improved methods of production and of machinery. The only way to do that is to shorten the working day and shorten the working week. Otherwise only they who own the machines will enjoy the benefits of progress—at the expense of the workers.

Mr. PARKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. PARKER. Was the gentleman a Member of Congress when the 8-hour bill was passed?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. No. I came here shortly afterwards, in 1916.

Mr. PARKER. I intended to ask the gentleman a question if he was here at that time.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Now, we talk about getting out of the crisis. To get out of the crisis by appropriating funds for banks will not put a single man to work. We have to tackle this problem constructively, and the way to do it is to take the necessary production for the country, the capacity of existing machinery, and so shorten the day and so shorten the week as to give every willing worker in this country an opportunity to earn a decent living for himself and family.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] points out that business men will be opposed to this. Of course they will. Factory owners will be opposed to this. Of course they will; but we are not legislating entirely, I hope, for dividends and for profits. Our primary purpose here is to legislate for human interest and for the protection of the working people of this country. [Applause.]

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman from New York not know that when the work day is reduced to six hours every man who enjoys it will be found working six hours somewhere else in other lines of industry, competing with the balance of the laborers of the United States?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. We will find them devoting some time to wholesome recreation, to study, to travel, living decently and happily, and thereby creating more business. We found that we were at the height of our prosperity when the

American people were working and had substantial and real purchasing power. We went into a slump when we had unemployment. We can not remedy this by talking about it. The only way to do it is to get at the root of it.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman know that in the press gallery of the United States Congress the gentleman will find able men there who do not receive over $75 a week, representing some of the largest newspapers in the United States, and those men work sometimes 10, 12, and 14 hours a day to earn that small salary?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That is no criterion. The gentleman from Texas does not believe that I believe that newspaper owners are infallible. I would just as soon legislate against newspaper owners as anybody else. In fact, the Daily News in my city and other papers have already established a 5-day week. We have to start right now. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. The commission is further directed to report its findings to the Congress on or before December 15, 1932.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the resolution back to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BYRNS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 252) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a 6-hour day for railway employees, had directed him to report the same back to the House with the recommendation that the joint resolution do pass.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the joint resolution to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. DYER) there were—ayes 191, noes 1.

So the joint resolution was passed.

On motion of Mr. CROSSER, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further business on Calendar Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, as I understand it, according to the new rule under which we are now operating, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce not asking for the consideration of any other bill under the call, their call is completed, and that we will go to the next committee on next Calendar Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. That is the new rule. Is there objection?

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object, because I wish to cooperate fully with the Democratic organization of this House—Calendar Wednesday is, in my humble opinion, one of the safeguards for the smaller committees of this House in legislating. It will probably be their only chance to be heard on controversial legislation. It being early in the session, I shall not object, but later on I will not consent to dispense with the Calendar Wednesday call of committees.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill, with Mr. MCCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. No appropriation under the Department of Agriculture available during the fiscal years 1932 and/or 1933 shall be used after the date of the approval of this act (1) to increase the compensation of any position within the grade to which such position has been allocated under the classification act of 1923, as amended; (2) to increase the compensation of any position in the field service the pay of which is adjustable to correspond so far as may be practicable to the rates established by such act as amended for the departmental service in the District of Columbia; (3) to increase the compensation of any position under such act through reallocation; (4) to increase the compensation of any person in any grade under such act through advancement to another position in the same grade or to a position in a higher grade at a rate in excess of the minimum rate of such higher grade unless such minimum rate would require an actual reduction in compensation; or (5) to increase the compensation of any other position of the Federal Government under such department. The appropriations or portions of appropriations unexpended by the operation of this section shall not be used for any other purposes, but shall be impounded and returned to the Treasury, and a report of the amounts so impounded for the period between the date of the approval of this act and October 31, 1932, shall be submitted to Congress on the first day of the next regular session.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the section.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: On page 91, beginning in line 16, strike out all of section 2.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I hope the committee will understand the purpose of this section. It means that all salary promotions, even though some of them may be automatically provided for by law, shall stop during the fiscal year.

This amendment is not germane to the bill; it is legislation, but a rule was brought in, and adopted by the House, which makes it in order. In addition to my opposition to the purpose of this section I also protest against such methods of legislation.

We have departments in which salaries are fixed by law providing increases in yearly increments. That is true of the Postal Service, the Army, and the Navy.

The distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS], I believe, served notice that if this amendment is adopted in this bill, a similar amendment will be offered and a rule brought in for every appropriation bill.

Not only is such a provision manifestly unfair but it puts Congress in the position of breaking a contract, solemnly written into the law, with thousands and thousands of employees and with the officers of the Army and Navy.

When we passed the postal salary bill we entered into a sacred contract with every postal employee that he would be paid a certain entrance salary and so much every year thereafter until the maximum rate was reached. I consider that a contract, a binding obligation, on the part of Congress with every employee in the postal department. There are other departments where salaries are not fixed according to grade or rank but according to years of service and that, too, is written into the law and it is binding.

It might be said that this is just an amendment written into the agricultural appropriation bill, but let me repeat that both the chairman of the Rules Committee and the chairman of the Appropriations Committee frankly advised the House that if this amendment is approved as to this bill, like rules and like provisions will be brought before the House with every other appropriation bill.

I submit, gentlemen, that with an accumulated deficit of $2,000,000,000, the saving resulting from this policy will represent a very small saving. The saving which this amend-

ment would bring about would not amount to a decimal point. There are other ways in which we might economize.

After Congress has held out certain promises, written them into the law and appointments made thereunder, I say we should not run roughshod over existing law in this manner.

Mr. LOZIER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. LOZIER. Does the gentleman contend that an employee of the Government, State, or municipality has a vested right in the office and that the Government, State, or municipality has no power to reduce the salary and even to abolish the office?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I contend that the Government has honor the same as an individual and that we are in honor bound to respect the contract we have made. As I have said, in several departments the salary is fixed by law and existing law provides for automatic yearly increases, and that being so, I say it is in bad taste for Congress to pass any such law as this.

I say that Congress could provide in these departments that any person employed hereafter would not receive increases, but to suddenly and abruptly in this manner break our agreement in respect to employees now in the service is unfair and contrary to good legislation.

I want to point this out. So far all the saving or so-called attempts to balance the Budget seem to be taken out of the pockets of the Federal employees, and that is not the way to balance the Budget. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. LaGUARDIA) there were—ayes 26, noes 62.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMMONS: On page 93, line 16, after the word "session," strike out the period and insert the following: "*Provided, however,* That no part of any money appropriated in this act shall be available to pay the salary of the dependent wife of any Federal employee who receives an annual salary in excess of $2,500."

Mr. DE PRIEST. Mr. Chairman, may we have the amendment again read?

The amendment was again reported.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, just one word. I am quite sure you gentlemen do not want to upset the present Government service. There are many instances throughout all the departments where husband and wife are employed in the service and this would simply cut all of them out who are married and receive a certain amount of salary. It would mean confusion worse confounded if this amendment should be adopted and put into effect.

If the Congress wants to adopt a policy to permit only the husband or the wife to be employed in the Government, then there ought to be a survey and an investigation made, the facts ascertained, and then we would be in a position to present a sensible resolution or bill to Congress. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nebraska.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. No appropriation under the Department of Agriculture available during the fiscal years 1932 and/or 1933 shall be used after the date of the approval of this act to pay the compensation of an incumbent appointed to any position under the Federal Government which is vacant on the date of the approval of this act or to any such position which may become vacant after such date: *Provided,* That this inhibition shall not apply to absolutely essential positions the filling of which may be approved in writing by the President of the United States. The appropriations or portions of appropriations unexpended by the operation of this section shall not be used for any other purposes but shall be impounded and returned to the Treasury, and a report of all such vacancies, the number thereof filled, and the amounts unexpended, for the period between the date of the approval of this act and October 31, 1932, shall be submitted to Congress on the first day of the next regular session.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 93, line 1, after the word "the," strike out the words "President of the United States" and insert in lieu thereof "Director of the Budget."

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, beginning with the election of Woodrow Wilson every President of the United States we have had, save one, has either died in office or left the Presidency broken in health. Woodrow Wilson left the Presidency, after carrying the burdens of that office, with his health ruined. President Harding died in office. President Coolidge seemed to carry the burdens of the job fairly well.

President Hoover is carrying the tremendous burdens of the Presidency apparently without detriment to his health.

You have here a proposal to take the time and the energy of the President of the United States and devote that time and that energy to minor administrative details, and that in a time when the energy and duties of the President ought to be devoted to the major problems of government.

What is involved in this situation? If the chairman of the committee [Mr. BYRNS] goes through with the proposal he suggested—and that is the obligation stated in this bill—it will require the signature of the President of the United States in an affirmative declaration that he considers it absolutely necessary for a charwoman to be employed in the Department of Agriculture every time one may quit and another be employed in her place.

If the same language is applied to the District of Columbia appropriation, you could not employ a man to fire a boiler in any of these heating plants in the District without the President of the United States affirmatively saying that he considered it absolutely essential that he be employed.

One Member stated—and it is a mere guess—that if the President did nothing but sign his name, it would require from 50 to 100 signatures a day.

The President of the United States can not personally make the investigations that this bill will require him to make in one department, let alone all of them, without taking his time that should be devoted to other things. If he does make these investigations, you are going to use his time and sap his strength and ability that ought to be devoted to more serious problems.

So I am appealing in all fairness to the President, that as a substitute, in lieu of the President of the United States in this amendment, the words "Director of the Budget" be inserted, and let that officer pass on the question whether or not the filling of these jobs is essential. It is fair and it is just. The purpose of the amendment can be accomplished by that means.

We ought to relieve the Presidency of this burden of minor administrative details, that even now is tremendous. In fairness to the President we ought not to put this burden on the President of the United States. I know the answer will be that he will not personally pass on all these things. I think that is making a charge in advance that the President will not obey an act of Congress. He will have to perform it; he will have to go through with the service and sign these papers, and he will do it if Congress requires it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, I have discussed this matter several times. I do not want to take up the time of the committee in repeating some of the things that I have already said. It seems to me a perfectly simple proposition. I say to you with all of the earnestness of my being that if you undertake to strike this item out and delegate this authority to some one else, you may just as well not adopt this section. If you want to bring about a real retrenchment, if you want to cut down the personnel in these departments, and it ought to be cut down in many of the bureaus or divisions, here is a chance to do it. You can do it without depriving anybody of a position, such as the gentleman from Nebraska proposes to do when he seeks to cut down the personnel 5 per cent in all of the bureaus and divisions of this department, without rhyme or reason. Why do I

say that? The gentleman undertakes by this amendment to designate the Bureau of the Budget. You know and I know that there is not a head of a department who is going to stand for one minute having a subordinate officer, whether he be appointed by the President or some one else, come in and undertake to exercise jurisdiction in his department.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. In every important piece of legislation that comes up in Congress carrying the signature of the Bureau of the Budget, it practically stands for the President's decision on that matter, does it not?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. That is recognized by Congress.

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. I am in sympathy with the gentleman in his efforts to make it as hard as possible to fill these positions, but in view of the statement of the gentleman the other day that he does not expect the President himself to give it attention, but that he must depend upon the subordinate officers for his information, it does seem to me that we could take the decision of his Budget officer or the man that stands for him, as we do on any proposition that is presented to Congress that takes money out of the Treasury.

Mr. BYRNS. What we are trying to bring about now is this. We want something more than merely a perfunctory act on the part of the head of a department with reference to filling these vacancies. I say now, and I say it without fear of successful contradiction, I do not believe there are two departments in this Government whose heads give any attention to the filling of vacancies, although the law provides that the vacancies must be filled by the heads of the departments. They accept the recommendations of the bureau or division chiefs and approve them as a matter of form. What will happen if you adopt this amendment? You make the head of the Bureau of the Budget the man who is responsible, who will say whether or not a vacancy shall be filled, and you have exactly the same situation as obtains now. Whenever a bureau chief or division chief in the department recommends the filling of a vacancy to the head of that department you will find that he will pass it along to the Director of the Budget, and clutter up his bureau with it; but if you will provide that the President of the United States shall approve this, I do not care whether he designates the Bureau of the Budget or the head of each department to act in respect to these vacancies that occur within the department, and I expect him to do one or the other, you will find the heads of these departments will not be certifying the filling of vacancies up there when they ought not to be filled. It will be something more than a perfunctory act when you make it necessary that it be approved by the President of the United States. I do not want to load down the President with additional duties. I remind you that there are thousands and thousands of matters that come before him that the President does not give his personal attention, and all he has to say under this provision to the Director of the Budget, if he wishes to choose him is, "You act for me," and then call in the heads of the departments in a Cabinet meeting and say that this responsibility has been devolved upon him and that he does not want them sending recommendations to fill vacancies to his representative, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, unless they are absolutely necessary. If he will say that, and say it with sufficient earnestness and force, to the members of his Cabinet, he can shut his eyes and approve anything that they send to him. I am not reflecting upon the heads of the departments, but I want to bring about a situation where the heads of the departments will investigate these matters, because that is the only way you will ever reduce the personnel.

I am not in favor of the proposition of the gentleman from Nebraska. He would come in and, with a knife, cut off 5 per cent of the personnel in this department—and if you do it here, you ought to do it in all other departments—without rhyme or reason or any information. If you will make this provision applicable and permit it to go into the law and cut out the filling of these vacancies for the next year, they will come back the following year with revised estimates that will show you not a saving of thousands of dollars but a saving of millions of dollars, not only for the year but throughout the years to come. I regard this as a most important provision in the bill looking to economy. You have the opportunity to pass upon it. The gentleman from Nebraska said the President would have to sign his name fifty to a hundred times a day. Let us take the minimum, and that means that you are going to fill 15,000 vacancies during the next fiscal year.

Mr. SIMMONS. Are 15,000 vacancies an unusual amount out of some 670,000 employees in this Government?

Mr. BYRNS. In the name of Heaven, does the gentleman think that the President, who has already issued an order that no vacancy shall be filled unless essential, has it in his mind that 15,000 vacancies are going to be filled in 1933?

Mr. SIMMONS. No. But what I say is, and I repeat it, this will make it mandatory, placing a burden upon the President to require that many signatures. It is placing the burden on the President of filling the municipal jobs in the District of Columbia personnel, in all of the Post Office Department, all of the temporary employees on the Federal rolls. All of them must have the signature of the President of the United States, about 700,000 employees.

Mr. BYRNS. Well, the gentleman from Nebraska ought to know that is not correct. The gentleman knows that we pass legislation every day devolving certain duties upon the President, which we all know in all reason he can not possibly perform. Yet the gentleman who proposes to cut the employees 5 per cent, when it comes to talking about a vacancy already created, depriving no employee of any job, raises the objection he has raised here, on the theory that the President is going to be loaded down with duties. The gentleman from Nebraska, as a practical Member of the House, knows that every day things are done in the name of the President, by those who represent him and in whom he has confidence. All he will be required to do, and all that he will do, is to say to the heads of the departments, "Do not send me any vacancy until you have investigated it and until you are in a position to look me in the eye, if necessary, and tell me it is absolutely essential to fill that vacancy."

Mr. HASTINGS. And it will make the head of each department much more careful if he appreciates that the President of the United States is to be held responsible, and will be criticized if they go wrong?

Mr. BYRNS. Absolutely. The gentleman is right. I hope this committee and this House, when the Committee on Appropriations is making every effort it can to hold down the expenses of this Government and which in full committee approved this proposition with the exception of the gentleman from Nebraska, will stand by it and help it in this effort that it is honestly and earnestly striving to make. [Applause.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

I do this largely for the purpose of asking the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations one or two questions for information.

As I understand, it is the purpose of the Committee on Appropriations, if this provision is carried in this bill, to suggest similar provisions in other appropriation bills, so that the same rule will apply to all departments. Is that correct?

Mr. BYRNS. That is the fact. Of course, it should not apply to one department without applying to all. I may say to the gentleman that with reference to the other bills we are attempting to write a blanket rule that will cover them all. There are possibly one or two bills in which different language will be required, but we are attempting to write a blanket rule to cover them all.

Mr. MAPES. It would then apply to the entire Government personnel throughout the United States, totaling something like six or seven hundred thousand employees, would it not?

Mr. BYRNS. Well, it will apply to all the personnel carried in these regular annual appropriation bills.

Mr. MAPES. How many employees are there in the United States?

Mr. BYRNS. I think something like 500,000.

Mr. MAPES. It has been stated by some one near me here that there are nearly 700,000.

Mr. BYRNS. Well, I stand corrected if that is true. I think there are about 70,000 in the District of Columbia and something over 400,000 in the field.

Mr. MAPES. Does not the gentleman think it perfectly absurd and silly to ask the President of the United States to sign an order of the kind contemplated here every time there is a vacancy to be filled in the Government service anywhere in the United States?

The gentleman says that at present the heads of departments pay very little, if any, attention to the filling of vacancies. Why could not the gentleman's purpose be served by requiring the heads of departments to sign an order of this kind? I certainly am in sympathy with the effort of the Committee on Appropriations to cut down expenses and to keep them down as far as it is reasonable to do so; but I do not want to be unreasonable, and it seems to me perfectly absurd and unwise to require the President of the United States to sign an order to fill every vacancy that is created in the Government service, which involves a personnel of something like 700,000 throughout the United States. I will say to the gentleman that, for one, unless the gentleman is willing to substitute "heads of departments affected" or some such amendment as the gentleman from Nebraska has offered I am in favor of cutting out this entire section.

Mr. BYRNS. I will say to the gentleman that when we substitute "heads of the departments" that is no more than the law now provides. There is no use saying "heads of departments." The law now provides that these appointments shall be made by the heads of departments. Why write it in the law? Why do a perfectly foolish thing, because the law provides that now? The gentleman from Michigan has missed the whole point that I tried to make. They have that authority now. If they are put to the test and have to recommend to the President the filling of vacancies, I say to my friend he will find something in every department that has not existed within my knowledge in any of the departments to any particular extent. The gentleman will find the head of the department giving some particular attention to the filling of these vacancies, and that is the only way we will ever get it.

I would like to ask the gentleman—and I will ask that the gentleman have further time—I wonder if the gentleman read a well-considered and well-written article in the Washington Daily News of yesterday on this very subject, in which the writer indubitably cites figures and points out that notwithstanding the order of the President that no vacancies be filled except those that are absolutely essential nevertheless vacancies have been filled, and that that order amounts to almost a nullity, corroborating a statement that I made here a few days ago.

Now, if the membership wants to do something to save money, adopt this section as it is proposed by the Committee on Appropriations and help us in our efforts to conserve the money of the people.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan may proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MAPES. I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee that I have not seen the article to which he refers, but it seems to me that the gentleman's argument that the President is going to take the recommendations of the heads of these departments and sign the orders which the heads of the departments recommend is an admission that the heads of the departments are going to determine the necessity for filling the vacancies.

If the President of the United States gets his Cabinet together, as the gentleman has suggested, and tells the members of it that they must keep down expenses and that they must not allow any vacancies to be filled except in cases of absolute necessity, it seems to me every purpose will be accomplished which the Committee on Appropriations desire to accomplish.

If we can not trust the heads of the departments, who are responsible for the administration of them, then we are in a bad way, and it seems to me perfectly unreasonable to load this duty on the President.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAPES. Yes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. At the bottom of page 92 this language is used:

> That this inhibition shall not apply to absolutely essential positions the filling of which may be approved in writing by the President of the United States.

There is no specific requirement for his personal signature. The gentleman must know how many thousands of times the President's signature is attached to documents by somebody else who acts for him. Now, what will happen in this case? He will delegate a member of the Bureau of the Budget, one of his secretaries, or some other man to be at the head of this. It will be that person's duty to examine every application to fill a vacancy, and when any are approved he will sign the President's name, acting for him. The gentleman knows that the President could not possibly take the time to personally sign every communication he is required to sign. So it is all foolishness to say that the President will be required to sign 15,000 or 20,000 approval of appointments a day. All that is desired is the President's approval in writing. If that approval is given, then his name will be signed by his authorized agent. However, the adoption of the provision under consideration will put a restraint upon the departments and they will not, as heretofore, fill positions that are not absolutely essential.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment. I have been reading these debates rather carefully in the last few days and have noted the attempt to make a lot of trouble for the executive department. This is a matter which is exceedingly interesting to all of us. It is, perhaps, a rather small matter, but it brings to our attention the fact that we are overloading the President of the United States. If we desire to relieve him of this particular duty, the Director of the Budget seems the proper person to whom this ought to be delegated.

I remind the committee that for many years past we have found the Congress utterly unable to legislate fully in many complicated matters. We created the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, and all sorts of commissions practically legislating for us. The President of the United States must make appointments to all of these commissions, and all their acts are subject to severe criticism in both branches of the Congress. Our forefathers little foresaw what is now happening in saddling these overwhelming duties upon the President of the United States. Although this item now being considered is supposedly a small matter, I think it is high time we called a halt. We all know that there is a tremendous number of these employees. If the President is compelled to sign his name, as contemplated in this act, even though he should call in the Director of the Budget to advise him, his duties will be greatly increased. I, for one, am unwilling to add such minor duties but am rather in favor of subtracting from his work.

As one prominent member of the Government recently said in a public speech, "How long are we going to kill our Presidents?" How long are we going to continue to let them commit suicide? The elimination of much of the detail work of the President is really an important matter in the public mind. These debates disclose the attitude of this Congress is to add to the burden of the President. I appeal for a lessening of his work whenever possible.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this section and the amendment close in 10 minutes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman allow me to have five minutes? In view of the fact I initiated this matter, I would like to close the debate.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this section and the amendment thereto close in 15 minutes.

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, it is possible that I would like to offer an amendment and speak on it after action is had upon the pending amendment.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Then I ask unanimous consent that debate upon this amendment close in 15 minutes.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I would like to have an opportunity at some point in the debate to ask two or three questions.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The request only applies to this amendment.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that the request does not refer to the pro forma amendments that have been offered, but to my amendment to substitute the Director of the Budget for the President of the United States in connection with this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. The request applies to the amendment of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS].

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point on the impounding provision of section 3 of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman already has the privilege of extending his remarks.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, in my opinion one of the most important aspects of section 3 has not yet been discussed. I refer to the impounding provision of section 3 and its effect on the economical and efficient conduct of the work in the department during the last few months of the fiscal year 1932 and all of 1933.

The impounding provision of section 3 has the effect of setting up a reserve, contingent, frozen asset, or whatever you wish to call it, which can be used only for salaries. If not used for salaries, the unexpended portion must be returned to the Treasury.

And how is the amount of this reserve established? By a careful analysis of the work to be done; by a consideration of the proportions of the total which should be used for salaries and for other expenses; all considered in relation to the total amount of the reduced appropriation for 1933? No. The amount of this reserve is established by counting noses on the date the appropriation act is approved. The total of the annual salaries of all employees on the rolls is determined. To this is added the annual salaries of all positions which are vacant at that time. The total of the two represents this reserve which must be set up in each appropriation item for salaries.

You must remember that practically all appropriations have been reduced for 1933. Therefore, the work is being conducted on a larger scale at the present time than it will be in 1933, and this statement will also be true on the date the appropriation act passes. Yet by the provisions of section 3 the size of the salary reserve is established on the basis of the annual salaries of the personnel of the department needed to carry on the work on an entirely different basis than will apply in 1933.

Let us assume for the purpose of illustration that we have an appropriation item of $1,000,000 in 1932. By careful analysis, based upon years of experience in handling his work, the bureau chief knows that the proportion of salaries to other miscellaneous expenditures should be, let us say, 80 to 20. In other words, in doing the work under a $1,000,000 appropriation, he will expend $800,000 for salaries.

Now, let us assume that the Budget and the House committee have reduced this appropriation by 20 per cent or down to a total of $800,000. We will also assume, and it is a logical assumption, that, for the efficient conduct of this work, the ratio between salaries and other expenses should be the same as it was under the $1,000,000 appropriation, or 80 to 20. The total which should be expended for salaries during 1933 in this appropriation would therefore be 80 per cent of $800,000, or $640,000.

But this appropriation act is going to be approved in the fiscal year 1932, when the work is being done on a scale entirely different and much larger than it will be in 1933. The total annual salaries of the personnel engaged in this activity in the $1,000,000 illustration on the date the bill passes will be right around $800,000, and as I interpret the language of section 3, $800,000 will be set aside to be used only for salaries or to revert to the Treasury. The total of the appropriation is $800,000 and you reserve it all for salaries. Is that the way to bring about economy and efficiency in the Government service?

Of course, the example I have used will vary for different bureaus, but I venture to say that there will be cases like it in some of the items carried by this bill.

You may say that an alert bureau chief would see to it that the total annual salaries of the employees on the rolls on the day the bill is approved would be at the proper figure for carrying on his work on the reduced scale provided for 1933. Would a bureau chief be warranted in dismissing employees on the assumption that this bill is going to be approved in its present form?

In short this reserve for salaries is established on one basis and the work in 1933 will be performed on an entirely different one. If this bill is approved on a Wednesday the salary reserve will be a certain figure, if approved on Thursday, it will probably be entirely different; if approved on Friday it will be still another figure. This is not as far fetched as it sounds. If the bill is approved on the last day of a month the salary reserve will be entirely and widely different from the figure it would be if the bill were approved on the following day. You can easily see why this is true. When a person resigns he usually makes his resignation effective on the last day of the month. The amount of the salary reserve is established on an accidental, hit-or-miss basis.

I have not complicated this discussion thus far with any reference to the amounts which must be impounded for vacancies existing in positions on the date the act is approved. This brings up a swarm of troublesome questions for the administrative officers of the department. What is a position anyway? Is a position a position if you can not finance it? Is a position a position if you can finance it in 1932, but can not in 1933 with your reduced appropriations?

Who is going to decide which vacancies are to be counted and which are not? How long will a bureau chief have to wait to get an authoritative determination as to which vacancies are to be counted? What will be the extent of the additional records the department will have to set up to record and trace transaction by position on the new basis?

Now, going back to my example:

You have a reserve of $800,000 set up for salaries in an appropriation item of $800,000. Nothing is left for travel, supplies, equipment, telephone, telegraph, and other expenses. What is the bureau chief to do? He has $800,000 to carry on a certain line of work, but Congress has informed him that he must spend this only for salaries. I can not see the wisdom of that.

Now, let us take another example:

Assume the 1932 appropriation is $1,000,000 and the ratio between personnel and other expenditures is again 80-20. In this example, however, the reduction in 1933 let us assume is $100,000, leaving an appropriation of $900,000 for 1933. The reserve for salaries we will assume is identical with the figure used in the previous example, or $800,000. The bureau chief will then have $100,000 left for miscellaneous expenses other than personnel. I have prepared a tabulation which will indicate what the division between the two classes of expenditures should be under proper administration and what it will be under the provisions of section 3 of the bill:

	Under sec. 3, H. R. 7912	Under balanced management
Total appropriation 1933	$900,000	$900,000
Reserve for salaries	800,000	
Proper expenditure for salaries (80 per cent of $900,000)		720,000
Balance available for miscellaneous expenses	100,000	
What should be spent for miscellaneous expenses		180,000

In this example the effect of the provisions of section 3 are to reduce the amount of expenditures for miscellaneous expenses from $180,000 to $100,000, or 44 per cent, and to set up a reserve of $800,000 for salaries, which is $80,000 more than the bureau chief would expend if left to his own devices. Having set up this reserve for salaries, just what is the incentive for saving in personnel expenditure? There is none. You have ear-marked $800,000 for salaries alone, and if any savings are made they go back to the Treasury. Why should a bureau chief—and I am casting no reflection upon the bureau chiefs when I say this—make an effort to save in personnel expenditures when the work of the bureau does not benefit? His reasoning may be something like this: "By a rearrangement of work in this division I could let one man go. But I won't be able to use the money which I save in this way to meet the new demand which has just arisen. It will go back to the Treasury. At the same time, if I let this man go I will have a great deal of difficulty in replacing him when normal times return. Some other man in the division may die or resign in the near future. I had better play safe and keep him on."

Other examples might be cited:

For instance, a man comes up for retirement. If this reserve for salaries and the prohibition against filling vacancies were not in effect, the man would apply for retirement. Knowing, however, that it would be difficult to replace him if he were retired, the bureau chief asks him to stay on the job for another two years.

Or you might have an employee who should be dismissed for inefficiency. It is realized, however, that it will be difficult to replace him, and although he is not a good employee he is better than none at all, and he is continued in his position.

I venture to say that the expenditures for salaries under this bill as it is now worded will be greater than they would be if the responsible administrative officers were left to work out their personnel and other problems without the arbitrary limitation and restriction imposed by this bill.

In the second example I have used, the maximum expenditure for salaries is $800,000 and there is nothing to be gained by the bureau in reducing this. The proper expenditure, taking into consideration the amount of work to be done and the size of the appropriation, would be $720,000. If a bureau chief were left to his own device, he would see that the total expenditure for the year for salaries would be right around this figure. At the beginning of the year the salary obligation for all employees on the rolls would undoubtedly be higher. He would have time, however, during the year to weed out the less efficient employees, to shift personnel from position to position in the event of resignations or deaths, and at the end of the year you would have a force of more efficient employees than you had at the beginning of the year, a force of the proper size and a force whose work throughout the year had not been handicapped by a shortage of miscellaneous expense funds.

Opposed to this, under the provisions of section 3 of the bill, you would have at the end of the year probably a larger force and a force which had been handicapped throughout the year by a shortage of expense money.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, I must confess surprise at the serious manner in which some gentlemen on my left have approached the discussion of this very wise provision of the bill.

Perhaps I can relieve the apprehension of the gentleman from Nebraska, who has been very insistent in urging objections to this bill, by saying that after this provision was reported to the House it was called to the attention of a distinguished lawyer, who is the head of one of the great departments of the Government, by some official in his department who felt it might prove embarrassing since the department had on its pay roll temporary employees and some not in the classified service. The distinguished head of the department examined the provision and said to me, "I see no reason why my department can not operate under it. I will offer no objection and will operate under it." [Applause.] Why? Because, as a lawyer, he knew that the President could meet the requirements of this provision without signing his name to every appointment he may authorize and approve.

What will happen in the filling of vacancies? They occur and are not filled. Reasons why they should be filled can be filed with and considered by such official agent as the President may designate for that purpose, and appointments approved with the same dispatch and ease that many other like matters are disposed of which require the President's written approval.

The gentleman from Nebraska insists that we arbitrarily reduce the personnel in the Department of Agriculture 5 per cent. He may be right, and I would gladly support him if he could tell us what employees can be separated from the service and give reasons therefor. He is in the anomalous position of wanting to make a drastic reduction in personnel in the Department of Agriculture, but unwilling to make it difficult to fill vacancies which now exist or may occur in the future. I am wondering if he wants to get rid of some and make it easier to get some in who are now out.

One reason for this provision is because we felt the President was not being properly supported in his effort to prevent the filling of vacancies. Some of the hearings disclosed this information and suggested the necessity of this provision. There have been vacancies filled this year, and some will be filled next year, many of which should not be filled, and the committee felt that the provision now under discussion would insure that only essential positions will be filled when vacancies occur.

The chairman of the committee told the House of a conversation he had with the President, in which the President expressed appreciation of the assurance given that the Committee on Appropriations would cooperate in every possible way to keep down expenses.

Thus far we have refused to recommend to this House any increase in Budget items, which we will continue to do. On the other hand, substantial reductions have been reported, and you have approved the same.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Do we understand that that is coming out of the time of the gentleman from Wisconsin and myself?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair feels that the debate on the amendment is limited to 15 minutes, and any extension will have to come out of that 15 minutes.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alabama have two minutes more, not to be taken out of the 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the action of the Committee of the Whole, the Chair feels constrained to rule that he can not entertain that unanimous request.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Let me say in conclusion we put this provision in to prevent abuses that we believed would occur in the absence of it. [Applause.]

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, if I thought that this proposal would be unduly burdensome to the President, as has been alleged and represented by some gentlemen in advocacy of the amendment to substitute the Director of the Budget, I would oppose this proposal; but conscious of the fact that there is only one instrumentality to make effective the nonfilling of these vacancies, I cordially rise to support the proposition of the distinguished economist, the chairman of the Cimmittee on Appropriations. [Applause.]

If you read this proposal, you will see that it is not intended to have the President visa the filling of every vacancy which he might deem essential, but, as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] says, it applies to a blanket order for a class or certain character of employment heads of the departments will deem essential to the service, no more and no less.

The Postmaster General will consider whether it should apply to the men in the letter-carrier service or other postal activity, and submit his determination to the President, and the President will accept it.

The chairman has said that the Executive order now in force is not workable to attain the end desired. He says the heads of the departments are not doing their full duty. That they are not scrutinizing the need of filling vacancies when they occur. The best we can do in this emergency in trying to curtail extravagant appropriations is to subscribe to this amendment in toto.

It is similar to the head of a manufacturing corporation filling subordinate positions. To the heads of the departments he would say, "Wherever you have some vacancies to be filled which you regard as essential, you must secure from me a blanket order." That is all there is to this. To my colleagues on this side of the aisle I wish to say that this can not be objected to by the President; he should welcome it, as it fulfills his purpose. I say come to the support of the President, who wishes to curtail the expenses of Government, and thereby relieve the taxpayers. [Applause.]

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. MAPES. The gentleman says that this applies to positions generally?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes. That is the wording of the provision, that this inhibition shall not apply to absolutely essential positions, referring to a class, which the heads of the departments will submit to him. The President will say to the heads of the departments, "If you say that is essential, all right; I will visa it." It does not refer to every little subordinate position or that the President is going to pass upon the necessity of six or seven hundred thousand such jobs. That is straining at a gnat. It is a meaningless complaint. It can not come within the category referred to by the gentleman as being an absurd provision.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit me to complete my question?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. MAPES. How does the gentleman account for the language in the main part of the section which provides:

> No appropriation under the Department of Agriculture available during the fiscal year 1932 and/or 1933 shall be used after the date of the approval of this act to pay the compensation of an incumbent appointed to any position under the Federal Government which is vacant on the date of the approval of this act or to any such position which may become vacant after such date.

Does not that apply to each individual position?

Mr. STAFFORD. That applies to each individual position, but the proviso conferring on the President the right to O. K. positions in general applies to a class, and it is the proviso under which the President is to act, and not the main part of the section.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I have been accused of so many things during the last few days on the floor of the House that I am not surprised when gentlemen try to confuse the minds of Members by mixing up the 5 per cent proposal that I expect to submit to the House in a few minutes with this proposal. They have absolutely no connection whatsoever except to arouse certain prejudices it is hoped might be aroused. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OLIVER]—and I have considerable respect for his mental ability—attempts to confuse my proposal, which merely limits the number of people who will be on the Federal pay roll in the city of Washington, with a proposal that requires the President of the United States to act upon the filling of a vacancy that might occur anywhere under the American flag. I submit the gentleman's mind is too clear to ask the House to make that comparison. Then he comes in with a great volume and tells us that some unnamed lawyer has said that they could operate under this law. Nobody has said that they can not operate under the law. My appeal to you is that you do not require the President of the United States to do these things. His burdens are heavy now in caring for the great fundamental problems of the Government to require him to take on these administrative details. It is one thing to come in here with language that says that whenever there is a vacancy now or hereafter in the Government service the President of the United States shall approve the filling of that position in writing, and then defend it upon the ground that you do not expect the President to perform this function. I submit this is the net result of the argument of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS], who says that the President will assign it to somebody else.

My good friend and colleague on this subcommittee, Mr. BUCHANAN, says that the President will assign it to somebody else, and then the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OLIVER] suggests that the President will assign it to somebody else. Why put the mandate of law upon the President and then say to the world in advance that you do not expect the President to obey the law? I have sufficient confidence in the President of the United States to believe that if the Congress places this mandate upon him, he will fulfill it, and he is giving every ounce of energy and strength and ability in now serving the American people. The President of the United States must personally approve the employment of men under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Out in the forest this summer fires will break out. The men employed there are Federal employees. They have the benefit of the United States workmen's compensation law, and the President must sign the order employing men to fight fires. We employ all over the United States in the summer months great numbers of per diem employees. They are Federal employees. Those positions are now vacant and they will be filled after this act becomes a law. The President of the United States must personally approve the employment of those men. It is not a question as to whether or not he can perform this duty, it is a question of whether or not the Presidency ought to be encumbered with minor administrative duties of this kind at a time when of all times the mental ability and strength of the President ought to be devoted to the major and fundamental problems of the Government.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BYRNS. The gentleman refers to fighting forest fires, where thousands of persons are employed for a few days. Under the law the Secretary of Agriculture must make every appointment of that kind. Does the gentleman think that the Secretary of Agriculture makes those appointments? Does not he authorize those in charge out there to employ the necessary men temporarily to do the work, and is not that exactly how this will work? The gentleman, it seems to me, is putting up a man of straw and then knocking him down.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman says the Secretary of Agriculture does that now. Let us admit that he does. Then the gentleman says that he is going to do it hereafter, but you are fastening that burden by law onto the President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired. All time has expired. Without objection, the pro forma amendments are withdrawn and the question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nebraska.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SIMMONS) there were—ayes 54, noes 131.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have sent to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Page 93, line 1, after the word "states," strike out the period and insert the words "or his duly authorized agent."

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, there is no division of sentiment in this House as to the purpose to be accomplished; that is, to save Federal money by preventing the filling of unnecessary positions in the Federal service. There does seem to be much question as to whether the President of the United States, under the language contained in the bill, would be required to sign his name fifty or a hundred times a day in giving written orders for filling necessary positions. All that my amendment does is to add "or his duly authorized agent." It clearly leaves responsibility on the President of the United States, but relieves him of the necessity of examining applications that come before him and of signing his name.

That is the purpose of the amendment. It serves every purpose which we have in the language contained in the bill, and still does not burden the President of the United States with the actual examination of applications and attaching his signature.

I do not want to take the time of the House, but I do not believe the President of the United States ought to be authorized, while retaining the responsibility, to delegate the authority to sign his name and to make the actual investigation. Undoubtedly this authority must be delegated, so why not say so?

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington is even worse than the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS]. If that is done, there will only be an agent who will pass on this filling of vacancies, and we will have no one who is really responsible and to whom these department heads must look and for whom they must act.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks, in support of the statement I have made two or three times, by incorporating at this point a well-considered and well-written article, published in the Washington Daily News of yesterday, in which are pointed out the actual figures to show that no department in this Government has paid any particular attention to the order of the President of the United States directing that vacancies be not filled unless they are absolutely essential.

I say to you in all seriousness that if we are to accomplish anything of value by a provision prohibiting the filling of vacancies and if the personnel is to be cut, this is the only way it can ever be done. I appeal to the membership to vote down not only this amendment but those that are to follow, and let us put in this real reform.

Now it has been said the President will be required to sign his name fifty or a hundred times a day. Are they going to fill that many vacancies from now until June 30 and during the year 1933? Is that the idea of economy on the part of my friend from Nebraska and my friend from Washington, that that many vacancies are to be filled, and the President of the United States will sign his name to that many requests? You know what will happen. If there were any vacancies in the Department of Agriculture to be filled, the Secretary of Agriculture would make a close and thorough investigation before he ever asked the President of the United States to approve. Then he would send them up in one batch. That is what he would do.

I dare say there will be the fewest certifications to the President if this section goes into effect.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing an excellent and timely article in the Washington Daily News.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

PRESIDENT'S POLICY ON NONREFILLABLE VACANCIES NOT CARRIED OUT BY DEPARTMENT HEADS, ACCORDING TO FIGURES ON UNITED STATES FORCE IN CAPITAL

By C. A. F.

President Hoover told department heads nearly a year ago to stop filling vacancies, so far as possible, and thus bring down the Federal pay roll for economy. Chairman BYRNS, of the House Appropriations Committee, makes statements seeming to show that the policy has not worked out. Is that a fact?

The Civil Service Commission tabulates figures twice a year on the total number of employees the country over. The last set was for the end of last June, and showed a steady rise for several years. The figures for December 31 are not yet ready, because of the far-flung nature of the Federal establishment.

But there are some comparatively late figures for employees in Washington. In May the number in the Federal executive civil service here was 72,417. On November 30 the number had fallen to 69,894, a decrease of 2,523, which was fairly evenly distributed over the months in between. That indicated the President's policy was being carried out. But was it?

CENSUS MAKES BIG CUT

Nearly all of the decrease was registered by the Commerce Department, with a cut of 2,456, and was due almost entirely to dismissals of Census Bureau temporary employees, who could not have been replaced, anyway. The next largest reduction, 392, was shown by the Veterans' Administration, and most of that was due to employees being sent from Washington to other cities in that agency's program of decentralization. The War Department had the third largest reduction, 132, and the Shipping Board was fourth with 41. All other reductions were negligible.

GAINS BALANCE LOSSES

Outside of the Census Bureau the gains practically balanced the losses in Washington. The Government Printing Office added 127, largely because of increased work in getting out the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and other printed products of Congress; the Agricultural Department added 122, many for seed-loan and other farm-relief work; the Federal Farm Board added 52; Justice, 78; and Post Office, 57.

The House vote of 152 to 24 for a special rule showed the volume of sentiment in that body for nonrefillable vacancies and the companion idea of no salary increases. Statements were freely made that adoption of these measures would help to head off threatened pay cuts.

How much money will be saved by a legal bar against filling vacancies? In recent years the turnover in all the Federal service has run around 33,000—retirements, deaths, dismissals, and resignations. Retirements and deaths can be expected to maintain their annual average of about 5,000 each. Dismissals and resignations will be fewer. Many "essential" positions will be filled. Some experienced figurers place the probable reduction in personnel at 20,000, perhaps less. The 20,000 estimate, with an average salary of $1,800, would mean $36,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. SUMMERS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I have sent to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MAPES: Page 92, strike out all of section 3.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield for a preliminary inquiry?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Montana will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. LEAVITT. At what point in this bill is the amendment that is made in order by the adoption of House Resolution 120 to be offered? Is that not intended to take the place of the present sections 2 and 3? If so, what is the need of spending time and attempting to approve or disapprove of amendments to sections that are to be stricken out in connection with this resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the language contained in the resolution is already in the bill, and the purpose of the resolution, as the Chair understands it, is that no point of order may be raised against this language. The matter under consideration now is section 3 of the bill as reported by the committee.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, in my colloquy a short time ago with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] I stated that unless some amendment like that proposed by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] to substitute

the Director of the Bureau of the Budget or the heads of departments directly affected for the words "President of the United States" that I would offer an amendment to strike out the paragraph. It is in accordance with that statement that I have offered the amendment which has just been read.

I realize, of course, that the committee has, in a sense, expressed its judgment upon the section, but I want to offer this amendment for the purpose of expressing my own conviction upon the desirability of having the section as it stands eliminated from this bill. I do not think this duty ought to be imposed upon the President of the United States, with an organization of something like 700,000 employees of the Government scattered over the United States. I do not think it is necessary. If it is necessary, if the President of the United States is the only man in the Government service that can be trusted to carry out the policy which the section contemplates, then certainly the Government is in a bad way. For one, I want to say that I favor having this section stricken from the bill.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Montana offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LEAVITT: Page 93, line 1, after the words "United States," strike out the period, insert a semicolon, and add "*Provided*, That the President may delegate this authority to meet emergencies."

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman reserve his point of order?

Mr. BYRNS. I reserve it.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I recognize that the point of order is good and, as I previously explained, I am offering this amendment for the purpose of asking two or three questions and getting into the RECORD some discussion that will clarify the interpretation of this matter when it comes before the Comptroller.

The amendment I have offered is to the effect that the President may delegate his authority to act on these requests in emergencies. On the floor the other day when this matter was up for consideration I asked what I thought were two or three important questions. I outlined some situations which I know to exist in connection with the national forest work and in connection with many other field activities of the Government. I asked definitely if it was the opinion of the members of the committee and the intention of the members of the committee that the President would have the power to delegate to others the performance of the acts that are required in this bill. I ask the chairman of the committee this particular question: Is it, in his judgment, within the authority of the President in advance in writing to delegate this authority to some one in one of the departments below the head of the department to meet an emergency in the field?

Mr. BUCHANAN. It is my understanding that it is even contemplated that the President shall have authority to select his own agents, who will be personally responsible to the President, to review these applications and determine whether or not they are emergencies and are absolutely essential. He can delegate that authority to his personal agent and have the President's name signed by his personal agent, the same as is done in connection with other Government activities.

Mr. LEAVITT. Must it be the President's name that is signed?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Certainly. This is not a criminal statute. This is merely a contract, and he can do that by his agent as well as by his personal signature. The main thing is fixing the responsibility, so that his Cabinet members will be careful not to ask for appointments that are not absolutely essential.

Mr. LEAVITT. The purpose has been explained time after time, but what I want is to have in the RECORD an interpretation of this particular point for the guidance of those who will have to pass upon any of these acts. I want to put a particular question. Here is an instance to which I referred the other day: A man on lookout in the midst of a national forest may be injured and it is necessary to replace him immediately. There is no time to come to Washington, to the head of the department, to the President, or anyone else. The forest supervisor, and even the ranger in charge of the district, ought to have authority to act in such an emergency. Now, the question I want to ask some of the lawyers on the committee is whether it is the opinion of the committee, and, therefore, if the Congress passes this bill, the opinion of the Congress, that the President in advance of such a situation could delegate to the forest supervisor authority to fill that place?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I think he could.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. The President already has his Budget as an agent to be used in this very matter.

Mr. LEAVITT. I understand that; but here is a case where we are putting into the law a definite statement; we have put in certain inhibitions, and then we have stated that those inhibitions shall not apply to absolutely essential positions, the filling of which may be approved in writing by the President of the United States. The question I asked has been satisfactorily answered, and the answer was that the President of the United States may give that authority in advance in writing so that the situation may be immediately met.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, I do not think there is any doubt whatsoever but that the President may anticipate conditions under the proviso just read.

Mr. LEAVITT. That should be made very plain, otherwise it is entirely unworkable.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is nothing here negativing that position.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to return to page 4, line 23, for the purpose of offering an amendment to prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from having and operating two automobiles instead of one as all other departments are doing. I am stating the substance of the proposed amendment, so that anyone can object if he wants to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to return to page 4, line 23, for the purpose of offering an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BUCHANAN: Page 4, line 23, strike out the word "four" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "Three, including one for the Secretary of Agriculture, one for general utility needs of the entire department, and one for the Forest Service."

And on page 5, strike out the word "two," in line 1, and insert in lieu thereof the word "one."

And on page 5, in line 2, strike out the word "vehicles" and insert in lieu thereof the word "vehicle."

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to return to page 87, line 13, for the purpose of offering an amendment to prevent the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads from having, operating, and maintaining two vehicles instead of one, as the heads of other bureaus are doing.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to return to page 87, line 13, for the purpose of offering an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BUCHANAN: On page 87, line 13, strike out the word "two" and insert in lieu thereof the word "one."

And on the same page, in line 14, strike out the word "vehicles" and insert in lieu thereof the word "vehicle."

And on the same page, in line 24, after the sum of "$500," insert a colon and the following: "*Provided further*, That not more than one such vehicle shall be maintained for use in the administrative work of the Bureau of Public Roads in the District of Columbia."

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I want to ask the chairman of the subcommittee, why not go far enough to adopt a sweeping provision to take away all of these Government owned and operated automobiles used by these bureaucrats to run around here day and night? I wish the gentleman would take every one of them away from them.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the right to object to ask the gentleman from Florida if he would take away all the automobiles from the Prohibition Bureau as well? [Laughter.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, the Prohibition Bureau is using 1,200 automobiles that it has confiscated from rum-running bootleggers. Is it the gentleman's wish that we should also take away the airplane of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHAFER] so he can not have any more pictures taken with the Bingham beer group?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, that airplane is not operated at Government expense.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk be authorized to correct totals in accordance with the amendment adopted to the bill under the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LUCE: Amend section 3 by striking out the part of the sentence beginning in line 24 thereof and inserting in place thereof the following:

"That this inhibition shall not apply to absolutely essential positions, but the filling thereof shall not be consummated until 10 days after the names of proposed appointees have been submitted to the Director of the Budget, who shall forthwith investigate as to the necessities of the case and make report thereon to the President."

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I will recognize there is small chance that this amendment will be approved. I present it, however, with two purposes: First, this provision will be further considered and it may be useful elsewhere to have accompanying it suggestion of all the ways that might be followed to accomplish the end we all desire without giving to the President a mandate to do a thing we know he can not do.

Also I would put on record the fact that it is evidently the intention of the majority of the House to say in one breath that the mandate is perfunctory, that we do not expect the work will be performed by the President, and in the next breath to require that he shall give his approval in writing to between one and two hundred appointments a day. Assuming that the provision will be in all the appropriation bills, we are to announce to the President, to announce to the Secretaries in his Cabinet, to announce to all employees of the Government that the House neither intends nor expects the President to perform the duty specifically, definitely, positively imposed on him by the language of the bills we are about to pass.

The word "perfunctory" was used in defending the proposal. This puts us in the position of saying in effect: "Mr. President, we are making a gesture; we are telling you to do a thing that we expect will not be done by you, that you are to hand over to somebody else, and that as far as you are concerned will be purely a pretense, a sham."

This contradiction deserves to be enshrined in the immortal pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. For that purpose I submit the amendment, with the consciousness that it will get short shrift.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. LUCE) there were 92 ayes and 126 noes.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Nebraska whether he desires to discuss his motion to recommit which he intends to present? At first I thought I wanted to discuss it, but I ask him now what he desires?

Mr. SIMMONS. I would suggest a brief presentation of the motion to recommit. I know of no way that we can do it unless we do it now under agreement. We might discuss it for 20 minutes, 10 minutes to be controlled by the gentleman from Texas and 10 minutes by myself.

The CHAIRMAN. That can not be done in committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Does the gentleman from Nebraska realize that his motion includes the entire Agricultural Department, and it could not possibly be covered in that time?

Mr. SIMMONS. I assume that the membership of the House is anxious to have the bill out of the way.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Some of the Members were detained by committee work and are not familiar with the provisions of the motion to recommit. I understand it involves a proposal for some reductions and replacements.

Mr. SIMMONS. A plain reduction.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. But we ought to have some statement as to the effect of it.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the statement made by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN], I ask unanimous consent that we have 40 minutes in which to discuss the motion to recommit—20 minutes to be controlled by the gentleman from Texas——

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that can not be done in committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas should not interrupt the gentleman from Nebraska until he has completed his request.

Mr. BLANTON. But he had gone far enough to make the point of order lodge.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I make the point of order, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman from Texas has no right to interrupt.

The CHAIRMAN. In the opinion of the Chair, he can not recognize any unanimous consent to control the time. The Chair will recognize a unanimous-consent request that debate shall close at a particular time, but the Chair will reserve to itself the right of recognition.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I have absolute confidence in the fairness of the Chair. I ask unanimous consent that we may discuss the question of the motion to recommit for 40 minutes, the time to be controlled by the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the unanimous-consent request that debate on the section close in 40 minutes, without regard to the motion to recommit.

Mr. SIMMONS. I make that request.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent that debate upon this section close in 40 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN].

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to address the committee out of order for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, we have heard the gentleman from Nebraska for about three days. I object.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last line of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I have no desire to unduly prolong this discussion. My colleague, Mr. BUCHANAN, from Texas, has desired that the committee understand, as I do, what would be in the motion to recommit when it is made. The committee will find on pages 3, 4, and 5 of the committee's report a series of something over 100 different items in the bill that have been reduced in contingent expenses 5 per cent by the committee, which has now been approved. That saving of $470,000 will be in traveling expenses, in the purchase of equipment and supplies, and matters of that kind. No matter what happens to my motion to recommit, I am pleased that we have been able to save, at my suggestion in the subcommittee, $470,000. My motion to recommit will be to take 5 per cent out of the total appropriations for salaries carried in practically all of these items, but not all of them, because some of them have practically no salary rolls in the District of Columbia. I think some 80 items in the bill will be reduced by 5 per cent of the amount that the breakdown carries for salaries in the District of Columbia if my motion to recommit should prevail. The amendment will not reduce the salary of any individual who remains on the Government pay roll. It may result, and in my judgment should result, in the removal of employees whose services are not absolutely essential from the Government pay roll in the city of Washington. The Budget that came to us called for a reduction of only 73 employees in the District of Columbia, while it called for a reduction of 407 employees in the Department of Agriculture in the field.

The Budget that came to us calls for 343 more employees in the District of Columbia for the fiscal year 1933 than this Congress authorized in the fiscal year 1931. So that the Budget recommended to us a decrease in the District of Columbia of salaries of 1½ per cent, and a decrease of 2⅕ per cent in the field. My proposal would remove from the pay roll of about 80 expending agencies in the District of Columbia 5 per cent of the appropriations that those agencies have for salaries. The bill carries approximately $12,800,000 for salaries in the District of Columbia. My proposal will take $495,000 out of the $12,800,000, leaving approximately $12,300,000 for salaries in the District of Columbia. I take it that that will not essentially cripple any activity. I propose only to reduce those salary appropriations in the various items that the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee of the Whole have now approved through a reduction of 5 per cent in personnel where there has been a reduction of 5 per cent in the contingent fund. You have approved the $470,000 of saving in the contingent fund. I ask that you approve an additional cut of $495,000 in personnel, saving in the main in those same items. The two cuts are companion cuts. One of them should not be made without the other being made. They were proposed by me as companion cuts in the subcommittee. One cut which results in the saving of $470,000 has been accepted, and I ask that the House accept the other. I think that is as clear a statement as I can make of the issue in five minutes.

Mr. SUMMERS of Washington. Will this cut any salary in the District of Columbia?

Mr. SIMMONS. Of those that remain on the Government pay roll; no. It may result in taking a number of them off the pay roll entirely.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman's motion to recommit restore any items to the bill recommended by the subcommittee that were taken out by the full committee because not recommended by the Budget?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; and I am very glad the gentleman has called that to my attention. As originally contemplated I had expected to ask the House to put back into this bill $230,000 of items that the subcommittee originally approved; but due to the feeling that is obvious in the House that some of these items should not be increased, and at the direct request of some men whose items are concerned, I have eliminated from the motion any restoration of items which our subcommittee originally approved. It will be a direct cut in salary appropriations and no increase anywhere along the line.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House, with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MCCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7912) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the same back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en bloc.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. I am.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Nebraska offers a motion to recommit, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SIMMONS moves to recommit the bill H. R. 7912 to the Committee on Appropriations with instructions to that committee to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendments:

On page 2, line 7, strike out "$806,547" and insert "$767,793," and in the same line strike out "$821,547" and insert "$782,797."
On page 4, line 13, strike out "$125,000" and insert "$118,750."
On page 7, line 12, strike out "$410,800" and insert "$391,300," and on page 7, line 13, strike out "$387,560" and insert "$368,060."
On page 10, line 1, strike out "$106,100" and insert "$103,400," and on page 10, line 2, strike out "$74,120" and insert "$70,420."
On page 20, line 3, strike out "$136,180" and insert "$119,690," and on page 20, line 12, strike out "$2,483,218" and insert "$2,467,318";
On page 21, line 4, strike out "$1,457,440" and insert "$1,453,000";
On page 23, line 11, strike out "$184,025" and insert "$175,275";
On page 26, line 15, strike out "$673,400" and insert "$665,050";
On page 27, line 11, strike out "$422,950" and insert "$417,250";
On page 31, line 16, strike out "$69,380" and insert "$66,080";
On page 31, line 22, strike out "$648,068" and insert "$635,318";
On page 32, line 21, strike out "$209,966" and insert "$199,716";
On page 33, line 3, strike out "$60,500" and insert "$57,650";
On page 33, line 14, strike out "$196,400" and insert "$194,850";
On page 34, line 18, strike out "$52,060" and insert "$49,900";
On page 35, line 2, strike out "$550,785" and insert "$541,535";
On page 35, line 25, strike out "$218,440" and insert "$215,840";
On page 36, line 3, strike out "$37,720" and insert "$36,320";
On page 36, line 15, strike out "$262,005" and insert "$257,755";
On page 36, line 22, strike out "$203,325" and insert "$199,475";
On page 37, line 8, strike out "$220,436" and insert "$217,636";
On page 37, line 16, strike out "$97,820" and insert "$93,220";
On page 37, line 19, strike out "$36,220" and insert "$34,620";
On page 38, line 3, strike out "$1,431,560" and insert "$1,406,250";
On page 39, line 25, strike out "$113,932" and insert "$112,282";
On page 40, line 12, strike out "$75,500" and insert "$72,750";
On page 40, line 22, strike out "$385,462" and insert "$380,612";
On page 40, line 25, strike out "$90,600" and insert "$89,450";
On page 43, line 20, strike out "$352,580" and insert "$336,830";
On page 49, line 20, strike out "$528,980" and insert "$525,880";
On page 50, line 3, strike out "$613,640" and insert "$610,990";
On page 50, line 5, strike out "$170,280" and insert "$169,630";
On page 50, line 7, strike out "$70,240" and insert "$69,390";
On page 53, line 7, strike out "$96,720" and insert "$92,370";
On page 54, line 3, strike out "$453,699" and insert "$440,849";
On page 54, line 7, strike out "$90,160" and insert "$86,460";
On page 54, line 12, strike out "$117,300" and insert "$112,925";
On page 54, line 17, strike out "$36,190" and insert "$34,890";
On page 54, line 21, strike out "$68,406" and insert "$67,556";
On page 55, line 3, strike out "$358,535" and insert "$343,535";

On page 55, line 9, strike out "$61,190" and insert "$58,340";
On page 55, line 13, strike out "$307,705" and insert "$298,705";
On page 55, line 22, strike out "$43,355" and insert "$41,755";
On page 56, line 4, strike out "$206,980" and insert "$203,380";
On page 57, line 5, strike out "$147,460" and insert "$140,760";
On page 57, line 9, strike out "$447,645" and insert "$445,795";
On page 57, line 15, strike out "$421,490" and insert "$419,690";
On page 58, line 2, strike out "$209,790" and insert "$208,800";
On page 58, line 5, strike out "$529,820" and insert "$528,470";
On page 58, line 8, strike out "$145,000" and insert "$143,950";
On page 58, line 12, strike out "$147,320" and insert "$146,120";
On page 58, line 15, strike out "$234,930" and insert "$226,430";
On page 59, line 7, strike out "$82,935" and insert "$79,035";
On page 59, line 22, strike out "$82,313" and insert "$81,663";
On page 60, line 5, strike out "$104,810" and insert "$102,810";
On page 60, line 16, strike out "$62,455" and insert "$59,355";
On page 61, line 8, strike out "$214,240" and insert "$211,290";
On page 63, line 19, strike out "$318,000" and insert "$316,600";
On page 63, line 23, strike out "$118,000" and insert "$116,600";
On page 68, line 5, strike out "$39,800" and insert "$38,000";
On page 69, line 12, strike out "$478,890" and insert "$473,640";
On page 69, line 25, strike out "$288,090" and insert "$275,090";
On page 71, line 3, strike out "$812,320" and insert in lieu thereof "$783,220";
On page 71, line 3, strike out "$812,320" and insert "$783,220";
On page 71, line 15, strike out "$785,020" and insert "$771,070";
On page 72, line 14, strike out "$356,790" and insert "$352,690";
On page 73, line 12, strike out "$537,796" and insert "$533,221";
On page 73, line 24, strike out "$1,380,808" and insert "$1,368,758";
On page 74, line 5, strike out "$372,500" and insert "$369,900";
On page 74, line 13, strike out "$24,400" and insert "$23,700";
On page 74, line 19, strike out "$175,100" and insert "$170,950";
On page 75, line 16, strike out "$289,060" and insert "$280,960";
On page 75, line 24, strike out "$833,370" and insert "$830,720";
On page 77, line 8, strike out "$43,300" and insert "$42,150";
On page 78, line 18, strike out "$27,900" and insert "$26,650";
On page 79, line 2, strike out "$205,465" and insert "$196,115";
On page 79, line 19, strike out "$87,230" and insert "$83,230";
On page 80, line 5, strike out "$737,970" and insert "$731,420";
On page 80, line 22, strike out "$430,400" and insert "$429,750";
On page 82, line 15, strike out "$218,838" and insert "$216,538";
On page 83, line 7, strike out "$104,800" and insert "$99,800";
On page 83, line 23, strike out "$1,265,219" and insert "$1,246,819";
On page 84, line 8, strike out "$41,630" and insert "$40,030";
On page 84, line 11, strike out "$37,200" and insert "$36,700";
On page 84, line 19, strike out "$212,358" and insert "$208,008."

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The question was taken; and the motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. BUCHANAN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

GENERAL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call up House Joint Resolution 251, making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee calls up House Joint Resolution 251, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the joint resolution.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That for the expenses of participation by the United States in a general disarmament conference to be held in Geneva in 1932, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, including transportation and subsistence or per diem in lieu thereof (notwithstanding the provisions of the subsistence expense act of 1926 or regulations prescribed pursuant thereto); personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, without reference to the classification act of 1923, as amended; stenographic and other services by contract if deemed necessary without regard to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5); rent of offices and rooms; purchase of necessary books and documents; printing and binding; official cards; entertainment; hire, maintenance, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; the reimbursement of other appropriations from which payments may have been made for any of the purposes herein specified; and such other expenses as may be authorized by the Secretary of State, there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $390,000, to remain available until June 30, 1933.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8397) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes. Pending that motion I ask unanimous consent that the time for general debate be equally divided, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] and one-half by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 8397, the Interior Department appropriation bill. Pending that motion he asks unanimous consent that the time for general debate be equally divided, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] and one-half by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY]. Is there objection?

Mr. KETCHAM. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the chairman of the subcommittee about the length of time he expects to consume in general debate.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I may say that I have requests for something like three hours on this side.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I have requests for about one hour and a half so far.

Mr. KETCHAM. I shall not object, provided there can be some reasonable limitation imposed upon general debate. The reason I am making this statement at this time is because of our experience in connection with the last bill.

In my experience of 10 years in the House I think I have never seen what I believe was as good consideration of an appropriation bill as that which was given the bill which has just been passed by the House. It has seemed to me that we could very well, indeed, sacrifice considerable of the time that is ordinarily taken up in general debate and use it in debate under the 5-minute rule. I do not want to consent to any proposition that is going to run general debate along for three or four days and then unduly limit or hasten consideration under the 5-minute rule. If general debate were going to run only for to-day, or possibly an hour or two beyond that time, there could be no objection, but it does seem to me we ought to get to the reading of the bill under the 5-minute rule and repeat on this bill the fine work which has been done on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill, the best discussion I have heard upon an appropriation bill in 10 years of membership in the House. [Applause.]

Mr. CONNERY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KETCHAM. I yield.

Mr. CONNERY. Does not the gentleman attribute part of the wonderful success, which we had in the consideration of that bill, to my distinguished colleague from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK], who was Chairman of the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. KETCHAM. I joint most heartily in the compliment paid to the Chairman.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consid-

eration of the bill H. R. 8397, the Department of the Interior appropriation bill, with Mr. O'CONNOR in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I will endeavor to tell the House, briefly, what this bill is and what it does.

I may say that this subcommittee began hearings upon this bill on the 15th of December, and with the exception of a few days during the holiday week, we have been considering it nearly all the time since.

The 1932 annual appropriation bill for the Interior Department carried an appropriation of $69,342,606.73. This bill appropriates $50,431,432.33. This bill is a reduction of almost 30 per cent. I am wondering whether the other 12 large supply bills will make as good a record for economy as this.

The Budget cut about two-thirds of this amount and this committee has reduced the amount recommended by the Budget $6,273,920.

We have not put an item in this bill that was not recommended by the Budget, and we have not increased one item in the bill as it came from the Budget; in other words, it is a Budget bill minus the $6,273,920 that we have reduced from the estimates of the Budget.

So, while it may seem to skimp the Interior Department, the committee believes that these reductions will not in the slightest interfere with the proper functioning of the Government or with the necessary activities of this department.

I feel it is appropriate to itemize these reductions a little so that the Members may know where and how these cuts have been made. Our hearings make a volume of 1,200 pages. They are quite full and complete, and I would suggest that anyone who desires to know the effect or the reason for any of the reductions should consult the hearings. We believe they will explain all of the changes and the ideas of the committee and of the department chiefs affecting these matters.

In the Interior Department proper we have made no change. We made a transfer of four positions from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. That did not make an increase in the amount, the salaries are the same as they were, and they are performing services in the Secretary's office that are very necessary, and it was mutually agreeable that they should be transferred. In the making of the transfer we have brought about the absorption of two offices, so that in reality it is a saving.

On the subject of printing and binding, the Budget recommended an increase of $5,500 over the current year. We disallowed that and left them the same sum as it was last year, $172,000. We felt there was no necessity for increasing this activity in that department at the present time.

In the General Land Office we have made quite a reduction. A year ago the appropriation was $2,239,400, and we have reduced it to $1,958,300, making a reduction of $281,000 from last year's bill.

There is a reduction for the survey of public lands and reductions of $10,000 for contingent expenses, and a reduction of $25,000 for protection of the public domain, and so forth.

The report on the bill itemizes these reductions.

I will next refer to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The total appropriation for the Bureau of Indian Affairs a year ago was $24,989,496. We have reduced that to $21,758,339. The reduction below last year's bill is $3,231,000. This reduction covers quite a wide field.

As you know, the Bureau of Indian Affairs of our Government covers practically 200 tribes of Indians scattered pretty nearly all over the United States. Our Government has different tribal relations, different treaties, different contractual obligations, various kinds of obligations with each tribe, and each is different from the other.

So it requires an enormous amount of individual investigation and personal visits to those tribes and reservations and agencies and the careful studying of their conditions so as to intelligently treat all of them fairly.

No one can actually learn anything about them without going and seeing them and learning on the ground the conditions as they exist among the various Indians.

The committee feels confident that these large reductions will not seriously injure any Indians. A large amount of the reduction is due to the discontinuance of a wide program of construction for the benefit of the Indians that has been carried on in recent years.

There are reductions of $8,000 for salaries in the commissioner's office, $2,000 for general expenses, and $50,000 for the purchase and transportation of supplies. Owing to the reduction in the cost of supplies and food and other things for the maintenance of the Indians, we have figured that these reductions can be safely made.

We have cut off $5,000 from the item of determining the heirs of deceased Indians. We thought that might be reduced.

We took $10,000 off the survey and allotment on various reservations. We made several reductions in the industrial-assistance items in many cases.

In the water-supply paragraph, the Budget recommended $141,000, and we cut $41,000 off and left them $100,000.

The Indian irrigation and drainage item we have reduced somewhat, because we felt that some new projects that have been contemplated might well be put over until a later date.

There is one feature of the bill at that point that I want to call attention to. I do not believe it is legislation; it is a limitation in the interest of economy, and the Secretary of the Interior and both the Reclamation Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs are in favor of giving the Secretary of the Interior the authority wherever there is some new irrigation project to be inaugurated, to allow a survey and estimate for that to be made by the Reclamation Service engineers rather than by the Indian Bureau.

We have a splendidly equipped, experienced, and high-class set of engineers in the Reclamation Service, and they can do that work much more efficiently and at less expense and delay to the Government than it can be done in the Indian Service.

Mr. LEAVITT. That does not apply to the administration of the reclamation project.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Oh, no. It is for preparing the plans and specifications and making preliminary estimates and for new construction work. So that we have inserted a clause giving the Secretary that discretionary authority.

In regard to the education of the Indians, the 1932 appropriation bill carried $11,843,000. We have reduced that, including the items of the Budget, $1,265,000. We think that reduction will not injure the education of the Indians. Some of the reductions are: $10,000 for rent, $20,000 for nonreservation boarding schools, $36,400 for education of natives in Alaska, and so forth. We decided that the Bureau of Indian Affairs could, if necessary, get along without that item in Alaska.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Is there any provision in the appropriation bill for Indian affairs for the payment to counties where Indians go to county schools, and to reimburse counties for other expenses on account of Indians?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. There is nothing in this bill in the way of new legislation on that matter or any other subject.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Or of appropriation?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. We have not appropriated anything here that is not authorized by existing law.

I think the matter the gentleman refers to is fully cared for. We have not changed the law in that way or mate-



rially reduced the allowances authorized under existing laws or treaty obligations.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is there a reduction in the amount carried in this bill below the amount in the previous bill for payment of tuition of Indian children in public schools?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. My recollection is there is no change in that.

Mr. HASTINGS. At boarding schools?

Mr. LEAVITT. No; I refer to the payment of tuition for Indian children in the public schools.

Mr. HASTINGS. There is no change in that. In the boarding schools there is a $10 per capita per year reduction.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. We have cut off $10 per capita per year on the boarding schools because of a great reduction in the present cost of supplies and everything else.

Mr. LEAVITT. But no reduction in the amount of money available to pay tuition of Indian children in public schools?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. No.

Mr. LEAVITT. My information is that they were short $60,000 in the last fiscal year in the amount necessary in that particular.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. For support and administration the appropriation is $226,000 more than last year. This increase over the current appropriation is due to the seriously depleted condition of the funds of many tribes of Indians and the uncertainty as to future income. It is necessary, therefore, in cases where tribal funds are sufficiently depleted, to transfer the appropriations for support and administration, which are necessary expenses, to gratuity appropriations. Transfers of appropriations from tribal funds to gratuity appropriations to the extent of $240,700 have been made in the pending bill.

Last year we appropriated $375,000 to build a sanatorium and hospital at Albuquerque, N. Mex. We also appropriated the same amount to build the same kind of an institution at Sioux, in South Dakota. The Budget allowed an item of $45,000 at each one of these places for maintenance of those institutions. The truth of the matter is that they have not yet title to the land for one of them, and have not even agreed on the specifications. They have no sanatorium or hospital to maintain, so that we have cut off that $90,000. It will, of course, be appropriated next year or whenever they get these hospitals built. But there is no necessity to appropriate it at this time. We also take off $7,000 allowed by the Budget for the construction of a physician's residence at one of those prospective hospitals. We felt that that could wait until they had the hospital. There are a number of items of that kind running through the bill, appropriations that are not necessary.

Under the general support and administration from tribal funds, we have reduced that amount $469,000, because the tribal funds are being greatly reduced. The Indians do not have the money and we were compelled to make a reduction for that reason.

On the subject of roads through reservations the Budget reported a year ago $250,000. Our committee raised that to $500,000 in the 1932 bill. This year the Budget reduced that to $400,000 and we have left it at that amount. I believe and I am sure all of the members of the committee feel that that money is well expended. If the Budget had seen fit to leave it at $500,000, the same as last year, we would have been quite content to let it remain at that figure, because that money is required to be expended to furnish the Indians labor in building roads that are necessary. It is really a wise, humane, and beneficial expenditure of money. We therefore made no reduction on that.

Coming to the reclamation fund, last year the bill carried $6,971,000 for the Bureau of Reclamation. This bill reduces the amount to $3,881,640. In other words, we recommend only about half of last year's item for reclamation throughout the West. That is because the revolving fund which the Reclamation Service is supposed to be maintained by is revolving very slowly. They are not getting the receipts which they had anticipated, and in our judgment they are not going to get enough to warrant a large appropriation. We feel that it would be useless to make an appropriation in excess of the amount of money that it appears to us they are likely to have, and for that reason we have made that reduction.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. How seriously will this interfere with existing contracts where work is now being prosecuted?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. It would not interfere with any work that is now being carried on. We are letting them go ahead with those, but we are cutting off two or three quite good-sized projects where the contracts are not yet let, because we think there will not be money enough for them. We do not feel that we are in a position where we would be justified in asking Congress to loan the reclamation-fund money again at this time. For that reason we made this reduction.

I could itemize that by saying that we cut $20,000 off the Carlsbad proposition in New Mexico. We cut $674,000 off the Vale project in Oregon. We cut $500,000 off the Yakima project in Washington for construction of what is known as the Cle Elum Dam. We took $10,000 off the Riverton project in Wyoming because we did not feel it was necessary to have as much of an appropriation as they have. They only have a few settlers on that project, and, while we do not want to discourage them, we do not think it is at all necessary to give them these additional amounts of money. We took $75,000 off secondary and economic investigations, and made available unexpended balances of appropriations. We felt that some of these economic investigations which are carried on are not very practical. They are largely theoretical and hypothetical, and in the present condition of the Budget some of them might be deferred a while.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Does that reduction include the investigation of the uses of the water of the Colorado River and its tributaries?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I do not think it does. These secondary and economic investigations are what are referred to. The Colorado River has a very large appropriation.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Has it anything to do with the studies in connection with the use of the waters in connection with Boulder Dam?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. No; I do not think so. All the Boulder Dam construction is covered by the $165,000,000 we authorized to be expended on the Boulder Canyon Dam, and those activities to which the gentleman refers are paid out of that fund.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Then there is an appropriation here for a continuation of all the work in every phase of the Boulder Dam that is on the regular program to continue for the ensuing year?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; I am coming to that Boulder Canyon Dam next.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is not this $50,000 item that has been cut out an amount that covers investigations that are made by the Reclamation Service of proposed new projects and matters of that kind?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; very largely. But we did not think that this was any time to be spending a large amount of money for investigating possible new projects. We have not put the money in there for that purpose.

Concerning the Boulder Canyon Dam, there is over a $1,000,000 left in the fund now that was appropriated in the 1931 bill. We appropriated $15,000,000 in the bill of 1932. None of that has been expended yet. So they have $16,000,000 heretofore and available now.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself five additional minutes.

The Reclamation Service went before the Budget Bureau and got an authorization for $10,000,000 more. We felt that it was wholly unnecessary to have that much money available for them at this time. I understand they figure that the utmost amount they could spend would be $2,000,000 a month. They hope some time this coming spring to reach that stage of development. They have, by this addition of $8,000,000 which we are giving them now, $24,000,000 that they will have available all the time.

In reality we do not believe that they will spend that during the coming fiscal year, and as the Congress adjourns next year on the 4th of March, and the bill for 1934 will be enacted and will be law long before they can possibly expend the $24,000,000 that has been authorized, we do not feel that we have in any way jeopardized that work.

I may say that the friends of this project, particularly the Congressman from that district, have no objection to this reduction.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the progress that is being made in the work on Boulder Dam what is the estimated date of completion?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. They can not estimate that definitely yet. They are ahead of their schedule of work now, and I think they figure it will be about five years.

Now, taking up the Geological Survey, as all of the western Members know, the Geological Survey has been growing like a mushroom in recent years. The appropriation last year was $3,141,000. We have recommended $2,279,000. The Budget made a little reduction, and we have increased that considerably, so that the total reduction is $862,000.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. TILSON. In our efforts to economize, has it ever occurred to the gentleman or to the members of his committee to consider using our Army engineers in this work? Every Army officer should be able to make maps. It is a most important part of the instruction of an Army officer expecting to command troops in the field. Our Army engineers, of course, make a special study of making maps. Has it ever occurred to the gentleman that it might be an excellent schooling for our military officers, who must be paid and supported anyway, that they might be used in carrying on this work? I think it one of the most important works in which any of our departments is engaged and a work that ought to be accomplished at as early a date as possible.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I thoroughly agree with what the gentleman says, but that is a matter for the reorganization of the departments here in Washington. We hear about such reorganizations, but nothing is done about it. This committee has no authority to legislate or make any reorganizations or to change those conditions. I think that work has been carried on in a wasteful way.

Mr. TILSON. It seems to me that Army officers would receive a wonderful schooling if they were permitted to do this work. For our national defense an efficient officer personnel must be maintained anyway, and we have been making progress in this map making all too slowly, in my judgment, although the expense of doing it has been rapidly rising.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. That is true.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I think if the House will pass a bill which is now under consideration in the Expenditures Committee, there may be a chance of using them.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I feel that the committee of the gentleman from South Dakota is the one to handle that.

Mr. TILSON. I hope the gentleman's committee will work out something along that line, because I think it would result in economy and at the same time be very useful training for the Army officers engaged in it.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 additional minutes. I will mention only a few of the items we have reduced in the Geological Survey. We took $250,000 off topographic surveys. We felt that the work of topographic surveys over the country at the present time was not urgent at all and that we might, without serious injury to anybody, save some money that way. We took $50,000 off geologic surveys, which we thought could be at least temporarily dispensed with to that extent.

We took $50,000 off fundamental research into geologic science. We thought that was too theoretical and hypothetical to spend so much money on under the present condition of our Treasury. We also took $11,000 off volcanological surveys. We thought that work need not be increased at this time.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. That is a 33 per cent decrease and it will practically mean a reduction of personnel in that instance.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I do not just now remember the particulars. We felt that more money was being spent on that work than was necessary. We felt it could be reduced without injury.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. Last year the personnel item was $19,000 and according to the gentleman's figures it must be reduced this year to about $14,000.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. If the gentleman will look at the report he will see the definite figures. We took $17,000 off the investigation of the mineral resources in Alaska.

They have been spending a very large amount of money on the investigation of the mineral resources in Alaska. We have left them a large sum and we feel this economy may well be practiced. We took $119,500 off gaging streams. That is a large item, but after investigating it and considering the large amount they still have we thought that was a good place for the Geological Survey to practice some economy.

When our Federal Treasury is somewhere between two and three billion dollars in the red, and the President and nearly everybody else from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate is appealing to Congress to cut down expenses and reduce appropriations, when the overhead expenses of our Government are breaking the backs of the taxpayers and ruining business, we have absolutely got to wield an ax on these bureaus and will of absolute necessity work many personal hardships. It can not be avoided.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. Under the item for gaging streams were some particular projects eliminated or just the general fund reduced?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. If the gentleman will read the hearings I think he will conclude that there is a large amount of work which is unessential and not warranted during these desperately depressed times. In other words, we think they are spending more money than should be spent under existing conditions. Members of the Appropriations Committee are expected to exercise our best judgment and we have done so.

Mr. LEAVITT. The committee has not designated any particular projects that are to be left out?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. No. We have taken it off of the lump sum.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is my impression that in the matter of gaging streams the Army engineers, in some instances duplicate the work.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; practically so.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do the hearings disclose how much duplication takes place in this activity? I am asking that question anent the proposal of the gentleman from Connecticut. Here we have a definite instance where Army engineers are doing work that is performed by this service, so that it is a case of duplication.

Mr. FRENCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. FRENCH. If the gentleman will permit, I should suggest that a year ago, when it seemed there was not adequate reason for permitting the Army to continue to call upon the Interior Department to do the gaging of certain streams for purposes under charge of the War Department—navigation, flood control, and so on—the committee handling this bill had an understanding with the Geological Survey that this work would not be done further by the Interior Department but would be done by the War Department. Theretofore that department had turned over to the Interior Department money for these purposes. I think the amounts turned over annually aggregated from $150,000 to $190,000. This year it was urged that we had gone too far and that economy would result if the Geological Survey were permitted to do certain stream gaging upon the basis of money turned over by the War Department to the Interior Department for that purpose.

We were convinced that efficiency and economy would be served by this arrangement, and we believe the former practice should be resumed.

Mr. STAFFORD. Other than the value which comes to navigation, is flood control the only other activity that is now benefited by the gaging of streams?

Mr. FRENCH. There are other factors. Flood control and navigation up to the present have been the chief factors.

Mr. STAFFORD. I mentioned those two main factors. I said, in addition to navigation and flood control, is there any other advantage gained by the gaging of streams?

Mr. FRENCH. In addition to the foregoing, I should mention information for water-power development, information for municipal and domestic demands upon water resources, information that will be of greatest value for reclamation and for studies having to do with soil erosion—these are the chief interests served by stream gaging.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Will the gentleman yield for a further question?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. In regard to the next item, which the gentleman skipped, for printing and binding, geologic maps, and so forth, is any amount included in any of the appropriations for editing the printed matter of the Geological Survey?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. If the gentleman will look at the hearings, he will see that they have a very large remaining appropriation for that purpose.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. I have the bill in front of me and the words are "printing, binding, preparation of illustrations, engraving, and printing geologic and topographic maps," but that seems to omit entirely the essential editing work before any of the maps are ready for printing.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I do not think the Geological Survey ever omits anything. My impression of 11 years on this committee is that in all the ramifications of our Government this bureau can devise more ingenious phraseologies upon which to base an appropriation than any other activity under our flag.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Except the word "editing."

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes. I may say we took $19,500 off of the item of minerals on public lands. As a matter of fact, there is not very much mining going on in the public domain of the West at the present time and we thought this item could stand a little cut.

For the national parks we appropriate $8,140,620. We have cut under the 1932 appropriation by $1,377,000 this year, but I may say that this cut is mainly in construction of roads and buildings where they have heretofore had a large program. We do not feel we are injuring the national parks. If you read the hearings with respect to the national parks you will find some very, very interesting data as to the value of our national parks to our country and the value of the parks to each of the States in which they are situated and the large increase in travel of the American people to see our parks. This is one of the greatest inducements to the slogan "See America first." We did not feel like crippling this service and yet we thought there were some places where there might be some economy practiced and we cut nearly all of this off the item for roads and trails. But we have left them several million dollars for that purpose.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. Do not these parks return a considerable revenue from admissions?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Oh, yes.

Mr. TILSON. Is not this item increasing? It seems to me that each year more and more people are going to our national parks, and I think as the roads across the country improve, still more people will visit these wonderful parks.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes. I feel that the roads in the national parks are a wonderful and very wise investment for our country.

Mr. TILSON. And they are still collecting an admission fee for automobiles, which is returning a considerable revenue.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes. If you will permit a reference to some remarks of the Secretary of the Interior, which he made in the city of Denver last June, when we were there, he said in substance that in the years to come this generation of the American people would not be revered for its marvelous industrial development, its mass production, or gigantic growth but would be remembered and honored more because this generation is the generation that had the foresight to preserve for all posterity these wonderful scenic spots and gorgeous beauties of nature throughout our country and to preserve them in such a way that they would be handed down to the generations to come in the condition they were in in a state of nature.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. KETCHAM. Referring to the gentleman's discussion of the question of roads in the parks, I call attention to the action taken yesterday on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill in connection with the appropriation carried in that bill for forest roads and trails.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. KETCHAM. The gentleman may recall that a point of order was made against certain legislation whereby that appropriation was increased $3,000,000, and I am wondering if that was taken into consideration in connection with the limitations here or if it was not taken into consideration, whether it would be possible to still further reduce comparative items in this particular bill.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I really do not think so, because the Budget made quite a little cut in this bill, and we feel we can not induce the world to come to our national parks and to make a circular drive, visiting our system of parks, without having the finest possible roads. That is one of the things for which my predecessor, Mr. Cramton, as chairman of this committee, will be kindly remembered. He was of great help in inaugurating and carrying on our great park road development.

Mr. KETCHAM. It just occurred to me that when we consider the total amount of appropriations made in the agricultural bill for forest roads and trails amounting to something like $12,000,000 and set that against the amount spent for all roads throughout the United States, which I think runs somewhere around $80,000,000 or $90,000,000, it is perhaps an undue appropriation to assign to this particular activity. Without any desire to cripple, I simply wanted to inquire whether or not all the factors have been taken into consideration by the subcommittee.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; I think so. I think the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON], who visited some of these parks last summer, and anyone else who has ever visited the parks, realizes that the splendid roads we have there are one of the very great attractive features of the parks.

Mr. KETCHAM. I may say it has been my own pleasure to visit some of them, and I know what the gentleman says is true. I am not in any wise unfriendly, but it does seem to me that if there is a place where we may apply economy in these road expenditures, we ought to give them pretty careful scrutiny.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. We figured that when we took off $1,300,000 we were going about as far as we ought to go.

Mr. TILSON. The gentleman having made a tour of some of the national parks last summer, as I did myself, and having had some experiences there with the roads in dry weather, I hope his committee has not cut off anything from any appropriation for oiling the roads in the parks.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. No; we have not.

Mr. TEMPLE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. TEMPLE. The gentleman from Michigan suggested that because large appropriations had been made for roads in the national forests that it might be cut in the national parks. They are entirely separate.

Mr. KETCHAM. Not entirely separate.

Mr. TEMPLE. They are as separate as Ohio and Michigan.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. They are under different departments and have different objects.

Mr. KETCHAM. I understand the roads in the national forest are under the Department of Agriculture, but in many cases they adjoin these parks and make one continuous road, and one system must articulate with the other. Federal roads of Michigan and Ohio articulate, I may say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. TEMPLE].

Mr. LEAVITT. If the gentleman will yield, I want to say that there may be some connection between the national forest and the national park roads in some instances, but many national-forest roads are nowhere near the national-park roads. It is necessary to have quite a high standard of highway construction in the national parks because of the wide difference in degree of experience in driving.

The representatives from all the countries in the world visit these parks, and the roads must be safe and properly built, built in a way to give the proper grade and proper width, and that costs money.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Last year the appropriation was $510,000 for the Bureau of Education. We have cut $85,000 from that. These reductions are $5,000 for salaries in the office of the commissioner. They wanted to add a position which we did not think was necessary. Then there is a reduction of $4,000 for expenses and $50,000 for investigations of school finances. We thought that was comparatively useless. The country schools have no finances these days. We are, of course, all in favor of education, and feel kindly toward it, but I think our subcommittee felt that the showing made before us by that bureau was not very encouraging or satisfactory for the amount of money they are spending. They seemed to us so impractical.

Now, going to the government in the Territories. The amount recommended is $1,262,000, which is the Budget figure of $20,200 more than the 1932 bill.

This increase is due to the addition of a new item amounting to $412,000 for the government of the Virgin Islands. The Virgin Islands have been transferred by proclamation of the President from the Navy to the Interior Department and are contained in this bill for the first time.

There has been only one of the committee, Mr. FRENCH, who has had personal knowledge of the Virgin Islands. We yielded quite largely to his judgment.

The committee concluded that the sums of $46,000 for expenses of the legislature in Alaska and $47,000 for the legislature in Hawaii were sufficient. They only hold their sessions every other year, and this appropriation bill is one that comes just before the session meets next January. So these items of $46,000 and $47,000 appear in the bill this year and did not appear in the bill last year, but they did appear two years ago.

There will be undoubtedly considerable discussion concerning the Virgin Islands later on.

Now, we come to St. Elizabeths Insane Asylum. The appropriation a year ago was $2,779,000. We recommend $1,245,000. In other words, we have reduced the appropriation, or recommend its being reduced, from the bill of last year $1,533,000. That is brought about by reason of the fact that we are not continuing a very large building program that we had last year.

Mr. TILSON. Otherwise the appropriation is increased by $41,000, is it not?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. What is the cause of this increase?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. St. Elizabeths Insane Asylum is a growing institution. It increases about 100 a year. There is a regular amount allowed for each patient by law. We simply have to take care of the increase. But we have cut out the building program.

The next is the Columbia Institute for the Deaf and Dumb. Last year the appropriation was $125,000, and the Budget recommended adding $3,000 more this year. We have accepted that. As a matter of fact, there did not seem to be any place to reduce on the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb. It is not a very large institution.

The next is Howard University. We made some reductions there. The bill last year carried $1,560,000. This bill is $485,000 less. The reductions that we made are $25,000 off for salaries. That is not a reduction of salaries so much as it is preventing them from enlarging the number of the personnel. We have taken off $50,000 of general expenses because we thought under present conditions the university could stand that amount.

If the gentlemen will look at the tabulation in my report, they will see these items set out fully. There are two large items, a reduction of $160,000 on the proposed new heat, light, and power plant, and the other is a reduction on the library. A year ago we authorized them to build a new library. The Budget this year recommended $800,000 for a library. We felt from our investigations that that is more than is necessary. We have reduced that amount to $500,000. They recommended $460,000 for a heat, light, and power plant. We felt that is larger than is needed, and we reduced that amount to $300,000.

Our information is that the cost of materials and everything is reduced about one-third from the costs three years ago. We investigated the matter as fairly and earnestly as we could, and we feel that a suitable library can be built at this time for that university for half a million dollars. That is our judgment, and we are authorizing that amount. In the same way we felt confident that a proper heat, light, and power plant for that institution can now be put in for $300,000. The reductions represent our deliberate and painstaking judgment in the matter. Comparing this university with other colleges, we submit our judgment to the approval of the House. Some Members may feel that it ought to be reduced much more, but with the reduction in the cost of everything at present—the Budget estimates that were made some time ago—we felt that we are not at all injuring that university or preventing them from having the wonderful library that they need nor are we preventing them from having the proper heat, light, and power plant which they need.

Last year for Freedmen's Hospital the bill appropriated $487,000. We have cut under that $93,000. That decrease is due to the fact that there is no new construction contained in the pending bill. Otherwise it remains the same. That is the institution where the District of Columbia pays 50 per cent of the cost of operation.

My colleagues, in assuming the chairmanship of this subcommittee, I did so with profound appreciation of the very great honor and also of the great responsibility. The activities of the Interior Department extend almost from the North Pole to the Equator, from our interests in the Eskimo schools above the Arctic Circle down to the Virgin Islands in the Tropics. I think the Department of the Interior touches the human side of life possibly more than any other department. We have all of the Indians of our country under our care. We have 22 national parks,

34 national monuments. We have 35 reclamation projects. Most all of these activities are in the West, and they go a long way toward the upbuilding of that country. While we have made a reduction of almost 30 per cent from last year's bill, we have tried not to cripple anything.

I call attention to the fact that the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH], the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS], and I have lived in that country practically all of our lives and are vitally interested in these matters. It comes home to us. We must gratefully acknowledge the wonderful services that my predecessor, Mr. Cramton, rendered to our country during the 10 years he was chairman of this committee. He could not have made the success he did without the splendid cooperation of our colleagues on this subcommittee. Mr. FRENCH and Mr. HASTINGS and Mr. MURPHY and I have personally investigated all these matters for many years. There has always been the utmost good feeling, good will, and hearty cooperation. In all these 10 years there never has been a minority report filed. We have always gone down the line shoulder to shoulder. I know the West highly appreciates having this cooperation in this Interior Department Committee, Mr. Chairman. I reserve the remainder of my time. [Applause.]

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. I notice in the synopsis at the end of the bill, apparently there is a new estimated expenditure for the Alaskan Railroad of $1,291,000, over and above what there was in the year 1932, and a reduction in the amount appropriated from $1,000,000 to $500,000. Is it true that there has been some new legislation that permitted a regular annual expenditure of $1,290,000?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Oh, no; there has not been any expenditure of that kind.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. The gentleman will find the item I refer to on page 34 of the report.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Colonel Ohlson, who is the superintendent of that Alaskan Railroad, has made wonderful economies.

He has cut down the expense of administering that road and has saved our country something like a half million dollars and that is the reason we can reduce the amount. He is a splendid railroad man, a great executive official, and we are proud of him.

Of course, that railroad was built to develop that country, we have been up there and examined it, as the gentleman from Colorado was with us last summer. While it is true it is not now a paying proposition, financially; nevertheless, it is a development proposition for that territory and it would be a great tragedy if we should discontinue it. For that reason we have given it encouragement, and are providing in this bill to have it properly maintained. [Applause.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may need to make my statement.

Our Chairman, of whom I am wonderfully proud and for whom I have a sincere personal affection, has so well covered the details of this bill that it will not be necessary for me to take up very much of your time.

I have been a member of this subcommittee for 10 years, and this is the first time I have felt it necessary for me, as a member of that committee, to register a protest. I do it without controversy or feeling of any kind. I protest, in the name of members of the Committee on Appropriations, against the rule that we are now observing in the appropriating of money for the operation of this Government in its various activities. I feel, as a member of the great Committee on Appropriations, elected by the people of my district, that I would not be fair to them if we were to relinquish, willingly and without protest, the rights which are justly theirs, as represented by me as a member of this committee, to exercise my own personal judgment as their representative on this committee in appropriating the people's money.

We recognize and respect the Budget law of our country; but, as members of the Committee on Appropriations, at no time have we as a committee agreed that the judgment of the Bureau of the Budget was superior to the judgment of the duly elected representatives of the people of this country. [Applause.]

Those of you who are quite familiar with the procedure of appropriating money realize that the heads of the various departments of the Government make out a list of their needs. They carry this list to the Bureau of the Budget. The Bureau of the Budget conducts hearings and passes on the needs of the departments that are represented at that particular time before the Bureau of the Budget. Up to the present time I think the representatives of the people on the Committee on Appropriations have cut under the Budget estimates almost $500,000,000. So as a member of the Committee on Appropriations I want to register at this time my protest against the adoption of a rule that would say to the Committee on Appropriations they can not, within the total figures of the Budget, if you please, allocate or reallocate money, as their best judgment may decide.

Please bear in mind that six months elapses between the time of the hearing before the Bureau of the Budget and the time when that Budget comes before the Committee on Appropriations. Many things can happen in six months' time, and we, as members of the Committee on Appropriations, feel that the judgment of five members of the Subcommittee on Appropriations is superior to the judgment of one man, serving as a judge in the Bureau of the Budget, holding hearings on the needs of a department of the Government.

We recognize that these are strenuous times. We recognize that the Treasury of the United States is in such condition that we are willing to go to almost any length to balance the Budget. So temporarily the members of this committee are acting as one man to seek to balance the Budget. Acting that way, we have not attempted to appropriate one cent of money for any individual item embraced in this bill over and above the figure which has been settled by the Bureau of the Budget. However, in the days that are ahead, our committee will again function in a way so that every Member of Congress may rightfully come before that committee and present the claims of his district for the allocation of money here, there, or yonder, within the limits of the total appropriation allowed by the Budget.

I make this statement because I daresay there is not one member of our committee who does not feel exactly the same as I do. So we are meeting the situation in our work in this House in an honest and sincere endeavor to balance the Budget.

I do not know how many Members of the House have ever stopped to seriously think about the activities of this subcommittee. We recommend appropriations amounting to somewhere between fifty million and eighty million dollars. We have a wider range of activities for which we recommend appropriations than any other subcommittee of Congress. Indeed, without fear of being contradicted, I feel that it is the most interesting work of any committee in the House, because we deal with the welfare of people. We deal with the welfare of a race of Indians who are our wards. We have taken on a new responsibility recently. We have a group of people, 22,000 of them, living on three little islands out in the sea. They are not able to take care of themselves, and Uncle Sam is going down into his pocket to the extent of almost $500,000 a year to take care of that group of people, of whom you will learn more as the bill is read and the debate continues.

We have a wonderful activity in the far North, in Alaska, wonderful land that it is. There are only about 28,000 white people there, and yet we have about the same number of Indians and Eskimos. Perhaps the Members will be surprised to learn that we are spending twice as much money educating the children of the Indians and the Eskimos in Alaska as is being spent to educate the children of the 28,000 white people who live there.

We have made some reductions as to Alaska. Uncle Sam owns a railroad in Alaska 400 and some odd miles in length. It has been costing us about $1,000,000 a year over and above the amount of money they receive for the transportation of freight and passengers.

The 28,000 people who live in this Territory are wonderful folks. They are unusual men and unusual women. The finest type of American pioneers is to be found in Alaska. They are undergoing severe hardships in an honest endeavor to develop that land. That is a frozen land. You only have to go down 12 inches from the surface and you strike solid ice everywhere after you leave the seacoast for about 50 or 100 miles, and yet we have up there two agricultural activities. One of them is looked after by an agricultural college and the other, I think, has been dropped.

Mr. Ohlson, the superintendent of the railroad, is truly a wonderful executive. They have taken away from Mr. Ohlson about $500,000 and he has been able to operate the railroad without any further deficit.

However, there was a committee from another body that visited Alaska about a year ago. That committee, I am told, held hearings. They were seeking to find some way to wipe out the deficit of this Government-operated railroad.

There is a railroad in Alaska owned and operated by a great copper company. The copper company built this railroad for its own purposes and for its own convenience, never expecting to carry nor did it care whether it carried a passenger or not, save only those who might be employed in their mining activities.

The Government built this railroad for the purpose of opening Alaska so that settlers might go there and establish themselves in a home and that our Government might there build up a new State and give opportunity to splendid American citizens to go forward and make a home for themselves. There are about 12,000 American citizens who live in the small towns and country adjacent to this 400 and some odd miles of railway.

After this commitee visited Alaska they came back to Washington and made a report to the great Department of the Interior that they thought the rates on that railway should be advanced. They did advance those rates, and every dollar of advanced rates was a wet blanket on ambition and on the pioneer spirit of the bright, ambitious American men who wanted to go to Alaska to make their homes.

Alaska is a wonderful country. We have a wonderful park there. We are spending some money in building a road so that those who have the time and the treasure to spare may travel there and see what to me is the grandest spectacle I ever saw in all my life. Never did I see anything that equaled the first view I had of marvelous Mount McKinley. I wish it were possible for all patriotic Americans to see that wonderful mountain. I have not the time to describe it to you.

But I am talking of Alaska. We have a great many officials in Alaska. I thought, perhaps, my chairman might talk to you about them, and he may before the bill is concluded.

Yes; this is a wonderful bill. We deal with 200 tribes of Indians, and each tribe is a separate problem. Oh, men of the committee, if you could understand the tremendous responsibility that rests on the shoulders of that wonderful, God-loving man who is at the head of the Indian Bureau, I am sure that at no time would you ever criticize an activity of the Indian Bureau; for if there ever was a bureau of this Government that was honestly, conscientiously, and God-lovingly administered, the Indian Bureau at the present time is that place. [Applause.]

As one studies the Indian problem, as I have sought to study it for 10 years, he sometimes wonders what the outcome will be, with changing administrations, with changing policies, and all that thing.

In 10 years' time, gentlemen of the committee, in the various studies and investigations we have made, our committee last April found one man, an unusual man, in charge of one of the Indian agencies and schools, who knew where he was starting from and was well aware of where he was going. If he could carry along with him and his program the Indians in his care, the Indian problem would be solved within a generation. Yes; it is a serious problem, and we are appropriating about $20,000,000 for the Indians.

Mr. PEAVEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. PEAVEY. Could the gentleman tell us whether or not those Alaska Indians are all in the position of Government wards or not?

Mr. MURPHY. The Alaska Indians are largely self-supporting. They are quite different from the ones we have in the rest of the country. Through our laws and regulations we are interfering with those Indians in Alaska. When we were there last summer some Indians told our committee that by reason of existing law in Alaska they were not permitted to kill game with which to feed their children, and that is one of the things we talked to the Governor of Alaska about when we went back to Juneau, after having been in the heart of Alaska.

Mr. PEAVEY. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. PEAVEY. I might say to the gentleman that my purpose in asking this question is that the point was raised in the Indian Affairs Committee this morning as to whether or not all of the Indians in Alaska were Government wards or whether there were Indians there who are American citizens.

Mr. KNUTSON. They are all American citizens under the act of 1921.

Mr. PEAVEY. But not under the control of the Government.

Mr. KNUTSON. Are they wards?

Mr. MURPHY. I would not know just how to answer that.

Mr. KNUTSON. Does the Indian Affairs Bureau treat the Indians of Alaska as wards?

Mr. MURPHY. Unless we watch the Indian Bureau very closely, which we are trying to do, they will make them wards. They will teach them up there to do the same thing that the Indians do in the gentleman's State whenever we allow them to do it.

Mr. THATCHER. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. MURPHY. Certainly.

Mr. THATCHER. What is the basic difference between the treatment of Indians in continental United States and in Alaska under the law?

Mr. MURPHY. The Indians of Alaska have been self-reliant and have depended upon themselves in their trapping to be able to secure food and clothing for themselves.

Mr. THATCHER. Is the basic law the same?

Mr. MURPHY. By reason of some of the laws of our country they have been denied the privilege of hunting the things they need to furnish them meat and clothing, and some of them are every poor. We found in the Indian Bureau some wonderful teachers in Alaska. We found one woman up there that gave away practically all of her salary to buy food to give these little Indian children something to eat at noontime. We found this same woman teaching the Indian children how to plant beans and raise a little crop of beans here and there wherever they could do it. Farming in Alaska—well, the least we say about it the better I think it will be for the cause.

Mr. THATCHER. Will the gentleman answer my question? I do not know that I am quite clear about it. Is the law applicable to the Indians of Alaska the same law that is applicable to the Indians of the United States, and is there the same question of relationship, and so forth?

Mr. MURPHY. The law is very liberally construed with reference to the various tribes of Indians. We find the Indian Bureau to be very considerate and very gentle with these people, but we have a responsibility in Alaska, because we have taken away from these Indians the means of making a living in their own way.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is it not also true that this is practically the first year that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has administered matters in the way of health and education for the

natives of Alaska? Previously they have been under the Bureau of Education.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. And the Indian Bureau now is beginning to take over, under the appropriation bill brought out by this committee a year ago, the health and educational activities among the Alaska natives, and this is the first year of that work. Just how far the Government is going to go in extending its paternal assistance to these natives has not as yet been determined, because it is a new field they are entering, so far as the Indian Bureau is concerned.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the gentleman for his statement, because it is very clear and concise.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. I think it is a fact that the Government has never negotiated any treaties with the Alaska Indians.

Mr. MURPHY. I think not.

Mr. KNUTSON. And, of course, the Alaska Indians would be subject to the same State game laws that the Indians of the several States are subjected to. In Minnesota the Indian is treated exactly like the white man.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Will the gentleman allow me to answer the inquiry propounded by the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. MURPHY. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. The third section of the treaty of purchase by which we acquired dominion over Alaska provides that the natives there shall be treated exactly as they are in the United States; that they shall be governed by and be subject to the same laws, and all that, as the Indians in the United States.

Mr. THATCHER. But as a practical matter——

Mr. WICKERSHAM. As a practical matter, they never have been.

Mr. THATCHER. They have been more self-supporting than the Indians in the United States.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. They are much more self-supporting than the Indians in the United States, especially the Indians in southeastern Alaska. They are a very high-grade people.

Mr. THATCHER. And if they are not restricted too much they will become more self-supporting?

Mr. WICKERSHAM. They are a very high-class people. They are boat builders and they live in community houses, and they have built their own towns and their own boats and their fishing apparatus, and look after themselves, and have always done so.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is it not also true in that same connection that they have a certain degree of self-reliance which it is our duty to maintain? As we extend the benefits of government to them, we must be careful that we do not deprive them of the ability that they now have to take care of themselves; but at the same time there is this difficulty that has been touched upon, and that is their previous manner of living, when they were entirely self-dependent, has been to a great degree interfered with in many parts of the Territory, and this has something to do with the matter of game laws. There were no game laws applying to them years ago, but now being brought under the same sort of game laws to a great extent that the white people are under, and with the white people moving in along their trap lines and coming in competition with them, they are not able in all cases to support themselves as they were previously. One of the things that the Government must be very careful about, in my judgment, is to see that the rights of these Indians to live upon the resources of that country are not unduly interfered with, so that they may remain self-supporting, and in the meantime we must carry on health and educational work among these people.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the gentleman for his observation.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. The Indians of far eastern Alaska are fishermen, living very largely on salmon that run into those streams. Unfortunately for them, Congress has passed salmon laws that has prevented them from taking the fish, as they have heretofore done, and shipping them for transportation or sale, or anything of that kind. They have been limited in that way, to their great detriment, more than I think they should.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I yield.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Can not you properly say that the administration of the laws of the United States have been directed to teaching the Indians to depart from their old tribal customs and take their food out of a tin can, eat it, and like it? [Laughter.]

Mr. MURPHY. Well, the gentleman was in Alaska while I was there, and I am sure he is well informed and understands conditions there.

The thing I want to emphasize is that we must be careful as we take over these responsibilities and not rob these primitive people of that which they now have, namely, self-reliance. We should, Mr. Delegate from Alaska, in some way impress on the authorities in Alaska the need of differentiating between activities of the white poacher or white trapper as against the needs of the native population. That was the impression that our committee had when we visited this wonderful country, which is a game paradise and a paradise for fishermen.

This railroad that we own and operate in Alaska is said to be running through or to operate through extensive coal fields in Alaska.

The Geological Survey has had many people in Alaska this summer knocking off with their hammers bits of stone here and digging little holes yonder, seeking to find out about the minerals in Alaska. We were told that there is much coal there. We were told that there was anthracite coal there. If any member of the committee found one lump of anthracite coal, I should like to have seen it. We did not see any, although it may be there.

There is some coal in Alaska, and it is being mined. Now, the coal there does not lie in flat beds like the coal that we mine here, but it runs diagonally up in the hills, and it is very difficult to mine. However, they are mining it; and to our amazement we found that there was no way at tidewater for ships to take the coal shipped on this railroad, as there were no facilities for loading, so our committee took the matter up while there with the very efficient manager of that railroad, and when he appeared before our committee a few weeks ago he told us he was in favor of building coal bunkers at Seward. He said it would cost $65,000 to build the bunkers and he thought he could find the money to do it with out of the money he has which is unexpended.

Now, think of it—they imported into Alaska some years as much as 100,000 tons of coal; and where do you suppose they bring the bulk of it from? They bring it from Utah, and we have a railroad in Alaska that goes through the coal field. They should have provided facilities to load coal on the small boats that ply here, there, and yonder through the peaceful islands off the coast of that splendid country long, long ago.

So if we did nothing else last summer during our visit there than to open up the coal fields and give them a chance to sell their coal and give the railroad a chance to haul it and to reduce these exorbitant rates they have placed on the people, then, indeed, it was worth while for our committee to make the little investigation we did make at that point.

Mr. THATCHER. Who was it that failed to provide these facilities? A Government agency?

Mr. MURPHY. We are not here to make any charges or to find any fault. We are happy to report to the House today that they are going to provide bunkers there, and it is the unanimous hope of the committee that there will be coal in these bunkers sufficient at all times to supply the need of boats that may come into Seward short of fuel.

Mr. THATCHER. Whose responsibility is it to supply the bunkers?

Mr. MURPHY. The railroad management, but with a million-dollar deficit running every year, they hesitated to

spend the money to do this. There are only 28,000 white people up there, widely scattered. There are only about 12,000 white folks, and when I say white folks I mean the kind of folks who live in cities and towns and in the country adjacent to this railroad, that must pay this additional freight, and it does not seem right to penalize 12,000 pioneer people to make good a deficit on a Government-operated railroad.

We have 200 tribes of Indians. We have some that are very fine, we have some not so fine, some that are not fine at all, and some that disgrace the name of Indian by reason of their helplessness. We spend $20,000,000 for these folks besides the hundreds of thousands of dollars of their own money.

A number of the tribes are very well to do, but their money is dwindling. We found one tribe of Indians that is very wealthy. Here a lot of white folks had fastened themselves onto the Indian activity, were using 27 automobiles and the Indians were paying for the automobiles and for the gasoline and everything else. The job of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to whom I alluded a moment ago, is a hard one. It is the most difficult place in the Government. He is criticized and found fault with and rarely commended. Yes; we have uplifters for the Indians. Oh, what a tribe of uplifters we have in the United States! They fasten themselves onto every activity—for a fee. They are to be found trying to help the Indians, and they are always busy in some sections of the country disturbing the mind of the Indian, leading him to believe that his Government is not fair with him. I shall not touch any further on that, because I think our chairman, when the debate proceeds, will probably give it attention.

Then we have the irrigation problem. I do not know how many of you have ever visited the great West, which has been turned from a desert to prolific farms. The transformation has been wonderful which has come about through irrigation. That activity of the Government is in this bill. Our committee last summer visited almost every reclamation project in this country. Last summer was a dry summer. We found that every irrigation project in this country had not made adequate provision for water supply to carry through an ordinary dry season the acreage that was being farmed under the ditches of the irrigation projects.

Mr. ARENTZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. How could that be provided for, in view of the fact that we have had a dwindling of rainfall and snowfall for six years. It reached its climax last year with a 40 per cent precipitation, resulting in the condition that the reservoirs on most of these projects were empty when the irrigating season started. The human mind could not contemplate what was going to happen. Here came along June and July when the crops were beginning to grow well, and there was no water for the crops. It was particularly so on the Indian reservations, where the Federal Government has permitted white settlers to come in, has invited them to come in and take up 160-acre tracts and told them that they could not have a patent to that amount of acreage until they showed a water right, and the only place they could get the water right was by taking it away from the stream that was supposed to be inviolate for the Indians themselves and no one else. It can not be done.

Mr. MURPHY. Ten years ago, when I was honored by the great chairman of this committee that handles the finance of our Government by being placed on the interior subcommittee, with Mr. Cramton, he said to me, "You do not know anything about the Indian problem. You do not know anything about the irrigation problem, you do not know very much about anything that is in the West." I said, "You are right, Mr. Madden." He then said, "That is why I want you on this committee. These fellows from the West want everything, and unless you watch them real close, they will get it too." [Laughter.] So I say to my good friend from Nevada [Mr. ARENTZ] that I have been with Mr. Cramton always.

I remember when the West could not find ugly words enough to condemn that great man from Michigan who was chairman of this subcommittee for 10 years. I lived long enough and remained on this committee long enough to see the same West speak kindly of him and recognize his great ability. But I am digressing. We found you did not have water enough. We also found, at least it was the judgment, I believe, of our committee, that before any more irrigation projects are commenced anywhere in this country, those already built should be supplied with sufficient water to carry them through a period like that which they encountered last year. How can they do it? By building an auxiliary water supply, by building dams and holding back the flood waters. Your engineers told you the same thing. So we believe and we hope that the wisdom of this House will be not to undertake the building of any new irrigation projects in the West until those already constructed are sufficiently supplied with water to meet the needs of the splendid American pioneer people who have gone out there with their savings and paid good money for land under these ditches.

What a wonderful thing water is in our country. What a wonderful thing it is everywhere, and how little it is appreciated among the people of this part of our country.

In that great and wonderful State of California there is a great valley which extends from Bakersfield north to Sacramento, bounded on the east by a mountain range and on the west by another mountain range; a great valley that was once one of the most prosperous pieces of land out of doors, with its olive orchards, with its orange groves, with its vineyards.

The land was so valuable, because of its productivity, that a man with an average bank account could not go in there and buy a home site. Eight years have passed since they have had much rain or much snow in those mountains bounding the east and west of this once-favored land. Eight years ago they advertised this land as the most productive land to be found anywhere. They advertised that this land was just on top of a great underground reservoir of inexhaustible water, and at that time they only had to go 15 feet into the ground to find that precious water. What has happened? We zig-zagged across that valley from Bakersfield, on north from one mountain to the other, and there we saw the failing of water. We saw what were once prosperous orchards, prosperous vineyards going back to desert. We learned that that 15-foot water level had gone down to 200 feet, where it was too expensive for them to pump to irrigate with. Land values disappeared. We found a great wide-awake governor of that State who had appointed a commission to study that problem of the precious water, and he appointed members of the legislature, engineers, and men who could think.

They have been thinking. And they have been spending money to find some way in which they might save that great fertile land, the once prosperous central portion of that great State. Irrigation is failing because the water is failing. Strange to relate, our scientific men who deal with those things could give us no information as to how long it would require for that underground supply of water to be replenished. When we talked with them on the ground, they told us that it may have been centuries, eons of ages ago when the water first began to come into that stratum, and they did not know how long it would take to replenish it.

In speaking to a Member from California recently I said, "How is your water supply? I understand you have had a lot of snow and a lot of rain." He said, "We have had a lot of snow and a lot of rain." I said, "How about the water table in central California?" He said, "It has not risen an inch." Scientific men can not give any information about things of this sort.

This is an interesting bill. There is so much to think about, there are so many activities that it can not all be covered in the length of time I have taken, and I fear I am tiring you, but perhaps as the bill goes along we may touch on these matters a little more fully.

I thank you for your splendid attention. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. AYRES], a member of the committee, such time as he may desire.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that it is getting late and there are several who wish to speak, I shall be as brief as possible. I shall proceed on the theory that all of the Representatives in Congress from oil-producing States or sections of the country are interested in getting relief for the independent oil industry; in other words, in saving, if possible, an industry that is at this time practically paralyzed.

In the last session of Congress the Representatives from such oil-producing States as Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and California worked harmoniously endeavoring to get the relief sought, and at no time were there any bitter, partisan speeches made. We were in hopes that the same course would be pursued at this session of Congress. So far there has been but little of this partisan spirit shown. Partisanship does not help the cause in the least.

There should be a unanimity of action on the part of all Representatives from these oil-producing States, and this regardless of party affiliations, in order to bring about the relief we are seeking for this industry. With such cooperation we may entertain hopes of success. Without it, we shall surely fail. If success does not crown our efforts it will then be time enough to make speeches of a partisan or critical nature in condemnation of the political party or the individuals held to blame for preventing this needed assistance to our oil industry.

Mr. Chairman, there have been several bills introduced by various Members of Congress providing for a tariff on foreign petroleum and refined petroleum products. It goes without saying that the Member introducing such a bill entertains a feeling of pride in his own proposed measure. I know that I do, and I am willing to concede the same to others. On the 19th day of January I introduced a bill, H. R. 8028, which is based upon the report of the Tariff Commission made recently, and which report shows conclusively the difference between the domestic and foreign costs of production of crude petroleum, fuel oil, gasoline, and lubricating oils, and further shows that an import duty upon the foregoing products is necessary in order to equalize the cost of production between such domestic articles and the same foreign articles. The bill introduced by me provides that rates of duty of $1 per barrel shall be levied upon crude petroleum and fuel oil, and a duty upon gasoline, lubricating oils, and all other products of petroleum of 50 per cent ad valorem. Let me say that this bill was prepared and introduced after a careful study of the recent report of the Tariff Commission. I feel safe in saying that, in my opinion, the rates provided for in that bill are reasonable and justifiable.

On the same date and, for that matter, the same hour, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SANDERS], a member of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced a bill exactly the same as mine, except that his bill is based upon the report of the Tariff Commission made in 1930 as well as the report made recently.

In view of the fact that the Sanders bill would have the same effect as the bill proposed by me, namely, protection to the independent oil industry, and the further fact that this legislation must be considered by the Ways and Means Committee, it is far better to have a bill proposed by a member of that committee than one from a Member of Congress who is not a member of that committee. In other words, I am more interested in getting the desired relief and protection at an early date for the independent oil industry of this country than I am in being the author of any measure that might be passed to that end. So it is my intention to drop all consideration of my bill and do all within my power for the passage of the Sanders bill.

At the beginning I said that there should be a unanimity of thought and action on the part of all Representatives from the oil-producing States regardless of party or politics. Therefore, I am hoping that all Members who have introduced bills providing for a tariff on foreign petroleum and its refined products will take the unselfish and logical view of the situation and forget their bills or the consideration of them, to the end that we can all concentrate our efforts on the Sanders bill. I am exceedingly anxious to do all within my power to revive one of the most important of American industries and one of the most essential industries of the Middle West. I am anxious to make possible the full-time employment of over a million workers who are at this time idle, many of them with their families depending upon charity. I am anxious to restore to the 22,000,000 people in the oil States of this Nation their old-time purchasing power.

Mr. Chairman, the representatives of the independent oil industry, though broke and on the verge of bankruptcy, with their industry prostrate and with obligations to meet, are not here asking their Government to grant them a moratorium costing the Government $250,000,000. They have not come to Congress asking for a finance corporation to be financed by the Government to the extent of $2,000,000,000. They are not asking for a penny to be taken from the United States Treasury to help them but are advocating legislation that would put millions into the Treasury. All they are asking is that they have the same chance as has been given to other industries of this Nation. It is a well-known fact that practically every industry of this Nation, except the independent oil industry, receives protection under the present tariff law.

It has been said by many members of the Ways and Means Committee that framed the present tariff law that no industry or business appearing before that committee during the hearings on that measure made a stronger or better case for a tariff than did the independent oil industry; but, notwithstanding that fact, for some reason or cause which no one to this date has been able to explain, this protection was denied to this great and essential industry. Therefore, it is up to this Congress to see that justice is done.

Mr. Chairman, I am aware that there are some who claim that should Congress pass a measure giving protection to the oil industry the President would not approve it. In answer to that statement I want to say that the passage of an act to give protection to the oil industry of this country is the responsibility of Congress. It is our responsibility, and the question as to whether or not it will meet with the approval of the President is his responsibility, and no Member of Congress can escape his responsibility by offering as an excuse that the President will not approve any measure of protection to the oil industry if passed. I will go further and say that in my opinion the President will not veto such a measure. President Hoover has gone on record, as I shall show later, as advocating the creation of a Tariff Commission with power not only to investigate but to recommend. He was provided with such a Tariff Commission upon whose investigations and recommendations this proposed legislation is based. That commission has investigated, it has reported facts justifying a duty on foreign petroleum and its refined products. To say that a measure based upon that report and recommendation would be vetoed by the President would be nothing short of saying that he is willing to stultify himself. Let me say to those who make the claim that the President will veto such a measure, "Help us pass the Sanders bill, which is based solely upon the report and recommendations aof the Tariff Commission and see what the President will do." If he should veto it, then will be the time for criticism, and not until then.

In view of what I have just said about the position taken by President Hoover regarding a Tariff Commission, it might be well to show just what the position of both parties has been on this question. First I am going to call on my Democratic friends to listen to what was said in the Democratic platform of 1916.

The Tariff Commission.

Two years of a war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever

before experienced. In order to ascertain just what those changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a nonpartisan Tariff Commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on. We cordially indorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

It might be of interest to recite what President Wilson said in his speech of acceptance, September 2, 1916. He said:

The tariff has been revised not on the principle of repelling foreign trade but on the principle of encouraging it, upon something like a footing of equality with our own in respect of terms of competition, and a tariff board has been created whose function it will be to keep the relations of American with foreign business and industry under constant observation for the guidance alike of our business men and of Congress. American energies are now directed toward the markets of the world. * * *

The Tariff Commission ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. * * *

The Tariff Commission completes the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open up our legislative policy to the facts as they develop.

And again in his message to Congress, May 20, 1919, President Wilson called attention to means of properly protecting the United States trade when discriminated against by foreign nations and said that—

This subject has fortunately been exhaustively investigated by the United States Tariff Commission. A recent report of that commission has shown very clearly that we lack and that we ought to have the instruments necessary for the assurance of equal and equitable treatment. The attention of the Congress has been called to this matter on past occasions, and the past measures which are now recommended by the Tariff Commission are substantially the same that have been suggested by previous administrations. I recommend that this phase of the tariff question receive the early attention of the Congress.

Even as late as 1928 the Democratic platform provided that the—

Tariff * * *

(c) Abolition of logrolling and restoration of the Wilson conception of a fact-finding Tariff Commission, quasi judicial and free from the Executive domination which has destroyed the usefulness of the present commission.

(d) Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly, and at the same time produce a fair revenue for the support of government. Actual difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with adequate safeguard for the wage of American laborers, must be the extreme measure of every tariff rate.

Now I want to call the attention of my Republican friends to the fact that in 1916 their platform provided:

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

President Hoover, in his message to Congress on April 15, 1929, had this to say:

That the Tariff Commission should be reorganized and placed upon a basis of higher salaries in order that we may at all times command men of broader attainments. Seven years of experience have proved the principle of flexible tariff to be practical, and in the long view a most important principle to maintain. However, the basis upon which the Tariff Commission makes its recommendations to the President for administrative changes in the rates of duty should be made automatic and more comprehensive, to the end that the time required for determination by the Tariff Commission shall be greatly shortened. The formula upon which the commission must now act often requires that years be consummated in reaching conclusions which should require only months. Its very purpose is defeated by delays. I believe a formula could be found that will insure rapid and accurate determination of needed changes in rates. With such strengthening of the Tariff Commission and of its basis for action many secondary changes in tariff can well be left to action by the commission, which at the same time will give complete security to industry for the future.

It would seem to me that Democratic and Republican Members of Congress could vote for a bill which is based upon the findings and recommendations of such a commission without in the least disqualifying themselves as members of their respective parties.

Mr. Chairman, it is not my intention at this time to go into detail and discuss the question as to what has resulted to millions of people in these oil-producing States because of the paralyzed condition of this industry. I could stand here for hours and relate how thousands upon thousands of workmen who received good wages, in fact enough to provide properly for their famlies, are at this time dependent upon charity; how thousands of mercantile institutions have gone into bankruptcy for the lack of purchasers of their goods and wares, because these thousands of oil-field workers are no longer purchasers, their purchasing power having been completely destroyed; how many banks have had to close their doors and are now in the hands of receivers because those who were once safe customers and borrowers are now unable to meet their obligations. These customers are broke and all because their business has not had protection the same as other industries. This will all be detailed when this bill is reached for consideration.

Many times have I heard the remark that if a tariff measure were enacted putting a duty on oil such as we are asking, it would not protect the industry, nor would the industry be helped in the least. My answer is, give us a chance to try it the same as you have other industries. Besides at this time when Congress is called upon to produce revenue to help balance the Government Budget, and the Ways and Means Committee at this very moment is hearing from the various industries of this country why they should not be further taxed, why overlook a source of revenue which at the same time would give protection to a great American industry? I am in hopes that the committee will include in its revenue bill a provision that a tax be levied upon petroleum and fuel oil imported into this country of 2½ cents per gallon, which would be about $1 per barrel; and upon gasoline, lubricating oils, and all other products of petroleum imported into this country a tax the equivalent of 50 per cent ad valorem, and thus collect anywhere from $75,000,000 to $118,000,000 revenue.

If the tariff on oil and its refined products would not stop its importation, as is claimed by some, then why not pass this bill to raise revenue? Reliable and correct statistics for 1930 show that there were imported into this country 62,129,419 barrels of crude oil. Suppose that we had a duty of $1 per barrel on that oil—it would have produced revenue to the extent of $62,129,419. There were also imported into this country in 1930, 26,080,000 barrels of fuel oil. A duty of $1 per barrel would have produced $26,080,000. There were also imported into this country in 1930 petroleum refined products, such as distilled and topped oils, gasoline, kerosene, lubricating oils, and paraffin, in such quantities and of such value that if we had had a 50 per cent ad valorem duty on the same it would have produced a revenue of $769,759, or, all told, $118,271,277 would have been collected as duties or revenue on such importations. If the tariff should not cause a decrease in importations of petroleum and petroleum refined products, as claimed by some, then why not have the revenue that could be collected?

On the other hand, should a tariff cause a decrease in importations of oil, the increased value of domestic oil, coal, and allied industries will provide an equal amount of Federal revenue. Thus it can be seen that the Government will be the gainer in either event. The question is, Shall we continue a virtual subsidy of a few large importing oil companies and search everywhere to find a place to tax invested capital in our States?

The Internal Revenue Bureau can furnish some startling details as to the loss of income from various phases of the oil business, from the leases to the marketing of the oil. A search of those records will show that thousands of oil operators were among the big income-tax payers who to-day are not paying a penny of income tax; in fact, many of them can not even pay their local taxes on their holdings. The Federal Government is deprived of that revenue simply because of its neglect to protect this industry.

Yesterday I read in the Washington Post of that date a statement issued by the Revenue Department to the effect that the Federal Government collected $1,018,911,438 less tax in the fiscal year 1931 than in 1930, and that the decrease

in the total return is to be found almost entirely in reduced income taxes, which alone fell off $964,932,926.81, and that in the face of the fact that the tax rates were 1 per cent higher than in the previous collection year.

Knowing that many of my friends and acquaintances in the oil industry of Kansas who were large income-tax payers now pay no income tax, I thought it might be interesting and informative to find out just how much the revenue paid to the Federal Government had fallen off from the States of Kansas and Oklahoma. The figures furnished me by the Bureau of Internal Revenue show that in 1927 Kansas contributed to the Federal Government in revenue $19,626,805.68; that this revenue decreases year by year, the last available report, which is for 1931, showing a revenue of only $13,339,596.77, or a decrease of more than $6,000,000 in the five years. The State of Oklahoma contributed revenue to the Federal Government in 1927 in the amount of $23,266,879.35, which revenue decreased yearly, the last available report, which is for 1931, showing a revenue of only $14,657,487.68, or a decrease in the five years of over $8,000,000.

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield.

Mr. HASTINGS. I trust the gentleman will permit me to say that my State is very, very deeply interested in the legislation which the gentleman is discussing. This morning before the Ways and Means Committee of the House a discussion was made by Mr. Franklin, of Ardmore, Okla., which, in my judgment, is unanswerable, showing that there should be some legislation enacted here to meet the oil situation.

Mr. AYRES. I will say that I heard that statement from start to finish and I agree with every word the gentleman has said.

I feel confident in saying, and I think the gentleman from Oklahoma will agree with me, that the decrease in the amount of revenue from these two States to the Federal Government is largely due to the paralyzed condition of the oil industry in these States, as most of the large income-tax payers in these States were engaged in the oil industry. Is that not a fact?

Mr. HASTINGS. I will say that the oil industry, next to agriculture, is the chief industry of my State of Oklahoma.

Mr. AYRES. It is the same in the State of Kansas. It would seem that this alone would be sufficient to attract the attention of those who are calling upon Congress constantly to tax everybody and everything to get revenue.

In 1926 the United States produced 770,874,000 barrels of oil. This was not sufficient at that time to meet the demands. At that time our oil sold at $2.26 per barrel. By 1929 the United States produced 1,007,323,000 barrels. This was slightly in excess of the needs of the United States, so it was necessary for the excess to be stored. By this time the imports had become a great factor in lowering prices, and the oil was reduced in price to about $1.45 per barrel. At the present time the American fields are reduced under their normal amount of possible daily production, it is estimated, about 100 per cent. In other words, we could easily produce twice our present needs, but we are importing oil from other countries. In 1931 we produced approximately 850,000,000 barrels of oil and probably consumed about 100,000,000 barrels more than we produced, this 100,000,000 barrels being made up by imports chiefly from South American countries. This South American oil, amounting to about 10 per cent of the needs of the country, is the greatest factor in destroying the value of the products of the mid-continent territory.

It is difficult to convince some that with only 10 per cent of the oil we consume imported it would make a difference. Any manufacturer knows that if his competitors have an advantage of low-cost raw materials that he must also pay low prices or quit. Several other reasons may be given why it does. One I can offer at this time is psychology. This seems to be a period in which psychology has more to do with conditions than at any other period in the history of the world. We are told to cease talking depression; that it has a bad psychological effect. We are asked to say that everything is coming fine for psychological effect. When asked a few days ago of what particular benefit the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation would be members of our committee were informed that the psychological effect on business would be wonderful, and we are authorized to pay $2,000,000,000 for it. When we asked the representative of the Treasury Department why it was necessary at this time to appropriate the entire $500,000,000 to start this Finance Corporation, we were told that, while the entire amount would in all probability not be needed soon, it would have a wonderful psychological effect to appropriate the entire amount at this time. So along with many other reasons more tangible I might add that to pass this measure protecting this industry against unfair competition would have a wonderful psychological effect.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, as well as the opinion of thousands of men better informed on this subject than I am, I feel that if we should pass this measure, which will lift up and protect the now prostrate petroleum industry, which has in the past carried a burden of taxation unequaled by any comparable group, it will again produce revenue, as it did before, of which we are sadly in need. In view of our present financial condition as a Nation, facing at this time a deficit of billions of dollars and resorting to most any kind of a tax to raise revenue to meet this deficit, I can not understand why this Government will permit cheap foreign oil to be imported into this country duty free. No burden of production tax disturbs it. It escapes many of the levies which fall upon our American product and does not pay one cent into the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. AYRES. I will be very glad to do so.

Mr. SNELL. I am very much interested in the statement of the gentleman's position with reference to a tariff on oil. As a protectionist of every article that needs protection in this country I am very much interested in oil, and I can see no reason why it should not have protection. The quicker it comes the better it will suit me.

Mr. AYRES. I am glad to hear the gentleman feels that way about it.

It has, in a measure, destroyed one of the greatest sources of revenue to many States of this Union, and has destroyed one of the greatest sources of revenue to the Federal Government, and yet Congress takes no action to prevent all of this. Provincialism and prejudice should no longer keep us from doing our duty by this, as well as other industries. So, as I said in the beginning, let us all unite in getting behind the Sanders bill and pass it, and thus do justice to this great industry. [Applause.]

Mr. FIESINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. Certainly.

Mr. FIESINGER. I do not know whether in his remarks the gentleman covered the number of barrels of oil that are imported into this country daily.

Mr. AYRES. I did, both as to crude oil and as to the finished product.

Mr. FIESINGER. Does not the gentleman think that a great deal of the prejudice against a tariff on oil comes from the fact that people think the benefit will go to the larger oil companies, whereas there are tens of thousands of farmers in this country who produce as little as 10 or a dozen barrels of oil a day and are producing that quantity at a loss?

Mr. AYRES. There is no question about that.

Mr. FIESINGER. So that a tariff on oil would benefit a great many farmers of this country.

Mr. AYRES. It certainly would, not only in that respect but by receipt of lease money and of the royalties received by a great many landowners.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LUDLOW] such time as he may desire.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, the speech I shall try to make to-day will not be addressed to Democrats or Republicans, as such, or to politicians of any party, but to the trustees of the American people in Congress assembled.

It will be a feeble effort of one Representative of the people to make articulate a voice that is crying in the wilderness, a voice that rings out in myriad tones of despair the heartaches of our beloved America; a voice in which but recently the dominant quality was patience and long-suffering but whose murmurs of yesterday that echoed in subdued tones around the homes and hearthstones of the people have swollen into rising cadences of disappointment and indignation that now beat against the throne of power at Washington—the voice of a nation in travail.

We who sit in these seats of honor and responsibility are the trustees of the American people. To us they come seeking relief from the woes that beset them in this black night of American history, and to us they have a right to come. On every one of us rests the duty to conduct himself in these trying times as a trustee and not as a mere partisan. The Representative or Senator who for sheer personal or political advantage would betray the interests of the people in times like these should be driven from the Halls of Congress and forced to eat the husks of repentance until he realizes the truth of Grover Cleveland's immortal saying that "a public office is a public trust." Justice, if she did her duty by him, would sear him with a flaming scar of shame.

Sitting in this Chamber, therefore, as trustees of the American people and as nothing else, let us take note of the state of the Union. At the head of our table is a statesman from the Lone Star State, who is as truly a man of the people as was Abraham Lincoln, a worthy successor in philosophy and in action of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. Like Jefferson, his heart beats in everlasting sympathy with the under dog and he fights exactly like Andrew Jackson. The trustees of the people are fortunate in having at the head of their table a man of his fearlessness and rugged honesty, an umpire in whose righteousness and resolute adherence to the public interest both sides of the Chamber have implicit confidence.

A CITIZEN'S JOB

Under the guiding ægis of a spirit of cooperation that is capable of rising far above the level of petty politics, banishing gross and selfish thoughts and merging all efforts into the common good, let us then as trustees seek to find the causes of present ills and apply the remedy. This is the spirit of our Speaker, JOHN N. GARNER—this is the goal to which he is leading us. To do this is not the task of Democrats or Republicans, but it is a citizen's job, and it is not exaggeration to say that it is the biggest citizen's job of our generation. To this supreme task let only men come who love their country above all things else, to give to it the best there is in them of inspiration and of effort, conscious of the limitations of finite vision and realizing that the evils from which the country is suffering are of such long standing and so deeply seated as almost to defy corrective measures.

I believe we are really approaching this high ideal of public service, when I see Members of the House, as so often I have witnessed them at this session, cast aside narrow partisanship and political sharp practice to the end that with combined forces and unity of effort this branch of Congress may fulfill its obligations to the country by doing the work the people expect it to do.

Never in my life was I prouder of the Democratic Party than I am to-day, and I am especially proud of it now because it has shown by the program that already has been put through this House of Representatives since December 7 and by the contemplated program for the remainder of the session that it is capable of being an instrumentality of service. [Applause.]

PROUD OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Under this far-seeing leadership, the House is doing a big job in a big way and is vindicating the truth of the saying that "He serves his party best who serves his country best." Carping criticism has been noticeably absent. There has been no tendency to reject worthy measures just because those measures originate at the other end of the avenue. On the contrary, the Democratic House has cooperated with the Republican President unreservedly and sincerely on paramount measures of public interest, as for instance the moratorium and the rehabilitation program. It does not lie in the mouth of anyone to charge that the House has played politics, because everybody knows such a charge would be false and would fall of its own weight. The people appreciate the record of constructive achievement that is being made by the House. It is a subject of comment in the editorial columns of the leading newspapers and of private discussion everywhere. Let no one doubt that because of the splendid record made at this session the House is in higher esteem throughout the country to-day than it has been for many a year.

CHAIRMAN BYRNS A REAL LEADER

At the head of our great Committee on Appropriations in this critical period when conservation of our national finances is so vitally necessary is a man who is doing a noble and effective part in promoting this program of cooperation in the public interest. Chairman BYRNS is proving himself to be truly a servant of the people in all the term implies. [Applause.] He dwells on the heights and never descends to the depths, and by precept and example he lifts others up to his plane of thought and action. And "off the record," I want to tell the House that I am proud of the Republican members of that committee, because as a rule they are sincere and helpful in working with the chairman to hold down the appropriations. The effectiveness with which this is being done is demonstrated by the fact that appropriation bills are coming out of the committee with great cuts below the Budget estimates. The deficiency bill was slashed $13,443,900, the agricultural bill $10,799,591, and the Interior Department appropriation bill $6,273,920 below the Budget; and this is only a foretaste of what will be done to other appropriation bills.

I was assigned to a place at the appropriations-subcommittee table between two great political warriors, with Chairman BYRNS, of the Democratic National Congressional Committee at my right, and Chairman WOOD, of the Republican National Congressional Committee, at my left. "This is a perilous situation for an innocent bystander," was my first thought, but weeks have passed without any polemics and with only the finest spirit of friendly cooperation, and I now know I have nothing to fear. It has been a real inspiration to me to see these two leaders, one of my party and the other of the opposition, working shoulder to shoulder in perfect harmony to reduce the expenditures of the Government. [Applause.] The example they set, while striking, is not exceptional. So splendidly are the two sides of this Chamber fused in this period of distress that I like to think the time is near when we will bridge over this chasm called the "center aisle" and mingle and work together, not as politicians but as Americans, consecrated in a common cause—the welfare of the people. [Applause.]

CROSS SECTION OF DISTRESS

As trustees of the American people let us face courageously the horrifying picture of present conditions, investigate causes, and, in so far as constructive achievement is yet possible to men and women of honest purpose, let us seek to chart the way to brighter and happier days. These are appalling times. The office of every Member of this body is a cross section of the distress of his community. Every day we hear stories of suffering that touch the heartstrings and defy the descriptive powers of a Dickens or a Victor Hugo. To us are extended a thousand hands for help.

Into our ears are poured the woes of numberless people who are on the jagged edge of desperation, of upright and willing men who have hopelessly tramped the streets until life seems too bitter to endure; men who are cruelly denied what should be every American's fundamental right—the right to earn a living for himself and his loved ones by honest toil. We hear the plaintive pleas of women whose hands have never been soiled by toil but who in their extremity would gladly add to the vanishing family income by doing the chores of a charwoman, if even that humble work could be secured. We hear time after time of good people losing their homes, their most precious possession, where they

spent their happy honeymoons, where the children were born, and where, perchance, death came to bind with tighter ties the solemn covenant they assumed at the marriage altar, and the phrase "God bless our home," once so sacred to father and mother and little tots, has been changed to "God bless the home that once was ours." We know that in this land six or seven million men can not get any kind of employment, try as hard as they will, which means that 25,000,000 people, or one-fifth of our entire population, are without the incomes to sustain life. We know that countless thousands of our boys and girls, our precious jewels, are without clothing to enable them to make a respectable appearance at school. We know that millions of our citizens are hungry and millions more are undernourished; that untold numbers are without fuel, and we shudder when we think of the suffering they would have to endure if it were not for the goodness of the infinite God in tempering the weather to the shorn lamb.

These conditions ought not to be. If men had always been wise, clear visioned, unselfish, and guided by the spirit of Christianity, these conditions would not be. In this vaunted land of opportunity, blessed with nature's gifts in greatest redundancy, a veritable land of milk and honey, there is no real reason why anybody should go hungry. There is no real reason why anyone should feel the grinding heel of poverty. The fact that people are hungry, that they are poverty stricken, is symptomatic of something wrong in government. It is evidence that our statesmanship is not functioning as it should.

As trustees of the American people we would serve humanity well in our day and generation if we would lay the foundations to bring our country into closer harmony with divine law and with the precepts of the founding fathers of this Nation. At the very start of our investigation of the people's burdens we find that war's impress is on nearly three-fourths of our appropriations by volume. To be exact over 71 per cent of the heavy tax load resting upon our country, nearly 72 cents out of every dollar raised by Federal taxation, goes to pay for war and the effects of war. Of total Budget estimates amounting to $3,824,062,695.22 for the fiscal year 1933, exclusive of the Postal Service which is largely self-sustaining, the stupendous sum of $2,834,240,041, or 71.88 per cent, is the result of war. When we analyze causes of present conditions, we find that undoubtedly a large part of the present depression is due to the backwash of the World War and to the burden of taxation it fastened on mankind. The statesmanship of the world fell down lamentably when it failed to prevent that world conflict. The statesmanship of America as it faces the future can go far to correct that tragic breakdown if it will seek with high ideals and under the guidance that gleams from the pages of Holy Writ to lead the world into ways of enduring peace.

GREATER THAN ANY CÆSAR

But it is not my purpose, my fellow trustees, to dwell upon what might have been. The World War is past. Thirteen times the poppies have bloomed in Flanders Field since the recording angel dipped his pen in tears and wrote "Finis" at the end of the saddest chapter in the history of the world. In Rome sleeps the unknown soldier of Italy, a symbol of the nation's sacrifice greater in death than any Cæsar. In Paris sleeps the unknown soldier of France, a greater attraction in his last resting place than the magnificent sarcophagus where lies the body of the old Napoleon by the Seine, which he loved so well. In London sleeps the body of Britain's unknown soldier in the shadow of the towering parliament building that houses the representatives of the commons, from whose loins he no doubt sprang, though in death he is infinitely greater than any king that lies in nearby Westminster Abbey. In yonder Arlington sleeps America's unknown soldier where every day a fresh wreath, and often many wreaths a day bear testimony to a Nation's undying love and gratitude. The message from these sacred tombs is silent, yet it is more eloquent and impressive than any speech ever uttered by human lips and what it says is:

Theee things must never be again!

The sacrifices of the unknown soldiers and the millions of heroic dead whom they symbolize to the imagination of the world will be in vain unless we learn and profit by the lessons that have come to us out of the crucible of war, chief among which is that the corner stone on which a nation's security rests is its moral strength and its sense of justice and fair dealing among men. A Navy adequate to defend our shores and our commerce and an efficient Army nucleus capable of expansion to meet exigent needs are necessary and dictated by prudence, as the world is still the world and not the Utopia of our dreams:

When man to man united
And every wrong thing righted,
The whole world shall be lighted
As Eden was of old.

SHOULD BUILD UP MORAL BULWARKS

But while heaven remains far off where it can not be glimpsed by the toiling, moiling millions of the earth, the trustees of this Nation should not be deceived by the illusory notion that protection lies in bristling armaments. That notion was shot to death on every battlefield of Europe. For 40 years Germany prepared for war, and when she plunged into the conflict 17 years ago her military forces had attained the last finishing touches of perfection. Where is she to-day? Her erstwhile ruler, the supreme strategist of yesteryear, is an exile, doomed never again to set foot on his native soil. Two million of her heroic dead, the flower of German manhood, sleep under the sod of the fatherland, and her leaders are pleading on bended knees for a moratorium of war debts to save Germany, formerly one of the most stable of governments, from utter collapse. Ought not that to be a lesson to the trustees of the American people?

To our veterans who came home with shattered minds and broken bodies, to the widows in distress, and the orphans of our soldiers we can not be too mindful or too generous, and we may as well be reconciled to the fact that on and on throughout the years to come, beyond the time when every person now living has gone to his reward, the expenditures for war and the effects of war will comprise the bulk of our appropriations. It will be 10 or 15 years before the peak of World War hospitalization will be reached. But while we know this burden will be a continuing one, let us hope that the trustees of this Nation may render a service of inestimable value to a world in turmoil by seeking every way to establish permanent peace on earth in harmony with the spirit of the Master. For the people all around the world are inexpressibly weary of war. They are weary of its heartaches, of its unspeakable terrors, weary of the pain it puts in the hearts of mothers, and they are craving the leadership into brighter paths which only America is capable of giving to the world. Let us build up our moral bulwarks and cultivate friendship among nations. That is sound sense and sound patriotism.

A COMMISSION TO END COMMISSIONS

My main purpose in asking the indulgence of the House to-day, however, is to present for your consideration the merits of a measure I have introduced to assist in clearing the way for better times, and which I might almost dare to hope the trustees of the American people would adopt by unanimous consent. It is House Joint Resolution 146, a resolution for the creation of a nonsalaried commission of 9 members, 3 to be chosen by the Speaker, 3 by the Presiding Officer of the Senate, and 3 by the President of the United States, to investigate the centralization of government and overlapping of bureaus, and to report back to Congress what steps, if any, should be taken to effect governmental economies, to check the centralization of power in Washington, to restore local self-government in so far as it may be done, and to redirect the course of government along lines charted by the founding fathers. There is nothing political about this resolution. It is a citizen's resolution and it is placed before you as trustees in the hope that you may find it to be a wise and salutary measure to adopt at this time. It is intended to furnish the governmental machinery whereby an investigation may be made by a small group representing the most competent brains that can be drafted to study governmental overlappings, extrav-

agances, and bureaucratic tendencies, and to report remedial measures to the only authority that has the power to correct these abuses—the Congress of the United States. It was Mark Twain who sapiently remarked that "everybody complains about the weather but nobody ever does anything about it." For a quarter of a century, and recently in increased volume and insistency, we have heard complaints about the concentration of power in a Federal bureaucracy which has been taking unto itself the powers rightfully belonging to States and local units, but nobody has ever done very much about it. I believe the resolution I have introduced is a much-needed step in the right direction; that its adoption would bring men down from the miasmic clouds of paternalism and start them with their feet on the ground to thinking along practical and sensible lines, and that out of the undertaking, quite as much from the popular attention that would be directed to the subject as from the specific recommendations that would be made by the proposed commission, there would be a revival of interest in local self-government and in the reduction of Government expenses that could not be otherwise than wholesome and beneficial.

We have in Washington the great departments of Government through which all of the executive functions would be transacted under the scheme of the fathers, but while these are 10 in number we also have more than 40 commissions, boards, and independent establishments that have reached out in all directions and usurped governmental functions.

A MENACE TO FREEDOM

I do not think I need try to prove that centralization has already gone so far in this country that it constitutes a menace to freedom. It is not necessary here to rehearse the many expansions of bureaucratic power or to recall the multiplicity of commissions or how the independent establishments have increased until they now outnumber the Cabinet portfolios four to one.

There is a story going the rounds which well illustrates the preponderance of these extraconstitutional agencies in government. According to this story a man afflicted with amnesia was found by a policeman wandering in the streets of Washington. Cases of amnesia are not so rare as to be considered phenomenal, but this man was an extraordinary specimen because when he was interrogated he could not, for the life of him, remember his name, his address, or the commission he belonged to!

The cost of Government resulting from this multiplication of offices and centralization of authority has soared from $1,000,000,000 per annum 20 years ago to $5,000,000,000 in this fiscal year 1932. To put it in another way peace-time appropriations have shot upward from $11 per capita in 1911 to $38 per capita now. Taxpaying has become our great national industry. The question of taxation is to-day the all-burning question, both nationally and in State, county, town, and city. Do not think it is not. With it is a growing resentment of governmental intrusion into the rights of individuals and local communities, a bureaucratic expansion that has foisted an army of Government employees upon the country until to-day it is estimated that every 11 people have on their backs 1 man or woman on a public pay roll.

With the necessity of raising more and still more revenues to meet yawning deficits the wise men of our congressional board of trustees are cudgeling their brains to invent new methods of taxation that will squeeze more money from a people already bled white.

Somehow I can not escape the belief that we are tackling the problem of Government finance from the wrong end. While I know that some emergent taxation measures are necessary to meet emergent conditions, I believe our congressional trustees will do well if they will consider the abolishment or minimizing of tax-eating bureaus and the elimination of overlapping and waste, to the end that Government may be simplified and costs reduced, instead of racking their brains to devise ingenious new schemes of levying taxes.

DUPLICATION OF INSPECTION SERVICE

I shall not attempt in the brief hour assigned to me on to-day's program to go deeply into governmental extravagance under the wasteful bureaucratic system, but I would like to cite just a few vivid examples that have recently come under my observation as a working Member of this House. I might mention almost innumerable others if time would permit. Along 3,000 miles of border there is an overlapping of the customs-inspection service and immigration inspection, two sets of officers doing what one set could easily and efficiently accomplish. Let us consider a typical case. An American who has been in Mexico arrives at a port of entry on his return trip. A customs official steps up, hails him, and asks him some questions about his baggage. Then an immigration inspector steps forward and asks him where he lives, and when he replies that he lives in Cleveland or Indianapolis and satisfies the immigration inspector on that point, he is permitted to pass on. Now, the question arises, Why should not the same official ask the traveler both questions—the question about his baggage and the question about his residence? Yet we do the perfectly silly and indefensible thing of maintaining two sets of officers all along our far-flung border lines, one set to inquire about his baggage and the other about residence, when by having one officer perform both duties we could save a million dollars a year. That is just one instance of overlapping.

We issue permits to 48 industrial alcohol plants to manufacture alcohol. At each plant the Government maintains a force of employees whose total salaries amount to $7,075 a year. The wildest imagination would not suggest that more than 10 of these plants, distributed throughout the country, are necessary to furnish all of the alcohol required for public use. Simply by withholding permits from 38 plants the Government could save $268,850 per annum. Surveyors of customs also are "excess baggage" in the governmental scheme and could well be abolished, at a saving of $75,000 more per annum.

WASTE IN PUBLIC PRINTING

The waste in public printing is a striking evidence of the necessity of an overhauling of our governmental system. I wish the trustees of the American people and the distinguished Texan who presides at the head of our table would take time to survey the monumental piles of obsolete, useless, and worthless documents that are accumulated in the basement of this Capitol and in the basement of the House Office Building. I fear your heavy tasks will not permit you to make this survey, so I have brought here a photograph of the accumulated volumes, which I am sure will interest you and perhaps will amaze you. If my friend, Representative JOHN BOYLAN, had succeeded in his efforts to make the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a pictorial publication I would have sought permission of the House to embalm this picture in its venerable pages along with the cow which once broke into the RECORD and which up to now bears the distinction of being the only illustration that ever graced its sacrosanct columns. Though barred from the RECORD, this picture is available to all who desire to get a thrill.

In this mountain of books there are now a million volumes that await the junkman. Without any offense being intended to anyone, it might not be inappropriate to name this heap of books "Mount Folly." Fully 50 per cent of the volumes are cloth bound. In 1911 a similar accumulation of a million volumes was destroyed or virtually given away to junkmen and the enormous stocks now on hand represent accretions since that year.

Under the time-honored method of distribution whenever the Government issues a book on "The Malformations of the Doodle Bug" all Members of the House are assigned exactly the same number of copies of the valuable work, though some may live in districts that never heard of a doodle bug. Those Members never draw their doodle-bug books out of storage and the unused volumes gather dust and stain in the Capitol basement and finally go to swell the intake of the junkman. The basement space is clogged with annual reports of heads of the Government depart-

ments which are valueless as a last year's bird's nest. Experience has shown that only about one-fourth of the total number of copies of an annual report are ever put in circulation. The remaining 75 per cent are dead for all time.

Take the Agricultural Yearbook, for further illustration. Every Member of Congress is allotted 677 copies of that precious volume, valued at $1.50 per copy on the Government Printing Office sales list. The Tammany Member, in the heart of New York City, where a spear of grass is never seen, unless it is imported, gets exactly the same number of copies as the Member from the western range. There are approximately 200 Members of Congress from cities, who have no rural constituents. They are allotted annually 135,400 of these books, rated as worth $203,100. Most of these volumes find their way to the junk pile. The actual cost of producing an Agricultural Yearbook is about 75 cents. Sold as waste paper it brings 2 or 3 cents.

WHERE SENTIMENT GOES AWRY

Another instance of extravagance that comes right to the doorstep of Members of Congress is the publication in beautiful memorial volumes of the addresses made in this Hall and the Senate Chamber in memory of departed Representatives and Senators. These addresses are all printed in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which would seem to be about all that could reasonably be asked in the way of recognition of the departed, but the custom has grown up of having the addresses collated and republished in book form for gratuitous distribution. In the Seventy-first Congress the amount spent for these unnecessary volumes was $64,478.74. Deaths in the present Congress up to this date will add over $30,000 to that amount. Under the pro rata plan of distribution many of the memorial volumes are never called for and go to swell the mountain of obsolete books in the Capitol basement. Sold as waste paper these books bring almost nothing. It is estimated that the waste in Government printing is, at the minimum, $200,000 per year, and as the existing method of distribution has been in vogue 36 years the total estimated waste is $7,200,000, which happens to be exactly the price the United States paid for Alaska.

What, in Heaven's name, do the trustees of the American people think of that? If the trustee of a business establishment needed a dozen blotters for his office, would he expect to be allotted enough to paper all four walls of his room? Or if he needed a stove for his office, would the company send him 4 new stoves, 1 for his use and 3 to be broken up as junk? Who can imagine any business concern doing such a crazy thing as that? The solution is in allowing each Member a certain fixed credit which he can draw upon for such documents as fill his particular requirements, and when that is done these mountainous accumulations of books that cost a lot to produce, and bring nothing as junk, will cease.

HONEYCOMBED WITH EXTRAVAGANCE

The Government is honeycombed with such extravagances, overlappings, and abuses as these, and I might go on citing similar instances for hours, but I hope I have brought forth enough evidence to show that an investigating body such as I propose can render a real service of the greatest constructive value in looking into matters of this nature in all branches of the Government and in carrying out with free and open minds the functions specified in my resolution as follows:

The duty of said commission shall be to make a study of government in all of its aspects and to report to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate not later than the opening of the regular session of Congress in December, 1933, (1) such recommendations as may seem to it advisable in regard to a reorganization of the administrative branch of the Government to eliminate duplications and to secure greater efficiency, economy, and dispatch in transacting the public business; (2) whether in its opinion the Government has departed from the concept of the founding fathers who wrote the Constitution of the United States; and, if so, in what direction or directions; (3) what steps, if any, should be taken to counteract centralization, to restore the Government to its original purposes and sphere of activity as contemplated by the forefathers, whose lives and sacrifices established a free and independent Nation, and to make secure to all coming generations the inestimable benefits and blessings of local self-government.

If I were alone in my view that the creation of this commission would be a wise and salutary action, I would indeed despair. What I think about centralization and bureaucratic domination and extravagance is of little consequence, but the views of great men who have sent to me their indorsements since the first introduction of my resolution in the last Congress are of consequence.

In presenting my case I bring to you to-day as witnesses many of the mightiest spirits that have trod the soil of America in our generation. I am flanked with earnest supporters. I bring to you and hold in my hand the approving testimony of many of the best minds in this Republic. I bring as witnesses 17 governors and 8 ex-governors of States who have seen their State sovereignties sapped and weakened and all but emasculated through the onrush of Federal centralization, and they come here with me to protest. I bring as witnesses 17 supreme judges of States who are genuinely alarmed over the destruction of local government by Federal usurpation, and who come here with me to make their protest vocal. I bring as witnesses great inventors, great lawyers, great university presidents, great statesmen, great authors and diplomats, great political leaders of both parties who have written to me in defense of the rights of the States and in support of my resolution. I bring to you the approval of the chairman and secretary of the United States Civil Service Commission, who are always interested in good government. I bring to you editorials from many newspapers of high standing and character, published all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, commending my resolution to your favorable consideration. These letters furnish a great body of intelligent and informed public opinion, comprising a symposium of extraordinary force and persuasion that is worthy of consideration by Congress.

THOMAS A. EDISON INDORSED RESOLUTION

No one will contend that Thomas A. Edison, whose genius did so much to unlock the secrets of the universe, was lacking in vision. Mr. Edison indorsed this resolution. He thought it was in the interest of the welfare of the country that it should pass and that the study which it provides for should be made. His views were expressed in a letter from his secretary, William H. Meadowcroft, which was as follows:

ORANGE, N. J., *February 14, 1930.*

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of January 17 and its inclosure were forwarded to Mr. Edison, who is at the present time in Florida. He requests me to say in his behalf that he is very much in favor of the resolution creating a commission on centralization, which you have introduced in the House of Representatives, and hopes that it will be passed. Mr. Edison further desires me to say that in his opinion we need information on this subject and it will be worth far more than it will cost.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM H. MEADOWCROFT,
Assistant to Mr. Edison.

I do not have time to read to you the text of approving messages that have come to me from leading lawyers, publicists, supreme court justices, governors of States, and men of eminence in every walk of life which in printed form would fill a book. Since I reintroduced the resolution on December 17 last I have received letters of cordial indorsement from 55 township trustees in Indiana. I am heartened by their approval, because these officials represent in a very marked way the last remaining vestige of local self-government.

I appeal to you, my fellow Members, as patriots and as trustees of the American people, to adopt the resolution creating this nonsalaried investigating body. I have faith to believe it will lead to worth-while results in eliminating waste, extravagance, and overlapping and in turning the minds of men back to the fundamental principles of the fathers which are still the hope and refuge of America. Under no conceivable circumstances can this investigation do any harm. It will cost nothing except a mere bagatelle for clerk hire. Just as no political party is solely responsible for the supergrowth of bureaucracy, so by the adoption of this resolution there would be no political advantage in tackling the evil which this instrumentality is intended to reach.

Indeed, if there were any political advantage at all in the set-up provided for in the resolution, it would accrue not to the party to which I belong but to the opposition, as President Hoover and Vice President Curtis would appoint six members of the commission to three appointments by Speaker GARNER, but I do not harbor the slightest apprehension that the President and the Vice President would allow politics to enter into their selections for this important task. I know they are far too patriotic for that. In fact, the provision in the resolution relating to an investigation of the overlappings of Government service was inserted at the suggestion of the President.

AN APPEAL TO BOTH SIDES OF THE CHAMBER

I appeal for the assistance of our leading Democrats, to the effulgent star from the Lone Star State, to the able spokesman on our side, the gentleman from Illinois; to the great Virginians, Mr. TUCKER and Mr. MONTAGUE, whom I am prone to think of as having imbibed wisdom at the feet of Thomas Jefferson, and I cross the center aisle and plead for the continued support of a great Republican, my friend from Indiana, WILL R. WOOD, who when I first introduced this resolution wrote to me:

> I wish to say that I am in hearty sympathy with your scheme and will be very glad, indeed, to do anything that I can to help it along. If something is not done soon, the form of government proposed by the fathers and provided for under our Constitution will be a thing of the past; and we should bestir ourselves to relieve the canker that is now sucking the life out of our body politic—the bureau and the commission.

And I plead to all Members on both sides of the aisle to pass this resolution, calling to your attention that the platforms of both political parties have repeatedly declared for economy in Government and reduction of taxes and that here is a fine opportunity to show that a platform that is good enough to run on during a campaign is good enough to stand on after election. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLACK].

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, Hoover is writing a favored-commodity clause in the remnant of American economics. Like all converts, he is trumping the old reliables. He is so American he makes Big Bill Thompson look like a little stranger. So American has he become that it is almost painful. He follows Nordic immigration laws with a Verdun tariff and now sponsors a "Buy Only American" crusade. But his new nationalism is still tolerant of foreign liquor.

Scotch whisky has an import preference. Irish whisky still makes America safe for democracy. French wines are given the keys of the country, if Mabel Willebrandt is not looking. Gold must not leave the country unless it buys foreign liquor.

The American farmer can not sell his barley, hops, corn, rye, or rice to an American brewer or distiller unless he wants to reap bitter tears in the "big house." An American truckman can not convey American beer unless he wants to unhitch his horses in the jail yard. An American bottler can not pour an American distillation into an American bottle unless he wants to be bottled up in Atlanta.

An American soldier can not get an American bonus because, while he was saving Europe for American bankers to take, Bishop Cannon took away American taxes. While the soldier was fighting to keep democracy alive, democracy turned sour at home. An American workman can not get an American drink because the Anti-Saloon League was busy closing all the jails, poor houses, and insane asylums, so that the country could build mammoth plants for the same purposes.

An American can get a French, German, or British jag on; but he must not even get a microscopic American edge on. He can be un-American high or American low. American officials can attend exotically wet functions in foreign embassies, but the man on the street can not step from the street to buy a glass of beer. What is nectar for the goose is noxious for the gander.

An American can be swindled out of his hard-earned savings by foreign bonds approved by the State Department, but he can not invest his money in an American brewery, where he can watch American grain from an American farm go in one door and come out another in barrels, to come back as checks to American brewers and farmers. The State Department helps to cheat Americans to support foreign governments and liquor interests, but an American can not, no matter how much he wants to, pay an American tax into an American Treasury to support an American Government.

An American citizen can see his regular Navy play second fiddle to the dry navy, and can build up foreign navies by moratoriums, and their ill-begotten child cancellation, but he can not help support American defenses by chipping in to a billion in revenue by excise taxes on American beverages. An American Federal employee must suffer a wage cut so that we can still tinker with the noble experiment with an ignoble experience. An American citizen must see his taxes reach a new high so that the drys can whine to the deaf skies "Hallelujah."

An American President in an economic trance will not take the short and happy cut to prosperity called modification lane. There are none so blind. Instead, Hoover would plunge more deeply into the economic morass by wage cuts, moratoriums, and excessive taxes. The old superman is in the soup. Uncle Sam is on the bread line, and now Hoover wants to take his clothes—and he can not find a barrel to shelter the bones of the once sleek old gentleman.

The dry leader is looking on a dying country. It has been sick ever since the dry pip was high-pressured into its Constitution. All it needs is a little stimulant, an economic snifter. Let us dismiss the dry undertaker and send for Doctor Barleycorn.

If, as, and when we get in this House a vote on prohibition, the scene will be replete with the higher or lower hypocrisy. The Republican drys will hope that the Republican wets will outnumber the Democratic wets, and the Democratic drys will "root" for their aquatic champions. The wets of both parties will hold the arena, and their respective drys will be in their respective cheering sections in the bleachers. There will be only one rule—"No bottles can be thrown by the bleachers." The rule is unnecessary—the bottles are all refillables. A quaking prayer will be offered in the White House that the Becks beat the Linthicums. In fact, Hoover is willing to bet on the Becks. He will wager a nice new report of the commission to investigate the social status of the boll weevil and ticks against a Wickersham report on the Hottentot subway system, in which the members severally report it is not "so hot" and jointly report "it is too damn hot."

Both the Republican wet team and the Democratic will require substitutes, so some of you boys better get off the old ivy-clad fence and start training to earn your letter "W," which will entitle you to a certificate of election this year. The voters have prepared a sign for the next Congress—"No straddlers allowed."

Some old familiar faces have left these pleasant pay-roll scenes, for they were more true to the Anti-Saloon League than they were to themselves. Do not join the mournful number. It is better to confess you were dry and wrong than to be an ex. You will not have to confess that—you will look it. Dry lame ducks will have no place to go in this era of economic aridity. Hoover will be too busy considering a commission about the future of Hoover to worry about the dry martyrs who called him chief. No longer can you depend on the desiccated superman—it took a superman to wreck America. In short time he will be chanting to the monotonous beat of the dead march that once joyous song, "California, here I come, right back where I started from." [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN].

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I want to remind the chief



justice, Mr. BLACK, of New York, that the vote on the Bingham beer bill was 55 to 15. And when it comes to a show-down in this House the vote against beer will be about in the same proportion.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I rise to advance a thought or two to the members of this committee and to the Members of the House relating to the deficit in our Public Treasury, which in a great way is stopping the progress of the machinery of this Government.

As chairman of the Committee on Immigration I have had occasion to go through certain hearings pertaining to aliens who have entered the United States. I am referring particularly to the movie stars who are imported by the big film companies in Hollywood. I am informed that there are as many as 100 or more who have in the last 10 years taken from the public of the United States millions of dollars, and they have not been taxed any more than an American citizen. Their surtax was 20 per cent, as well as our own.

I do not see any reason why a 65 per cent surtax should not be imposed upon all of those aliens who come here for the sole purpose of making money, take it right back with them or sending it away, without even a nickel having a chance to come back here. That also goes for all prize-fighters and all other foreign professionals who for the last 10 years have taken away millions of dollars. [Applause.]

You take Charlie Chaplin. We all had a good laugh, it is true, but that man is not a citizen of the United States. He does not want to be a citizen of the United States, as you will find is true of hundreds of people of that kind who are brought here for amusement purposes, and who have, as I say, taken away millions of our money. We are just letting that money slip out of this country.

You could not as an American go to Great Britain or France and take one dollar away. As a matter of fact, they would not let you perform. An American actor or an American star can not even attempt to go into those countries, let alone try to seek employment and take anything out of those countries.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Certainly.

Mr. BLANTON. Simmons University, of Abilene, Tex., has one of the finest cowboy bands in the world. It came to Washington to attend President Hoover's inauguration, and it went to Europe last summer, accompanied by many prominent men. While they were on the ocean, with passports to Paris and London, it had not yet been determined whether they could land either in France or England, because objections had been raised, because of the rules there.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is true.

Mr. BLANTON. And it took special effort on the part of the State Department to get all of those obstacles out of the way so that this cowboy band could land there and tour Europe.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. As a matter of fact, no American is permitted to go to these foreign countries for the purpose of performing, whether it be on the dramatic stage or as a movie actor. On the other hand, hundreds of these aliens come here and sing both in the Chicago Opera Co. and in the Metropolitan Opera Co., and outside of their music this country receives no benefit from the thousands of dollars that is taken away and put in foreign investments. Then one Max Schmeling is going to come to this country and take away $1,000,000, and he is paying no more than you and I, who are spending our money in this country.

We are giving our neighbors a chance to live. I say the present arrangement is entirely unfair. For one, I hope when the time comes to offer such an amendment unless the committee itself sees fit to put it in the bill.

I could go on and recite a half dozen instances to illustrate how unfair the other countries have been to us and how fair we have been to them; as a matter of fact, we have been entirely too fair. Between the movie stars taking money out of this country and the prize fighters taking money out of the country and our heiresses going over there and marrying these foreign dukes and counts I am surprised we have any money left in the Treasury at all. [Laughter.]

I am generally opposed to the sales tax, which deals with pennies and would affect the masses of poor people of this country while we overlook revenue from incomes that should rightfully be taxed. We should find some solution to wipe out our deficit by taxation on those who can well afford to pay and who would not be hurt in the raising of this revenue which is most vital to the country at this time. May I review before your body the history of taxation since the Wilson administration?

HISTORICAL

Our first income-tax law, passed in the Wilson administration pursuant to authority conferred by the sixteenth amendment, was purely a revenue measure designed to reinforce the Treasury on account of the anticipated drop in revenues due to the lowering of the customs tariff. It therefore imposed comparatively low rates, being 2 per cent over the minimum of $3,000 for single persons and $4,000 for married persons. The law made no distinction between citizens and aliens.

There was also a surtax under the original law applicable to incomes over $40,000, and also making no distinction as between citizens and aliens. The surtax provisions imposed a graduated scale from a minimum of 1 per cent on incomes of $40,000 to a maximum of 13 per cent on incomes up to $3,000,000.

The war revenue act of 1917 imposed, in addition to the original tax as fixed in 1913, an additional tax of 2 per cent, making a total of 4 per cent as the rate of the normal income tax. It is significant, however, that this additional income tax did not apply to nonresident aliens, who continued to be taxed at the old rate of 2 per cent. The 1917 act, therefore, imposed a higher normal tax on citizens than on aliens.

On September 8, 1916, Congress passed an act increasing surtax rates equally against citizens and aliens. The increase in surtax rates was from the former rates to 1 to 50 per cent, and beginning with incomes of $7,500. Incomes of a million dollars and more were made taxable at 55 per cent in addition to the normal tax of 4 per cent, and the highest surtax was 63 per cent on incomes of over $2,000,000.

The acts of 1916 and 1917 were in force until amended in 1918, when the normal tax was increased to 8 per cent beginning with incomes of $8,000 (the lower incomes being left at 4 per cent), and a surtax was imposed beginning with incomes of $6,000, the highest surtax rate being fixed at 65 per cent on incomes of over $1,000,000. No distinction was made in taxes payable by citizens or aliens.

The 1918 rates were the highest individual income tax rates in our history, and the 65 per cent surtax rate the highest surtax rate ever imposed by our Government.

From 1918 on, the rates begin to be lowered. The act of November 23, 1921, makes no change in the normal income tax, which continues at 8 per cent and 4 per cent up to an income of $6,000, but the surtax is reduced to from 1 per cent to a maximum of 50 per cent, the lowest rate being imposed on incomes beginning with $6,000 and the highest rate being chargeable on incomes exceeding $200,000. Again no distinction is made in the rate of tax payable by citizen or alien.

The act of 1924, signed by President Coolidge on June 2 of that year, reduced the rates of the normal tax to 6 per cent, the first $10,500 being reduced to 4 per cent, and the maximum surtax was placed at 40 per cent; this maximum rate being placed on incomes of over $500,000. The same rate is payable by citizens and aliens. Incomes below $5,000, if earned, were made to pay the still lower rate of 2 per cent.

The act of 1924, however, makes the normal rate of tax 6 per cent and gives the citizen and resident alien the benefit, which is the only benefit a citizen has against the alien, and even then it is a benefit shared both by the citizen and resident alien, that the first $4,000 of his income is taxed

at but 2 per cent and the next $4,000 at 4 per cent. Bear in mind that no benefit whatsoever is enjoyed by the citizen on any income in excess of $8,000, and citizen and alien are taxed equally on the excess.

The same little preference in low income taxes given to a citizen and resident of the United States is continued in the act of 1926, which reduced the normal tax to 5 per cent, except that the tax payable by a citizen or resident alien on the first $4,000 was fixed at 1½ per cent and the next $4,000 at 3 per cent. The maximum surtax under the act of 1926 was fixed at 20 per cent on incomes in excess of $100,000.

THE PRESENT LAW

Our income-tax rates in force to-day have been fixed by the revenue act of 1928. The act continues the maximum surtaxes of 20 per cent on incomes exceeding $100,000. It fixes a rate of 5 per cent as normal tax, except that the first $4,000 of incomes is taxable at 1½ per cent and the next $4,000 at 3 per cent. No distinction is made between taxes payable by citizens or aliens, so that even the little advantage enjoyed by our citizens under the former income tax laws is done away with. If anything, therefore, the resident and nonresident alien is better off under the present law than he was under the acts of 1924 and 1926.

WHAT IS PROPOSED BY ME

There can be no question but additional revenue is needed. The only question is what source shall be used to replenish our Treasury. Is it not fair that resident and nonresident aliens deriving their income from American sources should be made to bear a large part of our tax burden? We at one time had a surtax rate of 65 per cent on incomes (the 1918 rates). Why not impose this rate on nonresident aliens?

An analysis of the tax acts which I have discussed in some detail shows that the rates of surtax have been continually made lower, so that from a maximum of 65 per cent in 1918 the rate is now a maximum of 20 per cent. It has been the contention of our Secretary of the Treasury that the reduction of surtax rates will stimulate business and make more incomes for our people by developing industry, commerce, and so forth. If that be so, clearly surtaxes to be paid by nonresident aliens can not under any circumstances hurt our business. They are aliens, have no interest or stake in our country, and their money is not invested in our industry, commerce, or anything appertaining to our finances. I am therefore firmly of the opinion that steps should be taken to bring about a fairer distribution of the tax burden, placing it on the shoulders of those best able to carry it.

Mr. Chairman, I shall ask the House at some future time to support me on an appropriate amendment to bring about a proper tax on those against whom it should be properly levied. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I move the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'CONNOR, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 8397, the Department of the Interior appropriation bill, had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted—

To Mr. HESS, for one week, on account of death in his family.

To Mr. WARREN (at the request of Mr. LAMBETH), indefinitely, on account of illness.

FIRST DEFICIENCY BILL

Mr. BYRNS presented the conference report on the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 289).

ADDRESS OF HON. OGDEN L. MILLS

Mr. BACON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an address delivered by Hon. Ogden L. Mills on January 25 last.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BACON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of Hon. Ogden L. Mills, Under Secretary of the Treasury, at the annual meeting of the American Acceptance Council, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, January 25, 1932:

CREDIT AND CONFIDENCE

I appreciate the opportunity to discuss before so representative a gathering some of those problems which are pressing for solution and which tend to range themselves under the one main heading "Credit and Confidence."

The United States is passing through one of the most serious depressions in its history. There is not much profit in emphasizing the dark side of any picture, but as the physician must diagnose the character and extent of the malady before he can prescribe, so must the severity of the downward movement in business and the consequences which it has entailed necessarily furnish our point of departure.

Wholesale commodity prices have declined 32 per cent in the last two years; industrial production has declined 44 per cent. This precipitous drop in values and in production has been accompanied not only by a sweeping contraction of credit but by a very serious disorganization of credit facilities. The decline in the volume of bank credit has been the largest ever experienced in this country. Total loans and investments in the banks of the United States have declined more than six and one-half billion dollars during the past two years, in addition to a drop of more than $6,000,000,000 in loans made to brokers by others than banks. Considering also the heavy shrinkage which has occurred in the amount of money borrowed currently to finance installment purchases of goods and in open book credit and similar forms of commercial advances, we have experienced a credit reduction of immense and unprecedented magnitude.

Some day it will be well worth while to examine critically the causes which have led up to such a catastrophic contraction. At present the immediate task is of greater importance. Suffice it to say that while an increase in our gold supply of about one and a half billion dollars over the past decade must inevitably have produced some measure of expansion, the speculative excesses which accompanied this expansion were bound to bring serious retribution; moreover, our banking mechanism, in part because of the excessive number of banks, contained elements of weakness which rendered it less able to stand the strain of drastic liquidation. Events have demonstrated that the increase in number from 10,000 in 1900 to 30,000 in 1920 was a source of weakness rather than of strength.

In any event, by the middle of 1929, from a variety of causes, of which, in my humble judgment, human nature was by no means a minor one, our whole economic set-up had reached a point where a sweeping decline was as inevitable as the downward course of the noonday sun toward the horizon. Economic excesses inevitably entail economic readjustments. When the economic pendulum swings much too high, its subsequent downward course is likely to be accelerated and will continue until the readjusting forces have spent themselves. At that point stabilization should take place and an upward movement would be resumed were it not for the imponderable factor involved in human nature itself.

From the middle of 1929 to September, 1931, wholesale commodity prices fell about 30 per cent; industrial production declined about 40 per cent; and all bank loans and investments by about $4,500,000,000. After such a sweeping decline, accompanied by corresponding readjustments of all kinds, and the elimination of weak spots and elements of instability in the economic structure, it is not unreasonable to believe that the economic forces working toward contraction and deflation had by that time fairly well spent themselves.

And, yet, what do we find? Between September and December prices have declined further by about 4 per cent, production 7 per cent, and loans and investments of weekly reporting member banks more than a billion and a half dollars, or 7 per cent, while the deposits of these banks declined by no less than two and a quarter billions, or 11 per cent. I may be wrong, of course, and both elements are always present in situations of this kind, but I have the very distinct impression that whereas up to the last quarter of 1931, economic factors exercised the preponderating influence, from October up to the present time psychological influences have played the leading part. During the past three months the psychology of fear has been written in large letters on every step of the downward course.

Even after due consideration of the fact that in 1929 speculative expansion reached fanciful heights; that the country was living too much on credit; that many of the debts had to be eliminated before we could find a basis for recovery; that undoubtedly adjustments in particular fields remain to be made; that governmental expenditures—National, State, and local—are altogether too high; that costs in a number of industries must be further

reduced; and that adjustments of this sort must continue to be made—the outstanding fact to-day is that deflation has proceeded much too far.

Every additional decline in credit and prices and securities brings with it further bank failures, and bank failures in their turn lead to further contraction in credit and prices. The deflation has now reached a point where it feeds upon itself and where forces working for economic recovery are nullified by the psychological momentum of the downward movement.

One development to which I should like to call your attention particularly is the movement of bank deposits in its relation to bank loans and investments. For here it seems to me there are definite corrective steps that the bankers might take. Banks have been losing deposits in part because of currency withdrawals and gold exports; but, in addition to this, banks have themselves been destroying their own deposits. To make themselves more liquid, banks all over the country have sold securities and have called loans. Security holdings of reporting member banks alone diminished by about $500,000,000 during the last quarter of the year. When banks sell securities or call loans bank deposits are in their turn reduced. Take a simple illustration. Assume a town with two banks—bank A and bank B. A wishes to increase its cash and so make itself more liquid. It accordingly sells $10,000 worth of Government securities at an attractive price to a depositor in B. The depositor pays for them with a check drawn on B. B pays A $10,000 in cash and its deposits are reduced by $10,000. A's cash is increased $10,000, but its deposits are not. B, finding its deposits reduced and its cash depleted, in its turn sells securities to a depositor in A, thus reducing A's deposits $10,000 and restoring $10,000 of B's cash. The net result is a decrease in the deposits and the investments of both banks and a reduction in the market value of their remaining assets but no improvement in their cash position.

In fact, the banks are, if anything, less liquid than at the beginning of the operation, since they have disposed of some of their best assets and have weakened the market for other securities. It is very much this kind of operation that has been going on in recent months in the United States, with a consequent tremendous decline in the prices of all investment securities. The situation has been greatly aggravated by this process of bank credit attrition, and yet this is a process which to a very great extent is within the control of the banks themselves.

While there has been an enormous decline in deposits in New York City banks, it is the banks outside of New York City that have suffered most severely. The pressure upon them has in turn reacted most unfavorably on industry and commerce. On January 13 Federal reserve discounts for account of member banks outside of New York City amounted to $773,000,000, or about $450,000,000 more than at the end of September, while discounts for account of New York City banks showed a relatively small increase and amounted to only $45,000,000 in January.

If only this process can be arrested and the psychology of fear dispelled, there is real ground for the belief that the foundation is now sufficiently firm to justify our vigorously addressing ourselves to the task of reconstruction. There is ample evidence that economic readjustment has proceeded far in the affairs of individuals, business and financial institutions, and more recently of the Nation and its political subdivisions. The wholesale commodity price level has declined about 32 per cent.

Wages of all kinds are, on the average, down approximately 10 per cent, and so many of the smaller units in banking and business have been closed that there has been a reduction of 2,000, or more than 10 per cent, in the number of our banks and over 28,000, or, roughly speaking, 1½ per cent, in our business concerns during the last year. The weakest spots in our banking and business structure have been eliminated by the closing of these institutions. Meanwhile, the 1931 records of many of the strongest business units indicate that they have at last so adapted themselves to prevailing conditions that with some increase in activity their operations may now be carried on at a reasonable profit. The Nation, the States, and the cities are attacking the problem of budgetary equilibrium with increasing vigor. There is a surprising unanimity of opinion among industrial and banking leaders and among economists that liquidation has proceeded beyond the point of whatever benefits it may confer and that a healthy, progressive recovery is possible and, of course, desirable.

The essence of the problem is to arrest deflation, to make available the credit needed by American business, industry, and commerce, and to encourage its use. We require a vigorous, cooperative program. Such a program has taken definite shape. Its early operation is assured. There must be no holding back. We must press energetically forward all along the line toward the attainment of these definite objectives.

The Government of the United States is prepared to do its full share. The President laid down a program, with which you are doubtless familiar but which, because of its importance, I desire to summarize briefly.

The Government is to begin by putting its own house in order. Through rigid economies and increased revenues we propose to bring the Budget into balance in the sense that there will be no further increase after July 1 next in the public debt. This is essential not only to maintain unimpaired the credit of the United States Government, which is of supreme importance to all, but so that Government financing may not interfere with the normal operations of the security markets and divert capital essential to the revival of industry and trade.

In the meanwhile, to finance current expenditures for the balance of this fiscal year and to cover the President's emergency program, it will be necessary for the Treasury to borrow over and above refunding operations approximately $1,500,000,000. This is unavoidable. But if the Treasury, as it proposes to do, adapts its methods of borrowing to the current conditions of the market, these operations should not occasion concern, particularly as a large part of these funds are to be applied to reinforcing the credit structure and some portion at least to meeting the needs of industry and commerce. Moreover, it is to be hoped that subscribing banks, recognizing not only the value of the Government deposit held for a reasonable period of time but also the opportunity thus afforded of acquiring and keeping paper eligible for discount in case of need, will so conduct these credit operations over the course of the next four or five months as not to permit Government borrowing to restrict the flow of credit into business and commercial channels.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation should furnish a mobile reservoir of credit available during the period of depression for credits otherwise unobtainable and at the same time an adequate guaranty against unforeseen contingencies. Aside from the affirmative assistance which this corporation should render, I visualize it as constituting a solid wall under the protection of which men and institutions can carry on their normal operations without fear of sudden and devastating interruption. I know of no instrument better designed to lift that psychology of fear, which should play no part in American economic life.

The strengthening of the Federal land bank system will insure to the farmer the credit facilities to which he is entitled and maintain at the high point which the investor has the right to demand the credit of these institutions.

The creation of a system of home loan discount banks should serve the constructive purpose of partially liberating resources that are at present tied up and thus encourage new construction and permanently improve the facilities for financing this type of operation.

The liberalization of the discount provisions of the Federal reserve act will tend to bring our policies—modified, of course, to meet American conditions—more in line with the well-established practices of central banks in foreign countries, while a modification of the requirements governing collateral against Federal reserve note issues should establish a more rational and adequate use of our gold reserves.

The development of a program to assure early distribution to depositors in closed banks will not only mitigate the suffering inflicted on thousands of families but tend to have a direct effect on the general economic situation.

Finally, the Interstate Commerce Commission has recommended legislation which will strengthen our transportation system and restore confidence in the bonds of our railways. Indeed, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is intended to be particularly helpful to the railroads. In discussing railroads this evening, I am not approaching their problem from the transportation but rather from the credit standpoint. Railroad bonds have always been looked upon as one of our prime investment securities. As a result the savings of the American people are invested directly and indirectly to a greater extent in railway securities than in any other class except United States bonds. It is estimated that more than 70 per cent of all railroad bonds and notes are held by banking, insurance, and other institutions. The universal decline in the value of railroad bonds, aside from the influence which it has exercised on all other securities, has played a very large part in the general threat to the country's credit. I know of no more important factor looking to the restoration of confidence and the general strengthening of credit than the safeguarding of the financial structure of this great industry. The pool created from increased rates for the benefit of the weaker roads and the anticipated agreement between the executives and the leaders of railroad labor should further assist in materially improving the railroad picture.

Some overtimid critics claim to have detected in this program the germ of inflation. They fail to distinguish the unmistakable dividing line between inflation and the arresting of a deflationary process which has gone to extreme lengths. When reporting member-bank credit has been deflated by over $1,500,000,000 in three months, or at the rate of more than 25 per cent a year, and when through fear the existing volume of credit is not used to anything like its capacity, I do not know of anyone, except perhaps the cartoonist Webster's Timid Soul, who could be seriously troubled by the specter of inflation.

The operations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have been carefully safeguarded. They are designed to free rather than create credit. Increased Treasury financing is limited in amount and time. In the United States commodity prices, wholesale and retail, security values, wages, corporate and other business budgets, and now governmental budgets, have been and are being subjected to drastic readjustments. So that to-day credit expansion must be looked upon as constructive and desirable rather than inflationary and dangerous. Furthermore, leaving aside the all-important fact that the public temper was never more discriminating and conservative, history shows that a dangerous inflation does not follow upon the heels of a drastic deflation.

Here is a program that strikes at the very roots of our economic difficulties. It is intelligently conceived and should be vigorously carried out. But governmental leadership and action alone can not achieve complete success. They should be supplemented by a far-sighted and liberal Federal reserve policy, and above all, by the affirmative and courageous cooperation of our banks. In this connection, if I may be allowed to speak with complete frankness, a direct responsibility rests on the great banking in-

stitutions of the country. In the past in similar emergencies they have rendered tremendous service to the Nation. The opportunities for leadership and service are to-day even more imperatively here. Free from the spirit of competitive individualism they must establish a solid front and through a cooperative and unified program attack a problem which they above all others are best fitted to solve. The calamitous process of deposit and credit contraction must be arrested. The flow of funds from all parts of the country to the financial center should be reversed. The full use of available credit should be encouraged. Each bank should become a strong point, radiating strength and confidence. Resources are truly important only to the extent that they are used. Let me remind you of a familiar quotation from Bagehot's great book, Lombard Street.

"In opposition to what might be at first sight supposed, the best way for the bank or banks who have the custody of the bank reserve to deal with a drain arising from internal discredit is to lend freely. The first instinct of everyone is the contrary. There being a large demand on a fund which you want to preserve, the most obvious way to preserve it is to hoard it—to get in as much as you can and to let nothing go out which you can help. But every banker knows that this is not the way to diminish discredit. This discredit means 'an opinion that you have not got any money,' and to dissipate that opinion you must, if possible, show that you have money; you must employ it for the public benefit in order that the public may know that you have it. The time for economy and for accumulation is before. A good banker will have accumulated in ordinary times the reserve he is to make use of in extraordinary times."

After all, prior to the establishment of the Federal reserve system the banks in the large financial centers were, in essence, the central banks of the country and were fully conscious of their position and the responsibilities which it carried. It seems to me that it is a mistake to assume that the coming into being of the Federal reserve system has completely altered their relationship to our banking system as a whole. A large measure of responsibility still exists, with this fundamental difference, that with the facilities of the Federal reserve system available they should be able to act with greater initiative, courage, and resolution than ever before.

Our problems and difficulties, serious as they are, can and will be solved if we unite in attacking them resolutely and courageously, confident in ourselves and in our future.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend the remarks I made in the House to-day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Texas if he knew that in that Bingham resolution which he referred to a few moments ago, the Senator was trying to carry out the request of the new bishop and the new head of the Anti-Saloon League in trying to bring the question to a vote?

Mr. BLANTON. No; I did not know that. If he were a follower of Bishop Richardson, he would not be for beer. I rejoiced that the Bingham beer vote of 55 to 15 ought to be decisive.

Mr. GOSS. It was not a Bingham beer vote, I may inform the gentleman.

I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

PUBLIC-UTILITIES INVESTIGATION

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk a privileged resolution (H. Res. 115) from the Committee on Accounts and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

House Resolution 115

Resolved, That the expenses of conducting the investigation authorized by House Resolution No. 59, incurred by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by the committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on Accounts, but shall not exceed $50,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman explain just what is the purpose of the resolution? My attention was diverted while the resolution was being read.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the House passed a resolution authorizing the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to make an investigation, and this resolution provides the money for that investigation.

Mr. STAFFORD. And limits it to the sum of $50,000?

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Yes.

The resolution was agreed to.

A BREAD-AND-BUTTER ISSUE

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to print a short editorial referring to a speech which I made last week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, last week I addressed the House, and in my speech contended that prohibition had brought ruin to the American farmer. I quoted at length from Government records in support of my contention.

Sunday, January 24, there appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch an article prepared by Mr. Charles G. Ross, chief correspondent of this paper's Washington bureau, in which he analyzed what prohibition had cost the people of the United States. This article was inserted in the RECORD by Senator HAWES on Tuesday, January 26, and was also referred to the Senate Committee on Manufactures.

In Monday's Post-Dispatch there appeared an editorial which refers to Mr. Ross's article as well as my speech, and under the permission granted by the House to-day I submit that editorial for printing.

The editorial follows:

A BREAD-AND-BUTTER ISSUE

Let us gather around the conference table, wets and drys, and reason calmly together. Let us put our emotions in the ice box and leave them there till the meeting is adjourned. Let no such word as fanaticism mar the discussion. Let the Constitution rest in peace. Let us look at our experience with prohibition in the cold, white light of arithmetic and calculate what it has cost us and decide, solely on the facts, whether we can afford to continue it.

The work of calculation has been done for us in an article by Charles G. Ross, Washington correspondent of the Post-Dispatch, which was published in yesterday's paper. According to Mr. Ross's figures, prohibition has been costing us—in loss of revenue and enforcement expenses—$500,000,000 a year, or a total of $5,610,765,620 in the 12 years of its operation.

That enormous sum is beyond the comprehension of most of us. But when we are told it is one-third of our national debt, we get at least an idea.

As a matter of fact, the annual cost of prohibition—$500,000,000—can be understood by only a few specialists. Our correspondent, however, has reduced it to understandable terms. It is, he explains, 12½ per cent of the normal Federal Budget. It is approximately twice the yearly payments scheduled to be received by the United States on the foreign debt; it is more than half the amount of the Government's deficit for the fiscal year 1931, it is considerably more than all the taxes paid to the Federal Government on personal incomes of 1930.

This economic phase of prohibition was the subject of a talk made by Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, at the annual dinner of the Institute of Consulting Engineers last week. He said that a tax on distilled and fermented liquors, plus the revenue to be derived from the high-license system, if the traffic were so conducted, would yield an annual revenue of $1,500,000,000, or three times as much as is expected from the personal income tax next year. He also put it this way:

"If we could change prohibition, it would not be necessary to levy any of the proposed increased taxes, but we might do away entirely with our income tax."

Professor Seligman, it may be remarked, is rated by some as "the greatest tax authority in America."

Such calculations and conclusions, we submit, challenge the serious consideration of all citizens, particularly in the present distressing circumstances, when the Government can see no way of balancing the Budget except by drastically increasing taxes already burdensome. Every business is heavily taxed, but the industry hardest hit by prohibition is agriculture. Representative COCHRAN, of St. Louis, went into the statistics of farm values before and since prohibition on the floor of the House a few days ago. In 1900 the value of the country's farm lands and buildings was $16,000,000,000. In 1910 it had increased to $34,000,000,000; in 1920 to $66,000,000,000. But in 1930 the value had declined to $47,000,000,000, a loss of almost $20,000,000,000. Quoting the Department of Agriculture, Mr. COCHRAN said that, during the year ending March 15, 1931, 21 of every 1,000 farms had been sold for delinquent taxes. He pointed out that where the farmer paid $1 in taxes in 1913, he paid $2.49 in 1929, an increase of almost 150 per cent. The farm income of 1931 was $6,000,000,000 less than it was in 1919. Looking at the brewery industry strictly as an economic factor, Mr. COCHRAN showed that prohibition had deprived the farmers of a market for 1,296,000,000 bushels of grain since

1920. Farmers have lost $54,000,000,000 in income in 10 years of prohibition.

That is the picture of prohibition presented by arithmetic. It will make some people mad, some people sad, but it will make every thoughtful citizen realize that, above everything else at this critical juncture of affairs, prohibition is an economic problem which must be faced earnestly, and for which a correct solution must be found.

Rhetoric can not stand in the same ring with economics. Emotion has to yield the right of way to facts. Prohibition has, in a word, become a bread-and-butter issue for every one of us, and we would not be a sensible people did we not seriously consider what can be done about it. The first thing to realize is that political parties are not going to extricate us from the dilemma. They are going to play politics with it, as they have been doing for a decade.

Since the people have the bill to pay, they must themselves throw off this insuperable burden. The best place to begin is at the polls this year. If they refuse to send to Congress any man favoring prohibition, they will in time marshal in Washington strength enough to submit the issue to the people.

It is a bread-and-butter issue.

JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President for his approval a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 230. Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the United States of America to make payments upon subscriptions to the capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, January 28, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Thursday, January 28, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

(10 a. m.)

Parcel-post matters (H. R. 4525; S. 621).

Mail matter for the blind (H. R. 6392; H. J. Res. 34).

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

(9.30 a. m.)

Revision of patent laws.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(10 a. m.)

H. R. 457; H. R. 5869; H. J. Res. 132.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Section 15a—H. R. 7116 and H. R. 7117, interstate commerce act (recapture clause).

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Akron investigation.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

(10 a. m.)

National defense act.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

Commodity short selling.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

(10.30 a. m.)

Irrigation and reclamation (H. Res. 4650); Chicago World's Fair Centennial (H. Res. 4583).

COMMITTEE ON WAR CLAIMS

(10 a. m.)

Regular meeting.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

406. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated January 23, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination and survey of Columbia River at St. Helens, Oreg. (H. Doc. No. 235); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustration.

407. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated January 25, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on Grand River, Mo. and Iowa (H. Doc. No. 236); to the Committee on Flood Control and ordered to be printed, with illustration.

408. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of a bill to amend the act entitled "An act to discontinue certain reports now required by law to be made to Congress," approved May 29, 1928; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

409. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1932, in the amount of $75,000, for the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (H. Doc. No. 237); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. GREEN: Joint Committee on the Disposition of Useless Executive Papers. A report on the disposition of useless papers in the War Department (Rept. No. 285). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. PARKER of New York: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 483. A bill to amend the act of March 2, 1897, authorizing the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the St. Lawrence River; without amendment (Rept. No. 287). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: Committee on Accounts. A resolution (H. Res. 115) authorizing the expenses of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (Rept. No. 290). Ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 5940. A bill for the relief of Florian Ford; without amendment (Rept. No. 286). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PEAVEY: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 4244. A bill for the relief of Mrs. G. A. Brennan; without amendment (Rept. No. 288). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 7076) granting a pension to Fred Libbee; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 5584) granting a pension to Mary A. Fay; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3179) granting a pension to Carrie J. Mealey; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GOSS: A bill (H. R. 8492) to regulate the use and sale of wood alcohol; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOGG of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8493) to regulate the manufacture and sale of stamped envelopes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. CARTER of Wyoming: A bill (H. R. 8494) to add certain lands to the Washakie National Forest in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KELLER: A bill (H. R. 8495) providing for an emergency circulation fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GOSS: A bill (H. R. 8496) to authorize promotion upon retirement of officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard in recognition of World War and Spanish-American War service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 8497) to amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of certain maimed veterans who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same, in line of duty, in the military or naval service of the United States; and to amend section 4788 of the Revised Statutes of the United States by increasing the rates therein for artificial limbs," approved February 11, 1927 (U. S. C., Supp. I, title 38, sec. 168a); to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PEAVEY: A bill (H. R. 8498) to authorize Federal contributions for the emergency relief of all needy Indians except those who are wards of the United States or who are members of an Indian tribe whose tribal funds are administered by the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. PARKER of New York: A bill (H. R. 8499) granting pensions to certain widows, minor children, and helpless children of soldiers and sailors of the war with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, or the China relief expedition, who served 70 days; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McCORMACK: A bill (H. R. 8500) to incorporate the Army and Navy Union of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOUSER: A bill (H. R. 8501) to prohibit the transportation of any matter defamatory of a deceased individual in the mails or in interstate or foreign commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLINS: A bill (H. R. 8502) to transfer jurisdiction over certain national military parks and national monuments from the War Department to the Department of the Interior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TILSON: A bill (H. R. 8503) to authorize the loan of War Department equipment to the Knights of Pythias; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOWARD (by departmental request): A bill (H. R. 8504) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cancel restricted fee patents and issue trust patents in lieu thereof and to authorize deeds by natural guardians of Indian minors; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8505) to authorize natural guardians, or Indian Service superintendents, to execute deeds conveying the interests of minor Indians where title to trust or restricted lands must pass by approved deed; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SWICK: A bill (H. R. 8506) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mahoning River at New Castle, Lawrence County, Pa.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HARDY: A bill (H. R. 8507) for the exchange of lands adjacent to national forests in Colorado; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii: A bill (H. R. 8508) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. ARENTZ: A bill (H. R. 8509) for the temporary relief of water users on irrigation projects constructed and operated under the reclamation law; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. LONERGAN: A bill (H. R. 8510) granting the consent of Congress to the Connecticut River State Bridge Commission, a statutory commission of the State of Connecticut, created and existing under the provisions of special Act No. 496 of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, 1931 session, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Connecticut River; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McCLINTOCK of Ohio: Resolution (H. Res. 124) for the relief of volunteer officers and soldiers who served in the Philippine Islands under the act approved March 2, 1899; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WHITE: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 258) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLAS of Arizona: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 259) to provide for levying and collecting an import duty upon copper in various forms, copper ores and concentrates, alloys or combinations of copper, and other copper products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CRAIL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 260) authorizing the Secretary of War to furnish equipment, goods, and supplies to States, Territories, cities, and counties for use in aid of distressed citizens; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BYRNS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 261) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks; to the Committee on Appropriations.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 8511) granting an increase of pension to Jane Emery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ARNOLD: A bill (H. R. 8512) granting a pension to Herman Samuel Coons; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BOYLAN: A bill (H. R. 8513) for the relief of Benjamin Stern, and Melville A. Stern and Benjamin Stern, as the executors under the last will and testament of Louis Stern, deceased, and Arthur H. Hahlo, as executor under the last will and testament of Isaac Stern, deceased, all of New York City, N. Y., for compensation and in settlement of their damages and loss sustained by virtue of a lease, in writing, dated September 12, 1919, between the said parties and the United States of America, by Daniel C. Roper, Commissioner of Internal Revenue; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRAND of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 8514) granting an increase of pension to Mary Finn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CABLE: A bill (H. R. 8515) for the relief of Otis Anne Lytle; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8516) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth M. Blue; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHASE: A bill (H. R. 8517) granting an increase of pension to Cornelia Everett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8518) for the relief of Otto E. Simpson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DELANEY: A bill (H. R. 8519) granting a pension to Annie J. Gonsalez; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DOUTRICH: A bill (H. R. 8520) granting a pension to Josephine Gayman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8521) to provide for the carrying out of the award of the National War Labor Board of January 15, 1919, dockets Nos. 419 and 420, in favor of certain employees of the Lebanon (Pa.) plants of the Bethlehem Steel Co. and the Lebanon Valley Iron Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FERNANDEZ: A bill (H. R. 8522) for the relief of Mrs. T. E. Perin Buel; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FREAR: A bill (H. R. 8523) granting a pension to Mary E. Grinnell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARLAN: A bill (H. R. 8524) for the relief of sundry building and loan associations; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOLADAY: A bill (H. R. 8525) for the relief of Rosemund Pauline Lowry; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOLLISTER: A bill (H. R. 8526) granting a pension to Anna Wehner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KARCH: A bill (H. R. 8527) for the relief of Joseph M. Verneuil and Alice G. Verneuil; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 8528) for the relief of John W. Shumaker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McSWAIN: A bill (H. R. 8529) for the relief of Frank L. Norris; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAJOR: A bill (H. R. 8530) granting an increase of pension to Joanna S. Bates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MARTIN of Oregon: A bill (H. R. 8531) authorizing Spiro Sargentich, major in the United States Army Reserve, to accept the decoration of the Order of St. Sava, third degree, tendered him by His Majesty Alexander I, King of Yugoslavia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MEAD: A bill (H. R. 8532) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Dubes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOUSER: A bill (H. R. 8533) for the relief of James H. Green; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 8534) granting an increase of pension to Catherine C. Crippen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 8535) granting an increase of pension to Ida M. Lent; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8536) granting an increase of pension to Lydia Diehl; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THATCHER: A bill (H. R. 8537) granting a pension to Edward B. Kennedy; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8538) granting an increase of pension to Sarah H. Julien; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

895. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petition of Beulah B. Potter and 21 other citizens of Cranston, R. I., opposing the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

896. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union and citizens of Hesston, Kans., opposing the modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment or the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

897. By Mr. BACON: Petition of the membership of Sound Avenue Union of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Riverhead, N. Y., opposing any modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment, and urging full support and maintenance of the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

898. Also, petition of sundry citizens of West Hampton Beach, opposing any modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment, and urging full support and maintenance of the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

899. Also, two petitions of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, opposing curtailment of Federal appropriations for National Guard armory drills and restricting attendance at summer camps; to the Committee on Appropriations.

900. Also, petition of sundry citizens of Nassau County, N. Y., urging repeal of eighteenth amendment and prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

901. By Mr. BOYLAN: Resolution passed by Central Mercantile Association, 65 Fifth Avenue, New York, in favor of modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

902. Also, petition of land bank of the State of New York, inclosing list of savings and loan institutions of the State of New York who are opposed to Senate bill 2959, as amended, proposing to create a system of Federal home loan banks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

903. Also, petition of National Guard Association of the State of New York, inclosing resolution protesting against any abridgment of our regular Military Establishment and disapproving any reduction in annual training duty or drill pay; to the Committee on Appropriations.

904. By Mr. BULWINKLE: Petition of the Lincolnton (N. C.) Chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, requesting adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance, and opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

905. Also, petition of the South Fork Association Executive Board, representing 38 Baptist Churches of North Carolina, requesting adequate appropriations for law enforcement and education in law observance, and opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

906. Also, petition of Hornets Nest Post, No. 9, American Legion, Charlotte, N. C., for the repeal of interest on the loans on the adjusted-service certificates, and for the payment of the balance due on the adjusted-service certificates of veterans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

907. By Mr. BURDICK: Petition of Elizabeth A. Peckham, president of Middletown (R. I.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and 19 other residents of Newport, Portsmouth, and Middletown, R. I., protesting against repeal, resubmission, or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

908. By Mr. CHINDBLOM: Petition of Mrs. L. L. Maether and 34 other residents of Prairie View, Ill., in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

909. By Mr. CONDON (by request): Petition of Elizabeth A. Godschell and several other citizens of Rhode Island, protesting against the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

910. Also (by request), petition of Alice F. Porter and several other citizens of Rhode Island, protesting against the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

911. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, favoring the erection of a memorial to the World War National Guard of the United States at Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

912. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of the Blackwell (Okla.) Milling & Elevator Co., urging support of House bill 48; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

913. Also, petition of the citizens of the eighth district and Enid, Okla., protesting against the proposed 10 per cent tax on theater admissions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

914. Also, petition of the International Association of Machinists, District Lodge No. 44, protesting against the adoption of sections 2 and 3 of the agricultural appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

915. Also, petition of citizens of Oklahoma City, protesting against the Navy bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

916. Also, petition of organizations of the eighth district of Oklahoma, urging the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

917. By Mr. GIBSON: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Jamaica, Vt., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

918. Also, petition of the Orleans Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Orleans, Vt., opposing resubmission

of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

919. By Mr. HOCH: Petition of 45 voters of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

920. Also, petition of 44 voters of Severy, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

921. Also, petition of the Frances Willard Chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

922. Also, petition of members of the Friends Church of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

923. Also, petition of members of the First Christian Church of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

924. Also, petition of members of the Presbyterian Church of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

925. Also, petition of members of the Second Presbyterian Church of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

926. Also, petition of members of the Free Methodist Church of Emporia, Kans., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

927. By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Corsicana, Tex., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

928. Also, petition of W. A. Wagner, of Kerens, Tex., favoring a tariff on oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

929. Also, petition of state-wide meeting of levee drainage and irrigation interests in Texas, urging passage of House bill 4650; to the Committee on Rules.

930. Also, petition of John J. Simmons, Dallas, Tex., urging passage of House bill 4650; to the Committee on Rules.

931. Also, petition of directors of Texas Building and Loan League, favoring passage of home loan bank bill; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

932. Also, petition of Lewis R. Ferguson, vice president Lone Star Cement Co., Dallas, Tex., opposing a tax on electric current; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

933. By Mr. PARKER of Georgia: Petition of Stanton B. Lee and 45 other citizens of Oliver, Ga., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

934. By Mr. PRATT: Petition of 128 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Chatham, Columbia County, N. Y., urging maintenance of the prohibition law and opposing modification, repeal, or resubmission to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

935. Also, petition of 53 residents of Liberty, Sullivan County, N. Y., urging maintenance of the prohibition law and opposing modification, repeal, or resubmission to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

936. By Mr. RAINEY: Petition of C. F. Crowder and 25 other citizens of Pike County, Ill., favoring the Glenn-Smith bill; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

937. Also, petition of Strother Grigsby and 51 other citizens of Pittsfield, Ill., favoring the Glenn-Smith bill; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

938. By Mr. ROBINSON: Petition signed by Mildred Jones, of Gilman, Iowa, and 15 other citizens of that community, urging the maintenance and support of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

939. By Mr. ROMJUE: Petition of Goad-Ballinger Post, No. 69, American Legion, Springfield, Mo., favoring the immediate passage of the widows and orphans pension bill; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

940. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of Lone Star Cement Co. (Inc.) of New York, Albany, N. Y., opposing the proposed tax on electric current; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

941. By Mr. SANDERS of New York: Petition signed by Lydia Watson and 12 other citizens of Gainesville, N. Y., opposing repeal, resubmission, or modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

942. By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia: Resolution of S. J. Rexrode, president Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Marlinton, W. Va., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

943. Also, resolution of the Catherine Chilton mission circle, First Baptist Church of St. Albans, W. Va., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

944. By Mr. SNELL: Petition of residents of Moira, N. Y., relative to the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

945. By Mr. SPARKS: Petition of members of the Baptist Missionary Society of Ness City, Kans., protesting against a change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

946. Also, petition of 20 members of the Prairie Club of Ness City, 37 citizens of Agra, and 22 citizens of Norton, and a resolution of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Norton, all of the State of Kansas, protesting against any change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

947. By Mr. SPENCE: Resolution adopted by citizens of Covington, Ky., against repeal or resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

948. Also, petition of citizens of Pendleton County, Ky., urging maintenance of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

949. By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: Petition of Johnstown Central Woman's Christian Temperance Union, opposing legislation to repeal or weaken the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

950. Also, petition of citizens of Corsica, Pa., and vicinity, favoring the prohibition law and its enforcement, and opposed to any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

951. By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Wyoming, protesting against any measure looking toward the modification, repeal, or submission to the States of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

952. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of 574 women of the Middlesex County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, asking support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

953. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petition of Christina Lynch, of Denbo, Washington City, Pa., in support of House bill 7230, increasing the rate of pensions to widows of Spanish-American War veterans to $40 per month; to the Committee on Pensions.

954. By Mr. VESTAL: Petition of S. W. Haynes and others, concerning proposed revision of prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

955. By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: Petition of residents of Kentland, Newton County, Ind., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification and resubmission to the States, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

956. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Floyd G. Hoenstine and various members of the American Legion, in regard to lack of facilities of hospitalization of disabled World War veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

957. Also, petition of Chandler Smith and others, disapproving the recommendation for Department of Public Works; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

958. Also, petition of members of the William Newton Clark Brotherhood, of Hamilton, N. Y., requesting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States be adopted as follows: "Art. XX. Aliens shall be excluded from the count of the whole number of persons in each State in apportioning Representatives among the several States according to their respective numbers"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

959. Also, petition of E. L. Mayer, Chicago, protesting against the new Army appropriation bill making no provision for the upkeep of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps; to the Committe on Appropriations.

960. Also, petition of New York Maryland women, urging defeat of Griffin bill, House bill 297; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

SENATE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1932

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 26, 1932)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ind.
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Schall
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Sheppard
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Shipstead
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Smith
Barkley	Dill	King	Smoot
Bingham	Fess	La Follette	Steiwer
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Stephens
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Thomas, Idaho
Borah	George	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Townsend
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Trammell
Broussard	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Tydings
Bulkley	Gore	Morrison	Vandenberg
Bulow	Hale	Moses	Wagner
Byrnes	Harris	Neely	Walcott
Capper	Harrison	Norbeck	Walsh, Mass.
Caraway	Hastings	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hatfield	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hawes	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hayden	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Hebert	Pittman	White
Costigan	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	

Mr. JOHNSON. I announce that my colleague [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] is still ill and confined to his room. I ask that the announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. FESS. The senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] is necessarily absent on official business. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety-one Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The Senate resumes the consideration of the unfinished business, Senate bill No. 7.

DEPORTATION OF ALIEN SEAMEN

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED]. The junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] has the floor.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, in view of the discussion and the suggestions of a number of persons who are interested in securing proper legislation dealing with immigration and cognate questions, and in order that some of our friends, who I think have some misconceptions concerning the bill, may have an opportunity to confer with the committee further in regard to the matter and evince their good faith in the matter, we have concluded—and I am speaking for the committee—to move that the bill be recommitted to the committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Utah that the bill be recommitted to the Committee on Immigration.

The motion was agreed to.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, some days ago I gave notice that as soon as I could secure recognition following the disposition of the bill (S. 7) to provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes, I would move to proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes. Since giving that notice many Senators have appealed to me not to press the motion this week in order that they might have an opportunity to study the bill and to read the hearings. Therefore, I now give notice that as soon as I can secure recognition on Monday next for that purpose I shall move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 3045, to which I have just referred.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, in connection with the remarks just made by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] on the relief bill (S. 3045) I send to the desk and ask to have read a statement released this morning by President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, a front-page editorial of the Indianapolis Times of January 23, 1932, and a front-page editorial of the Chicago Daily News of January 23, 1932.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

STATEMENT OF MR. WILLIAM GREEN, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, REGARDING THE UNPRECEDENTED UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS, BASED ON REPORTS RECEIVED FROM AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS—WINTER UNEMPLOYMENT

With city relief breaking down, with private charity totally unable to meet the needs of the unemployed, we are now face to face with an unprecedented unemployment crisis. Our reports from trade-unions show that as usual there has been a sharp increase in the number out of work since December; the weighted figures are: 21.8 per cent out of work in December, 23.1 per cent at the 1st of January.

Ever since October unemployment has been rising rapidly. Winter lay-offs on farms have cost the jobs of about 1,250,000 wage earners, and some 1,100,000 more have been laid off in industry and salaried positions. The army of unemployed has risen to 8,300,000 (approximately) at the 1st of January.

January and February are usually peak months of unemployment, but relief needs will continue at unprecedented levels throughout 1932. With relief provision totally inadequate for even the winter months, we must look ahead now to the needs of the year. Only thus can we prevent a fearful toll of human wreckage. A conservative estimate places the probable unemployment for 1932 between six and seven million as an average. It will cost between $3,500,000,000 and $5,700,000,000 to feed, clothe, and house the unemployed even at bare subsistence levels.

Already we are hearing from bankrupt cities and towns reports of unprecedented suffering they can not meet. Some are not even paying their school teachers. Community chests, after a valiant effort to collect funds from private sources, report their

funds inadequate; the need is four times that of 1928, their funds only 25 per cent more. Isolated industrial sections outside the cities—coal fields, textile-mill villages—have no resources outside their industry to cope with their problem. Even large cities are not meeting their relief needs. Thus the responsibility of caring for those out of work is thrown back on their relatives, friends, and neighbors, who can least afford to give of their own meager incomes. This burden, added to wage cuts and part-time work, reduces our living standards to the point of poverty in millions of homes.

Only one agency can meet the relief problem now that all other resources have been proved inadequate—the Federal Government. By taxation it can distribute the burden of this year where it can be borne with least injury to our citizenship.

Our unemployment reports show 62 per cent out of work in building, 42 per cent in clothing and textiles and other manufactures, 47 per cent in water transportation, and 51 per cent among musicians. Nineteen cities report an increase in unemployment since December, and part-time work is running high with 19 per cent who report short schedule.

Trade-union figures follow:

	Total all trades [1]	Total building trades	Total metal trades	Total printing trades	Total all other trades
1931					
January	19.8	51	28	10	19
February	19.0	52	29	10	17
March	18.1	52	27	11	16
April	17.6	50	29	12	16
May	17.1	48	28	11	15
June	18.2	48	31	12	16
July	18.8	50	32	13	17
August	19.2	51	30	14	16
September	19.4	52	31	14	18
October	19.5	53	31	14	16
November	20.1	54	32	15	18
December	21.8	59	35	15	20
1932					
January	[2] 23.1	[2] 62	[2] 33	[2] 17	[2] 21

[1] Weighted. [2] Preliminary.

[From the Indianapolis Times, Saturday, January 23, 1932]

HEALTH OF 10,000 CITY CHILDREN PERILED BY LACK OF MILK

Approximately 10,000 Indianapolis children under the age of 6 years are being denied the amount of milk necessary to their health. This was the startling revelation made Friday by a survey conducted by the Council of Social Agencies and the city health department.

A conference of officials was called at once by Mayor Reginald H. Sullivan and a movement launched to determine the exact extent of the need and the way in which it must be met. Milk dealers will discuss the situation with officials at the city hall this afternoon.

Attention to the deplorable state of affairs first was called to official attention by Dr. Herman G. Morgan, city health officer.

The startling increase in number of children treated in the clinics and the city hospital first caused concern to Doctor Morgan and Dr. Charles Myers, hospital superintendent, who traced numerous cases to a direct lack of nutrition.

In other words, the children who came to the hospital often were actually starving for lack of proper food, and their ills were the ills that come from a lack of proper milk diet.

Survey of conditions in the city disclosed the fact that there are approximately 10,000 of the children under school age who receive too little milk—where they receive any at all.

The figure was arrived at by a survey of the number of children in families which now are being supported wholly by charities or by township trustees.

Mrs. Hannah Noone, trustee for Center Township, has tried to supply the needs by placing 2 quarts of milk in baskets and in giving milk in some few cases on prescriptions from physicians.

Her power, under the law, is limited by the amount of food she can give to any one family, and the limit is too low to provide the milk needed where there are small children.

Families being supported directly by the private agencies have received some milk, but the report of the Council of Social Agencies brought out the fact that the emergency is great, and that the job is entirely too big for any one private agency, and beyond any relief through public appeal for a special fund.

"I consider the situation as grave an emergency as could exist," said Doctor Morgan. "Children in growing days must have milk. Otherwise they reflect that lack in tendencies to tuberculosis and in other diseases.

"Continued lack of milk would mean that these thousands of children become a health problem in 10 or 15 years, and easily could affect the public health of the next generation."

FEW GET MILK

The clinic under the direction of Doctor Morgan have provided milk for a small number of children under a limited city appropriation. The clinics provide milk where necessary for children up to 10 months.

Out of the 1,100 children under the care of the clinic, only 136 receive free milk. There is no way to obtain milk for the others.

Mayor Sullivan called to his office late Friday members of the county commission, the township trustees, representatives of private charity organizations, and attorneys for the different groups.

FIGURES TO BE CHALLENGED

While informed by the chamber of commerce that the figures as to the extent of the need and the number of children denied milk would be challenged as incorrect, the mayor took the stand that the children of this city must have milk and that some plan for financing the bill would be found.

The estimate of Doctor Morgan as to the cost for a proper supply of milk for all children whose families are unable to buy it ranges as high as $20,000 a month.

Mayor Sullivan called attention to the limitations by law upon authority of city officials to meet the situation except as a health board measure of emergency. The law, he pointed out, is not framed on the theory that the Government shall feed people. But the fact of the grave need of children made it necessary that prompt action be taken.

EFFORT IS INSUFFICIENT

There is some conflict as to the extent to which milk has been provided for families of the unemployed. That an effort has been made by all who have any hand in distribution of foods is admitted. That the effort has been inadequate and insufficient also is admitted.

The officials who conferred with the mayor will be expected to map out a general plan of action. It is probable that the situation will be placed in the hands of the board of health as an emergency measure and that any distribution of milk will be under the machinery already organized for the clinics.

WILL INSIST ON SAFEGUARDS

While emphatic in his declaration that the situation must be met, Mayor Sullivan also is concerned in protecting the relief movement from any imposition by those who are able to pay for necessary supplies for their children.

Survey by the social agencies also disclosed that the predicament of children of school age is less serious than that of those under that age. Milk distributed in the schools has protected the older children.

The city has had a most enviable record of low rate of mortality among children. The clinics established by Doctor Morgan are given credit for this rate, the lowest of any mid-western city.

"I consider the milk question the most important social factor in Indianapolis to-day," was the statement of David Liggett, director of the community fund, under whose direction the survey of needs was made.

NEED TO BE MET

"I consider the matter a public emergency as grave as that of any epidemic, and possibly worse in its future consequences," says Doctor Morgan.

And under this impetus public officials are looking for a plan under which it is legally possible to meet the bills for the emergency and to distribute milk to this vast army of tots who are the victims of depression.

"These children must have milk," says Mayor Sullivan. "We will not be imposed upon. But the need will be met, no matter what the cost. This city is too rich to contemplate failure to give proper food to its future citizens in so grave a crisis."

[From the Chicago Daily News, January 23, 1932]

HUNGER CALLS

The last dollar of the $10,000,000 emergency relief fund will be gone by February 1. Unless additional funds are forthcoming by that date every emergency relief station, every shelter for homeless men, and all other forms of assistance will close and cease to function.

This means that—

Four hundred and eighty thousand human souls—men, women, and children—now dependent upon emergency relief funds for food to keep them alive are just eight days from starvation.

Unless prompt and drastic action is taken to enable relief work to go on without interruption the streets of Chicago will be filled with hungry people. And stark hunger brushes aside like flimsy the ordinary safeguards of society. You can bring in soldiers to keep order, but soldiers bring with them bullets, not bread. The cost of supplying the necessities of life to those who are destitute and dependent upon their more fortunate brothers for the sustenance which will maintain life would be a mere fraction of the cost of 24 hours of hunger-driven disorder.

It is true all this is of first and primary concern to Chicago and Cook County, but Chicago and Cook County, because of the complete breakdown of taxing machinery and credit, are helpless. The duty of meeting this crisis, therefore, inexorably devolves upon the State. The special session of the legislature has recessed until February 2. That will be too late. Widespread hunger and human suffering must not be made to wait upon legal technicalities.

The governor and the legislative officials must find a way to get the legislators back in Springfield immediately. And when reassembled the legislature must provide the funds, or such unimpeachable assurance of the funds, that relief may be continued without interruption. If the $15,000,000 required can be taken from the general funds and the State tax rate increased so that acceptable tax warrants against the appropriation can be sold at once, that should be done. If resort must be made to an increase of 1 or 2 cents in the gasoline tax in order to get the cash needed

at once, there should be no quibbling by automobile or gasoline interests against such a proposal. Objections that in normal times should have consideration must be brushed aside. When war comes the country takes what is needful to insure the common safety. We are confronted with a crisis as serious and as perilous as any that war could bring. If people who ride in automobiles must pay more for their rides in order that other people, also American citizens, may eat, let them do so without protest—and thank God for the chance. How the State provides the money is not important now. The only thing that is important is that it be provided forthwith.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 7912. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Bronx Board of Trade, of New York City, embodying the results of a referendum vote conducted among its membership on questions relating to prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Ecumenical Methodist Council, Western Section, Bishop Frederick D. Leete, president, Omaha, Nebr., favoring the giving of every possible aid, encouragement, and cooperation in connection with the coming world disarmament conference, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted at the sixty-first annual meeting of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka, Kans., favoring the adoption of such legislation as will compel the Federal reserve banks to use their authority to keep in circulation sufficient money to maintain a price level near the point in effect at the beginning of the present depression, recommending that the benefits to be derived from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation be extended as soon as available to the local rural banks, etc., which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the annual meeting of the Veterans' Corps of Artillery and Military Society, War of 1812, at New York City, opposing the proposal for the establishment of a department of public works in so far as it would take from the Engineer Corps of the Army any public works over which they have or had control and supervision, which were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions unanimously adopted by the Pacific Branch, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (including California, Arizona, Nevada, and Hawaii, with an adult membership of 21,198), favoring the ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Alhambra, Calif., favoring the ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Filipino National Convention in America at San Francisco, Calif., favoring the granting of immediate, complete, and absolute independence to the Philippine Islands, and also protesting against the exclusion of Filipino immigration from the United States, which were referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

Mr. CAREY presented a petition signed by 720 citizens of Sweetwater County, Wyo., praying for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BROOKHART presented memorials of sundry citizens of Sioux City and Battle Creek, Iowa, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. STEPHENS presented a resolution adopted by members of the North Mississippi Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in session at Greenwood, Miss., expressing unreserved approval of action taken by the President of the United States in favor of disarmament, and also expressing hope for the success of the world disarmament conference at Geneva, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. BLAINE presented memorials of sundry citizens of Milwaukee, Wis., remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of La Farge, La Crosse, and Rockton, all in the State of Wisconsin, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for compulsory Sunday observance or any other restrictive religious measures, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. BARBOUR presented a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Elizabeth (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce favoring the reduction of Federal expenditures, the elimination of duplication of functions and bureaus in the Government, and the maintenance of strict economy, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Pleasantville and Somers Point, N. J., remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or other restrictive religious measures, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Glenwood, N. J., remonstrating against a proposed referendum on the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CAPPER presented a resolution adopted by Robert L. Graham Post, No. 846, Veterans of Foreign Wars, of Pittsburg, Kans., favoring the immediate payment in cash of adjusted-service certificates (bonus), which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petitions of sundry citizens of Alton, Ashland, Atlanta, Beloit, Iola, Lewis, LeRoy, and White City, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Friends Meeting at Alton; the local chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ashland; the Sunday school of the Methodist Church of Atlanta; the congregation of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Bushton; the chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iola; the congregation of the Methodist Church of Lamar; the American Legion Auxiliary of Lewis; the Bethel Baptist Sunday School, of Liberal; the Church of the Brethren of Parsons; the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of the Nazarene of Plainville; the Sans Souci Club, of White City; and the Queen Esther Class of the Methodist Church of White City, all in the State of Kansas, favoring the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD presented a resolution adopted by a meeting of citizens of the village of Clinton and Big Stone County, Minn., indorsing the legislation known as the Frazier farmers' farm relief bill, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a resolution adopted by Russell Gaylord Post, No. 159, Hennepin County (Minn.) Council, Veterans Foreign Wars, favoring the passage of legislation to provide immediate and full payment of adjusted-service compensation certificates (bonus), which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Lakefield, Minn., praying for the passage of legislation known as the farmers' farm relief bill, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented memorials of the Women's Missionary Society of the First Presbyterian Church and the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, both of Winnebago, Minn., remonstrating against a proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented memorials of sundry citizens of Rochester and New York City, N. Y., remonstrating against the burden of present and proposed Federal taxation and favoring the reduction of the cost of maintaining the Federal Government, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a petition of members of Immanual Congregational Church, of West Winfield, N. Y., praying for world peace and expressing the hope that the coming disarmament conference at Geneva may be successful, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the National Guard Association of the State of New York, favoring the erection of a memorial at Washington, D. C., to the members of the National Guard who served in the World War, which was referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also presented the petition of members of Samuel M. Porter Auxiliary and Camp, United Spanish War Veterans, of Jamestown, N. Y., praying for the passage of legislation granting uniform pensions to widows and children of persons who served the United States in time of war, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Buffalo and vicinity in the State of New York, praying for the payment in full of adjusted-service compensation certificates (bonus) and also legalization of the manufacture and sale of real beer, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented numerous petitions of sundry citizens of the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. WALCOTT presented the petition of the Meriden (Conn.) League of Republican Women, praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of West Haven, Conn., praying for the Federal regulation of the motion-picture industry, which was referred to the Commitee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented memorials of Branch No. 589, National Association of Letter Carriers, of Rockville, and Branch No. 168, National Association of Letter Carriers, of Waterbury, both in the State of Connecticut, remonstrating against any proposed reduction in the wages of postal employees, which were referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Greenwich, Stamford, Danbury, and Madison, all in the State of Connecticut, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions of the George M. Cole Camp, No. 7, United Spanish War Veterans, of New London; the Ernest Weichert Auxiliary, United Spanish War Veterans, of Bethel; the Auxiliary of the United Spanish War Veterans, Department of Connecticut; the Emily J. Cole Auxiliary, No. 5, United Spanish War Veterans, of New London, and the fifth district, Department of Connecticut, American Legion, of Norwich, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for the passage of House bill No. 7230, to provide pensions for widows and orphans of World War veterans, which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented memorials of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Westville, New London County, and Middlefield and sundry citizens of Stafford Springs, all in the State of Connecticut, remonstrating against the adoption of any measure which would destroy or weaken the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a report of the committee of the Waterbury (Conn.) Bar Association appointed to conduct a prohibition referendum of the lawyers of Connecticut, favoring the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PROPOSED TARIFF ON PETROLEUM

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD resolutions adopted by the Nebraska Farm Bureau, the Iowa Farm Bureau, the South Dakota Farm Bureau, the New Hampshire Farm Bureau, the Ohio Farm Bureau, the Tennessee Farm Bureau, and the Minnesota Farm Bureau in opposition to the proposed tariff on petroleum and its products.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEBRASKA FARM BUREAU EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, OCTOBER 16, 1931

"*Resolved*, That the Nebraska Farm Bureau Federation go on record as opposed to a tariff or embargo on imported petroleum or its products and that we recommend to the resolutions committee of the American Farm Bureau Federation the consideration of this subject by the resolutions committee with a view to defining the policy of the American Farm Bureau Federation in relation thereto at the next annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE IOWA FARM BUREAU, OCTOBER 21, 1931

"*Resolved*, That we insist that no further advances in tariffs or embargoes be placed on the products used by the farmer until the tariff on agricultural commodities be made effective."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTH DAKOTA FARM BUREAU, NOVEMBER 12, 1931

"*Resolved*, That the South Dakota Farm Bureau Federation go on record as opposed to a tariff or embargo on the importation of petroleum or its products."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE FARM BUREAU, JANUARY 15, 1932

"*Resolved*, That the New Hampshire Farm Bureau Federation is opposed to a tariff on petroleum and its products, and our executive officers are hereby instructed to communicate this action to the New Hampshire Senators and Congressmen and to urge that they use all possible efforts to prevent the passage of S. 3, known as the Shortridge bill, or any measure seeking to place a tariff on petroleum and its products."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO FARM BUREAU

"*Resolved*, That the Ohio Farm Bureau opposes a tariff on petroleum-oil products because it will create an additional burden on the general public without corresponding benefit."

RESOLUTION OF THE TENNESSEE FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, ADOPTED AT NINTH ANNUAL MEETING IN HERMITAGE HOTEL, NASHVILLE, JANUARY 15, 1932

Be it resolved, That we oppose a tariff or embargo on the importation of petroleum or its products.

RESOLUTION OF THE MINNESOTA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION ADOPTED AT THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, ST. PAUL, JANUARY 21, 1932

Resolved, That the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation go on record as opposed to a tariff or embargo on the importation of petroleum or its products.

CIVIL-SERVICE EXAMINATIONS FOR DISABLED WAR VETERANS

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, many Senators have had inquiries as to the attitude of the United States Civil Service Commission with reference to the attitude of the commission toward physically handicapped war veterans who apply for civil-service examinations. There appears to be a good deal of misunderstanding as to when a physically disabled war veteran may be permitted to take a civil-service examination. I have taken up the subject

with the Civil Service Commission and have a letter explanatory of their attitude, which I ask may be referred to the Committee on Civil Service and printed in the RECORD for the information of Senators and veterans interested in this subject.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., January 13, 1932.

Senator DAVID I. WALSH,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: The commission refers further to your letter of December 17, 1931, with respect to its attitude toward the physically handicapped war veterans who apply for civil-service examinations.

Your first question deals with the possible relation of percentage ratings of disability given by the United States Veterans' Administration to the action taken by this office on applications for examination for the classified civil service. The two ratings in many cases are not comparable. The compensation given by the administration is based upon the extent to which a veteran is handicapped in carrying on his pre-war or usual occupation. This commission must consider his physical ability to perform the duties of the position for which he is applying. If the "usual" occupation is in line with the position for which he is applying, the two estimates of ability will agree, but if the position he seeks calls for a different physical standard, they will not agree. A veteran whose "usual" occupation called for a high degree of physical vigor and whose disability, while given a high percentage rating by the Veterans' Administration for that reason, is not so great a handicap in performing the duties of the position sought in the classified civil service, can be and is given favorable consideration. On the other hand, if a veteran whose low Veterans' Administration rating is based on an occupation calling for little physical ability seeks a position in the classified service where the duties demand a high degree of physical vigor, it is often not possible to accept his application.

An example of the former situation might be a veteran with a high Veterans' Administration rating based on a former occupation as a railroad employee, fireman, or policeman, and the loss of a leg; he would be acceptable as an applicant for clerk or other sedentary occupation or for some mechanical trades positions. The latter situation may be illustrated by a veteran with a 10 per cent or 15 per cent disability compensation rating based on flat feet and occupation of clerk, who applies for a position as guard or policeman where the duties call for long periods of patrol or standing; his application could not be accepted. A person with nervous disability whose "usual" occupation involved no particular nervous strain or responsibility and whose compensation percentage is, therefore, not high, can not be accepted for such positions as policeman, prohibition agent, customs guard, or similar law enforcement places where nervous stability, cool judgment in emergencies, and ability to endure mental and physical strain are essential. A tuberculose, whose full vigor has not yet been regained, though the disease has been arrested for a year or more, can not be accepted for positions where strength and vigor are demanded.

The definition of a disabled veteran in the Executive order of April 24, 1931, is a veteran having an existing service-connected disability. The inclosed Form 1481 recites the various provisions of the benefit of war veterans. On page 4, section 11, it is provided:

"*Provided*, That the commission may, in its discretion, exempt from the physical requirements established for any position a disabled, honorably discharged soldier, sailor, or marine upon a certificate of the United States Veterans' Bureau attesting that he has completed an appropriate and sufficient rehabilitatory course of training for the duties of the class of positions in which employment is sought: *And provided further*, That the commission may, in its discretion, waive the physical requirements in the case of a disabled veteran not so trained to permit his examination."

The commission, in exercising this discretion, has given the veteran the benefit of the most favorable construction. Whenever the defect established is at all compatible with performance of the duties the application is accepted.

For the post-office service, which includes over one-half of the entire number of classified competitive positions, there was established in 1924 between the Post Office Department and this office an agreement whereby disabled war veterans could be accepted by the commission, even though their defects were such as would prevent their carrying on the ordinary work of a post-office clerk or carrier. The department, when such a veteran is certified, gives careful consideration to the possibility of his being able to perform, in a minimum degree, the duties of the position vacant. Such easier positions are not numerous, even in the larger post offices, and it is not always possible to appoint a disabled person. Much depends also on the type of the disability.

A class of occupation where it is not feasible to disregard physical and mental fitness is that of employees engaged in law enforcement. The prevention of crime includes the making of raids and searches and the arrest and transportation of criminals. The safety of the public and of fellow employees, as well as the accomplishment of the duty, demand both physical strength and mental ability to exercise sound judgment in conducting operations and in avoiding the reckless use of weapons. Among such positions may be named prohibition agent, immigrant inspector, immigration patrol inspector, secret-service operative, penitentiary guard, customs guards, and others of like type.

In the medical services physicians and their auxiliaries (nurses, attendants, technicians, etc.) must be selected only when physically capable of duty. Defects, either physical or mental, which prevent full and sympathetic performance of duty must result in rejection. The patients are Government wards, without choice in the selection of their treatment, and full care is due them in providing persons qualified in modern medical methods and of sound health and ambition to withstand the physical and mental strain involved in properly caring for the sick.

The commission would point out, in respect to one argument more often advanced by the friends of the veteran than by the veteran himself, that acceptance for military duty under the draft system by no means implied sound physical condition. The draft accepted for "full" or for "limited" service, and persons of no great vigor were often inducted. The combat troops for overseas duty were carefully reexamined at camp before transshipment and were selected as sound, but persons with defects were retained for "limited" or quasi military duties in large numbers. Veteran statutes recognize defects existing at time of induction in providing for aggravation of existing defects by military service as a basis for compensation.

The overseas troops suffered both physical and mental casualties and in the 13 years which have elapsed since the war these and the preexisting disabilities have often progressed to a disabling point. That is, disabling for work requiring sound health and physical condition, though not for lighter duty.

From the time when 10 point, or disability preference, was established by the Executive order of March 3, 1923, to June 30, 1931, 11,527 persons who had invoked this provision had received appointments. In addition, an undeterminable number, who either did not ask for or did not furnish proof, secured appointment by virtue of earned ratings.

The above discussion is confined entirely to disabled (10 point) veterans, the inquiry in your letter being directed to that class.

The total number of veterans of all classes (claiming and establishing the right to preference) appointed in the classified service since July 1, 1919, to June 30, 1931, was 169,395.

The commission would be pleased to have an opportunity to explain any further points relative to the treatment accorded disabled veterans with respect to physical requirements for duty which may occur to you.

By direction of the commission:

Very respectfully,

E. C. BABCOCK,
Assistant Secretary.

[Form 2276, May, 1931, (second issue)]

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

QUARTERLY EXAMINATIONS FOR MEN AND WOMEN ENTITLED TO DISABILITY PREFERENCE

(1) The Civil Service Commission is authorized to hold quarterly examinations for positions for which there are existing registers of eligibles, such examinations to be open only to men and women entitled to disability or 10-point preference, the names of the resulting eligibles to be entered at the head of the appropriate existing register in the order of ratings attained, in competition with other 10-point preference eligibles, if any, whose names may already appear at the head of the register.

(2) Disability, or 10-point, preference will be granted only to applicants who establish by official records of the Veterans' Administration, the War or Navy Departments, or the Coast Guard the present existence of a service-connected disability; to the widows of veterans; to the wives of veterans who themselves are disqualified for examination because of service-connected disability; or to retired officers and enlisted men who establish by official records the present existence of a service-connected disability.

(3) Disabled veterans entitled to the 10-point preference who have a history of tuberculosis may compete in a quarterly examination held subsequent to the termination of a 1-year period following the date of the arrest of the disease. This is in accordance with the general regulation which provides that examination can not be given to persons who have had tuberculosis until the disease has been arrested for at least one year. The purpose is the protection of the applicant himself and other Government workers.

(4) Widows or wives entitled to 10-point preference are granted the same privilege of taking quarterly examinations that is allowed to veterans.

(5) Eligibility attained as the result of a quarterly examination will run for one year from the date of entry on the registry; it may be extended, in the discretion of the commission, with that of all other eligibles on the register.

(6) As the Civil Service Commission does not maintain registers of eligibles for postmasterships at first, second, and third class post offices, examinations for such positions are not included in the quarterly examination plan. Such postmasterships are not classified under the civil service law; examinations for them are held by Executive order to aid the President in the selection of nominees for confirmation by the Senate.

(7) Applications for quarterly examinations may be filed at any time with the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., or with one of its district managers, depending upon the particular

examination desired. The commission will admit an applicant to the next quarterly examination held for the position applied for, provided that quarterly examinations are held only for positions for which there are existing registers, and provided further that in any case the applicant must meet the minimum requirements as to education, training, and experience if any such are specified in the examination open to general competition.

(8) A veteran, or a veteran's widow, or the wife of a veteran who himself is disqualified for examination because of service-connected disability who files application for a quarterly examination should submit with the application the same evidence that is required in connection with an application for an examination open to general competition.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE—PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930

Mr. SMOOT, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6662) to amend the tariff act of 1930, and for other purposes, submitted an adverse report (No. 146) thereon.

EXEMPTION OF FARMERS' COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS UNDER REVENUE ACT

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry I submit a unanimous and favorable report on Senate Resolution No. 43, with an amendment to the preamble. Since this is a resolution providing for the payment of expenses out of the contingent fund, I assume it will be necessary that it be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the new amendment to the rules that will automatically take place.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. May I ask the Senator to what the resolution relates?

Mr. NORRIS. It is a resolution that provides for investigation of the tax-exempt features of farmers' cooperative organizations.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The committee recommends it?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; the committee recommends the investigation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the rule the resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

DIVERSION OF WATER FROM NIAGARA RIVER

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce I report back favorably, with an amendment, a resolution which I introduced the other day, simply asking for some information from the Water Power Commission. With that amendment I am sure the resolution is satisfactory to everybody, because it simply seeks information.

Mr. McNARY. Do I understand the Senator to say that the resolution is favorably reported by the Interstate Commerce Committee?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes; there is a unanimous report of the committee.

I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. Let it be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 147) submitted by Mr. WAGNER on the 26th instant, as follows:

Whereas under the existing treaties between the United States and Canada the United States may divert from the Niagara River at a daily rate not in excess of 20,000 cubic feet of water per second; and

Whereas under a license designated by the Federal Power Commission as "a license for power project No. 16" the Niagara Falls Power Co. is authorized to divert from the Niagara River for power purposes 19,725 cubic feet of water per second; and

Whereas only 275 cubic feet of water per second are now available for further disposition by the Federal Power Commission; and

Whereas orally on December 8, 1931, and in writing on January 16, 1932, the city of Lockport, N. Y., through its accredited representatives, applied to the Federal Power Commission for the right and license to divert said 275 cubic feet of water per second from the Niagara River; and

Whereas the Niagara Falls Power Co. has likewise heretofore filed its application for the right and license to said diversion; and

Whereas the act of June 10, 1920, in part provides (U. S. C., title 16, par. 800):

"800. Preferences in issuance of preliminary permits or licenses: In issuing preliminary permits hereunder or licenses where no preliminary permit has been issued and in issuing licenses to new licensees under section 808 of this chapter the commission shall give preference to applications therefor by States and municipalities, provided the plans for the same are deemed by the commission equally well adapted, or shall, within a reasonable time to be fixed by the commission, be made equally well adapted, to conserve and utilize in the public interest the navigation and water resources of the region"; and

Whereas notwithstanding said provision of law it is reported that the Federal Power Commission on January 18, 1932, refused to receive the application of the city of Lockport or to consider it: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Federal Power Commission be directed to advise the Senate of its action on the application of the city of Lockport, together with its reasons for such action.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I had understood that part of one of the "whereases" was omitted.

Mr. WAGNER. The committee made an amendment that should have been noted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment is to the preamble. The resolution has to be adopted first. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

The CHIEF CLERK. In the preamble, the committee proposes to strike out, in the last "whereas," and following the word "whereas," the words "notwithstanding said provision of law."

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the preamble as amended is agreed to.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I introduce two bills which I ask to have referred to the Committee on the Judiciary because of some legal propositions involved. They are a mere form or skeleton upon which appropriate legislation may be builded.

By Mr. JOHNSON:

A bill (S. 3350) requiring publicity of certain foreign loan transactions; and

A bill (S. 3351) to provide for the more effective supervision of foreign commercial transactions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DAVIS:

A bill (S. 3352) for the relief of Joseph M. McAleer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3353) for the relief of Charles A. Russell; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

A bill (S. 3354) for the relief of Joseph Matthews; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3355) to authorize the construction of a convalescent hospital or home at the United States Veterans' Administration hospital, Fort Snelling, Minn., and authorize an appropriation therefor (with an accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 3356) to authorize the erection of a 200-bed addition to the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at St. Cloud, Minn. (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HEBERT:

A bill (S. 3357) to amend the patent laws; and

A bill (S. 3358) to amend the patent laws; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3359) to exempt from the quota fathers and mothers over 60 years of age of United States citizens;

A bill (S. 3360) to further extend naturalization privileges to alien veterans of the World War residing in the United States; and

A bill (S. 3361) to clarify the application of the contract labor provisions of the immigration laws to singers and choristers; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. BLAINE:

A bill (S. 3362) to prevent fraud in the promotion or sale of stock, bonds, or other securities sold or offered for sale within the District of Columbia; to control the sale of the same; to register persons selling stocks, bonds, or other securities; to provide punishment for the fraudulent or unauthorized sale of the same; to make uniform the law in relation thereto, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 3363) for the relief of John A. Hickey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3364) granting an increase of pension to Nancy B. Fleming (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NORBECK:

A bill (S. 3365) conferring upon the Court of Claims jurisdiction of the claims against the United States of Peter D. Mettel and A. B. Fraser (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3366) for the relief of Jesse Bean (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3367) granting an increase of pension to Fred W. Fox (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 3368) granting an increase of pension to Lovina Kenyon (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3369) granting an increase of pension to Louisa J. Rubendall (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3370) granting an increase of pension to William T. Campbell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NYE:

A bill (S. 3371) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to vacate withdrawals of public lands under the reclamation law, with reservation of rights, ways, and easements; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. BULKLEY:

A bill (S. 3372) for the relief of Bernis Brien and John M. Springer; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3373) to authorize the construction of a new general kitchen at the Veterans' Administration Home, Dayton, Ohio, and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

A bill (S. 3374) to promote the safety of employees and travelers on the railroads and on the highways at grade crossings, compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to inspect, test, repair, and maintain all signals, interlockings, highway crossing devices, train control or stopping devices, centralized or remote control systems and their controlling factors, parts, or appliances used in regulating train or engine operation; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. WAGNER:

A bill (S. 3375) for the relief of Wiener Bank Verein; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 3376) for the relief of William Burke; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAWES and Mr. CUTTING:

A bill (S. 3377) to enable the people of the Philippine Islands to adopt a constitution and form a government for the Philippine Islands, to provide for the independence of the same, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. McNARY:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 88) referring to timber contracts on national forests; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

SHIPMENT OF MUNITIONS TO THE ORIENT

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, I introduce a joint resolution, which I send to the desk and ask that it may be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the joint resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 89) to prohibit the exportation of arms or munitions of war from the United States to the countries of China and Japan was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That it shall be unlawful for any person to export any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to or for the use of the Governments of China or Japan, or any faction or body within such countries.

SEC. 2. Any person who shall export any arms or munitions of war in violation of the provisions of section 1 hereof shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, the war between Japan and China grows increasingly alarming to the peace-loving people of the world. While up to this time there have been no considerable shipments of munitions to the Orient as the result of the fighting and killing there, should the carnage increase those countries must necessarily import great quantities of munitions or at least certain commodities for making munitions. I have introduced the joint resolution and I desire that it shall be acted upon by the Congress in order that this Government shall thereby declare to the world now that we shall refuse to furnish even munitions—fuel for the flames of war.

Under the existing law the State Department can not stop the shipment of munitions to Japan or to the Government of China. The passage of the joint resolution which I have introduced will not only give it such authority but it will make such shipments unlawful.

In light of the report from Shanghai this morning there are other considerations which make the passage of the joint resolution even more imperative.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

AMENDMENT OF THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930

Mr. HARRISON submitted an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 6662) to amend the tariff act of 1930, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

PRINTING OF HEARINGS ON UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

Mr. LA FOLLETTE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 152), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That, in accordance with paragraph 3 of section 2 of the printing act, approved March 1, 1907, the Committee on Manufactures of the Senate be, and is hereby, empowered to have printed 3,000 additional copies of the hearings held before the committee during the current session on unemployment relief.

Mr. VANDENBERG subsequently said: Mr. President, from the Committee on Printing, I report back favorably without amendment Senate Resolution 152, and ask for its immediate consideration.

There being no objection, the foregoing resolution was read, considered, and agreed to.

PRINTING OF REPORT OF THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. SHIPSTEAD submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 153), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That the report of the Committee on Finance and Industry, presented to the British Parliament by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, June, 1931, be printed as a Senate document in the usual number, and that 100 additional copies be printed, of which 50 shall be for the use of the Senate document room and 50 for the use of the House document room.

PRINTING OF ARTICLE ENTITLED "HONEST AND DISHONEST SILVER MONEY"

Mr. SHIPSTEAD also submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 154), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That the English translation of the article written by Dr. Gottfried Kunwald, of Vienna, entitled "Honest and Dishonest Silver Money," be printed as a Senate document in the usual number, and that 100 additional copies be printed, of which 50 shall be for the use of the Senate document room and 50 for the use of the House document room.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

HOUSE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The following bill and joint resolution were each read twice by title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

H. R. 7912. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO CERTAIN MILITARY POSTS

Mr. CONNALLY. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate Resolution 150. It is merely a resolution of inquiry, calling upon the War Department for information as to certain military posts in Texas.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 150) submitted yesterday by Mr. CONNALLY, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War is requested to report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date with respect to each of the forts or military posts herein specified, all information available in the records of the War Department as to (1) the amount of land owned by the Government at such fort or military post; (2) the value of all property including buildings, equipment, and improvements situated at or connected with such fort or military post; (3) the amounts heretofore appropriated by the Congress for the purchase, establishment, equipment, and improvement of such fort or military post and all appurtenances connected therewith; (4) the number of buildings and structures at each fort or military post; (5) the number of troops that can be accommodated at such fort or military post; and (6) the number of troops now quartered at such fort or military post:

Fort Brown, Brownsville, Tex.
Fort McIntosh, Laredo, Tex.
Fort Clark, Brackettville, Tex.
Fort D. A. Russell, Marfa, Tex.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, when this resolution came up yesterday I objected to its immediate consideration. I understand that it is limited to four Army posts in Texas and does not extend to any other post of the country.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Texas asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

"MR. HOOVER'S DEBT TO WOODROW WILSON"

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Lexington Herald of Sunday, January 17, 1932, entitled "Mr. Hoover's Debt to Woodrow Wilson."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lexington Herald, January 17, 1932]

MR. HOOVER'S DEBT TO WOODROW WILSON

So far as we have observed, practically all who attempt to defend President Hoover cite the fact that he was appointed Food Administrator by President Wilson, apparently with the thought that the fact that President Wilson appointed Mr. Hoover to that position 14 years ago is proof conclusive that Mr. Hoover is a miracle man.

It is true that President Wilson appointed Mr. Hoover Food Administrator. It is true that Mr. Wilson was human and made a mistake.

Mr. Hoover by some means secured the job of distributing the Belgium relief fund. He has been described as the man who has fed and clothed more human beings than any other man in the history of the world. He did distribute the money given by America, and succeeded in getting for himself all the credit for that distribution.

He was afterwards appointed Food Administrator by President Wilson. The appointment by Mr. Wilson gave Mr. Hoover the chance, of which he took the fullest advantage, to gain national conspicuity.

There is one quality that Mr. Hoover has beyond any man, and that is his expertness in disseminating propaganda to exploit himself. Through the dissemination of propaganda Mr. Hoover's reputation, gained as distributor of the American money sent for the relief of the Belgians, was increased. He became a national figure. There were many who thought him of presidential stature.

He was supposed to be a Democrat and a follower of Woodrow Wilson. In the early part of 1920 he was candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. According to reports we have heard, and believe, Henry Cabot Lodge, who organized the senatorial cabal against President Wilson, and Boies Penrose, the last of the great bosses of Pennsylvania, convinced Mr. Hoover that the Republicans had a better chance to win the presidential campaign than the Democrats, and that he might secure the nomination for President on the Republican ticket. And Mr. Hoover came out as a Republican.

He was one of a group that signed a plea to the American people to vote for President Harding as the best means of having America enter the League of Nations. President Harding was elected. Mr. Hoover became Secretary of Commerce in President Harding's Cabinet and sat at the council table with Albert B. Fall and Harry Daugherty. He never raised his voice or uttered a word in condemnation or disapprobation of the actions of his Cabinet associates, Secretary Fall and Harry Daugherty.

We have been told and believe that a copy of the speech delivered by Claude Bowers at the Houston convention, excoriating Albert B. Fall for having betrayed his trust, was sent to Mr. Hoover, who in turn sent it to Secretary Fall with the notation:

"I shall be glad to send any reply to this gentleman you may suggest."

Mr. Hoover has not yet, so far as we have seen or heard, expressed condemnation for any act of Mr. Fall or Mr. Daugherty.

In view of the fact that the defenders of Mr. Hoover always cite the fact that he was appointed Food Administrator by President Wilson as an answer to any criticism of him, would it not seem natural that in the years since Mr. Hoover was appointed by Mr. Wilson there should have been some sort of acknowledgment by Mr. Hoover of the obligation he owed to Mr. Wilson?

So far as we have read or heard, Mr. Hoover has never spoken a kindly word of Mr. Wilson; has never given him a word of commendation or of praise.

We take a quotation from the striking speech delivered by Gov. James M. Cox at the Jackson Day dinner, calling particular attention to his statement:

"Since Wilson died three Republican Presidents have dedicated war memorials in different States and delivered Armistice Day addresses. Quite properly they have paid tribute to the valor of the private soldiers, but so far as I know, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has never been mentioned. It is evidently a deliberate plan that in history the great war President is to lie in the grave of the unknown soldier, without individual fame."

Governor Cox said:

"We hear a plea for united effort. The Democracy should whole-heartedly promote it even though those who ask it now rejected it not so long ago. I think we are all somewhat tired of the old-time dissensions which political rivalry inspired. Minds that should be free have been warped by partisan bitterness. It has been unfair to the living and unjust to the dead. One phase of it continues, and it should be brought to the attention of the country. One would think that when, broken in body and heart by his labors for his country, he died, political bitterness would have ended at the grave of Woodrow Wilson. Did not his appointment open the way for a Republican general to enter the hall of fame and for another distinguished Republican to win the Presidency of the United States?

"For the moment we will forget the round robins and cabals which were created to embarrass the President of a country engaged in war. Let us in forbearance ascribe them to the overzealous partisan. But a conspiracy against the man's memory goes on. Since Wilson died, three Republican Presidents have dedicated war memorials in different States and delivered Armistice Day addresses. Quite properly, they have paid tribute to the valor of the private soldier, but so far as I know, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has never been mentioned. It is evidently a deliberate plan that in history the great war President is to lie in the grave of the unknown soldier without individual fame. There are those who conscientiously dissented from Mr. Wilson's policies, but can we deny that his purpose was a holy one? Assert, if you must, that his method of conserving peace was defective. Is he any the less entitled to our love and gratitude because the thing he sought, after all, was the end of war? We know what brought us into hostilities. We need not be reminded of the pledge we made when we asked our mothers for their sons and the country for its resources. Thirteen years have come and gone since cannon and rifle were silenced, and yet can you point to a single thing on the face of this earth which bears the least resemblance to even a partial payment to the tens of millions of dead and wounded except the instrument created by the genius and humanity of Woodrow Wilson?"

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I have here an address delivered by my colleague [Mr. WAGNER], at the State fair, Syracuse, N. Y., on Labor Day September 7, 1931, being a discussion of the unemployment situation and plans for overcoming it. I ask that the address may be printed in the RECORD.



There being no objection, the address was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Fellow citizens, gathered here to-day in one great and inspiring spectacle are the power and pride of the Empire State. The abundance derived from its farms, forests, and orchards, the multiplicity of its manufactures, the magic of its electricity are all represented here. As I view this marvelous cargo carried here upon the stream of productive and economic energy which irrigates New York, I feel proud of the Empire State, hopeful of its continued leadership of the States of the Union, and confident that its future greatness and prosperity are undeniable.

And because of these facts, because of my unrestrained confidence that the future is bound to be bright, I feel there is all the more reason that we should without concealment of the truth, with courage and, above all, with humility, face the present difficulty in the life of our State and our Nation.

From Labor Day, 1929, to Labor Day, 1931, the American people have passed through three mental attitudes. First, was the hallucination of unending prosperity, a state of mind born of frenzied stock speculation, officially nursed and encouraged. That hallucination was blotted out by the stock-market crash, and its place was taken by the illusion that a change of only temporary significance had occurred. The illusion was fostered by ignorance of the true state of production and consumption in this country, and by the decided undervaluation of the effect of world-wide industrial and financial disorganization upon our well-being.

Sluggishly weeks of inactivity dragged their lead-laden feet into months, and months into years—years of self-denial, of suffering, in some cases of despair. And now the fog of illusions has lifted, carrying away with it the unjustified expectation that the recession would promptly and automatically readjust itself and the unfounded belief that our alleged economic self-sufficiency would render us immune to world-wide adversity. To the American people has now come the realization that we have been and still are, in company with the other nations of the world, plodding the deep and broad valley of universal depression.

Individually and collectively we are facing an emergency fraught with tragedy. That is the truth and the American people has not yet become so soft and faint that it is unwilling to know the truth, unpleasant though it is. About six or seven millions are out of work. These figures, however, do not recite the entire tale. Many millions of these have been without work for a year and longer.

The gravity of the situation is to-day more truly reflected in the lengthening lines of American families who have swallowed their pride and in desperation applied for charitable relief. It is not my purpose to exaggerate the danger—I do not believe I can. Candor compels me to say that not since the war has the Nation faced a greater peril. At a time of such strenuous national exigency there is no occasion for meaningless debates as to the relative share of responsibility that must be undertaken respectively by the municipalities, the counties, the States, and the Federal Government. There is no time now for futile alibis. The time has come for every section of our people and every division of Government, whether local or general, to ask itself what is the maximum of service that it can render, and then to outdo the estimate in the performance.

I want to emphasize the duty of the Federal Government, not because I regard its obligation any greater than that of the State and municipalities; quite to the contrary, everyone concedes that the local units of government must exert all their strength to help meet the shortage of earning power. But the attempt has been and is continuing to be made, both openly and covertly, to convince the American public that a lesser duty, a less onerous burden rests upon the Federal Government.

Under the guise of opposition to the dole, the propaganda has reached far and wide that the Federal Government is exempt from service in this national emergency; that for the Federal Government it suffices if it "coordinates" the work of others; that its function is simply to stimulate local charitable effort. Indeed, it is becoming clearer every day that the Washington policy will be to consign those without jobs to the sorry solace of charity.

I could perhaps persuade myself to accept so unhappy a disposition of the problem if it were accompanied by a confession by those in authority that recourse must be had to charity because no more sensible and civilized remedy had been prepared for next winter. When the fire rages we make use of the bucket brigade if no better machinery is available. But it would insult our intelligence to be told that in fact the bucket brigade was the finest fire-fighting device contrived by the genius of man. And it is equally insulting to our sense of right, it is depressing and confounding to read pronouncements by persons of high station, that the way of charitable relief is the right and only way, the sound method, the American method of dealing with nation-wide unemployment.

Words do not change facts and though one distinguished American may glorify the charity proposal by calling it the "national spirit of voluntary Americanism," it still remains what it has always been. To laud the breadline, the soup kitchen, the handout as American is a calumny against America. The outstretched arm and averted eye have never been and must not become an American posture.

We are told to avoid the dole. If by dole is meant the giving of something for nothing then it has no more implacable foe than myself. I am opposed to all manner and shape of dole, both public and private. I am in favor of giving the man out of work the chance to earn his living, not to beg it. But I am weary of the pretense which shouts opposition to the dole and in actual practice fails to make adequate provision for jobs and would limit its efforts during the coming winter to the stimulation of local and private doles.

We ought to be clear as to our intentions. Is it our primary purpose to save the lives, health, and morale of our people, or is it to save expense? If we accept the first choice, then it is clear that the Federal Government can and must undertake to do more substantial service than merely to coordinate local effort. The reasons for this are plain enough. First, because State and local effort will alone prove insufficient. The evidence on that score is overwhelming. Governor Roosevelt has succinctly summarized it in his message to the legislature in which he said:

"The net result of this survey is that we must recognize these facts: That the local subdivisions of government can in most cases not greatly increase their direct employment of labor and that private charity will prove inadequate to meet the added burden of the next few months."

Secondly, because the Federal Government, like the State and municipal government, is the tool and instrument of the people who have created it and maintained it, and there is no justification for allowing that instrument to lie unused in the day of the Nation's stress. And, thirdly, because there are many things to be done which only the Federal Government can do.

What then shall be our emergency program?

Let us determine upon the policy that to the utmost of our power we shall provide jobs rather than relief to those in need. In doing so we must recognize that it is wiser national economy to expend a thousand dollars to maintain a man on a job than to expend only $500 to maintain him in idleness. By keeping him at work the Nation not only acquires the production of the man's labor but conserves an invaluable national asset—the character and self-respect of one of its citizens.

The Federal Government's contribution of jobs ought to take the shape of a $2,000,000,000 construction program in addition to normal activity, so as to provide prompt employment for over a million men. That is the very minimum. The effect of such an undertaking would not be limited to the million men employed. Indirectly employment would thereby be given to at least another million workers and agriculture and business would both be stimulated. The exertion of such a major effort would still leave a large share of the burden for local governments to carry. Their combined activity, however, should make a very substantial dent in the rock of unemployment.

We shall undoubtedly be told that this proposal is impracticable, that no plans have been laid for so ambitious a program. I am only too familiar with the fact that ordinarily a long time is consumed between the inception of a construction project and the employment of labor upon it. That is the very reason why I so earnestly advocated over three years ago the advance planning bill which only recently became a law. Nevertheless there is a limit to the length of time during which this excuse can be effective. Precisely the same plea was used 20 months ago. If after all this time the plans are not yet available, there is only one solution. Let us get busy forthwith to prepare them. These are not ordinary times; these are days of emergency. In 1917 we learned how to inject speed into planning. It is unlikely that we have already forgotten that lesson in 1931. There are highways to be repaved, widened, and straightened. Hundreds of river and harbor projects are on the approved list. There are large Federal zones which require reforestation. I do not advocate that a single dollar be spent for a project which would not in time in any event be undertaken by the Federal Government. What I propose is that the idle power of the unemployed be applied now upon the construction of public works scheduled for the future.

We shall also be told that the Federal Government has not the money to engage upon this program. The Federal Government can borrow the money. Its credit is at the peak. Interest rates have rarely been lower. The banks are glutted with idle funds that ought to be busy creating employment. It would be a boon to the entire country to cause this frozen capital to flow freely once again in the channels of trade. A bond issue offered by the Federal Government only three months ago was oversubscribed nearly eight times. Never in its history has our Government had occasion to borrow money for more economic reasons and for loftier purposes.

We shall probably be told that the Federal Government can not afford to spend that money. Let me ask in return, Can we let American men and women who are out of work starve? And since maintain them we must and we shall, can we afford to let their labor go irretrievably to waste? To permit that to happen would be the grossest form of national extravagance—the only course that we can not afford.

The pith of the proposal is that the Federal Government proceed at once to provide direct employment to at least a million men. It can and it should be done.

A second important avenue of correction is open to the Federal Government, the States, and the local bodies in their respective spheres. It is conservatively estimated that a million children under 16 years of age are holding jobs which ought to be filled by their fathers, their elder brothers, and sisters. Despite the fact that millions of breadwinners are without work, the United States Children's Bureau stated that in 1930 alone more than 103,000 children 14 and 15 years of age left school to enter em-

ployment. That is a condition which ought not to continue. Where strengthening legislation is necessary to keep the children in school it ought to be passed. Where it can not be passed, industry itself ought to realize that to give employment to children and to deny it to adult workers is to-day a double wrong—a wrong not only to the child, as it has ever been, but a wrong to the Nation in that it prolongs the depression.

A third measure of relief lies solely within the power of Congress and the President. They have the power immediately upon the reconvening of the next session to modify the Volstead Act within the limits of the Constitution. I do not know just how large an addition to employment would be made by the resumption of activities permitted by such a change of law. All agree that it would be substantial. In addition, such action would bring a very large revenue into the Federal Treasury, and help wipe out the existing deficit. It is an opportunity which the Nation has no right to overlook in the present emergency. More important than that, however, is the invigorating effect which such an amendment to the prohibition law would have upon the faith of the people in the responsiveness of the Government to popular wish.

In conjunction with these steps Congress should at the very earliest pass the necessary legislation for the erection of a nation-wide system of employment offices conducted in cooperation with the States. We needed such a service in the days of prosperity. We need it to-day, and we can look ahead far enough to see that in the near future we shall have a gigantic problem on our hands: To demobilize the workers assembled on special Government projects and to guide them back into normal private employment.

No emergency program is complete without giving due recognition to the rôle which charity will of necessity have to play during the coming winter. The governmental undertakings that I have suggested must be in addition to and not in substitution for the relief which must be extended from private sources. The demands for such assistance will be great, but I am confident that equally great will be the generous response of the American people.

The solution of the peculiarly modern problem of want in the midst of plenty will not yet have been solved when we have weathered the present crisis. The key to that solution is not in spending but in organization. The working week must be reduced in length to allow for the vastly greater productivity of labor and industry. The workingman must be intelligently guided in the choice of an occupation and the discovery of a job. By a system of paid-for insurance and not through doles, he must be enabled to wait for a job if waiting is necessary. Steadily and deliberately we must strive to raise ever higher the standard of American life. Only by pursuing such methods can we bring a measure of stability to business, a sense of economic security to the American family, and release for its fullest manifestation the spiritual nobility of our people.

These are guides to the future. They point the way to a better day. Before we arrive at that glorious to-morrow, we must, however, first do the task assigned for to-day: To "make assurance doubly sure" that none shall be idle who are willing and able to work; that none shall go hungry and none shall be cold; and that in the performance of that first dictate of humanity there shall be no degradation for those who happen to receive and no arrogance on the part of those who happen to give. No less is expected of a civilized America.

PROHIBITION—RADIO ADDRESSES BY SENATOR HOWELL AND REPRESENTATIVE BECK

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD addresses on the subject of prohibition delivered, respectively, by Senator HOWELL and Representative BECK, and recently broadcast over the radio.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR HOWELL

Discussions of the prohibition question are futile in the absence of some definite proposal. Some favor wine and beer only, others Government sale, and still others the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

The proposal selected for discussion this evening is found in Congressman BECK'S resolution pending in the House, and which wet leaders will seek a vote upon in the present Congress. However, it provides for no definite form of liquor legislation, but merely that Congress shall submit a constitutional amendment and trust to luck for the legislative solution.

Mr. BECK'S resolution would amend the Constitution by conferring upon Congress power to either prohibit or regulate the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except that if a State should enact liquor laws of its own, such State may be as sopping wet as it pleases. Saloons or no saloons, Congress in such circumstances is to be powerless. In short, the authority of Congress so far as liquors are concerned would extend only to the Territories, the District of Columbia, and to the States without liquor laws.

Neither could Congress authorize or permit the shipment of liquor into any State in violation of State law.

Nor is ratification to be by State legislatures, as in the past, but by conventions called in the States. Such is this proposed amendment.

Article V of the Constitution declares:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution."

The amending process was not intended by the founders of the Government as a means by which the representatives of the people should evade responsibility. Two-thirds of Congress must deem the amendment necessary. Congress is also responsible for the form of the change in the Constitution submitted for ratification.

There is no evidence that two-thirds of Congress deems an amendment to the eighteenth amendment necessary. That amendment was submitted by two-thirds vote of the Sixty-fifth Congress and was ratified by the legislatures of 46 of the 48 States. The action of the legislature of my State, Nebraska, completed the necessary three-fourths of the States to make the eighteenth amendment effective. A Congress has been elected on seven different occasions since, and at no time has there been evidence of a material change in sentiment favoring legalization of the liquor traffic.

Recent referenda in wet States, like Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Illinois, have shown a smaller wet vote or a less wet majority than similar earlier votes taken since national prohibition. Only 6 of the 48 States have no State codes to enforce prohibition, and in some of these there are local prohibition acts in many counties and towns.

Only last Thursday the Bingham resolution seeking to place the Senate on record as welcoming a referendum in the States upon the question of the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment and its supporting legislation received but 15 votes.

Mr. BECK'S resolution is not a proposal for a referendum upon the eighteenth amendment but for the repeal of the amendment. Basically, therefore, the question is, Do we favor or oppose a legalized liquor traffic? The proposal that the amendment be submitted for ratification to conventions to be called in the States is an innovation, so far as precedent is concerned, and does not make it a referendum. The Constitution makes no provision for a referendum.

The objection to the proposal, however, is not so much to the method by which it is proposed that it be ratified but rather to the effects of the change in the Constitution it proposes. Some of these are:

First. The constitutional amendment suggested provides for no definite plan, either State or National, for dealing with the liquor question. If adopted, we would not know what system of liquor legislation Congress would enact nor what any State would adopt. Before we are asked to vote upon a change in the Constitution the opponents of prohibition should unite upon some definite program of liquor legislation that will inform the people how they propose to legislate to deal with the social evils flowing from the use of alcoholic beverages. Until we know we can not vote intelligently.

Second. The amendment would provide for the legalized sale of intoxicating liquor. The only reason for urging it is to permit those States desiring it to provide for such sale. That would inevitably mean the return of the saloon or its equivalent in a number of States. Although the opponents of prohibition declare that they are opposed to the return of the saloon, this amendment contains absolutely no provision whatever to insure against it. It guarantees the saloon's return. This proposal seeks to legalize the thing that made the saloon what it was, the liquor that debauched our citizenship, corrupted politics, and caused the other social evils that gave rise to the demand for the eighteenth amendment.

Third. Liquor legislation would be subject to constant fluctuation. One Congress might provide for Government regulation; the next, prohibition; and the next, Government sale. The same would be true of the legislatures of the States. Even brewers and distillers would be at sea.

Fourth. It would insure that the liquor question would be permanently in politics, not simply in a few States and congressional districts, as at present, but in each of the 435 congressional districts, and in every district in which members of the State legislatures are elected. The propaganda and confusion that we now have on this issue would be tremendously magnified.

Fifth. Two sovereignties would be given control over the same subject matter, the power not to be exercised harmoniously or concurrently, as at present, but conflictingly. Instead of the long-established principle of Article VI of the Constitution—"that the Constitution and laws of the United States shall be supreme"—there would be a complete reversal of that policy, and in case of a conflict between State and Federal law the State law would be paramount. It is proposed that we adopt as a constitutional policy the right of a State to nullify a Federal law, the right to secede from the Federal policy by the adoption of a State law in conflict therewith.

Sixth. The concurrent power clause of the eighteenth amendment, now assuring the States of the cooperation of the Federal Government in enforcing prohibition, would be absolutely repealed. In order that States desiring the saloon may have it, dry States are asked by this resolution to surrender the guaranteed cooperation of the Federal Government and to assume the additional burden of policing the liquor that would flow into them from wet States, without any assurance of cooperation from the wet States or the Federal Government. Dry States had experience with this program before national prohibition under the Webb-Kenyon law. They desire no return to it.

Seventh. The amendment would increase the difficulties of law enforcement by adding to the national borders the boundaries of the 48 States, each having a different system of liquor legislation.

Eighth. There would be nothing to prevent the shipment of liquors through dry States. Prior to the adoption of the eighteenth amendment bootleggers obtained liquors in saloon States,

purchased a railroad ticket through a dry State, and when arrested in that State would make the defense that they were engaged in interstate commerce. Similarly the drivers of automobile caravans of liquor would invariably claim that they were on a journey through the State. The issue became one of fact in the trial of cases in prohibition States. These abuses and others would be restored if this amendment were adopted.

The dry States know by experience that neither the wet States nor the Federal Government, under such a policy, manifest any interest in protecting dry territory from the invasion of liquor dealers from wet territory. This amendment would not only guarantee saloons in wet territory but make impossible effective enforcement of a prohibitory law in a dry State. This Nation, under modern conditions, can no more be part wet and part dry than it could remain, as Lincoln declared, half slave and half free. The choice is not between national prohibition and home rule, mind you, but between national prohibition and saloon rule.

Ninth. The home rule provided by this amendment would mean that in States dominated by the larger cities we should have city rule rather than State control. Everyone familiar with the breakdown of government in our larger cities should hesitate to extend that policy or increase the influence of the populous wet cities where the liquor interests were last entrenched.

The States had for 131 years every right which this proposed amendment would grant. Every conceivable form of regulation was tried—low license, high license, local option, beer and wine as a means of promoting temperance, and State and Government control through the State and local dispensary plan. All of these failed. Prohibition was the only plan that received anything like a consensus of opinion in its support. The eighteenth amendment is the outgrowth of half a century of education and experience. The United States Supreme Court has unanimously upheld it against every attack.

Mr. BECK's proposed amendment suggests a backward step and a return to conditions so intolerable that the people changed the Constitution to remedy them. The abuses urged under national prohibition would be multiplied by any plan of legalized liquor sale. Remember, if there were no desire to legalize liquor, there would be no object in advocating this amendment. We can not cure the evils of alcoholism by making liquors more easily obtainable. Let us rather preserve and maintain the eighteenth amendment, continue our educational work in the home, in the church, and in the school regarding the effects of alcoholic beverages, and elect to public office men who will honestly and impartially enforce the law. Therein lies greater promise of progress than in a surrender to lawlessness.

Abraham Lincoln ouce declared, "Liquor might have defenders but no defense," and further that one of the two greatest evils besetting our people was the liquor traffic.

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE BECK

Fellow citizens, the question to be discussed is a very simple one. It does not involve the merits or demerits of the eighteenth amendment. It only involves the right of the American people, if they so desire, to give a new mandate in the matter of prohibition.

Those who oppose such resubmission must do so on the theory that this provision of the Constitution is a finality for all time. Those who favor such resubmission believe that the American people have an inviolable and ever-continuing right to determine, from generation to generation, the nature of their Government. If they have not such right, then democracy is a fraud and a delusion.

In a democratic form of government even the Constitution can not foreclose any subject from discussion and action by the people, and its amending article, article 5, clearly shows that those who framed the Constitution did not regard any who suggested amendments as wanting in patriotism.

It is strange, indeed, that prohibitionists should now claim infallibility for the eighteenth amendment, for clearly they did not regard the Constitution as unchangeable when they added the eighteenth amendment, and thus destroyed that basic principle of the Constitution—local self-government. If their inconsistency in this respect proves nothing, yet I can invoke the elementary principles of our Government and the noblest of American traditions to prove that the American people have regarded as the fundamental verity of liberty the right to change their form of government as and when the interests of the people might require it.

We regard the immortal Declaration of Independence as the Magna Charta of our liberties, and in its noble preamble Thomas Jefferson voiced forever, to use his language, "the self-evident truth" that "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it." To the same end the immortal preamble to the Constitution proclaims, as with the sonorous blast of a trumpet, that "we, the people of the United States * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution," and thus asserted a then novel truth—that sovereignty rested neither in the king nor in the state, but always and inviolably in the people, who had indefeasible and ever-continuing right to determine their own destiny.

The Constitution itself recognizes such right, for by article 5, under which the eighteenth amendment itself was enacted, express and alternative provisions were made for amendments from time to time, and it was one of the many arguments which the proponents of the Constitution made to the American people in the immortal Federalist papers, that more liberal method had been devised in the Constitution to remedy any defects in its provisions which experience might show from time to time.

Nineteen amendments have thus been adopted, and while a few of these were merely additions to the original Constitution, yet most of them, as, for example, the eleventh, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth amendments, involved important modifications and far-reaching changes in the Constitution of the fathers. None involved a greater change than the eighteenth amendment, for it not only wrote a code of penal law into the Constitution but in large part destroyed the reserved police powers of the States.

How, then, can it be contended that the American people have not the right to determine whether any part of their Constitution, and especially any amendment, should be either repealed or modified? To assert otherwise is to challenge democracy itself. It makes the final passage of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address a rhapsody of words, for if the American people can not undo a clearly demonstrated folly and resume a previously reserved right, then truly government "for the people, by the people, and of the people" has perished from the United States.

Such was the reasoning of the proponents of the eighteenth amendment, when it was submitted to the people for their ratification; and if time permitted, I could quote the principal advocates of such submission as stating that to deny the people of this country the right to ratify the eighteenth amendment was to challenge their right to rule themselves, and yet to-day we are told by the same moral enthusiasts that such right should now be denied the American people. In the vehemence of such denial the fanatical "drys" shut their eyes to the unquestioned facts of history, for when we advocate the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to conventions in the several States, to be especially called to consider the question, we are told, in a recent statement of the board of temperance and public morals, that such method is "untried," and yet the fact is that the original Constitution was ratified by such conventions and not by the legislatures.

To give the people of the United States such an opportunity of self-expression, my associates and I, of both parties, have submitted a substitute for the eighteenth amendment, which, while giving to every State the right to determine how it will regulate or prohibit the traffic in beverage liquors exclusively within its own borders, yet gives to the dry States not only their reserved rights but the added power of the Federal Government to protect them in the full enforcement of their prohibitory laws. In other words, we restore home rule to the several States, and no student of American history can question that the men who framed the Constitution would never have adopted it if they had not been satisfied that the right of local self-government would, at all times, be preserved.

I concede that no provision of the Constitution should be resubmitted to the people unless there be a considerable sentiment in favor of such resubmission. But no fair-minded man can question the existence of such a sentiment to-day, after 12 years' trial of national prohibition. Whether a majority or a minority favors resubmission need not now be discussed, especially as without such submission there is no authoritative way of determining the fact. What we do know is that in the famous poll of the Literary Digest, conducted with scrupulous fairness, and in which millions of American citizens participated, 70 per cent of the votes cast favored either a repeal or a modification of the eighteenth amendment. This is so palpable that many ardent and sincere drys, in and out of Congress, are now willing to resubmit the eighteenth amendment. Only the fanatical drys oppose.

The form of our proposed amendment is less important than the fact of resubmission, and if my esteemed friend, Senator HOWELL, has a better form to test the will of the people, I hope he will introduce it.

There are especial reasons why the eighteenth amendment should be resubmitted. It was well said on high authority that it was an "experiment," and I concede, on the same high authority, that it was "noble in motive."

If the experience of history has proven anything it is that such an experiment in this or any country must be both unsatisfactory and hazardous. Even a small, compact, and homogeneous nation like Finland has only recently condemned its own prohibition law, and it is most significant that 60 per cent of the women voters favored such repeal.

In our country the eighteenth amendment has been given over 12 years' trial. Millions have been spent in its attempted enforcement, and, what is more deplorable, over 500,000 American citizens have been either indicted or convicted of violation of this law. Yet to-day, at least in the large industrial cities, the law is less enforced than it was at the beginning. No such general revolt against the enforcement of a law has ever been known in our history, and in itself proves the existence of a very substantial sentiment that the eighteenth amendment should be repealed.

While from a purely legalistic standpoint the eighteenth amendment is as much the law of the land as any other part of the Constitution, yet in considering its resubmission it should always be remembered that it can not claim the same sanction as the original Constitution. The latter was framed by the ablest body of men that ever attempted such a task, and they were especially selected for the work. The Constitution, as thus submitted and ratified, contained the names of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, and James Madison, and other of the "immortal 39." I may add that not one of them would have favored the eighteenth amendment, and if they could

have conceived of it as a future possibility it is probable that they would have abandoned any attempt to form a central government that would dictate to the citizen what he should drink.

The eighteenth amendment was proposed to the people in a time of great hysteria, by a few hundred Senators and Representatives who had not been elected for such a purpose, and it was ratified by a few thousand State legislators, who, likewise, had not been elected with any such mandate.

Moreover, the work of the Constitutional Convention was the free expression of the able men who created this Republic, while it is an unquestioned fact that the eighteenth amendment was submitted and ratified by many legislatures under moral duress. Indeed, the eighteenth amendment was bootlegged into the Constitution and has inflicted upon this country a reign of corruption, hypocrisy, and disrespect for law such as never before existed in our history.

Apart from this fact, no law which interferes with individual liberty can ever be enforced unless sustained by a greatly preponderating public sentiment. The old Jewish Talmud was philosophically correct when it said that custom rises above law. The same truth was voiced by the greatest political philosopher of antiquity, Aristotle, when he said that laws and even constitutions could never be enforced if contrary to the ethos, meaning the spirit or genius of a people. This history of sumptuary laws in all ages proves this fact.

There is a final reason for such resubmission at this time. Prohibition is not the only issue before the American people. We are living in very trying times and have many difficult problems. The question is not a partisan issue; and if resubmitted to the people, it will go far to clear the decks for other important public policies. Moreover, the failure to submit will simply intensify the revolt against the law and the ill feeling which now exists between different classes of people. Until thus resubmitted the question becomes an irrepressible one like the old slave question.

Unfortunately it is within the power of a minority of the American people to block the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment. Sixteen States, with less combined population than that of my native State, Pennsylvania, can undoubtedly defeat the repeal of a law which is favored by a large majority of the American people, as resubmission would demonstrate. If thus blocked, the fanatical "drys" need not suppose that the American people are powerless. They are not yet the helpless slaves of a system of moral bondage. They still have the ancient power of the English-speaking race over the public purse, and if their will be defeated by a small minority of the American people, then the day will come, and sure come, when the American people, through their representatives in Congress, acting under a clear constitutional right to determine expenditures, will refuse to appropriate one penny to enforce an unenforceable law.

This is not nullification but the exercise of a constitutional right. If the "drys" are well advised, they will prefer resubmission and give the American people an opportunity to express their majestic will.

WORLD PEACE—ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALSH OF MONTANA

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask that there be inserted in the RECORD a very able and interesting address delivered by my colleague the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] at the annual meeting and good will congress of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the churches at Chicago on November 10, 1931.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

To-morrow is the thirteenth anniversary of the most joyous event celebrated in America since Appomattox, the sealing of the armistice through which were silenced the guns which for more than four years thundered in the most gigantic war of all time. Participation for a year and a half by our country had been a sickening experience, albeit a noble one. Prodigies of valor and achievement stood to our credit, hastening if not determining victory. But at what appalling cost! Seventy-seven thousand two hundred and sixteen of the flower of our youth found hospitable graves in the land they redeemed from the invader, and more than 200,000 returned as casualties more or less handicapped for the duties and obligations of the cherished ambitions of life.

Scarcely a community in this broad land but mourned the loss of some son of promise who held its affection. The treasure of the people, the hard-earned fruit of industry and thrift, had been poured out unstintedly until it mounted to more than $35,000,000,000, and an obligation incurred to those who fought the good fight that amounts annually to approximately $500,000,000, in the discharge of which not less than $5,700,000,000 have already been paid.

In a material age spiritual losses give scant concern, but imponderable as they are, they can not be ignored by the reflecting. A nation at war can not kill, lie, cheat, steal, to use peace-time terms, to overcome the enemy, without suffering a general moral decay, and when the whole world or all the principal powers of the world at once thus defy elemental principles of morality, into which it has been the task of the ages to instill vigor, the result is little less than calamitous.

The horror of the war into which we so reluctantly entered, the misery which attended it, and which followed in its train, and the even more deplorable conditions to be apprehended in future wars carried on with the diabolical engineery and means which science and invention are providing, gave rise, when we were well out of the last conflict, to a well-nigh universal demand for some arrangement among the nations to avert a recurrence of such a hideous affair, or even a minor conflict of arms that, in the intricacies of our complex modern life, might defy localization. But such are the peculiarities of human nature, doubtless providentially so arranged that, as a rule, we speedily forget our deepest griefs, our most poignant miseries, and court again, even jest at, the dangers that once brought us affrighted to the point of death.

Time had somewhat assuaged the emotions that made likely our concurrence in any reasonable plan that might be devised by the statesmen of the world to end war, or remove the likelihood of its occurrence, however imperfect it might appear, when the result of their deliberations came before us for approval, giving plotting politicians the opportunity to effect its rejection. Even the international court, set up on their initiative, a feeble step in the direction of the resolution of controversies between nations by peaceful means still, after 10 years, awaits the approval of our Government. That hesitancy, it is now loudly acclaimed, has been justified by the recent 8 to 7 decision of the court in the Austro-German customs union case. We had once an 8 to 7 decision in this country, which threatened for a time to disrupt the Union, but the Republic continues on its majestic course notwithstanding, the incident all but forgotten by those living at the time and noticed by the historian for the edification of generations of later date as without particular significance on the course of our life.

On the question at issue, in the case referred to, whether a reciprocal customs treaty between Austria and Germany is in contravention of the treaty of St. Germain or of the Geneva protocol forbidding the political union of those countries, one group of judges, including those of French and Italian nationality, held it to be so; another, including those of American, British, and German nationality, that it was not. I enter into no controversy as to which group is right. I note only the assumption by American critics, who haven't even read the opinions filed, that the decision was political in character, with the implication that the judges were swayed by the views and desires of the foreign offices of their countries respectively. Of course that imputation does not extend to Mr. Kellogg. The American Government has no views on the legal question, and, for that matter, is utterly indifferent as to the question of union. But if it had or if it were concerned as to the matter of union, no American would think his Government would convey to Judge Kellogg its hopes in the matter or that he would regard, except with hot resentment, any intimation from it as to what his decision should be. Nor would any American think differently of his predecessor, the present Chief Justice, nor of his predecessor, the eminent jurist, John Bassett Moore, nor of any American lawyer at all likely to be elevated to a place on the court.

But we are asked to believe that, though our Government would not privately tender, nor an American judge accept advice, no other country would exercise such restraint and no other judge exhibit fortitude enough to reject and repel it were it offered. Can Phariseeism go farther? Anzilotti, of Italy, voted with the majority. It is to be gathered from current news that Italy is in no mood to advance the political sins of France. Altamira, of Spain, was on that side, though it is popularly believed that the sympathies of that country were with the central powers in the war, and it is in the nature of a revelation that the Government at Madrid is controlled from Paris. Guerrero, of Salvador, and Urrutia, of Colombia, voted for the French contention, upon what improper consideration no candid critic dare say, at least has not attempted to specify. A more reasonable suggestion is that the nationals of the northern nations embraced the German contention, those of the Latin countries the French, a perfectly honest difference arising from temperament, tradition, and training. However that may be, what I desire to emphasize is that the criticism now leveled at the court because of the decision just rendered could be directed with equal force at any world court. It is not contended that the result assailed arose by reason of any vice in the method by which the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice are selected, nor is it proposed that a better method be adopted. It is based upon the idea that though America and Americans are to be excepted, judges from other countries will listen to the voice of the home government and consult its supposed interests in their decisions. Accordingly such critics are against any world court, however constituted, unless, indeed, it consist of one or more judges all Americans. Candor may be asked of them. Are you in favor of any world court? If so, what method would you propose for the election of the judges thereof to escape the weakness or vice you assert to exist in what you choose to call the League of Nations' court as exemplified in the Anschluss case? What system will accomplish better results in that respect than the one now for 10 years in operation by which the judges are elected by the vote of all the powers cooperating, confirmed by the vote of 13 of the leading powers?

I repeat, these critics want no World Court, and they look askance at, if they do not actively oppose, every movement for the peaceful adjustment of international controversies. With a single notable exception the opponents of American association in the League of Nations and the World Court either opposed the Kellogg-Briand outlawry of war treaty or spoke or wrote in scorn of it. Efforts to bring about reduction in armaments by international agreement, either of land or naval forces, have with exceptions, it is true, encountered the antagonism of the same bloc.

The purpose of the President in these times of stress to postpone in part our program of naval construction has aroused their ire. On his devoted head they have recently poured their vials of wrath, because of his attempts to compose the differences which have resulted in a state of war in Manchuria and, mirabile dictu, because to that end he has joined with the Council of the League of Nations, consisting, as heretofore stated, of representatives of 13 of the first powers. One is led to believe that in their unrestrained venom toward the League of Nations they would rather that open warfare, involving all the resources in men and money of the orientals, should ensue than that the league should be credited with a part in averting it. While our State Department, presumably with the approval if not at the instigation of the President, was thus engaged under a journalistic barrage, a widely read columnist, in keeping with the policy of the papers for which he writes, gave this contribution to current thought:

"The best American contribution to peace would be minding our own business here in America and keeping prepared for anything that may happen. Fewer peace committees, less meddling in Europe and Asia, more airships and submarines would be our best peace program."

That was the peace program of the cave man. That was the peace program of Bismarck and the Kaiser. The whole course of history demonstrates the futility of that program for ensuring peace. The very day after the piece of political wisdom just quoted was published the press carried the news that Japan had cordially acquiesced in the plan of joint action on the part of the United States and the league. And on the same day, the public was informed that 10 American nations had united in an appeal to Bolivia and Paraguay, where clashes had occurred in character not unlike those in Manchuria that disturbed the world, to sign a nonaggression pact and continue their efforts to compose their differences over Chaco without resort to war. The "let 'em fight" policy isn't very strong, apparently, with the people of this continent. Nor should it be. What should be thought of a strong man who sees two boys pummeling each other into insensibility and passes by on the other side? How well does one meet the demands of friendship who sees one friend afflicted with a homicidal rage about to assault another without offering a word to dissuade him from his felonious purpose? Shocking is the only way the counsel offered to keep hands off the Sino-Japanese quarrel can be adequately characterized. It would be nothing less if no account whatever were taken of material gain or loss upon our part. But the dreadful experience, economically speaking, through which the world is passing has convinced all who think that the losses attendant upon war are borne by all nations and not alone by the belligerents. A war in the Orient would, undoubtedly, feverishly stimulate trade in some lines, but after peace came we should have two impoverished nations as customers in that quarter of the world that now take annually of our products not less than $400,000,000 worth. Meanwhile the Chinese ports would probably be blockaded, shutting off entirely our growing trade with the celestial Republic, which now amounts to $300,000,000 a year, and adding to the embarrassing unemployment problem that confronts us.

We might, of course, become involved in the quarrel by acting the part of peacemaker, though the chances of such ill luck are remote. But however imminent is the risk it is no greater than that of being drawn in should the fight get under way. Our enterprising traders would not tamely submit to the loss of business with China to the amount of $300,000,000 annually, and all sorts of controversies would promptly spring up with Japan over efforts to get goods into and out of China in spite of a blockade, or even in connection with perfectly legitimate trade with Indo-China or India generally on the one hand and Siberia on the other, should Japan emulate or even imitate the naval policy of Great Britain in the World War prior to our entrance into it; or worse, though not so likely, adopt the "schrecklichkeit" policy of Germany. Even so, there is left out of the reckoning the chance, by no means remote, that Russia would get into the fracas and Europe, in consequence, again be set ablaze.

Harboring, apparently, the hope that the friendly offices of the United States and the league will prove futile, we are told that Japan never will get out of Manchuria, just as we were told that she never would get out of Shantung in Siberia, and half apologies for her remaining are offered in the way of precedents of similar imperialistic aggressions on the part of other powers in days past, the effect, if not the purpose, of which is to spur the militarists of Japan to insist on staying in Manchuria, to extend the area occupied by them, and to precipitate the conflict.

With an arrogant show of superior patriotism, disregarding the intimate relationship which has sprung up among the people of the world through the magical improvements that a century and a quarter have brought in the means of transportation and communication, there are those who stridently insist that our country do nothing to avert foreign wars, lest it be thereby drawn into them. They affect a keener solicitude for the American boy than those who regard it as in the interest of the same American boy to do something to avert wars into which he might be drawn. Both classes labor to the same end—to save the American boy from involvement in a war that is primarily no concern of ours.

While conceding the highmindedness of the isolationists, those of us who do not concur in the do-nothing policy, though invective be hurled at us, our motives impugned, our patriotism questioned, we modestly maintain that ours is the more effective, the more Christian policy, and, I may add, it has the approval, as I believe, of the vast majority of the American people.

If anything that has been said is regarded as either a eulogium or a defense of the League of Nations, the World Court, the Kellogg pact, or any other particular compact or device the ostensible purpose of which is to avert war, I disclaim any purpose to constitute myself at this time the protagonist for any of them or any purpose except to combat opposition to all such and to cultivate a hospitable attitude toward any reasonable effort, either general or special, to banish war from our annals.

It is a mistake to assume, as is often assumed, that such an attitude negatives the idea of a national-defense policy, and that those who adhere to it are willing to rely wholly upon international agreements, believing that a world regeneration has ensued. Too well it is recognized that no such transformation has taken place. The League of Nations presupposes no such miraculous change. Indeed, it is builded upon the idea that man is still afflicted with the passions that have bred war in the past and are likely to do so in the future—ambition, greed, racial antagonism, commercial rivalry. It is because they still influence human conduct and the course of nations that institutions like the league are brought into existence. Were such passions banished from the earth there were no need of restraining covenants. So it is assumed, as stated, that there is some incompatibility between the advocacy of arrangements such as those mentioned and support of an adequate army and navy. It by no means follows that because they are entered into the country is to be left to the precarious protection they afford, though a difference of opinion as to what is an adequate army and navy may be expected between those who attribute some virtue to them and those who believe them or profess to believe them utterly futile and who exhibit unrestrained glee at every appearance of failure through such to effect adjustments of differences between nations or forestall a conflict of arms. Worse still, who exhibit a high degree of satisfaction at every failure of efforts to secure a limitation or reduction of armament by international agreement and assume a critical attitude toward every small measure of success which may attend any such.

Despite disappointments, however, progress toward world peace is being made; for though the cause, like freedom, is often lost, it's ever won. The conviction grows that, save when waged in the sacred cause of liberty, there is no profit in war for any of the participants and loss for all. Its horrors multiply. Then the mechanization of warfare is taking all the poetry out of it. The Charge of the Light Brigade could never have been written of a tank attack. Let no one despair. Heaven is not reached at a single bound nor a warless world attained by any single step. The yearning for such, which it is the mission of the churches to stimulate, grows apace, and it can not be that man, who has conquered so many scourges of the race, will not eventually find a way, though the task may be a tedious one, to eliminate the most hideous among them all.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S ATTITUDE ON BIMETALLISM

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS] while I read a letter which I received from a prominent former Republican Senator from Oregon, Hon. Jonathan Bourne, jr. He writes me as of date January 27 and says:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 27, 1932.*

Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: Accept my heartiest congratulations on your very able speech appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 25, giving your unanswerable arguments in favor of the enactment of your bill, S. 2487, introduced in the Senate on January 4, establishing in the United States a bimetallic system of currency, employing gold and silver, and fixing the relative value of gold and silver, and providing for the free coinage of silver as well as gold at the fixed ratio of 16 to 1.

For comprehensiveness, brevity, and lucidity I consider your bill, S. 2487, a masterpiece.

In my humble opinion, from an economic standpoint I deem your bill, S. 2487, the most important bill that has been introduced in Congress during the present century.

I feel confident that its enactment into law will do more than the combined adoption of all other suggestions that I have seen emanate from the President, his Cabinet, Members of Congress, political economists, and so-called captains of big industry to relieve the United States and the rest of the world from the present economic chaos now confronting the world.

Your arguments in favor of the enactment of your bill are unanswerable and your predictions as to the benefits resultant from its enactment as affecting all classes of our society most conservative and can not possibly be disproved intelligently by any person.

You are absolutely correct in your statement that bimetallism is not a party issue.

Long before Mr. Bryan was nominated in 1896 and made the remonetization of silver at 16 to 1 the main issue in the national campaign, many eminent Republicans, like Speaker Blaine, of Maine; Senators Teller and Wolcott, of Colorado; Senators Jones and Stewart, of Nevada; Senator Elkins, of West Virginia; Senator Mitchell, of Oregon; Congressman Boutelle, of Maine; Congressman Sibley, of Pennsylvania; Republican National Committeeman Clayton, of Arkansas; Dick Kerens, of Missouri; and many other Republican leaders throughout the Nation, were ardent advocates

of independent bimetallism and the establishment of the double standard of both silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1.

Noting the colloquy in the RECORD wherein you asserted that McKinley was a bimetallist and Senator FESS, of Ohio, questioned your statement and asserted that:

"McKinley was a bimetallist provided there could be an international agreement whereby all nations would use silver on a parity with gold but not an independent bimetallist from the standpoint of the United States."

You are right in your contention as to McKinley's views, and Senator FESS is evidently ill-advised regarding McKinley's views on independent bimetallism.

In corroboration of this assertion, permit me to state my own personal experience, which I think proves your assertion in re Mr. McKinley and disproves Senator FESS's assertion regarding same.

I was one of the eight delegates to the Minneapolis convention, as well as a member of the executive committee of the national committee from the State of Oregon in 1892. The majority of the Oregon delegation, including myself, was strongly in favor of the nomination of James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Congressman Boutelle, of Maine, one of Mr. Blaine's most intimate friends, and Delegate C. M. Donaldson, of Colorado, and I united in a cablegram to Mr. Blaine, at that time in Scotland, to the effect that we thought the convention would nominate him for the Presidency, and he cabled back his unwillingness to become a candidate or allow the presentation of his name.

I then had over an hour's conference with Congressman McKinley for the purpose of ascertaining should he be nominated by that convention and elected to the Presidency if he would favor independent bimetallism and the remonetization of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 by the United States without the assent, consent, or cooperation of any other nation.

Of course, after nearly 40 years' lapse of time it is difficult to quote the exact language used by two parties to a colloquy, but the purport of the conversation was somewhat as follows:

As to his attitude on independent bimetallism, Mr. McKinley referred to his speeches and record as a Congressman. I said that that was fine, but what I was interested particularly in as an ardent advocate of independent bimetallism was what his attitude would be should he become the nominee of the 1892 convention and be elected President of the United States, realizing, as I did, that sometimes a man's views changed as a private citizen or a Member of Congress should he be elevated to the highest office in the land.

Mr. McKinley then assured me at said conference that while he was in no manner a candidate for the nomination for the Presidency before that convention, should he be nominated and elected he would favor independent bimetallism and sign, should he be President, any financial legislation that Congress might enact that was supported by Senators Teller, Jones, Stewart, Wolcott, Mitchell, and other independent bimetallists in both branches of Congress.

With this assurance from Mr. McKinley, 5—including myself—of the 8 Oregon delegates voted for Mr. McKinley and 3 voted for the renomination of Mr. Harrison.

In my humble opinion, but for Mr. Blaine's cablegraphic refusal to allow the use of his name, he and not Mr. Harrison would have been the nominee of the Republican National Convention in 1892, and Blaine would have been elected President instead of Mr. Cleveland.

With personal regards, I remain,

Very cordially yours,

JONATHAN BOURNE, Jr.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, the letter that was read by my good friend the Senator from Montana was intended to be in confirmation of a statement he made the other day that McKinley was for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. I stated, meaning to correct that statement, that McKinley was for bimetallism, provided it could be attained by international agreement.

I want to say to my friend that this is not a matter of conjecture with me. This was once a very heated subject of debate, when I looked it up very exhaustively; and I desire to refresh my friend's memory of the real facts in reference to McKinley's attitude on that subject.

When the Bland bill came up in the House McKinley had been in the House just three weeks. He was 34 years of age. He had been a student of political questions, but he had not had a long tenure in the House. One of the first measures that came up after his entrance was the Bland bill, which provided that any miner of silver should have the privilege of taking it to the Treasury and having it coined at the ratio of 412½ grains to the dollar.

The measure came up under suspension of the rules that permitted no amendment, and with limited debate. There was a roll call on the bill, and it passed by 163 yeas to 34 nays. McKinley was in the list of yeas. Garfield was against it. Garfield had been a mentor of McKinley for a good while, and it was somewhat difficult for McKinley to break with the scholar in the House who had been a sort of idol of McKinley.

The bill came over to the Senate. Instead of permitting anyone mining silver to bring it to the Treasury and have it coined, the Senate amended the bill to the effect that the Government should purchase not less than $2,000,000 worth nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver per month, and to permit that silver to be coined at the ratio of 412½ grains to the dollar.

The House accepted the Senate amendment, and McKinley voted for it. The measure went to the President. President Hayes vetoed it. Having originated in the House, the bill came back to the House for consideration, and McKinley, although a very warm friend of the President, who had been Governor of Ohio, did not vote to sustain the President's veto.

This was the first session of McKinley's service. The first vote came three weeks after he entered the House. In a sense, there is no doubt that that first vote was for the free coinage of silver. Of course it might be interpreted as unlimited, because it had not been limited in its terms. The Senate limited it, and McKinley voted for that; but with the contest on the resumption of specie payments there was an effort to eliminate section 3 of the authorization to resume the payment of specie for greenbacks. McKinley strongly opposed the elimination of section 3. Had it been eliminated, resumption would have been made impossible. He took his position soundly upon that subject, and made a speech on it.

Later on the question came up in a different form, and, as the Senator knows, the measure was known as the Sherman Act. In that act the authorization was given, not for the unlimited coinage of silver, not to coin any specific amount, but to coin a limited amount of silver bought at the market value—not at the coinage value, but at the market value—and the condition was that the seigniorage would go to the Treasury rather than to the owners of silver. On that measure there was a terrific fight, and there is the recognition, as the Senator will realize, of the difference between the market value of silver and the coinage value, which became the real issue which broke into a storm in 1896.

That presents the real issue that was fought out. Later McKinley urged international bimetallism. The statement read by the Senator to the effect that it has not been a party issue is correct. The Republican Party pronounced itself in favor of it in 1888, it again pronounced itself in favor of it in 1892, and finally in 1896, when the 16 to 1 proposal became the paramount issue.

In 1890 the fight was over whether the Government should buy silver at its market value and then give it a fiat value, making the coinage value more than the market value. It was McKinley, among others, who attacked that position and said that that meant a difference of value between the two metals, as standards of value, and that on that basis we would have a cheaper dollar, expected to circulate along with a dearer dollar.

The Gresham law announced the fundamental principle that cheap money would drive out sound money. The Sherman law was a compromise; the Government was permitted to purchase silver bullion and to issue silver certificates against it to be redeemed in coin, the word "coin" being broad enough to include silver. A certificate was issued, then it would come back to be redeemed in coin, and gold would be demanded—then it would be reissued again under the requirements of the law, and come back again to be redeemed in gold. Cleveland denounced it as a vicious circle which constantly drained the gold out of the Treasury. That compromise measure was reported by a committee headed by John Sherman and is known as the Sherman law.

In 1893 President Cleveland called a special session of Congress and asked that the Sherman law be repealed, which was done. That accentuated the dispute between the gold and silver advocates. Up to this time the silver question had been nonpartisan.

In 1896, when the issue came up squarely for the first time, it was made a party issue in the Republican plat-

form, adopted at St. Louis, and later in the Democratic platform adopted in Chicago. The issue came up squarely as a political one for the first time, and in the fight McKinley took the distinct view that he was opposed to bimetallism unless it was by international agreement, but that he was in favor of it, as he had always been, if it could be agreed upon by the leading nations of the world.

McKinley dictated the plank in the platform on the money question from his home in Canton. On December 28, nearly two months after the election, he wrote to members of the committee of the Houses and asked them to authorize the appointment of a commission to go to Europe to further study the possibilities of international bimetallism. Later President McKinley sent abroad a committee of three leading statesmen—Mr. Wolcott, a silver advocate, of Colorado; Mr. Adlai Stevenson, a Democrat, of Illinois; and Mr. Paine, of Massachusetts. They went to Europe to study the problem in compliance with the pledge of the party platform. When they consulted the British Government, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was at that time Mr. Hicks-Beach, refused to go along with the international bimetallism proposal, and the delegation came back home defeated in its purpose.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. FESS. I yield.

Mr. KING. Of course, the Senator is aware, in connection with the historical matter to which he is referring, that in order to complete the picture he should supplement his statement by saying that Mr. Wolcott, speaking for the committee, when he returned, blamed the administration, and charged, not directly and specifically, but certainly indirectly, that the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States had handicapped or backcapped them, and made their mission wholly fruitless. He blamed the administration for the failure of that commission to accomplish the end for which it was appointed.

Mr. FESS. I know nothing about that statement. I am making a statement which is historically true, that Hicks-Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain, refused to go along with the international bimetallism proposal. That refusal was the determining fact of failure of the proposal.

I wanted my friend the Senator from Montana to know that while Mr. McKinley voted for the Bland bill, which was a free silver bill, he very shortly afterwards became one of the strongest opponents of independent coinage of silver at any fixed ratio. In reply to the suggestion made by the Senator, I think more in good humor than anything else, that McKinley was wobbly, that he took a position one time and then later changed because of influence. I want to say to him that there is no basis for that, if he thinks that was the reason why Mr. McKinley became strongly opposed to the international coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, when at a former time he had voted for the Bland bill.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I think the Senator misunderstood me. I was not trying to cast aspersions upon Mr. McKinley. I thought I was paying tribute to him when I said that he himself was at one time in favor of bimetallism.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I very frankly state to him, having been very bitterly opposed to the independent coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, that I see no objection to bimetallism if the leading nations of the world can agree on it. I have that feeling to-day.

Mr. WHEELER. I wish the Senator, in his capacity as chairman of the Republican National Committee, would call upon the President of the United States and ask him to call a conference in accordance with the resolution which has been passed by the United States Senate, which, in my judgment, the President should have done a long time ago.

Frankly, we have been waiting and talking about calling such a conference for 50 years, but we have not gotten anywhere with it. I myself feel, and am convinced, that we could return to independent bimetallism in this country. I call attention to the fact that John Darling, one of the leading bankers of Great Britain, the president of the Midland Bank of England, known as one of the five great currency experts in England, a short time ago called attention to the fact that in his judgment England itself could go upon an independent bimetallism standard.

I further want to say to the Senator that nothing he has said in giving the interesting history of Mr. McKinley and his views changes the statement I made the other day; nor does it change the statement made by a Republican Senator, former Senator Jonathan Bourne, when he said that in 1892 he talked with McKinley and that at that time McKinley assured him that while he was in no manner a candidate for the Presidency before the convention, should he be nominated and elected he would favor independent bimetallism, and should he be President would sign any financial legislation which Congress might enact that was supported by Senators Teller, Jones, Stewart, Wolcott, Mitchell, and other independent bimetallists in both branches of Congress.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I wish the Senator would enlarge the question he has just asked the Senator from Ohio. As I understand it, the question was why the President did not act on the request of the Senate and call a silver conference as outlined in the resolution of the Senate. Would not the Senator be willing to ask also this: Why did not the President last June, when there was a meeting in this city of the chambers of commerce of the world, let that body discuss some of the questions of world importance? As I understand the matter, they desired to discuss international debts, reparations, tariffs, and, doubtless, silver, but word was sent to the convention that it would not be acceptable to the President to have those matters discussed.

In consequence, if the Senator will recall, that convention disbanded in two days and went home discouraged. Instead of taking the opportunity to make use of this great gathering of business men and bankers, when there might have been discussed all these matters of world interest, the President threw cold water on them and sent them home discouraged.

Mr. WHEELER. I assume the Senator is intending that question for the Senator from Ohio, not for me, because I am not in the confidence of the President. I have information from one who was present at that chamber of commerce meeting to which the Senator refers that they got word from the administration that the administration did not want them to take up the question of international bimetallism, or bimetallism at all, and that for that reason the matter was not discussed. He stated further that at an international chamber of commerce meeting he found the French and English representatives much more willing to take up the question than was the administration here in Washington.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. WHEELER. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. Let me also say that I met some of the delegates to that meeting on their return from Washington. They passed through New York in going home, all but broken hearted because of the failure of our administration to permit them to discuss in a friendly fashion these problems.

There is no question at all but that we had in the making in Washington an international gathering, an economic conference, the very sort of a gathering which business men and thoughtful men the world over have been seeking, when the nations of the world could sit down around the table and discuss these matters of common interest. I have had the feeling that if there had been free and frank discussion there might not have been the economic breakdown in Europe which threatened within a few days after the adjournment of the conference.

While I am not in sympathy, as the Senator knows, with his views about the free and unlimited coinage of silver, yet I do feel that there was an opportunity which was muffed by the President, an opportunity to discuss with the busi-

ness men of the world all these great problems. I think the Senator is entirely right in asking from the Senator from Ohio an answer to his question as to why the President did not respond to a request of the Senate to call an international conference on silver.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WHEELER. I yield.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Ohio. The Chair will state that there is nothing before the Senate, and this debate is proceeding by unanimous consent. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] has been endeavoring to obtain the floor to have a matter taken up which will be debatable.

Mr. FESS. I have no information which would justify me in giving an opinion as to why the conference to which the Senator refers was not called. Nor have I the information suggested by the Senator from New York. But I think his criticism is quite unfair, for the reason that if we are in such a conference we ought to indicate what subjects will be placed upon the agenda for discussion. Suppose some of the delegates at a conference such as that referred to wanted to discuss the cancellation of debts. I would not want our Government to assume that that was a subject of discussion.

There are several things that Europe might like to come here and discuss that I would not want to admit are open for discussion. I am just using that for an illustration. I do not think the Senator from New York is justified in making the cryptic criticism which he has made now of the administration.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. WHEELER. I yield.

Mr. COPELAND. It is a reflection on the integrity of every Washington newspaper man if the things I have said are not true or if the charge that I make is untrue. It was definitely stated in the press that word was conveyed from the President that he did not wish to have these matters of international concern discussed in that conference, and out of courtesy to him the conference adjourned without discussing them.

I repeat my statement that the President of the United States missed his opportunity to discuss with the level-headed business men of the world the great economic muss in which we are. I say again that I think it was a great mistake upon the part of the President and his advisers that he did not permit these conferences to proceed. Out of that discussion might have come some plan for an economic rehabilitation of the world; but instead of that these men went home discouraged and depressed, and there came almost immediately after that such an economic crash in Europe that the President proposed the moratorium.

Sending out telegrams, as he did, to the Members of the Congress, many Members on the spur of the moment gave favorable consideration and made favorable reply to his request. Had it not been for those replies made at that time without deliberate thought, I doubt exceedingly if the plan of the moratorium would have been accepted by the Congress, certainly not by the Senate.

I believe that many of our troubles go back to the administration in its failure to deal fairly and frankly with this matter and to permit the business men of the world to consider the questions which would have been brought before that particular gathering of the international chambers of commerce.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I want to make a further brief statement and then I shall conclude. It is all right to try to laugh off the idea of a return of the question of independent bimetallism, but I am daily receiving letters from various manufacturers of the United States since I introduced the bill, showing how by reason of the fact that other countries are off the gold standard they are losing all of their export business, are having to lay off employees because of the fact that they can not, on account of exchange rates, give employment to them. Farmers of the country are complaining because of this "sound dollar," of which the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS] speaks, which to-day is worth $1.50 and makes them pay off their indebtedness of $1 with $1.50 instead of $1.

I invite the attention of the Senator from Ohio and say to him and to those who want to laugh at the idea, that one of two things is going to happen in this country. We will have bimetallism or we will have bolshevism in the United States of America. We can not go on and have these individuals going hungry and not take care of them. I for one am anxious to see something done that will place the farmer and the laborer back in the position where he can buy and sell as he formerly did.

EXPENSES OF DELEGATES TO DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, the House has passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 251) making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932. The Budget sent down an estimate of $415,000 and the House reduced that amount to $390,000. According to the testimony, the estimate of the expenses of the commission is at the rate of about $50,000 a month. The Appropriations Committee met this morning and considered the matter and concluded that $300,000 would carry the conference for at least six months, and we thought we ought to report that amount. Of course, if it develops that they will be in longer session than six months, there is no question that the Congress will provide whatever funds may be necessary.

I accordingly report back the joint resolution with an amendment and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Washington?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The amendment was, on page 2, line 13, to strike out "$390,000, to remain available until 30, 1933," and in lieu thereof to insert "$300,000, to remain available until June 30, 1933," so as to make the joint resolution read:

Resolved, etc., That for the expenses of participation by the United States in a general disarmament conference to be held in Geneva in 1932, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, including transportation and subsistence or per diem in lieu thereof (notwithstanding the provisions of the subsistence expense act of 1926 or regulations prescribed pursuant thereto); personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, without reference to the classification act of 1923, as amended; stenographic and other services by contract if deemed necessary, without regard to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5); rent of offices and rooms; purchase of necessary books and documents; printing and binding; official cards; entertainment; hire, maintenance, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; the reimbursement of other appropriations from which payments may have been made for any of the purposes herein specified; and such other expenses as may be authorized by the Secretary of State, there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $300,000, to remain available until June 30, 1933.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. JONES. I yield.

Mr. KING. Perhaps it would not be pertinent for us to attach to the joint resolution by way of supplement a request that Japan, in the light of present conditions, shall cease her military demonstrations and shall agree with the delegates whom we send to bring about, if not complete at least partial, disarmament?

Mr. JONES. Of course I know the Senator agrees with me that that is not pertinent to the pending joint resolution.

Mr. KING. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the joint resolution to be read a third time.

The joint resolution was read the third time and passed.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SILVER

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, in view of the colloquy that took place on the floor of the Senate a few moments ago, I simply want to call attention to the evasion by various governments of the question of an international conference on silver. As Senators know, the Senate unanimously passed a resolution asking the President of the United States last spring to call an international conference for the study of the subject. At the time of the International Chamber of Commerce meeting here a resolution was adopted by that body pledging the delegates to present to their home governments the subject of the calling of an international conference, and the delegates left here with those instructions from the meeting. About four weeks later a news dispatch was given out from the White House, which was published in the papers of Europe as well as in the United States, stating that the President did not want the question of silver discussed in an international conference until after the question of the moratorium which had then been proclaimed had been settled.

We have been told from various sources that Great Britain did not want to participate in such a conference. We have been also told that Great Britain did not want to participate because of conditions in India, saying that India objected to discussing the question of silver. A short time after we received that information Mahatma Gandhi left India and started for England. While in France en route he gave out an interview and said that in his opinion an international conference for the discussion of the silver question and the finding of a solution for that problem would be of great benefit to India. Speaking for India, he certainly contradicted the objections that were said to have been made by Great Britain against participating in such a conference on account of objections from India, because if there is anyone who has a right to speak for India on that matter, it must certainly have been Mr. Gandhi.

In addition to the resolution passed by the International Chamber of Commerce, I find the industrialists, men of commerce, men of shipping, all over Europe, are very much concerned about the question of deflation in every country of the world of the credit systems and currency. They blame the central banks for the world-wide deflation to-day. A controversy has continued for the past two years participated in on the one hand by the central bank and bankers who favor deflation, who favor reducing the price level of raw materials, who favor the breaking down of the wage level all over the world. By the way, that deflation is destroying all values.

On the other hand, in opposition to that we find a large percentage of the industrialists, men of commerce, shipping interests of the world, who say that the deflation of commodities going on in every country must be stopped, and that an inflation to a certain extent is necessary to restore values and therefore to restore business. I think it is well to bear in mind that there is conflict between the inflationists and the deflationists, those who believe the price level should be lowered or raised. Some of the industrialists have told me that with a proper handling of the credit system there should not be a fluctuation of more than 5 per cent in the price level from one end of the year to the other. They claim it is all a matter of credit or currency.

On the other hand, we have that group of men who control the credit system, who inflate and deflate the credit structure and so raise and lower prices. Under that system which is controlled by the bankers I find that men of affairs, men in business, industry, transportation, and shipping are in increasing revolt against the mismanagement of the credit system upon the basis of the currencies of the various parts of the world.

I think it is well to bear in mind that in the background of these controversies the two forces are struggling for supremacy. I doubt very much if there is a government in Europe that is not entirely dominated in its monetary policies by the central bank. I fear that our Government is also dominated in its financial policy by its central bank, the Federal reserve bank. It must have been very humiliating to many Senators, as it was to me, to see those bankers from New York, after putting into effect the deflation as they have for the last two years, the kind of deflation they put on in 1920, the inflation that was inaugurated in 1924 and that blew up like an overinflated balloon in 1929, come down to Washington and to see official Washington sit at their feet listening in awe to what they had to say as though God Almighty was speaking through their lips. It was very humiliating to me to see that spectacle, and I am sure it must have been humiliating also to other Members of the Senate.

CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I rise to ask the Senate to give me unanimous consent to take up the second bill on the calendar, being the bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the calendar is not now before the Senate.

Mr. LEWIS. I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be considered at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. KING. Let the bill be read.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, may I inquire of the Senator from Illinois whether it is his intention to have the bill considered now for the purpose of passing it?

Mr. LEWIS. A similar bill having passed the Senate at a previous session and having been lost in the other House, and the bill now on the calendar having been unanimously reported by the committee, I was anxious to have it taken up and disposed of at once, I may have the able Senator from Nebraska understand.

Mr. NORRIS. I think the bill will take up some time of the Senate. I have no objection to taking it up this afternoon, but there are several Senators, I think, who are not now present who want to be here when the bill is considered. There will be considerable opposition to it.

Mr. LEWIS. I was not aware of any opposition that now exists. I beg to say I have heard of such, and finding it rested upon misunderstanding have explained individually to the Senators the true situation and am convinced the opposition will not be insisted upon on these formerly assumed provisions of the measure.

Mr. NORRIS. If it is the intention to take the bill up for consideration this afternoon, I should like to suggest the absence of a quorum, which I do not want to do unless that is the intention.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Nebraska that the Senator from Illinois has obtained unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill, and it is now before the Senate. If the Senator from Nebraska desires to suggest the absence of a quorum, it will be proper for him to do so.

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator from Illinois yield to me for that purpose?

Mr. LEWIS. If the Senator so desires, certainly I yield to him as I would yield any courtesy or service.

Mr. NORRIS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Byrnes	Fletcher	Hull
Austin	Capper	Frazier	Johnson
Bailey	Caraway	George	Jones
Bankhead	Carey	Glass	Kean
Barbour	Connally	Glenn	Kendrick
Barkley	Coolidge	Goldsborough	Keyes
Bingham	Copeland	Gore	King
Black	Costigan	Hale	La Follette
Blaine	Couzens	Harris	Lewis
Borah	Cutting	Harrison	Logan
Bratton	Dale	Hastings	McGill
Brookhart	Davis	Hatfield	McKellar
Broussard	Dickinson	Hawes	McNary
Bulkley	Dill	Hayden	Metcalf
Bulow	Fess	Hebert	Morrison

Moses	Robinson, Ark.	Stephens	Walcott
Neely	Robinson, Ind.	Thomas, Idaho	Walsh, Mass.
Norbeck	Schall	Thomas, Okla.	Walsh, Mont.
Norris	Sheppard	Townsend	Waterman
Nye	Shipstead	Trammell	Watson
Oddie	Smith	Tydings	Wheeler
Patterson	Smoot	Vandenberg	White
Pittman	Steiwer	Wagner	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-one Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The Secretary will read the bill.

The legislative clerk read the bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby established a commission, to be known as the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Commission, and to be composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce, which commission shall serve without additional compensation and shall represent the United States in connection with the holding of an international exhibition, known as A Century of Progress, in the city of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, in the year 1933, in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Chicago as a municipality.

SEC. 2. (a) For the purposes of more effectively carrying out the provisions of this resolution there is hereby created a commissioner of A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), whom the President is hereby authorized to appoint.

(b) That the commissioner shall be paid, out of the amount hereinafter provided by this resolution, such compensation as the commission shall authorize: *Provided*, That such salary shall not be in excess of $10,000 per annum.

(c) That the commission shall prescribe the duties of the commissioner and shall delegate such powers and functions to him as it shall deem advisable in order that there may be exhibited at A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) by the Government of the United States, its executive departments, independent offices, and establishments such articles and materials as illustrate the function and administrative faculty of the Government in the advancement of industry, the arts, and peace, demonstrating the nature of our institutions particularly as regards their adaptation to the wants of the people.

SEC. 3. The commissioner may employ such clerks, stenographers, and other assistants as may be necessary and fix their reasonable compensations; purchase such material, contract for such labor and other services without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5), and exercise such powers as are delegated to him by the commission as hereinbefore provided, and in order to facilitate the functioning of his office may subdelegate such powers (authorized or delegated) to officers and employees as may be deemed advisable by the commission.

SEC. 4. The heads of the various executive departments and independent offices and establishments of the Government are authorized to cooperate with the commissioner in the procurement, installation, and display of exhibits; to lend to A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), with the knowledge and consent of the commissioner, such articles, specimens, and exhibits which the commissioner shall deem to be in the interest of the United States to place with the science or other exhibits to be shown under the auspices of that corporation; to contract for such labor or other services as shall be deemed necessary without regard to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5), and to designate officials or employees of their departments or branches to assist the commissioner. At the close of the exposition, or when the connection of the Government of the United States therewith ceases, the commissioner shall cause all such property to be returned to the respective departments and branches from which taken, and any expenses incident to the restoration of such property to a condition which will permit its use at subsequent expositions and fairs, and for the continued employment of personnel necessary to close out the fiscal and other records and prepare the required reports of the participating organizations, may be paid from the appropriation provided; and if the return of such property is not practicable, he may, with the consent of the department or branch from which it was taken, make such disposition thereof as he may deem advisable and account therefor.

SEC. 5. The sum of $1,725,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until expended, of which sum not to exceed the sum of $550,000 may be expended for the erection of such building or group of buildings, and/or for the rental of such space, as the commission may deem adequate to carry out effectively the provisions of this resolution; for the decoration of such structure or structures; for the proper maintenance of such buildings, site, and grounds during the period of the exposition. The commission may contract with A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) for the designing and erection of such building or buildings and/or for the rental of such space as shall be deemed proper. The remaining portion of the appropriation authorized under this resolution shall be available for the selection, purchase, preparation, assembling, transportation, installation, arrangement, safe-keeping, exhibition, demonstration, and return of such articles and materials as the commission may decide shall be included in such Government exhibit and in the exhibits of A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration); for the compensation of the commissioner and employees in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, for the payment of salaries of officers and employees of the Government, employed by or detailed for duty with the commission, and for their actual traveling expenses and subsistence or for per diem in lieu thereof at rates to be prescribed by the commission (notwithstanding the provisions of any other act): *Provided*, That no such official or employee so designated shall receive a salary in excess of the amount which he has been receiving in the department or branch where employed plus such reasonable allowance for expenses as may be deemed proper by the commissioner; for telephone service, purchase of furniture and equipment, stationery and supplies, typewriting, adding, duplicating, and computing machines, their accessories and repairs, books of reference and periodicals, uniforms, maps, reports, documents, plans, specifications, manuscripts, newspapers and all other publications, ice and drinking water for office purposes: *Provided*, That payment for telephone service, rents, subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals, and other similar purposes may be made in advance, for the purchase of a passenger-carrying automobile, its maintenance, repair, and operation, for the official use of the commissioner; for printing and binding; for entertainment of distinguished visitors, and all other expenses as may be deemed necessary by the commission to fulfill properly the purposes of this resolution. All purchases, expenditures, and disbursements, under any appropriations which may be provided by authority of this resolution, shall be made under the direction of the commission; may be made in open market without compliance with section 3709 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5), in the manner common among business men, when the aggregate amount of the purchase or the service does not exceed $1,000 in any instance; shall not be subject to the provisions of any law, other than this resolution, regulating or limiting the expenditure of public money or the employment of personnel; and the approval of the commission shall in every case be final: *Provided*, That the commission, as hereinbefore stipulated, may delegate these powers and functions to the commissioner, and the commissioner, with the consent of the commission, may subdelegate them: *And provided further*, That the commission or its delegated representative may authorize the allotment of funds to any executive department, independent office, or establishment of the Government with the consent of the heads thereof for direct expenditure by said executive department, independent office, or establishment for the purpose of defraying any expenditure which may be incurred by said executive department, independent office, or establishment in executing the duties and functions delegated to said office by the commission; and all accounts and vouchers covering expenditures under these appropriations shall be approved by the commissioner or such assistants as he may delegate, except for such allotments as may be made to the various executive departments and establishments for direct expenditures; but these provisions shall not be construed to waive the submission of accounts and vouchers to the General Accounting Office for audit or permit any obligations to be incurred in excess of the amount authorized to be appropriated.

SEC. 6. The commissioner, with the approval of the commission, may receive from any source contributions to aid in carrying out the general purposes of this resolution, but the same shall be expended and accounted for in the same manner as any appropriation which may be made under authority of this resolution. The commissioner is also authorized to receive contributions of material, or borrowed material or exhibits, to aid in carrying out the general purposes of this resolution; and at the close of the exposition or when the connection of the Government of the United States therewith ceases, shall dispose of any such portion of the material contributed as may be unused, and return such borrowed property, and provide for the restoration of such borrowed property to a condition which will permit its use at subsequent expositions or fairs, or for reimbursement thereof to the owners in the event of damage to said property; and, under the direction of the commission, dispose of any buildings which may have been constructed and account therefor.

SEC. 7. That it shall be the duty of the commission to transmit to Congress, within six months after the close of the exposition, a detailed statement of all expenditures, and such other reports as may be deemed proper, which reports shall be prepared and arranged with a view to concise statement and convenient reference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I have just entered the Chamber. Is this Senate bill 355?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is the measure now before the Senate.

Mr. BORAH. Does the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] intend to explain the bill?

Mr. LEWIS. I yielded to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCNARY], who, I thought, desired to make some report from the committee which reported the bill.

I may say to the Senator from Idaho that this bill is similar to the measure that passed the Senate on the same

subject in a previous session but was lost in the House during the time of my predecessor, Senator Deneen. It is the measure that looks to the exposition in Chicago. It is on the calendar, and I desire to have it disposed of. The former ambassador to Great Britain, General Dawes, who was the head of the commission, is anxious to have it passed before he enters upon his duties as chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. I fancy that he does not wish to appear to be using his position after he has entered upon its duties and influences to help aid the passage of the bill or any legislative measure.

The desire to have the bill passed at this time is in order that the work now in progress at the fair grounds may continue and the purposes of the exposition be carried on. I may say to the Senator that $10,000,000 has been subscribed by the people at home to carry on this commendable project. Foreign governments have provided similar sums as provided here to expend in their own behalf for the privilege of displaying at the exposition. This bill authorizes our Government to participate in the exposition and make a display as a government on the equal basis accorded the world nations.

It is desired to have the bill passed quickly in order to encourage other governments who have entered into an agreement likewise to make appropriations.

Have I answered what the Senator has in mind?

Mr. BORAH. The amount appropriated is a million dollars?

Mr. LEWIS. I understood the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] to say—I trust I did not misunderstand him—that it was an authorization; and, as the Senate well understands, there is a difference between an authorization and an appropriation. The authorization is that if, ultimately, expenditures should be called for, the amount expended by our Government should not exceed the sum named in the bill, and that it would be called for only from time to time, upon such representations as justified it. Such is my understanding and construction of the measure, I will say to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. This bill simply authorizes the appropriation?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. Which means, of course, that the appropriation will be made.

Mr. LEWIS. I am not able to say what the practice at present is in that regard. As my able friend knows, I have been absent from this honorable body from previous service for quite a little while——

Mr. BORAH. To the loss of the body——

Mr. LEWIS. I thank my old friend for that complimentary observation; and I do not know the difference between any present procedure now obtaining and that in vogue when I was here.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I was about to suggest to my friend from Illinois that while this is a mere authorization, it calls for the expenditure of $500,000 for the building, the employment of clerks and high-salaried men at not more than $10,000 for the commissioner.

Mr. LEWIS. That is offset, may I say to my able friend, by the rents that will be obtained from the building, and will not have to be paid except out of the rents. If these are not obtained, such payments will not be had.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I shall not oppose the bill of my friend by speech. I have opposed by my votes all of these appropriations since I have been in the Senate.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I am strongly in favor of the passage of this bill; but I desire to make just one observation.

When there is an authorization for something that looks like a world's fair, or a display of material growth, we never have any difficulty in getting the money; but if there is a suggestion that we desire to give recognition to a great character like George Washington there is absolute cutting to the bone, away below the needs that have been established and recommended by the Bureau of the Budget.

As I say, I am strongly in favor of this measure; but I called attention before to the fact that when anything of this kind comes up there is no opposition, while if the proposal is to give emphasis to the better qualities of our country we always hold off. I do not like it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on certain amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes, and that the House insisted upon its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate Nos. 15 and 23 to the said bill.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H. R. 6596) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war, and it was signed by the Vice President.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ind.
Austin	Cutting	Jones	Schall
Bailey	Dale	Kean	Sheppard
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Shipstead
Barbour	Dickinson	Keyes	Smith
Barkley	Dill	King	Smoot
Bingham	Fess	La Follette	Steiwer
Black	Fletcher	Lewis	Stephens
Blaine	Frazier	Logan	Thomas, Idaho
Borah	George	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Townsend
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Trammell
Broussard	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Tydings
Bulkley	Gore	Morrison	Vandenberg
Bulow	Hale	Moses	Wagner
Byrnes	Harris	Neely	Walcott
Capper	Harrison	Norbeck	Wash, Mass.
Caraway	Hastings	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hatfield	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hawes	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hayden	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Hebert	Pittman	White
Costigan	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-one Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

The Chair lays before the Senate several messages from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, which will be referred to the appropriate committees. Reports of committees are in order.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

DR. HUGH S. CUMMING, SURGEON GENERAL

Mr. SMOOT, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of Hugh S. Cumming, of Virginia, to be Surgeon General of the Public Health Service for a term of four years, expiring March 9, 1936.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, was the report just made of the nomination of Doctor Cumming?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. COPELAND. I hope the Senator will have immediate action taken on that nomination. Doctor Cumming is a long time and faithful servant of the Government.

Mr. SMOOT. I have no objection to immediate action upon the nomination.

Mr. COPELAND. I make that request, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the nomination just reported. Is there objection? The Chair hears none; and, without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

If there are no further reports of committees the calendar is in order.

TREATY WITH NORWAY

Executive KK (Seventieth Congress, second session), a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929, was announced as first in order.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] that treaty may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The treaty will be passed over.

MARITIME NEUTRALITY

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider Executive FF (Seventieth Congress, second session), a convention on maritime neutrality, adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which assembled at Habana, Cuba, from January 16 to February 20, 1928, which was read, as follows:

To the Senate:

To the end that I may receive the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of the English text of a convention on maritime neutrality, adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which assembled at Habana, Cuba, from January 16 to February 20, 1928.

The attention of the Senate is invited to the accompanying report of the Secretary of State and the reservation regarding section 3 of article 12 of the convention made by the American delegation to the conference.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 13, 1929.*

The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a certified English text of the convention on maritime neutrality adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which assembled at Habana, Cuba, from January 18 to February 20, 1928.

This convention was not signed as a separate instrument, but was included in the final act of the conference which was signed on the part of all the Governments represented at the conference. A certified copy of this final act in the Spanish language, furnished by the Government of Cuba, accompanied a report to you dated to-day transmitting a convention regarding the Pan American Union.

Article 12 of this convention contains the following provisions:

Where the sojourn, supplying, and provisioning of belligerent ships in the ports and jurisdictional waters of neutrals are concerned, the provisions relating to ships of war shall apply equally:

1. To ordinary auxiliary ships;

2. To merchant ships transformed into warships, in accordance with Convention VII of The Hague of 1907.

The neutral vessel shall be seized and in general subjected to the same treatment as enemy merchantmen:

a) When taking a direct part in the hostilities;

b) When at the orders or under the direction of an agent placed on board by an enemy Government;

c) When entirely freight-loaded by an enemy Government;

d) When actually and exclusively destined for transporting enemy troops or for the transmission of information on behalf of the enemy.

In the cases dealt with in this Article, merchandise belonging to the owner of the vessel or ship shall also be liable to seizure:

3. To armed merchantmen.

It will be observed that the American delegation agreed to this convention, subject to a reservation regarding article 12, section 3, which this Government does not accept.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 12, 1929.

CONVENTION

[Maritime Neutrality]

The Governments of the Republics represented at the Sixth International Conference of American States, held in the city of Habana, Republic of Cuba, in the year 1928;

Desiring that, in case war breaks out between two or more states the other states may, in the service of peace, offer their good offices or mediation to bring the conflict to an end, without such an action being considered as an unfriendly act;

Convinced that, in case this aim can not be attained, neutral states have equal interest in having their rights respected by the belligerents;

Considering that neutrality is the juridical situation of states which do not take part in the hostilities, and that it creates rights and imposes obligations of impartiality, which should be regulated;

Recognizing that international solidarity requires that the liberty of commerce should be always respected, avoiding as far as possible unnecessary burdens for the neutrals;

It being convenient, that as long as this object is not reached, to reduce those burdens as much as possible; and

In the hope that it will be possible to regulate the matter so that all interests concerned may have every desired guaranty;

Have resolved to formulate a convention to that effect and have appointed the following plenipotentiaries:

Peru: Jesús Melquiades Salazar, Víctor Maúrtua, Enrique Castro Oyanguren, Luis Ernesto Denegri.

Uruguay: Jacobo Varela Acevedo, Juan José Amézaga, Leonel Aguirre, Pedro Erasmo Callorda.

Panamá: Ricardo J. Alfaro, Eduardo Chiari.

Ecuador: Gonzalo Zaldumbide, Víctor Zevallos, Colón Eloy Alfaro.

Mexico: Julio García, Fernando González Roa, Salvador Urbina, Aquiles Elorduy.

Salvador: Gustavo Guerrero, Héctor David Castro, Eduardo Alvarez.

Guatemala: Carlos Salazar, Bernardo Alvarado Tello, Luis Beltranena, José Azurdia.

Nicaragua: Carlos Cuadra Pazos, Joaquín Gómez, Máximo H. Zepeda.

Bolivia: José Antezana, Adolfo Costa du Rels.

Venezuela: Santiago Key Ayala, Francisco Gerardo Yanes, Rafael Angel Arraiz.

Colombia: Enrique Olaya Herrera, Jesús M. Yepes, Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez, Ricardo Gutiérrez Lee.

Honduras: Fausto Dávila, Mariano Vázquez.

Costa Rica: Ricardo Castro Beeche, J. Rafael Oreamuno, Arturo Tinoco.

Chile: Alejandro Lira, Alejandro Alvarez, Carlos Silva Vildósola, Manuel Bianchi.

Brazil: Raúl Fernandes, Lindolfo Collor, Alarico da Silveira, Sampaio Correa, Eduardo Espínola.

Argentina: Honorio Pueyrredón, (Later resigned), Laurentino Olascoaga, Felipe A. Espil.

Paraguay: Lisandro Díaz León.

Haiti: Fernando Dennis, Charles Riboul.

Dominican Republic: Francisco J. Peyando, Gustavo A. Díaz, Elías Brache, Angel Morales, Tulio M. Cestero, Ricardo Pérez Alfonseca, Jacinto R. de Castro, Federico C. Alvarez.

United States of America: Charles Evans Hughes, Noble Brandon Judah, Henry P. Fletcher, Oscar W. Underwood, Dwight W. Morrow, Morgan J. O'Brien, James Brown Scott, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Leo S. Rowe.

Cuba: Antonio S. de Bustamante, Orestes Ferrara, Enrique Hernández Cartaya, José Manuel Cortina, Arístides

Agüero, José B. Alemán, Manuel Márquez Sterling, Fernando Ortiz, Néstor Carbonell, Jesús María Barraqué.

Who, after having presented their credentials, which were found in good and correct form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

SECTION I.—FREEDOM OF COMMERCE IN TIME OF WAR

ARTICLE 1

The following rules shall govern commerce in time of war:

1. Warships of the belligerents have the right to stop and visit on the high seas and in territorial waters that are not neutral any merchant ship with the object of ascertaining its character and nationality and of verifying whether it conveys cargo prohibited by international law or has committed any violation of blockade. If the merchant ship does not heed the signal to stop, it may be pursued by the warship and stopped by force; outside of such a case the ship can not be attacked unless, after being hailed, it fails to observe the instructions given it.

The ship shall not be rendered incapable of navigation before the crew and passengers have been placed in safety.

2. Belligerent submarines are subject to the foregoing rules. If the submarine can not capture the ship while observing these rules, it shall not have the right to continue to attack or to destroy the ship.

ARTICLE 2

Both the detention of the vessel and its crew for violation of neutrality shall be made in accordance with the procedure which best suits the state effecting it and at the expense of the transgressing ship. Said state, except in the case of grave fault on its part, is not responsible for damages which the vessel may suffer.

SECTION II.—DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF BELLIGERENTS

ARTICLE 3

Belligerent states are obligated to refrain from performing acts of war in neutral waters or other acts which may constitute on the part of the state that tolerates them, a violation of neutrality.

ARTICLE 4

Under the terms of the preceding article, a belligerent state is forbidden:

a) To make use of neutral waters as a base of naval operations against the enemy, or to renew or augment military supplies or the armament of its ships, or to complete the equipment of the latter;

b) To install in neutral waters radio-telegraph stations or any other apparatus which may serve as a means of communication with its military forces, or to make use of installations of this kind it may have established before the war and which may not have been opened to the public.

ARTICLE 5

Belligerent warships are forbidden to remain in the ports or waters of a neutral state more than twenty-four hours. This provision will be communicated to the ship as soon as it arrives in port or in the territorial waters, and if already there at the time of the declaration of war, as soon as the neutral state becomes aware of this declaration.

Vessels used exclusively for scientific, religious, or philanthropic purposes are exempted from the foregoing provisions.

A ship may extend its stay in port more than twenty-four hours in case of damage or bad conditions at sea, but must depart as soon as the cause of the delay has ceased.

When, according to the domestic law of the neutral state, the ship may not receive fuel until twenty-four hours after its arrival in port, the period of its stay may be extended an equal length of time.

ARTICLE 6

The ship which does not conform to the foregoing rules may be interned by order of the neutral government.

A ship shall be considered as interned from the moment it receives notice to that effect from the local neutral authority, even though a petition for reconsideration of the order has been interposed by the transgressing vessel, which shall remain under custody from the moment it receives the order.

ARTICLE 7

In the absence of a special provision of the local legislation, the maximum number of ships of war of a belligerent which may be in a neutral port at the same time shall be three.

ARTICLE 8

A ship of war may not depart from a neutral port within less than twenty-four hours after the departure of an enemy warship. The one entering first shall depart first, unless it is in such condition as to warrant extending its stay. In any case the ship which arrived later has the right to notify the other through the competent local authority that within twenty-four hours it will leave the port, the one first entering, however, having the right to depart within that time. If it leaves, the notifying ship must observe the interval which is above stipulated.

ARTICLE 9

Damaged belligerent ships shall not be permitted to make repairs in neutral ports beyond those that are essential to the continuance of the voyage and which in no degree constitute an increase in its military strength.

Damages which are found to have been produced by the enemy's fire shall in no case be repaired.

The neutral state shall ascertain the nature of the repairs to be made and will see that they are made as rapidly as possible.

ARTICLE 10

Belligerent warships may supply themselves with fuel and stores in neutral ports, under the conditions especially established by the local authority and in case there are no special provisions to that effect, they may supply themselves in the manner prescribed for provisioning in time of peace.

ARTICLE 11

Warships which obtain fuel in a neutral port cannot renew their supply in the same State until a period of three months has elapsed.

ARTICLE 12

Where the sojourn, supplying, and provisioning of belligerent ships in the ports and jurisdictional waters of neutrals are concerned, the provisions relative to ships of war shall apply equally:

1. To ordinary auxiliary ships.

2. To merchant ships transformed into warships, in accordance with Convention VII of The Hague of 1907.

The neutral vessel shall be seized and in general subjected to the same treatment as enemy merchantmen:

a) When taking a direct part in the hostilities;

b) When at the orders or under the direction of an agent placed on board by an enemy government;

c) When entirely freight-loaded by an enemy government;

d) When actually and exclusively destined for transporting enemy troops or for the transmission of information on behalf of the enemy.

In the cases dealt with in this article, merchandise belonging to the owner of the vessel or ship shall also be liable to seizure.

3. To armed merchantmen.

ARTICLE 13

Auxiliary ships of belligerents, converted anew into merchantmen, shall be admitted as such in neutral ports subject to the following conditions:

1. That the transformed vessel has not violated the neutrality of the country where it arrives;

2. That the transformation has been made in the ports or jurisdictional waters of the country to which the vessel belongs, or in the ports of its allies;

3. That the transformation be genuine, namely, that the vessel show neither in its crew nor in its equipment that it can serve the armed fleet of its country as an auxiliary, as it did before;

4. That the government of the country to which the ship belongs communicate to the states the names of auxiliary craft which have lost such character in order to recover that of merchantmen; and

5. That the same Government obligate itself that said ships shall not again be used as auxiliaries to the war fleet.

ARTICLE 14

The airships of belligerents shall not fly above the territory or the territorial waters of neutrals if it is not in conformity with the regulations of the latter.

SECTION III.—RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEUTRALS

ARTICLE 15

Of the acts of assistance coming from the neutral States, and the acts of commerce on the part of individuals, only the first are contrary to neutrality.

ARTICLE 16

The neutral State is forbidden:

a) To deliver to the belligerent, directly or indirectly, or for any reason whatever, ships of war, munitions or any other war material;

b) To grant it loans, or to open credits for it during the duration of war.

Credits that a neutral State may give to facilitate the sale or exportation of its food products and raw materials are not included in this prohibition.

ARTICLE 17

Prizes cannot be taken to a neutral port except in case of unseaworthiness, stress of weather, or want of fuel or provisions. When the cause has disappeared, the prizes must leave immediately; if none of the indicated conditions exist, the state shall suggest to them that they depart, and if not obeyed shall have recourse to the means at its disposal to disarm them with their officers and crew, or to intern the prize crew placed on board by the captor.

ARTICLE 18

Outside of the cases provided for in Article 17, the neutral state must release the prizes which may have been brought into its territorial waters.

ARTICLE 19

When a ship transporting merchandise is to be interned in a neutral state, cargo intended for said country shall be unloaded and that destined for others shall be transshipped.

ARTICLE 20

The merchantman supplied with fuel or other stores in a neutral state which repeatedly delivers the whole or part of its supplies to a belligerent vessel, shall not again receive stores and fuel in the same state.

ARTICLE 21

Should it be found that a merchantman flying a belligerent flag, by its preparations or other circumstances, can supply to warships of a state the stores which they need, the local authority may refuse it supplies or demand of the agent of the company a guaranty that the said ship will not aid or assist any belligerent vessel.

ARTICLE 22

Neutral states are not obligated to prevent the export or transit at the expense of any one of the belligerents of arms, munitions and in general of anything which may be useful to their military forces.

Transit shall be permitted when, in the event of a war between two American nations, one of the belligerents is a Mediterranean country, having no other means of supplying itself, provided the vital interests of the country through which transit is requested do not suffer by the granting thereof.

ARTICLE 23

Neutral states shall not oppose the voluntary departure of nationals of belligerent states even though they leave simultaneously in great numbers; but they may oppose the voluntary departure of their own nationals going to enlist in the armed forces.

ARTICLE 24

The use by the belligerents of the means of communication of neutral states or which cross or touch their territory is subject to the measures dictated by the local authority.

ARTICLE 25

If as a result of naval operations beyond the territorial waters of neutral states there should be dead or wounded on board belligerent vessels, said states may send hospital ships under the vigilance of the neutral government to the scene of the disaster. These ships shall enjoy complete immunity during the discharge of their mission.

ARTICLE 26

Neutral states are bound to exert all the vigilance within their power in order to prevent in their ports or territorial waters any violation of the foregoing provisions.

SECTION IV.—FULFILLMENT AND OBSERVANCE OF THE LAWS OF NEUTRALITY

ARTICLE 27

A belligerent shall indemnify the damage caused by its violation of the foregoing provisions. It shall likewise be responsible for the acts of persons who may belong to its armed forces.

ARTICLE 28

The present convention does not affect obligations previously undertaken by the contracting parties through international agreements.

ARTICLE 29

After being signed, the present convention shall be submitted to the ratification of the signatory states. The Government of Cuba is charged with transmitting authentic certified copies to the governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instrument of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, the Union to notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications. This convention shall remain open to the adherents of nonsignatory states.

In witness whereof, the aforenamed plenipotentiaries sign the present convention in Spanish, English, French, and Portuguese, in the city of Habana, the 20th day of February, 1928.

Peru: Jesús M. Salazar, Victor M. Maúrtua, Luis Ernesto Denegri, E. Castro Oyanguren.

Uruguay: Varela, Pedro Erasmo Callorda.

Panama: R. J. Alfaro, Eduardo Chiari.

Ecuador: Gonzalo Zaldumbide, Victor Zevallos, C. E. Alfaro.

Mexico: Julio García, Fernando González Roa, Salvador Urbina, Aquiles Elorduy.

Salvador: J. Gustavo Guerrero, Héctor David Castro, Ed. Alvarez.

Guatemala: Carlos Salazar, B. Alvarado, Luis Beltranena, J. Azurdia.

Nicaragua: Carlos Cuadra Pazos, Máximo H. Zepeda, Joaquín Gómez.

Bolivia: José Antezana, A. Costa du R.

Venezuela: Santiago Key Ayala, Francisco G. Yanes, Rafael Angel Arraiz.

Colombia: Enrique Olaya Herrera, R. Gutiérrez Lee, J. M. Yepes.

Honduras: F. Dávila, Mariano Vázquez.

Costa Rica: Ricardo Castro Beeche, J. Rafael Oreamuno, A. Tinoco Jiménez.

RESERVATION OF THE DELEGATION OF CHILE

The delegation of Chile signs the present convention with a reservation concerning Article 22, paragraph 2.

Chile: Alejandro Lira, Alejandro Alvarez, C. Silva Vildósola, Manuel Bianchi.

Brazil: Raúl Fernandes, Lindolfo Collor.

Argentina: Laurentino Olascoaga, Felipe A. Espil, Carlos Alberto Alcorta.

Paraguay: Lisandro Díaz León, Juan Vicente Ramírez.

Haiti: Fernando Dennis.

Dominican Republic: Fraco. J. Peynado, Tulio M. Cestero, Jacinto R. de Castro, Elías Brache, R. Pérez Alfonseca.

RESERVATION OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The delegation of the United States of America signs the present convention with a reservation regarding Article 12, section 3.

United States of America: Charles Evans Hughes, Noble Brandon Judah, Henry P. Fletcher, Oscar W. Underwood, Morgan J. O'Brien, James Brown Scott, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Leo S. Rowe.

RESERVATION OF THE DELEGATION OF CUBA

The delegation of the Republic of Cuba signs with a reservation in reference to Article 12, section 3.

Cuba: Antonio S. de Bustamente, Orestes Ferrara, E. Hernández Cartaya, Arístides de Agüero Bethencourt, M. Márquez Sterling, Néstor Carbonell.

Certified to be the English text of the convention on maritime neutrality as contained in the final act signed at the closing session of the Sixth International Conference of American States.

FRANK B. KELLOGG,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, this is a treaty which was negotiated at the Habana conference and seeks to establish the rights and duties of belligerents and the rights and duties of the neutrals among the countries of the American Continent. Many of the provisions of the treaty are taken from The Hague convention, which was formally ratified by the Senate. Some are taken from the London maritime neutrality treaty of 1909.

I do not know that there is anything in particular that I should call attention to, unless some Senator desires to ask a question.

There is a reservation to section 3, article 12. This reservation was made at the time the treaty was signed.

The treaty was reported to the Senate without amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the resolution of ratification, which will be read.

The legislative clerk read the resolution of ratification, as follows:

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of Executive FF, Seventieth Congress, second session, a convention of maritime neutrality adopted on February 20, 1928, at the Sixth International Conference of American States at Habana, Cuba, subject to the reservation made by the delegates of the United States at the said conference in regard to section 3 of article 12, namely, "3. To armed merchantmen," which section the Government of the United States does not accept.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of ratification. [Putting the question.] Two-thirds of the Senators present having voted for the resolution of ratification, the Senate advises and consents to the ratification of the treaty.

TREATY WITH POLAND

The legislative clerk proceeded to read Calendar No. 7, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and the Republic of Poland, signed at Washington on June 15, 1931.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, on the request of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], I ask that that may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The treaty will go over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Frank Evans, of Utah, to be a member of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, in the absence of the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK], I ask that the nominations to the Farm Board may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations will go over.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles G. Dawes, of Illinois, to be a member, board of directors, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, for a term of two years from January 22, 1932.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the Committee on Banking and Currency did not hold hearings upon the three nominations which we are about to consider. In fact, the committee declined to hold such hearings, and therefore the Senate is without any official information concerning the qualifications of three gentlemen who are now before the Senate for its action.

This situation, I think, is indeed very unfortunate; unfortunate, in my opinion, from the standpoint of Members of the Senate who are to pass upon these nominations. I have heard many Senators remark that the Reconstruction Finance act is the President's act, that it is his responsibility, and so the urge has been, with a great deal of zeal, to hasten along the passage and the perfection of the Finance Reconstruction measure, hasten it along, as some Senators have suggested, in order that it may be put on the President's doorstep.

Mr. President, I take an entirely different view of the situation. I opposed the reconstruction finance bill. I appreciate that I assumed a certain responsibility. I am perfectly willing to bear that responsibility. I think Senators who voted for the reconstruction finance bill also have a responsibility, and if it is a failure they must share the responsibility and the consequences which flow from that measure with the President. They will be estopped, in all good conscience and good morals, from condemning the President. If it is a success, they will be entitled to share in all the honors which may come to those who supported that bill, dividing the honors with the Executive.

Mr. President, as I conceive the situation to be, we have identically the same responsibility respecting the men whom the President has selected to administer the law. We can not escape or evade that responsibility.

In discussing the nominee presently before the Senate, Mr. Dawes, former Vice President, I want to say at the outset that my remarks, depending upon the viewpoint of the respective Senators, may point out his especial fitness for this position, or my remarks may be construed by others as showing that he is unfit for the position. But in order to make myself clear, and in order to make my position definite, I want to outline what the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is to do.

Briefly, it is set up for the purpose of advancing loans to certain institutions, corporations, railroads, insurance companies, and banks, which are in a desperate financial situation, or with assets greatly impaired. In other words, the purpose of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is to take care of moribund institutions, institutions which need financial aid; but there is no business organization in the United States which is willing to advance the necessary money, so the Government of the United States is to be obligated in carrying out that burden.

Our former Vice President, a very dynamic individual, colorful and active, may be especially qualified to carry out the duties of this corporation. Mr. Dawes has had experience. He is going to do something. What that something may be we do not know; but he is not going to be inactive, at least. He is especially equipped in this situation for the administration of this act by and through his own business experiences.

It may be recalled that back in the early part of 1912 a banking institution known as the La Salle Street National Bank, of which Mr. William Lorimer, as I recall, was president, was very much in financial distress. Its capital was greatly impaired, and there was immediate danger of the closing of that bank by the Comptroller of the Currency.

Under the laws of the State of Illinois that bank could not be reorganized as a State bank. Therefore the stockholders who were interested in the Lorimer national bank conceived a plan by which they would organize a State bank. As I recall, the name of the State bank was the La Salle Street Trust & Savings Bank.

Under the laws of the State of Illinois, before a charter could issue to the State institution, it was necessary for the subscribers to the stock to pay into the bank, so that it might be under the control of its officers, the total amount of the subscriptions. In this particular case the amount of the capital stock was to be $1,000,000, and $250,000 as a surplus.

The subscribers subscribed for the shares at the rate of $125 per share, thereby affording a quarter of a million dollars as a surplus. The bank, therefore, was to start out with a capital and surplus of $1,250,000.

There was not any money in the possession of these subscribers to the stock of the State bank, they could not ob-

tain any money, and the question at once arose as to how the State bank was to qualify under the banking laws of the State of Illinois. It had to have in the bank or under the control or in the possession of the proper officers of the newly organized bank the total amount of that subscription, $1,250,000.

Let me, for the safe of brevity and for the sake of accuracy, read from a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, the case being entitled Golden against Cervenka, reported in Two hundred and seventy-eighth Illinois Supreme Court Reports, beginning on page 409.

Preliminary to reading from that case I will state in chronological order what happened: The $1,250,000 was obtained. The manner in which it was obtained is described by Justice Dunne in the decision to which I am referring. At any rate, the La Salle Street Trust & Savings Bank was organized, and it took over the assets and property of the Lorimer national bank, and also assumed all of the liabilities of the Lorimer national bank.

In 1914 the State bank which succeeded the national bank got into financial difficulties. The bank was closed, a receiver was appointed for the bank, and the Banking Department of the State of Illinois took charge. During the receivership, creditors of the bank brought an action in equity for an accounting. All of the necessary parties were made defendants. Among those defendants was the Central Trust Co., of Chicago, the Central Trust Co. being the company in which Mr. Dawes was interested and of which he was an important officer.

That action was brought for the purpose of fixing the responsibility and liability of the defendants, among them the Central Trust Co. During the course of that litigation it developed how the $1,250,000 which it was essential be delivered to the offices of the Lorimer State bank before it could have a certificate of authority from the auditor of the State was obtained. I think "auditor" is the official title of the State officer who had control of the banks in Illinois at that time. The Central Trust Co. appeared. It defended against the suit brought by the plaintiff. There were various pleadings, amended complaints, cross complaints, pleadings in defense, and all manner of pleadings. But the case eventually came to the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois. It developed during a hearing in the lower court that the Central Trust Co. was the institution which furnished the $1,250,000 to the Lorimer bank, furnished by an arrangement made by the nominee, Mr. Charles G. Dawes.

That financial arrangement we might liken unto the manipulation of the silk hat of a magician on the stage. He turns it over and shows the audience that there is nothing whatever in the hat. That is exactly the case of the Lorimer national bank—there was not anything in it. But the skillful magician pulls out a rabbit or a silk handkerchief before his audience. That is exactly what happened in this transaction between the Central Trust Co. and the Lorimer national bank and the Lorimer State bank. I am going to let the supreme court tell the story. On page 422 of the decision—I shall not read it all, only that which is material—the court said:

That section—

Referring to a section of the Illinois statute—

requires the payment of the capital and surplus of the bank in cash before commencing business and before the issue of the auditor's certificate. In order to evade this requirement of the statute and obtain the certificate authorizing the bank to commence business without complying with it, 10 persons, among whom were some of those whose names appeared as subscribers of stock, executed their several promissory notes on October 21, 1912, each for $125,000, payable to the La Salle Street National Bank.

That was the bank which at that time was in financial difficulties and about to lose its assets.

These notes were not expected to be paid, the makers did not expect to pay and did not pay any part of them, and most of the makers were unable to pay any considerable part of them. The amounts were, however, placed to the credit of the makers, each of whom then gave his check for the same amount to the bank—

That is, to the national bank—

which placed the aggregate amount of these checks to the credit of the "La Salle Street Trust & Savings Bank stock account." William Lorimer, the president of the national bank, on the same day called upon Charles G. Dawes, the president of the Central Trust Co., and told him that he would want an amount of money equal to the capital and surplus of the new bank to be counted by the agent of the auditor in compliance with the requirement of the law and that the bank did not have that much currency. He asked if Dawes could furnish it to him on a cashier's check of the La Salle Street National Bank. Dawes agreed to do so.

This all reads like a fairy tale, a magician's book. Here is the hat with nothing in it. Here is the switching of these notes and checks. Shortly out of the hat comes $1,250,000.

Dawes agreed to do so. A check for $1,250,000 was drawn in favor of the La Salle Street National Bank, signed "The La Salle Street Trust & Savings Bank of Chicago, per Thos. McDonald, assistant cashier," and was accepted by the national bank, which issued in payment of it a cashier's check of the national bank for the same amount payable to the Central Trust Co.

Of course, there had not been a single dollar transferred, nothing of value. There was still nothing in the hat. The magician had not come to that part of his act. Permit me to say that when I am talking about a magician I imply no impropriety so far as Mr. Dawes is concerned in connection with this specific matter. I leave that to the court. I imply no dishonesty. I am endeavoring to outline what seems to me may especially qualify Mr. Dawes to be at the head of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. I continue reading:

A cashier's check of the national bank for the same amount payable to the Central Trust Co., which credited the amount on its books to the LaSalle Street Trust & Savings Bank.

There is still nothing in the hat. The magician is still performing before the audience. So meetings were called on that very day, meetings of the board of directors of the LaSalle Street National Bank, an insolvent institution, and meetings of the board of directors of the newly organized State bank, and all of the necessary resolutions were passed providing for the necessary ratification of certain acts, which I shall not go into because they are quite irrelevant to the point I am endeavoring to stress. But it came to the point where something had to come out of the hat. The auditor of the State of Illinois, through his agent, was there at the Lorimer State Bank. Mr. Lorimer told him that the $1,250,000 was in his possession or would be in his possession properly, and took him over to Mr. Dawes's bank. Mr. Lorimer was elected president of the State bank that same afternoon, so he was an officer of the State bank. Let me read what the court said. We are about to see the rabbit, or whatever kind of animal we may care to characterize it, coming out of that hat.

Nine of the directors, in accordance with the auditor's requirement, made an affidavit that $1,250,000, all the capital and surplus of the bank, "is actually paid in in cash and no part thereof is in notes or pledges of any description, and that said capital and surplus is now in the hands of the proper officers of said association, as above set forth, and is to be used by them solely in the legitimate business of the association when the same shall be opened for banking."

That is the amount which the magician made. We are about to see the rabbit. The magician has dangled the hat around to show the auditor and everybody else that there is not anything in the hat up to that point.

This affidavit was delivered to John H. Rife, an examiner from the auditor's office, who then, accompanied by Lorimer, who had been elected president of the bank, and Charles E. Ward, one of the directors, went to the bank of the Central Trust Co. for the purpose of verifying the statements of the affidavit and satisfying himself that the cash was actually in the possession of the officers of the bank and dedicated to the business of the bank.

Now the rabbit comes out of the hat. I am quoting from the decision of the court.

There $1,250,000 in currency was delivered to Lorimer by the cashier of the Central Trust Co.

The hat was waved around again and after the $1,250,000 was taken out of the hat and Lorimer received it, Rife, the agent of the officials, counted the money and returned it to Lorimer together with the auditor's certificate authorizing



the trust and savings bank to commence business as a bank. That was a show worth seeing. The magician in that case, in his performance with the hat, perhaps holds the world's record. Now, let us see what happened:

Lorimer handed the money back to the cashier—

That is, the cashier of Mr. Dawes's bank—

who returned the cashier's check, indorsed by the Central Trust Co. without recourse.

The hat was again tipped upside down; any one of the audience was invited to inspect it, and when the proper audience inspected it in court it was found that the $1,250,000 rabbit was not in the hat. That was all in issue in this suit. The court held, on page 427, as to this particular issue of the liability of the Central Trust Co. toward the creditors of the Lorimer State bank, as follows:

It is immaterial whether such subsequent creditor—

Referring to the creditor in the suit—

knew of the previous representation or not. If he was injured by reason of the false certificate, he has a right to seek redress against those who caused it to be made. It is also immaterial whether the Central Trust Co. or Dawes had any fraudulent intent, knew anything about the condition of the national bank, or made any profit out of the transaction. The trust company is estopped, as against creditors who had a right to rely upon the auditor's certificate, to deny that the cash exhibited was the property of the trust and savings bank.

The court held that the Central Trust Co. was liable for the difference between the amount, $1,250,000, and the amount of the impairment of the capital assets, and remanded the case back for the purpose of taking an account.

The Central Trust Co., Mr. Dawes's bank, had to respond in damages. A judgment had been rendered against it for $1,250,000, plus interest, but on appeal, as I said, the case was remanded and an accounting was ordered to be had. It appeared in the Supreme Court that the Central Trust Co. was indebted all the way, in round numbers, from $400,000 to $800,000, and would be required to turn over to the receiver that amount for the benefit of creditors. So the Central Trust Co. found itself, when it was dealing with an insolvent institution, bound to respond in damages.

Mr. President, in this situation we have the Reconstruction Finance Corporation loaning money in all probability to institutions that are on the verge of insolvency. That is what the Central Trust Co. did in fact. It delivered this $1,250,000 to Lorimer's bank, and through a circuitous way into the hands of Mr. Lorimer. The Central Trust Co. held the bag. It was required to make good. In this situation Mr. Dawes has had some experience.

Mr. President, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is in a situation where a magician in all probability will have the opportunity to perform an act such as that disclosed in this litigation in the State of Illinois.

As I said in the beginning of my remarks, this experience of Mr. Dawes in all probability may especially fit him to have charge of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; but in the case of the Central Trust Co. the loss was largely the loss of the stockholders of that institution, which was a very closely owned institution; probably a majority of the stock was owned by the Dawes family, and they suffered. In reference to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, however, in the shifting of funds, the "kiting" of checks, if you please, and the shuffling methods that are permitted under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation law we may find eventually that the people of the United States will be "holding the bag."

Mr. President, I repeat that possibly the experience Mr. Dawes had with a magician and his hat will be of great benefit to the people of the United States. I trust that when he assumes office he will scrutinize the first application for a loan, for there will be the hat; it will be dangled before the Reconstruction Finance Corporation board, but it will be a hat containing not millions of dollars but millions of promises.

The first application that has been made is an application of an insolvent organization. That organization has come to the board for $18,000,000. I refer to the Wabash Railroad, now in process of receivership. The information concerning it would not have come to the attention of the Congress except for the fact that the receivership is a public matter and the receivers petitioned the court to permit them to borrow something over $18,000,000 from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The court has granted them that permission, and, in turn, as I understand, this admittedly insolvent organization, which is now in the hands of receivers, has asked for the loan, and all the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, I assume, can receive as security are stocks and bonds that have been purchased in a declining stock market at a very low rate—stocks and bonds of little value in the market to-day.

Mr. KEAN. Mr. President——

Mr. BLAINE. I can not be interrupted now, please. Mr. President, that $18,000,000 loan can only be for one of two purposes. The first purpose is to pay the interest upon the second-mortgage bonds. The other purpose I shall not discuss; but the primary purpose in all probability will be to receive an advancement of $18,000,000 out of the Treasury of the United States with which to pay interest on second-mortgage bonds.

I hope the experience of Mr. Dawes in the Lorimer bank case, where he had his fingers burned will cause him to investigate most carefully the securities which the Wabash receivers propose to deposit with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the purpose of obtaining this loan. I hope he will do that; I have some faith that he will; and if he does so then we may not have an experience similar to that of the Central Trust Co., Mr. Dawes's institution, whereby the Government of the United States will be compelled to make good the losses that are bound to flow from such operations.

Mr. President, I want to call attention to the further fact that there is in existence to-day a railroad credit corporation—I am not sure that that is its technical name—that has been set up by the railroads among the railroads under authorization of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Railroad rates were recently increased, upon the understanding that out of the funds thus obtained that credit corporation should advance moneys to take care of the weaker roads and certain untoward situations in the railroad-operating field. Yet in the Wabash case no such movement has been made. I digress to suggest, Mr. President, that the courts in most instances in the case of railroad receiverships appoint as receivers the officers of the railroads or those nominated by the officers of the railroads who have failed as railroad operators, who have brought the roads to bankruptcy and insolvency. Our Federal courts are repeatedly appointing the agents who are the cause of the failures to act as receivers in such cases.

Furthermore, the receiver in the Wabash case could have asked the court's permission to issue receivers' certificates, which would be a first lien upon all the assets of the railroad. The receivers could have gone to this corporation organized within the railroads to borrow money. They did not do so. The United States Government and the taxpayers of this Government are the ones to "hold the bag" in that situation, and the receivers, with the permission of the court, have come to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation board for this loan.

Mr. President, I am not a prophet and I am not going to prophesy here this afternoon, but unless Mr. Dawes, having had the experience with the bank situation to which I have referred, applies that experience in a practical way in the administration of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation this Government will be mulcted for hundreds of millions of dollars, and out of it will rise the scandals that are bound to come.

Believing that Mr. Dawes will profit by his experience in the case of the Lorimer bank failure, I am rather disposed to believe that that experience gives him an especial fitness to occupy the position to which he has been nominated.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I want to submit just a word for the RECORD, because it seems to me the occasion

should not pass without it when the confirmation of the beloved former presiding officer of the Senate awaits our verdict. I am speaking both from heart and head.

The conclusion which the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] has reached is a thoroughly appropriate one in respect to the fact that the high management of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation requires a leader of superlative experience and capacity and genius. Respecting his other observations, I know nothing of the ancient episode to which the Senator has referred, and I care less.

Mr. President, in my judgment there is not another man among our whole 120,000,000 American people so completely and spectacularly qualified in every possible way, shape, and manner to meet the expectations and justify the confidence of the Republic as Gen. Charles G. Dawes in connection with this difficult assignment. I believe that the moment it was suggested he might be prevailed upon once more to put his sturdy and broad shoulder under a heavy section of the public load the hopes and faith of the American people in this great adventure became intensified and multiplied at once. Such is the public's estimate of this unusual man. It is a benediction upon him and us.

General Dawes has been for 40 years under the microscope of critical assessment. His impeccable integrity stands as granite rock, despite every microscope that ever examined it. He has and deserves the confidence and the affection of all of the American people in as complete a degree as this may be said of any living American. He has a capacity and a genius for public labors and for this particular kind of an assignment which is peculiar and unique. He is one among the millions. He has had from the Senate of the United States more than once a ringing demonstration of faith and esteem, and of complete and absolute confidence. He has been a soldier in peace and war under the American flag upon a dozen different fronts, serving essential and difficult assignments with singular success and fidelity. He has never yet failed a commission, never yet deserted a rendezvous with duty. His vision is broad and brave. His capacity is tested by time and experience. His forthright courage is traditional. His patriotism is an axiom.

It is with peculiar and particular pleasure that I confront once more the opportunity to testify to my belief that General Dawes is an American citizen par excellence, a public servant of rare and versatile utility, a dependable patriot, and the ablest possible administrator to whom this great responsibility could be committed. I believe, Mr. President, that this is the dominant opinion of a grateful American people. I am confident it is equally the opinion of the Senate. It also will be the verdict of posterity.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination? [Putting the question.] The ayes have it, and the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Harvey C. Couch, of Arkansas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination?

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I have no desire to appear as a repeated opponent in connection with these nominations; but I feel a sense of duty and a sense of responsibility. I feel that I must discharge that responsibility.

My own feeling with respect to this nominee is that he is not fitted for this position. This nominee, I think, stands before one of the tribunals of the United States convicted of violation of law; and I make that statement advisedly.

We have here constructed a great public corporation. There is grave danger lurking behind that system of government. Here is a corporation that has been constructed by the Congress, having the power of life and death over industries, communities—yes, even the farmer and the worker. Here is an organization which can go down into the Treasury of the United States for $2,000,000,000. It possesses a financial power equal to the five largest banks in the United States. That is a tremendous power. It is a Government arm, a Government corporation. It is not under the administration of the usual and constitutional departments of Government.

This scheme of constructing public corporations by the Federal Government is bound to lead to the control of Government, not by those who are representatives of our people but control by and through these corporations. Under this bill the Congress of the United States has surrendered its constitutional powers and its constitutional duties and responsibilities—an abject and, I think, an unworthy surrender.

Yes, Mr. President; the further creation of these public corporations will eventually mean the control of Government. Under that situation that branch of Congress which has the responsibility of passing upon these nominations—that branch of Congress which must be consulted and which must give its advice in these respects—has a most grave responsibility in this instance.

We now come to a consideration of the personnel that is to administer this corporation. That personnel has absolute authority in the premises. A half billion dollars has been appropriated. There is no restraint upon the issuance by the corporation of bonds to the extent of a billion and a half dollars additional. There is no report to be made to Congress of their acts in detail. They may indicate the loans that are made by categories, by groups; but, so far as the law is concerned, Congress may never know what organizations or institutions are to receive the beneficence of this Government. Why, Mr. President, the process is the building of institutions undreamed of by the makers of our Constitution.

Therefore, we who have the duty and the responsibility and must share that duty and responsibility with the President of the United States in our advice and consent in these matters ought to have had the opportunity to call the nominees before a committee where a record might be made and where information might have been obtained for the benefit of those who are to pass upon these nominees, and who are charged with the responsibility; yet no such opportunity was afforded. The urge for haste has been terrific. That circumstance alone, in my opinion, raises a suspicion, and now we have nominees brought before the Senate for confirmation about whom no Senator has any official information. All that can be stated upon this floor will be the testimony of Members.

I desire to outline, if you please, Mr. President, the official record of Mr. Couch. I know nothing about him personally. I have never seen him. Moreover, I shall say nothing about him, excepting as the records of a Federal tribunal disclose.

I understand—and yet I have no other information than a report—that Mr. Couch was a director of the Seaboard Air Line, another railroad that is insolvent and is now in the hands of a receiver.

This man, a director of an insolvent institution, is to be one of a board having power to pass upon loans which are to be made to like institutions. I will dismiss that situation with the brief remarks I have made, and go to the official record respecting Mr. Couch's unfitness for this position.

It seems to me that when we are advising and consenting respecting men who are to have charge of important governmental functions and powers we have a right to investigate the attitude of mind of those individuals, whether or not they adhere to certain principles which honest men can not approve, or whether they adhere to a code of honor and integrity.

Mr. Harvey C. Couch is president of the Louisiana & Arkansas Railroad Co., a Delaware corporation, now composed of the old Louisiana & Arkansas Railway, an Arkansas corporation, and the Louisiana Railway & Navigation Co. The time for the consideration of these nominations has been so brief that it has not been fair to Members of this body, they have not had an opportunity to investigate the number of reports and the evidence before governmental tribunals. I have done the best I could, and I have found it necessary to reduce these findings to writing so that I may give assurances of the accuracy of my statements without any slip of the memory.

Shortly after Mr. Harvey C. Couch became president of this property he selected his brother, Mr. C. P. Couch, who had not, previous to that time, had any practical railroad-operating experience, as executive vice president of the company.

The Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co. is a class 1 railroad. It signed an agreement with the shopcraft organizations which compose the railway employees department of the American Federation of Labor, and, as a matter of fact, has agreements with most of the standard railroad labor organizations.

In September, 1930, this carrier served notice on the shopcraft-organization representatives that it was their desire to abrogate their agreement and reduce rates of pay. A conference was held as a result of this notice, although the carrier had not complied strictly with the provisions of the agreement and with section 6 of the railway labor act.

In the conference held as a result of this notice from the carrier, it was made plain by the carrier that they intended arbitrarily to reduce the rates of pay. The employees, members of the shopcraft organizations, invoked the aid of the Board of Mediation, in accordance with the provisions of the railway labor act. A mediator was assigned, but was unable to effect a settlement.

I will quote now from the report of the emergency board, a Federal tribunal set up especially in this case by the President of the United States April 16, 1931, under section 10 of the railway labor act:

> On January 26 and 28 the mediator again requested that the company consider submitting the matter to arbitration, but was, on January 30, notified by a letter from Mr. Couch that "after due consideration advise that we do not care to arbitrate."

Mr. President, the final result was, as I have stated, that the President of the United States appointed an emergency board, acting under the authority granted him in the railway labor act. This board convened on April 23, 1931, and rendered its report to the President of the United States on May 5, 1931. That report can be found on page 19 of the annual report of the United States Board of Mediation, 1931. I have with me a mimeograph copy of the report made by that emergency board.

If any Senator will take occasion to examine this report, he will find that it is a most scathing arraignment and indictment of the carrier relative to their disregard for the agreement and the provisions of the railway labor act.

The report of the emergency board referred to was not made public by the President until about a month after its presentation to the President; and in that time the President of the United States, as well as a number of other agencies, brought every possible pressure to bear upon Harvey C. Couch and his executive vice president, Mr. C. P. Couch, to comply with the recommendations made by the emergency board, which Mr. Harvey Couch refused to do, and has refused to this day, with the result that the workers have suffered a tremendous reduction in pay, and that reduction became effective on February 9, 1931.

Here was an individual, Mr. Couch, who, the newspapers at the last session of the Congress reported, came to Washington to iron out the difficulties which arose between certain Members of the Senate and the President with reference to relief for the drought-stricken area, a gentleman who is closely and personally affiliated with the President through politics, friendship, and acquaintances. Yet this great friend of the President, a man whom the President has honored with this great responsibility, in defiance of the President's request a long time ago that wages ought not to be reduced, that the standard of wages and the standard of living should be maintained, utterly disregarded the advice and the request of the President. Yet we have this anomalous situation of the President of the United States sending to the Senate the name of Mr. Couch to be a member of this board.

Since the time of the reduction of the pay of these railroad employees, this same railroad company—and undoubtedly with the full knowledge and support of its president, Mr. Couch—posted a notice in their shops of another 10 per cent reduction in pay, to become effective just the other day, January 26, 1932, another violation of the provisions of the railway labor act.

This same railroad company has refused to become a party to or to be bound by any decision which might come out of the conference now being held in Chicago between the 21 standard railroad organizations and a committee representing the railroad executives.

When the Board of Mediation assigned a mediator to the Louisiana & Arkansas case, in December, 1930, the mediator had in his hands for adjustment cases involving 13 of the standard railroad organizations whose members are employed by the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway, which cases were grievances against the company as the result of a violation of agreements or of the railway labor act.

Mr. President, my contention is that Mr. Couch, the one in authority in this railroad company, who entered into an agreement provided by law, and who subsequently violated that agreement, is not fit to sit upon the board to which he has been nominated. He has not conformed either to the letter or to the spirit of a law enacted by Congress.

I want now to read, if I may be permitted, from the report of the emergency board to which I have referred.

Mr. Couch, as I have suggested, had been solicited to participate before the mediator. He declined it in the one instance to which I have referred, and he declined it in a second instance. I quote from the report:

> Mr. Couch replied by wire that "Our position as indicated by previous telegrams has not been changed," and by letter, the same day, that "Therefore we see no necessity for further handling by your board; in fact, we feel that it would simply agitate matters."

Here was a board of mediation set up to adjust differences between the railroad company and its employees, set up by an act of Congress, and yet Mr. Couch thinks that if any action is taken before that board, an instrumentality of Congress, it would "simply agitate matters."

The railroad employees did everything possible to bring about mediation, to bring about a settlement. They were willing to make all sorts of concessions. The report of the emergency board states:

> The Board of Mediation, therefore, on April 13, requested the employees to defer the effective date of the strike from April 15 to April 18, 1931—

The railroad employees were under no obligation under the Federal law to continue upon the railroads, and therefore had a right under the law to strike—

> and recommended to the President the creating of an emergency board, which was done by Executive proclamation of April 16. This automatically suspended the strike. It did not, however, in this case, operate in practice to restore the status quo on the wages and working rules over which the dispute had arisen. The company having put these changes into effect after the "final act" of mediation and before the creation of the emergency board claimed that the conditions so created in the interval now constitute the status quo. This contention raises a new and important question, both of law and of policy, as to the operation of the railway labor act.
>
> We have gone thus fully into the history of this dispute under mediation in order to make clear the lengths to which the Board of Mediation went to secure a peaceful settlement of this dispute and the inflexible policy of the company at every step toward all its proposals.

Arrogantly, possessing the power, Mr. Couch proposed to and did exercise it in disregard of every sentiment of justice and fair play.

I quote further:

> After the close of hearings by the emergency board, this board, in conference with representatives of the carrier, again urged that it either agree with its men or submit the case to arbitration. This suggestion, like the previous one of the Board of Mediation, was met with courteous but unconditional refusal.

What was the carrier's excuse? I quote further from the report:

> The demand of this carrier for a reduction of the wage scale of shop workers was based on its statement of its financial condition. We have been unable to find in that condition anything to justify a different course on its part from that uniformly followed by the other railroads of the United States, which are passing through the same difficulties.

This is a new company, formed by the merger authorized February 23, 1929, by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the old Louisiana & Arkansas Railway (Arkansas) and the Louisiana Railway & Navigation Co., to form the new Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co. (Delaware).

Then the report goes on in paragraph second following that which I have quoted to point out that the financial condition of the railroad was such that they could not justify the claim that there should be a wage reduction on account of their financial condition. I shall not read the details of it. The report is available to every Senator.

Proceeding to a discussion of the violation of the law as set forth by the emergency board, I invite attention to this brief paragraph of the report as preliminary to a discussion respecting the violation of the law:

It appears from the evidence that the carrier has been able to spend large sums out of surplus for the rehabilitation of its recently acquired property and at the same time to pay not only interest, but dividends on preferred stock. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are systems in the United States in real distress, in default on their bonds, and in the hands of receivers, which are nevertheless continuing these wage scales unimpaired. This is, in fact, the general and agreed policy of the railroads of the United States, in the present crisis, of which the action of this company is the first break.

A friend of the President, a bosom personal friend, is the first one to violate the rule that had been observed by every railroad company in the United States. He failed to observe that rule as requested by the President of the United States, who now does him the honor to appoint him to this important office.

Then proceeding, the emergency board reported:

In addition to the cut in wages—

The emergency board reports—

the schedule proposed on October 1, 1931, contained a comprehensive revision of the rules and conditions of work of the crafts concerned.

Mr. President, the emergency board summarized their findings. In their summary they state:

There was nothing in the financial situation of the carrier, nor other conditions affecting it, which justified its action of February 9, 1931, in reducing the rate of wages of its shop crafts below the standard prevailing over the country; and the evidence tends to show that when conditions become fairly prosperous the carrier which acquired the two roads will find that its acquisition of them will be exceedingly profitable.

The action of the carrier on February 9, 1931, in putting into force new rules and changes in working conditions, wholly without notice, such as is required by the act, was positively illegal under section 6.

Mr. President, I repeat that any person who is to assume responsibility of public office ought at least to have observed the law in his connection with the Federal Government. Yet this Federal tribunal, set up by the President of the United States last April, declares in positive terms the illegality of this carrier's action, and that illegality becomes the personal responsibility of its directing officer, the nominee in this case.

The emergency board further summarizing said:

The refusal of the carrier to submit to arbitration under the railway labor act upon the announced and only asserted ground that there was nothing to arbitrate was not justified.

I invite the attention of the Senate to paragraph 7 of the summary of the emergency board. I think this ought to weigh heavily with the Senate. The philosophy of this paragraph is mighty important in these times. In these times of great unrest, millions of people are beginning to feel the injustices, the wrongs, the inequalities, and in time will be led to the just conclusion that government was not set up for the public good, but that government was set up primarily to be exploited by those who have the power and place to exploit.

I shall conclude by reading paragraph 7:

That if the carrier refuses to do one or the other, that is, to restore conditions as they were in September, 1930, or to arbitrate, we can not urge upon the craftsmen the duty of agreeing to the conditions, partly illegal, imposed by the act of February 9, 1931. This would be equivalent to saying that one who obeys a particular law is at a disadvantage with respect to one who disregards it.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The yeas and nays are demanded.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The absence of a quorum being suggested, the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Jones	Schall
Austin	Dale	Kean	Sheppard
Bankhead	Davis	Kendrick	Shipstead
Barbour	Dickinson	King	Smith
Barkley	Dill	La Follette	Smoot
Bingham	Fess	Lewis	Steiwer
Black	Fletcher	Logan	Stephens
Blaine	Frazier	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	George	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glass	McNary	Townsend
Broussard	Glenn	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Tydings
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mass.
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Walsh, Mont.
Connally	Hatfield	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hayden	Patterson	White
Copeland	Hebert	Pittman	
Costigan	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	
Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ind.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Harvey C. Couch, of Arkansas, to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932.

Mr. BLAINE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is the demand seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BARKLEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WATERMAN]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. HEBERT. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG.] Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. JONES (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON]. I do not know how he would vote, and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED]. I am informed that if present he would vote as I have voted. I therefore let my vote stand.

Mr. GLASS. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. SWANSON] is absent on official business abroad. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. JONES. I understand that the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], if present, would vote as I intend to vote. Therefore I am free to vote and vote "yea."

Mr. HEBERT. Since announcing my general pair with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] I am informed that if present he would vote as I intend to vote. Therefore I am free to vote, and I vote "yea."

Mr. DILL (after having voted in the negative). I have a pair with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES], and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. FESS. I wish to announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED] is necessarily absent to-day on official business. I also desire to announce the absence of the Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] on account of illness. He has a general pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HAWES], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] are detained from the Senate on official business.

The result was announced—yeas 71, nays 10, as follows:

YEAS—71

Ashurst	Dale	Kean	Sheppard
Austin	Davis	Kendrick	Smith
Bankhead	Dickinson	King	Smoot
Barbour	Fess	Lewis	Steiwer
Bingham	Fletcher	Logan	Stephens
Black	George	McKellar	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glass	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Broussard	Glenn	Metcalf	Townsend
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Trammell
Bulow	Hale	Moses	Tydings
Byrnes	Harris	Neely	Vandenberg
Capper	Harrison	Norris	Wagner
Caraway	Hastings	Oddie	Walcott
Carey	Hatfield	Patterson	Walsh, Mass.
Connally	Hayden	Pittman	Walsh, Mont.
Coolidge	Hebert	Robinson, Ark.	Watson
Copeland	Hull	Robinson, Ind.	White
Couzens	Jones	Schall	

NAYS—10

Blaine	Frazier	McGill	Shipstead
Brookhart	Johnson	Norbeck	
Cutting	La Follette	Nye	

NOT VOTING—15

Bailey	Dill	Keyes	Swanson
Barkley	Gore	Long	Waterman
Borah	Hawes	Reed	Wheeler
Costigan	Howell	Shortridge	

So the Senate advised and consented to the nomination of Mr. Couch to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the next nomination on the calendar.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Jesse H. Jones, of Texas, to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination? [Putting the question.] The ayes have it, and the nomination is confirmed.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Livingston Satterthwaite to be Foreign Service officer, unclassified, vice consul of career, and secretary in the Diplomatic Service.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination? [Putting the question.] The ayes have it, and the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. ODDIE. I ask unanimous consent that the postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc. That completes the Executive Calendar.

The Senate resumed legislative session.

"SELLING THE UNITED STATES SHORT"

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, in the February issue of the Atlantic Monthly there is an exceedingly interesting and informative article entitled "Selling the United States Short," by William Trufant Foster. It is in the nature of a reply to Richard Whitney, president of the New York Stock Exchange, who has been using a lot of words recently trying to explain that the short sellers on the stock exchange, who have sold the United States short, perform a most valued public service.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. William Trufant Foster's answer to Mr. Whitney, carried in the Atlantic Monthly, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"SELLING THE UNITED STATES SHORT"

By William Trufant Foster

I

The late J. P. Morgan is said to have remarked that anyone would lose a lot of money who sold the United States short. For the past two years, however, bear operators on the New York Stock Exchange have, in effect, sold the United States short and thereby gained a lot of money. They have gained, in addition, the official praise and gratitude of the New York Stock Exchange.

Mr. Richard Whitney, president of the exchange, in his recent addresses at Hartford and at Syracuse, said that short sellers are beneficent influences; that they "prevent the market from becoming demoralized"; and that they are absolutely indispensable, since "no securities market could long continue in business if short selling were forbidden." Furthermore, Mr. Whitney contended, the fact that the prices of certain bonds and unlisted stocks, in which short selling is all but impossible, have shown wider fluctuations than the average of listed stocks "completely shatters the contention that it is the short seller who has forced prices down." Mr. Whitney undoubtedly expresses his sincere convictions. Since, however, thousands of equally sincere men hold diametrically opposite convictions, it seems improbable that the case against short selling can be "completely shattered" as easily as that.

Mr. Whitney says that his own statements are "on the basis of cold fact," but that uninformed criticism of short selling, "based on nothing but conjecture" and sweeping generalities, has seriously disturbed many of our citizens. He reassures the members of the exchange, however, by telling them that three-quarters of a million copies of his Hartford speech have been distributed. This may be enough to prevent Congress from undertaking to regulate the New York Stock Exchange. But Mr. Whitney is not satisfied. "It is necessary," he says, "to continue the work of education."

Toward that end we shall here sum up his defense of short selling and comment upon it. But first, it may be well to explain exactly what Mr. Whitney is defending. A short sale on the New York Stock Exchange is the sale of shares of stock by a man who does not own the stock, and who hopes that the price of the stock will go down before he is obliged to buy stock to "cover" his sale. The contract is for delivery of the stock on the next business day. It is only when the day of delivery arrives that a short sale differs from a long sale. The man who has not in his possession the stock which he has ordered his broker to sell must obtain it in order to carry out his contract. This is done, in the usual course of business, by the short seller borrowing the stock from persons who possess it. The short seller borrows the stock and delivers it, and the short sale is then complete.

It must be admitted that short selling as here defined is legal. The only Supreme Court case which Mr. Whitney cites, to be sure, has to do with short selling in commodity markets; and commodity markets differ, in certain essentials, from security markets. Still there are several cases at law which do establish the legality of the short selling of shares of stock.

An act which is perfectly legal, however, may become by excesses and abuses a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment. Certainly the operations of the New York Stock Exchange widely and cogently affect the public welfare, and if there are excesses and abuses, may properly be subject to Federal regulation.

Mr. Whitney declares, however, that he has sought in vain for evidence of excesses and abuses. He says, positively and without qualification, that short selling as it has been carried on during this prolonged recession of business has been salutary and indispensable. This is the official and carefully considered reply of the New York Stock Exchange to its host of adverse critics. If reform is needed, evidently it must come from outside.

II

Is reform needed? It certainly is needed if short selling is a substantial cause of the desperate straits in which business and banking generally, and millions of jobless human beings, now find themselves. The main issue is not whether short selling is the cause. In his repeated contention that short selling "has not been the cause of declining security prices," Mr. Whitney is refuting an argument which has never been advanced. Everybody knows that the causes are numerous and complex, and that they are constantly changing in number and in relative importance. The only question is whether short selling is one of the substantial causes. The official stand now taken by the New York Stock Exchange is indefensible if short selling has had anything substantial to do with the sustained weakness of the market and the resultant anguish and despair of millions of men and women. That is the main issue and the only one.

Mr. Whitney befogs this issue with his discussion of insignificant matters. He contends that there are "other and equally necessary reasons" besides "restraining inflation and cushioning sharp declines" for continuing to permit short selling. One of these equally necessary reasons, he says, is that short selling enables persons who hold securities at considerable distances from New York City to liquidate them speedily. "Were short selling to be prohibited, it would mean that no one more than 24 hours' mailing distance from New York could freely sell in our market the stocks which he owns."

This argument appears to border on nonsense. Any real owner of stocks has his choice among a hundred New York concerns which are prepared to hold his certificates, with power of attorney to indorse them, and to deliver them immediately to a buyer upon order of the owner. Furthermore, the rules of the exchange already provide for delayed delivery in certain cases. If short selling were abolished, the rules concerning the time of delivery of certificates could be changed to make further allowance for mailing distances from New York; or branch offices of the exchange could be established in various cities. In saying that this reason for permitting short selling is just as important as stabilizing price fluctuations, Mr. Whitney virtually says that no reason is important.

Mr. Whitney further befogs the question by contending that the abolition of short selling would paralyze the "odd-lot" business, as we know it to-day. He says that it would compel the charging of a huge, instead of a small, price differential between 100-share lots and "odd lots"—that is to say, lots of fewer than 100 shares. The obvious answer to this argument is that the "odd-lot" business is wholly subject to the rules of the exchange. If short selling were abolished, the exchange could make whatever regulation seemed necessary for the fair treatment of holders of odd lots. Let us stick to the main issue. The price differential would be insignificant, in any case, compared with the losses which holders of odd lots actually have suffered through the fall in stock prices. The only question of large importance to them is to what extent, if any, short selling actually has caused the fall in stock prices.

III

Here, as throughout his argument, Mr. Whitney assumes a world in which short selling is the regular order of business, and in which, therefore, certain conditions exist. It does not seem to occur to him that but for short selling the conditions in question would not exist. Thus, in order to show the predicaments we should get into if there were no such thing as short selling, he recounts what happened when, on September 21, after England had dropped the gold standard, the stock exchange forbade short selling:

"The ban immediately created a new problem. Within two hours after short selling was forbidden the governing committee found there was real danger of technical corners and of crazy and dangerous price advances. At one time there were accumulated orders to buy approximately 8,000 shares of General Motors stock at the market. * * * Something had to be done immediately, or otherwise the buyers would have bid frantically for the stock, and a rapid and entirely unwarranted advance would have taken place. An example of what I mean occurred in Reading Co. stock."

One might infer from these remarks that the abandonment of the gold standard by England created such enthusiasm that investors rushed into the market in wild competition with each other for a limited supply of stock. Nothing of the kind happened. A few investors may have placed orders; a few other buyers may have come into the market solely to support certain stocks. But such buyers are not responsible for corners or for frantic bidding. The "new problem" was created mainly by frightened shorts. As far as Reading is concerned, it is perfectly well known that the shorts were in a measure cornered and had to bid up the stock. Thus it is evident that Mr. Whitney's cold facts show merely what happens when, having allowed a huge short interest to develop, the stock exchange suddenly forbids short selling. The "new problem" was itself the result of short selling. Everybody knows that to cut off the supply of opium suddenly and completely from a man who has long depended on opium creates a new problem; but this does not prove that opium is permanently beneficial, nor does it prove that no man could long continue to exist without it.

Further commenting on the events of September 21, Mr. Whitney says that "the real point" of that crisis was that "further liquidation of securities was inevitable." In other words, real owners of stock were certain to increase their selling and thus depress prices. To meet this situation the governing committee decided to suspend short selling. "In the opinion of the committee a sudden ban on short selling would be likely to force covering by those who were short."

Here is reasoning as curious as that of the Mad Hatter; it will find a place, no doubt, in the new book which is developing out of current economic discussions called "Alice in Blunderland." Mr. Whitney's first premise is that liquidation, not short selling, is the cause of declining stock prices. He then declares that further liquidation is inevitable. He concludes that a ban on short selling "would be likely to force covering by those who were short."

What kind of logic is this? Why should anyone who has sold what he does not own, in the hope of buying it later on at a lower price, be forced to cover if further liquidation is inevitable? Why not simply wait for the inevitable liquidation to take place and then reap an inevitable profit by buying at the resultant lower price?

Mr. Whitney's conclusion does not follow from his premises. In order to make his argument sound he must discard his first premise in favor of this one: "Short selling, not liquidation, is the cause of the decline." But to make that logically necessary substitution would be to admit that he is wrong on the main issue of the controversy.

IV

The main issue, as we said above, is whether short selling has been a substantial cause of the fall in the stock market. The orthodox argument on that question has been well stated by Henry C. Emery, an accepted authority on the subject. "It is the much-maligned short seller," says Professor Emery, "who keeps prices down by his short sales, and then keeps them strong by his covering purchases. This is especially true in the case of inflation followed by panic. If it were not for strong short selling when the market becomes inflated, prices might rise to almost any extent before the final crash. Now the rise tends to be checked by the efforts of shrewd operators to take advantage of the inflation. On the other hand, when prices begin to tumble they are kept from going as low as they otherwise would by the purchases which the shorts have to make to cover their contracts."

It is upon this orthodox theory, both in his Hartford speech and in his Syracuse speech, that Mr. Whitney mainly rests his case, while insisting that he is relying solely on cold facts. According to this theory, short sellers operate as sellers when prices are "too high," thus restraining inflation; but when prices are "too low" they operate as buyers, thus restraining deflation. Any way you look at it, they are salutary influences always doing the right thing. As prices rise rapidly, they increase the volume of their short sales; as prices decline, they decrease the volume. Thus they stabilize price fluctuations. This is what they do according to theory.

According to fact, short sellers on the New York Stock Exchange over the swing of a major business cycle do precisely the opposite, and that is precisely what we should expect them to do. They are not engaged in the altruistic mission of stabilizing prices; they are engaged in the acquisitive business of making money out of declining prices. The faster prices decline the greater the chance of making money by selling short. The darker the outlook for business the brighter the outlook for short sellers. The more harm they can do by their selling the greater is the incentive to increase their selling. The more fears they can create the more money they can make.

On the other hand, the faster prices rise the greater is the chance of losing money by selling short. Therefore the shorts curtail their selling precisely when, if ever, short selling is needed. In the feverish speculation of a bull market the bears have every incentive to become bulls. For their own profit they increase their depressing activities when the market is already demoralized and decrease these activities when the market most needs them.

It is clear from Mr. Whitney's own admissions that the corrective influence of short selling in a rapidly rising market is negligible. With all his insistence on facts and figures, he gives none whatever to show that short selling "restrained inflation" from 1926 to 1929, when the average price of active stocks rose about 150 per cent. This half of his argument he leaves in the realm of conjecture, except for a few facts which damage his own case. Referring to the improvement in the market which followed the news of the international debt moratorium, Mr. Whitney says, "The short interest dropped still further as the excited but temporary rise in prices ensued." As a matter of fact, the short interest was reduced 641,440 shares in a single day. If short selling were a dependable corrective influence, it would have increased, presumably, at that time. But it is not dependable. Another case in point is the sharp rally in the market early in October, when the short interest, instead of curbing the rise, fell 424,089 shares in a single day. The short seller is an opportunist. He is not intentionally constructive even in a negative way. He lacks the courage to sell against the trend when prices are advancing sharply.

At such times a corrective influence is furnished by the liquidation of long holdings; and reinvestment of the proceeds on a declining market provides the cushion which Mr. Whitney appears to believe can be furnished only by the covering of shorts. Unfortunately this process of reinvestment is retarded partly because investors fear that still further declines may result from unrestrained short selling. A further corrective feature which Mr. Whitney ignores is the constant stream of new investment capital which comes into the market through insurance companies of all types and the reinvestment of interest and dividends.

If all this is nothing but conjecture, it is conjecture which fully accords with common sense; and the man in the street rightly suspects any statistics which are inconsistent with what he regards as self-evident truths.

V

In the matter of statistics, the stock exchange has always kept its critics at a disadvantage. It is a private club, responsible to nobody. It gives out information concerning its activities only when, and to what extent, and in such form as it sees fit. Prior to last December, the stock exchange did not publish sufficient data concerning short selling to enable anyone to discuss intelligently, on a statistical basis, the question to what extent short sales had been a cause of long bread lines. The statistics which the public had been permitted to see did not compare short sales with total sales; nor did the statistics reveal the short sales of individual issues, or the short sales which were executed and covered on the same day.

On a given day, for example, extensive short selling in the morning, breaking the market, might force selling on the part of real owners who did not wish to sell, and before the market closed for the day the shorts might cover at the lower prices. The slump in prices might be brought about almost entirely by this short selling; yet, up to last September, such selling did not appear in the statistics, for the short interest on such a day is the same at the end as at the beginning. Furthermore, even though short sales, on any given day, may be small compared with total sales, prices may drop sharply throughout the list, as a result of the concentrated attack on pivotal issues. Intelligent study of a single day's operations, therefore, requires more information than the public is permitted to have.

VI

The statistics which Mr. Whitney does present, in support of his contention that short selling has not caused the recent decline in security prices, seem to prove, as far as they prove anything, precisely the opposite contention. On May 25, 1931, the short interest reached a peak of 5,589,700 shares; but during that month the market value of 240 issues of common stocks declined nearly

$4,000,000,000. Thereafter, Mr. Whitney says, the short interest "fell considerably," until June 22, "when the short interest dropped still further"; but in June, as a matter of fact, the rise in the market values of these stocks was over $3,000,000,000.

That is not all. In March, April, and May, according to the Wall Street Journal, the market value of all listed stocks fell over $14,000,000,000, while the short interest rose to its May 25 peak. In June, on the contrary, while the short interest declined, the market value of all stocks rose nearly $5,000,000,000. Then came another huge slump. In September, when, according to Mr. Whitney's figures, the short interest rose to the second peak, the market value of all listed stocks fell over $12,000,000,000. Between October 9 and November 30 the increase in the short interest was over one and a half million shares, and the decrease in market prices was heavy. The fact that stock values go down, as a rule, when the volume of short selling goes up is shown in the chart which appears in the New York Stock Exchange Bulletin for October, 1931; and that is the correlation we should expect to find if short selling is, in fact, a substantial cause of a decline in security prices.

That short selling is not a cause, however, is clearly proved, Mr. Whitney thinks, by the security market itself. Certain bonds and certain unlisted securities, which can not be sold short, show price fluctuations which are far greater than the average of listed securities which can be sold short. This fact, he says, "completely shatters the contention that it is the short seller who has forced prices down." This sweeping deduction is valid only on the assumption that the absence of short selling is the only difference between his selected bonds and stocks and the listed stocks. That assumption, as everybody knows, is contrary to fact. Any 1 of 40 other causes may account for the price changes in question. Using Mr. Whitney's own process of reasoning, it would be easy to select various commodities, in which no short selling is carried on, which have fluctuated far less in price than listed stocks, and to conclude that this fact completely shatters Mr. Whitney's contention. But complete shattering is not so simple a matter.

Mr. Whitney says, in his Syracuse address, that the 15 issues which have had the largest short interest since May 25 have had the steadiest market. On the other hand, he says, the 15 issues which have had the greatest decline in value have had no sizable short interest at any time. These facts, he concludes, prove that short selling does not reduce prices. But these facts warrant no such conclusion. If we were permitted to know the names of the 15 stocks which have declined most in value, we should discover, no doubt, special reasons for the weakness in those stocks which have nothing to do with the relative strength of other stocks. We get nowhere by comparing certain stocks with totally different stocks. The question at issue is whether the price of a given stock is lower than it would have been if that stock had been immune from the attacks of short sellers. None of Mr. Whitney's facts or reasons bear on that issue.

He seeks to minimize the effects of short selling by pointing out the fact that, on a given day, the short sales of United States Steel were only 24 per cent of the total sales, and of Consolidated Gas only 10 per cent, and that since May 25 short sales of all issues have been less than 5 per cent of total sales. But everybody who knows marketing knows that a 5 per cent increase in supply at a given price is often enough to break the price. Such an offering is especially likely to demoralize the market when it is chosen and timed by a shrewd operator.

Mr. Whitney's statistics, though they tend to discredit his own argument, do not overthrow it. Professor Emery, at the close of his own careful studies of this subject, rightly concludes that statistics do not furnish either proof or disproof of the effect of speculation. "Any general opinion on this subject," he says, "must rest rather upon its own reasonableness than upon statistical verification." The question can not be decided by comparing price changes with changes in the volume of short selling, for there are so many factors which influence prices that it is not possible to measure the effect of any one of them. Prof. Charles O. Hardy, in his notable study of Risk and Risk Bearing, comes to the same conclusion. The contention that short selling reduces the fluctuation of prices, he says, "rests entirely upon theoretical reasoning."

VII

Let us continue the argument, then, "upon its own reasonableness." It is said that the short seller can not be a cause of falling prices because his operations cancel out. He buys exactly as many shares as he sells. If he appears on the supply side of the market, offering a thousand shares of Reading stock, he appears presently on the demand side requiring a thousand shares. Mr. Whitney gives the impression that this is all there is to it. He ignores the fact that the market goes up or down not because of the number of shares offered but because of the number of dollars offered, and as long as short sellers are achieving their purpose, as they have been most of the time for the past two years, they offer fewer dollars than they receive. On the dollar account their operations do not cancel out.

Far more important, however, is another cold fact which Mr. Whitney overlooks. The short seller affects the market not merely by the number of shares or the number of dollars in his own account, but also by his influence on other buyers and sellers. Indeed, he can not make a profit unless real owners of the stock which he sells are frightened or forced into selling at a price lower than his own selling price. The real owners have no means of knowing how much, if any, of the selling is short selling. All they know is that the price is falling. Statistics on this phase of the subject may be scarce, but everyone in Wall Street knows that the shorts are constantly trying to "shake out the weak holders." They are always trying to force prices down to a point where the depressing influence of their own sales will be reenforced by sales on "stop-loss orders." They are always trying to find vulnerable places and to concentrate the attack on those places one at a time.

If, for example, it is known—and there are various ways of finding out, some of them honorable—that certain men have bought large blocks of General Motors stock for investment, but can not hold the stock if the price goes below 24, the short sellers do their best to drive the price below 24. And if, by selling a thousand shares of General Motors short, they force or frighten real owners into selling a thousand shares, it is missing the whole point to say that they can not thereby depress prices, since sooner or later they must buy a thousand shares. This is the main weakness of the orthodox defense of short sellers. It ignores what happens to other sellers between the time when the shorts sell and the time when they cover.

The timing of selling transactions may be more important than the volume, particularly during periods of demoralized public sentiment. We might assume, from the praise of the shorts, that upon receipt of bad news, when holders of stocks desire to liquidate or are forced to do so, the shorts manfully step in and support the market by covering their previous commitments. In this way, we are told, they "prevent the market from becoming demoralized." If, as a matter of fact, they have done any such thing during the past two years, it has not been evident. The general impression has been, and the market has appeared to indicate, that the shorts have added to the demoralization by freely offering stocks exactly when they could thereby accelerate the downward course of the market. Whatever the volume of their operations has been, psychologically their unrestrained activities have been extremely harmful. The cumulative effect of the selling which their operations have induced has caused the risk involved in any attempt to support the market to be too great to be faced by those on the constructive side.

VIII

It may be said that this applies only in times of panic and pessimism; that at other times short sellers actually are "sources of great stability to the market," and actually do "prevent the market from becoming demoralized." This seems to mean that short sellers, like the Republican Party, are responsible for everything when everything goes right, but are responsible for nothing when everything goes wrong. If the stock market has not "become demoralized" during the very period covered by Mr. Whitney's figures, then we are all in need of an Einstein theory to explain why nothing is what it seems to be. And if it be true that short sellers cease to be stabilizing influences when we most need them, the only important argument in their defense falls to the ground.

No doubt there are days, even in a business depression, when a decline in security prices is curbed by the covering of shorts; but this does not necessarily mean anything more than that a decline, started chiefly by short selling, is stopped chiefly by short covering. In any event, the millions of investors who do not wish to speculate with their savings, and the tens of millions of wage earners who do not wish to speculate with their jobs, are not interested in what the shorts do to the stock market on any particular day. They are profoundly concerned over the cumulative influence which shorts exert on the state of mind of business men and bankers during a prolonged era of fear.

Most stocks enjoy more or less sponsorship by men who are prepared to support or at least to steady the market from time to time; but these constructive forces are rendered impotent when they are most needed. Often speculators, anticipating the amount of liquidation which will come into the market, begin to sell short. Those on the constructive side of the market retreat in an orderly fashion, taking the stock as it is offered. Then comes the forced selling which represents actual liquidation. When this appears, in many cases accentuated by further short selling, the constructive forces are obliged to bear the combined burden of short selling and actual liquidation. The decline in market price induces or compels further liquidation. Those on the constructive side may themselves be forced to liquidate. When the short sellers eventually step in and relieve them of the double burden, they relieve them simultaneously, in times like these, of part of their capital.

It is difficult to understand how, at such times, an excess of sellers can be reduced by adding more sellers. Yet that seems to be Mr. Whitney's remedy. Speaking of the period in September during which short selling was banned, he says:

"Obviously this rapid exhaustion of the final available and dependable buying power in the market could not continue. Buyers of securities were still unwilling to purchase as much as outright and margin sellers were offering. The inevitable liquidation had been steadied, but it had not been halted. * * * Furthermore, the governing committee was constantly concerned by the rapid exhaustion of the short interest, and, for all these reasons, the restriction on short selling was removed."

That is to say, the market was weak because there were too many sellers; so, in order to strengthen the market, the governing committee opened the door to more sellers.

The officers of the stock exchange say that they can find no evidence of "bear raiding" on the floor of the exchange. Perhaps that is not the place to look. Mr. Whitney says that we must base our opinions on facts. Does he question the fact that rumors of all kinds, based upon the flimsiest of conjectures, or upon nothing but the desire to shake confidence, have been cir-

culated throughout the course of the bear market since September, 1929, interrupted only during periods of rising prices? Surely investors would not circulate such rumors, whether they intended to hold their securities or to liquidate them.

The man in the street concludes, with the garden variety of logic which he uses in such matters, that false rumors are probably circulated by those who have everything to gain thereby, rather than by those who have everything to lose thereby. Not 1 person out of 10,000 in the United States wants the stock market to go down. The shorts are the only ones who profit by disaster. They alone make pessimism a paying business.

It is hardly necessary to assume, moreover, that a bear raid, even as reflected on the floor of the stock exchange, would necessarily express itself in the short sale of large blocks of any particular stock. The strategic unloading of substantial amounts of long stocks may well serve as an opportunity for a number of short sales in several other stocks, and the cumulative effect on the market may permit of the repurchase, at a lower level, of all the stocks. This is admittedly conjecture, but it is at least reasonable. Mr. Whitney says—and everyone will accept his statement without question—that of some 50 or 60 cases of sales of stocks in big blocks only one represented a short sale, and this was on a scale up. He does not go further and give the assurance that none of these sales could be associated in any way with a short-selling campaign.

IX

The stock exchange seems to think that the gigantic losses which have been suffered by millions of bona fide investors are "inevitable liquidation," and nothing can be done about it. But speculators who sell what they do not own must be protected. Mr. Whitney speaks with evident pride of the promptness of the stock exchange in coming to the rescue of the shorts when they were caught in a so-called "corner" in the latter part of September. If the shorts have ever been caught in a corner created in any other way than by their own overselling, there is no public record of the event. Yet the stock exchange feels duty bound to protect them from the consequences of their own acts. Virtually all the time, for the past two years, the shorts have had things their own way. They have hammered at the market since the early summer of 1930, when total stock values were seventy-five billions, until the present winter, when values fell below thirty-one billions. Thereby they have made millions at the expense of investors. Yet when they overplayed their game last September and found that they could not cover their commitments in certain stocks at their convenience because investors refused to sell the stocks, the exchange took immediate action to relieve their distress.

This brings us to a place in Mr. Whitney's Hartford address where he does not present all the important facts. In speaking of short selling he says that delivery is made "by the short seller borrowing the stock from other persons who possess it." Mr. Whitney, no doubt, uses the word "possess" advisedly. He does not use the more specific word "own," because that would be inaccurate. Those who own the stock may have no idea that the stock is being lent. It is generally understood that brokers lend a large volume of stock which they are carrying for real owners. Now, a short seller can not sell to a greater extent than he can borrow. There is, therefore, no justice in permitting owners of the stock to lead him into a trap and then spring the trap. The iniquity is much greater when the lender of the stock is not the owner, but merely a broker who "possesses" it. The stock exchange feels obliged to do something about it. The result is this curious situation: A speculator can sell something which he neither owns nor possesses without incurring an unlimited liability. He can operate boldly, knowing that he will be spared any unnecessarily harsh results by the prompt intervention of the stock exchange.

Under the regulations for the listing of stock the exchange frequently imposes conditions which lead to the setting of such a trap. In cases in which a substantial proportion of the outstanding stock is owned by a single group, the stock exchange exacts from the members of the group a promise to make stock available for lending purposes. Under these circumstances, if short selling occurs in the face of a determination to hold stock on the part of the minority holders, the shorts are enabled to make delivery by borrowing stock from the majority holders, who also have no intention of liquidating. When the day of reckoning comes the shorts find themselves in a trap fashioned for them by the stock exchange, which then dictates the terms upon which the real owners of the property which the shorts have sold shall be required to settle.

Whatever may be the ethics of this procedure, it is going to be very hard to convince the public that it is perfectly all right for a broker to lend stock which he does not own to a speculator who has previously sold stock which he does not own in order that the speculator, by beating down the price of that very stock, may make a profit at the expense of the real owner of the stock.

Mr. Whitney says that "no assertion in defense of short selling should be made which can not be substantiated by facts and figures." Yet he makes the assertion that "no securities market could long continue in business if short selling were forbidden." This is as sweeping a generalization as it is possible to make. It is necessarily mere conjecture, for there is no experience on which to base it. It can not be supported by facts and figures, for there are no facts and figures.

X

There is every reason to believe that short selling has been a substantial cause—not the chief cause, by any means, but a substantial cause—of the depth and duration of the present business depression. The stock exchange officially denies it. If short selling is to be abolished—or regulated in the interests of investors, business, and the public—the movement for reform must come from outside.

The first step should be an investigation of short selling in all its phases. Mr. Whitney can hardly object to this. "I should like to ask," he says, "what proof there is—not blind prejudice, not vague assertions, but actual proof and evidence—that bear raiding has taken place in the stock market." The public would like to ask that question, too, and many others; but it is useless to ask these questions of a private organization which has closed its mind on the main issue, and which, in any event, apparently intends to furnish only such information as it thinks will serve its own purposes. The investigation should be conducted under authority of the Federal Government.

Among the questions which the investigators might well consider are these: Is short selling absolutely indispensable, as assumed by the stock exchange, or is this assumption unsupported either by logic or by experience? If short selling is to be permitted at all, how should it be regulated? Is it of sufficient public importance to be regulated by the Federal Government as a part of interstate commerce? If so, should the Government at all times furnish the public with full, definite, and prompt information concerning short sales? If it is desirable to curb short selling, would it be helpful to bring brokers under our banking laws, so that they will have no more right to lend stock which they do not own than banks now have to lend stock which they hold as collateral? Finally, now that increased taxation seems to be the order of the day, should short selling be restrained by an additional income tax on profits realized in connection with short sales, thus increasing the taxes during business depressions of those who gain by depressions? That does not seem much to ask of those who make huge profits at the expense of all the rest of us by selling the United States short.

RADIO ADDRESS BY JOHN A. SIMPSON

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have made a public document a portion of the existing RECORD, found on pages 2784 to 2787. It is a radio speech delivered by the president of the National Farmers' Union.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the rule is that matter printed in the RECORD shall not be printed as a public document, and that matter printed as a public document shall not be printed in the RECORD, so I ask the Senator to allow his request to go over for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the message from the House on the deficiency bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives insisting upon its disagreement to Senate amendments Nos. 15 and 23 to the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, there are two items in disagreement. The House has taken separate votes on those items and is very strongly against agreeing to them. The situation in conference is such that we feel that it would be useless to go back to conference on those two items. One is the appropriation of $100,000 for the training of flying reserve officers in the Army, which was not estimated for by the Budget or even asked for by the War Department. The other is the amendment proposed by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] relative to right of way and construction of roads upon Indian reservations. I have explained the situation to the Senator from Wyoming, and I think that matter probably can be taken care of in a later bill.

I therefore move that the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 15 and 23.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, may I ask if that recommendation is unanimous on the part of the conferees?

Mr. JONES. It is.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Washington that the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 15 and 23.

The motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, February 1, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 28 (legislative day of January 26), 1932

SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Sydney G. Gest, of Pennsylvania, now a Foreign Service officer, unclassified, and a vice consul of career, to be also a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Matthew M. Joyce, of Minnesota, to be United States district judge, district of Minnesota, vice John B. Sanborn, appointed United States circuit judge, eighth circuit.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

George A. Mauk, of Arizona, to be United States marshal, district of Arizona. He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expires February 20, 1932.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 28 (legislative day of January 26), 1932

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, UNCLASSIFIED, VICE CONSUL OF CAREER, AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Livingston Satterthwaite to be a Foreign Service officer, unclassified, vice consul of career, and secretary in the Diplomatic Service.

MEMBERS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Charles G. Dawes to be a member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Harvey C. Couch to be a member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Jesse H. Jones to be a member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Hugh S. Cumming to be Surgeon General of the Public Health Service.

POSTMASTERS

COLORADO

Charles L. Rudel, Fleming.
Ethel M. Beggs, Keenesburg.
Zella M. Hutchens, Seibert.

ILLINOIS

Clayton O. Merricks, Abingdon.
Hugh Martin, Argenta.
Frank Gain, Astoria.
John H. Holthaus, Aviston.
Madison R. Hunter, Avon.
Raymond Phillips, Beecher City.
William Hughes, Bement.
Frank C. Baker, Bridgeport.
Alice Jenkins, Carriers Mills.
Cecil W. Bishop, Carterville.
Fred E. Flessner, Cullom.
George A. Kraus, Danvers.
Forrest E. Peterson, Depue.
John E. Moyer, Dixon.
Stanley L. Ryno, Easton.
Louis O. McKerrow, Elmwood.
George L. Spangler, Franklin Grove.
Walter J. Ehrler, Galena.
Elmer L. Trowbridge, Green Valley.
William Sutton, Kempton.
Daisy M. Uphaus, Macon.
William J. West, Odin.
Lewis E. Selby, Pekin.
Ted Henderson, Ridge Farm.
Lewis H. Richards, Scales Mound.
William A. Brian, St. Francisville.
Elgin C. Spivey, Shawneetown.
Leonard F. Richardson, Sheffield.
Henry J. Busefink, West Salem.
Elmer C. Thorp, Winslow.

LOUISIANA

J. Rodney Murrel, Church Point.
Ralph N. Menetre, Covington.
Henry A. Forshag, Crowley.
Wiltz L. Barrow, Homer.
H. Ernest Benefiel, Kenner.
William R. Morgan, Mandeville.
Novilla T. King, Simsboro.
Walter B. Eisely, Tallulah.

MISSISSIPPI

Louise H. Gray, Greenville.
William F. Henson, Ripley.

WASHINGTON

Louis H. Gurnsey, Addy.
Mary A. Brimmer, Alderwood Manor.
Mark Harris, Brush Prairie.
Allison C. Presson, Buena.
Julius C. Raaberg, Clarkston.
Arthur B. Cass, Connell.
Will T. Howard, Coupeville.
Herbert P. Fisher, Garfield.
Tillman E. Kamerer, Hanford.
Ernest R. Anderson, La Center.
Gertrude Eatherton, Manson.
Hubert L. Lockhart, Marcus.
James C. Blevins, Naches.
Daniel L. Jackson, Port Gamble.
Alphonson F. Learned, Port Ludlow.
Fred B. Goldsworthy, Rosalia.
Robert O. Logsdon, Sprague.
Emmett V. Fleming, Springdale.
James H. Adams, Waitsburg.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father of Mercies, Thou art so minful of us that not a single day should be given up to fear or murmuring. Deliver us from every kind of bondage. Do Thou show us the wonder of Thy sacrifice, the grace of Thy gentleness, the glory of Thy condescension, and the scope of Thy love. Incline our hearts with reverence and godly fear to seek Thy favor and in all our ways to acknowledge Thee. Enable us to speak the words of wise counsel. We pray that our outstanding ambitions may be to serve our country and to conform our wills to the will of Almighty God. Persuade us that the light that shines farthest is the brightest at home. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR PAYING SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR CAPITAL STOCK IN FEDERAL LAND BANKS

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Appropriations, I call up House Joint Resolution 261 and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Joint Resolution 261

Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks.

Resolved, etc., That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $125,000,000, to remain available until expended, to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks in accordance with the provisions of

section 2 of the act entitled "An act to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes," approved January 23, 1932: *Provided*, That any proceeds of repayments on account of stock so issued shall be credited to this appropriation and be available for the purpose of paying for other stock thereafter issued pursuant to such act.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. JONES. Reserving the right to object, I would like the privilege of asking the gentleman from Tennessee, or the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STEAGALL] a question or two. I would like to know if the gentleman has any assurance from the Federal Land Bank Board or the land-bank presidents, some of whom, I understand, are in Washington at present, or from any other official sources that if we make this appropriation they will in good faith carry out the stipulation in the bill which authorizes them to extend delinquent installments in worthy cases?

Mr. STEAGALL. I have had some conversations with members of the Farm Land Board who administer the banks, and they assure me in a way that I can not doubt without questioning their good faith, that they intend to follow the purpose of Congress as expressed in the legislation.

Mr. JONES. What I would like is to be satisfied along these lines. The House has confidence in the gentleman from Alabama and will rely on such statement as he may feel justified in making. He has followed the legislation all the way through. He tried last year to secure passage of legislation of this character. He is thoroughly familiar with it, and I would like to have such assurance as he may be able to give.

Mr. STEAGALL. I can not speak for anybody else. I can only pass along such assurances as have been given me. I think I have done that.

Mr. JONES. Are those assurances sufficient to satisfy the gentleman from Alabama that they intend to carry them out?

Mr. BYRNS. The gentleman from Texas refers to the $25,000,000 put on by the Senate?

Mr. JONES. Both the $25,000,000 and the $100,000,000. As I understand it, one of the chief purposes of the main appropriation was to put the banks in such shape that they would be in a position to handle their affairs without unnecessary foreclosures. Of course, the $25,000,000 was earmarked for this purpose, but both should help them in this matter.

Mr. BYRNS. Let me say that the Committee on Appropriations had a hearing yesterday, and it was stated that there was now in delinquent payments a little more than $18,000,000. As the gentleman is aware, the bill carries $25,000,000, which was specifically intended to enable the banks to grant extensions of loans in those cases where they were delinquent. I am satisfied from the statements of Mr. Bestor and Mr. Williams, of the Farm Board, that all of this sum will be used for the purpose indicated. As I understand from what they say, the $100,000,000 is to be used in the purchase of stock of the various land banks. It is a question just how and where the stock shall be purchased.

Mr. STEAGALL. Will the gentleman permit me to say this? The entire appropriation provided for in this legislation is available for all the legitimate purposes in the administration of these banks. It will be used, of course, to restore the standing of the bonds in the investment market. It will be used to grant new loans as far as practicable, and, of course, will be expressed in the policy of the banks with reference to foreclosures of mortgages, if they follow the intention of the law.

Now, there is a provision that $25,000,000 of this is to be used exclusively in granting extensions of payments on mortgages, but the extension of delinquent payments to the amount of $18,000,000 would not require $25,000,000.

As I attempted to point out heretofore in connection with this legislation, if we equip the banks with funds to meet interest payments on their bonds and to keep them in a position to handle their business in a common-sense way, they will be able to meet their obligations and to make loans and to deal with their borrowers in a sympathetic way—to grant such consideration and favors as are deserved in the particular cases under consideration; but when an extension on a mortgage is granted you do not pay, and no money is needed with which to pay it. It is not thinkable that $18,000,000 would be used to extend a debt of $18,000,000. There might be some use for funds to pay taxes that have become delinquent or some other unusual expense in some particular case, but what Congress is trying to do is to provide funds for these banks to restore their credit and put them in position to meet their obligations and conduct that business in a common-sense way and quit sacrificing the homes of farmers of the country at losses to the banks. This is the case in most instances, where lands are thrown on the market now under foreclosure. Under existing conditions such a policy means loss for the banks, ruin of the borrowers, and the loss of their homes.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. My reason for being persistent in these inquiries is that I am still receiving letters inclosing statements which, while dated back behind the other explanation, are still coming in. I feel that this Republic is anchored in these farm homes to a large degree. I appreciate the attitude which the gentleman has assumed and thank him for his explanation.

Mr. SANDLIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. SANDLIN. It was stated in the discussion of this matter on the floor by different Members that it was the fear of many—and I have entertained the same fear—that the operation of this fund will not be as advantageous to the borrowers as the Members of Congress want it to be. It has been stated here on the floor that this appropriation will mainly be to the interest of the bondholders. I am sure that many Members of the House who represent farm districts, while interested in the rights of the bondholders, recognizing that those bonds which have been in a way backed by the United States Government should not go to default, are still more interested in seeing that the farmers' homes are not foreclosed upon. In the administration of all these matters, the success of it is determined by the ability and desire of the members of the board to see that it is fairly administered. I hope the Federal land bank officials will realize that it is the intention of the Representatives in Congress who have supported this measure to have it administered so that the farms are not taken away from those who now own and occupy them. I trust that in the administration of this fund the officials will carry out the wishes of the majority of the Members of the House and see to it that the farmers who are borrowers are liberally, fairly, and justly dealt with.

Mr. STEAGALL. I think the Federal Farm Loan Board has found out what the purpose of Congress is.

Mr. HASTINGS. And we want to further impress upon the members of the Farm Board—those who have the administration of this fund—that unless the fund is sympathetically administered, no further appropriations may be expected of Congress.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I am in sympathy with what the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. SANDLIN] and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS] have said. I can only tell the House what I understand from these hearings, and that is, that the purpose of the Farm Board is to utilize the $25,000,000, if necessary, in making those extensions which they believe should be made to the farmers now finding themselves delinquent in the payment of their installments or the interest due upon their debts. So far as the $100,000,000 is concerned, it is to be used in the purchase of stocks, the money, of course, being paid into the banks from which the new stock is purchased, and I understand that it will be subject to the control of the directors of that particular bank.

Mr. PARSONS. Are all of the proceeds from the stock to be used in making new loans by the banks to farmers who may apply for loans now and in the future?

Mr. BYRNS. I am unable to tell the gentleman. The statement was made that it would be paid into the assets

of the banks from which the stock is purchased. Of course, after it becomes a part of the assets of the bank it becomes subject to the control of the directors of that bank.

Mr. PARSONS. This is the situation throughout the country. I think we all agree that land values are about as low as they have been at any time in the history of the country in the last 30 to 40 years. The banks have refused to make loans in almost every section where they have suffered losses on loans that were taken at the high peak of prices of land in a particular community, and now, inasmuch as lands are at their lowest value, it seems to me the banks could very well make new loans to those who want to purchase real estate at this time or borrow money to make improvements on their lands; but nothing contained herein gives the information that the banks expect to make any new loans at this time, and it is unfair to those communities.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, we are all glad, of course, that this colloquy has come up and that these assurances have been given, not only by the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency but also by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. I do not think any matter has come up in this Congress, when the farmers of the country are really in distress, that they are more interested in than in this particular item. My colleague from Alabama [Mr. STEAGALL] took the lead in this legislation during the last session of Congress, and I know exactly what is in his mind with reference to the expectations to come out of this bill.

I am glad to know the gentleman has assured the House he has had positive assurance from those who will administer this act that it will be administered not only sympathetically but in detail, so that it will actually relieve the farmers who are in distress. Of course, that is the extent of our allowance. We can not go farther than that, but from the statements which have been made here, I want it to go into the RECORD, as far as my interpretation of the situation is concerned, that if they do not carry out the provisions of this bill as we understand they have assured it will be carried out, then they are breaking faith with the Congress of the United States.

Mr. BYRNS. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. HARDY. I would like to answer the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PARSONS] to the effect that the object of this $100,000,000 is to put that much into the treasury of these banks in order that they may make more loans. It will help directly in the assets of the banks to make more loans. It will also stabilize the banks and help the bond values so that they can issue and sell more bonds and make more loans. Of course, the entire object is to extend the service of these banks more generally over the country. It should make the bonds more salable in the future, in order that they can borrow more money to loan to the farmers of Illinois and of other States.

Mr. COLTON. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. COLTON. I understand that in most of these banks the stock is not owned now to any great extent by the Government of the United States.

Mr. BYRNS. It is entirely owned by the farmers, with the exception of $200,000.

Mr. COLTON. This money, then, will not be used to redeem bonds at below par and thereby react to the benefit of those banks instead of being loaned to the farmers, if the purposes of this bill are carried out?

Mr. BYRNS. I think the gentleman is right.

Mr. COLTON. There is a feeling that when this money goes out into the banks it will be used for the purpose of redeeming bonds at below par instead of being used for the benefit of the farmers.

Mr. BYRNS. My understanding is this: If necessary, this $25,000,000 will be utilized to enable banks to make such extensions of loans or payments on loans and payments of interest on loans to farmers as they may think proper and wise, and that the $100,000,000 will be used for the purpose of purchasing stock in those banks, to the extent which the Farm Loan Board deems wise. Of course, after that stock is purchased and the money is paid to the bank, it becomes an asset of that bank and is subject entirely to the control and direction of the directors of that bank. That is my understanding. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] and the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HARDY] participated in the hearing and can correct me if I am wrong——

Mr. HARDY. I think the gentleman from Utah [Mr. COLTON] is talking about a condition which exists in the joint-stock land banks, where they did do a little of the business that the gentleman is talking about, but an amendment was put on by the Senate providing they could not pay these dividends without the authorization of the board.

Mr. STEAGALL. The gentleman from Colorado is entirely right. The gentleman from Utah confuses the situation that exists in connection with the joint-stock land banks; but there is no thought whatever, I am sure, that the funds appropriated by this act will be used by the banks to purchase their own bonds, as has been done in some instances in the joint-stock land banks.

Mr. COLTON. I have no such thought, but there are many who believe it may be done, and I just wanted the assurance of the gentlemen in charge of this bill that it would not be done. I understand the problem as regards the difference between joint-stock land banks and Federal farm-loan banks.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. Then this $100,000,000 will be additional capital from which loans are to be made to new applicants?

Mr. BYRNS. From which loans can be made. I will not assert that they will be made, because I do not know what the directors may do with it.

Mr. MICHENER. If they are not made, then it is up to the directors?

Mr. BYRNS. It is a matter that rests with the banks themselves as to what they will do with the assets.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

House Joint Resolution 261

Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks

Resolved, etc., That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $125,000,000, to remain available until expended, to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the act entitled "An act to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes," approved January 23, 1932: *Provided*, That any proceeds of repayments on account of stock so issued shall be credited to this appropriation and be available for the purpose of paying for other stock thereafter issued pursuant to such act.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 6596. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending

June 30, 1932, and for other purposes, and I ask unanimous consent that the statement may be read in lieu of the report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 16 and 24.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, and 45, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 9: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 6, 7, and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out "$90,000, of which sum $70,000 is made available for the payment of salaries in the District of Columbia" and insert in lieu thereof "$20,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$225,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"OFFICE OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC PARKS OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

"Mount Vernon Memorial Highway: Not to exceed $4,000 of the appropriation 'Salaries, maintenance, and care of buildings, 1932,' and $10,000 of the appropriation 'General expenses, maintenance, and care of buildings, 1932,' contained in the independent offices appropriation act, fiscal year 1932, are hereby made available for the fiscal year 1932, for the maintenance of the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway and other Federal lands authorized by the act of May 29, 1930 (46 Stat. 482)."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

"The amount authorized to be deducted from appropriations for the fiscal year 1932 for the Indian Service and placed to the credit of the appropriation for contingent expenses, Department of the Interior, for the purchase of stationery supplies, is hereby increased from $50,000 to $55,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 17: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Traveling and miscellaneous expenses: The Secretary of the Treasury, upon request of the Attorney General, is authorized to transfer to the appropriation 'Traveling and miscellaneous expenses, Department of Justice, fiscal year 1932,' not exceeding $12,000 from any other appropriation for the fiscal year 1932 under the control of the Department of Justice."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out all of the matter inserted by said amendment after the numerals "1931" in line 10; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "Navy Department, except the claim of Harry D. Simons as set forth on page 7 of said Senate Document No. 46, $1,711.88"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 31: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 31, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "War Department, except the claims of Dee Tian and Judge Anacleto Diaz, as set forth on page 25 of said Senate Document No. 46, $2,550.70"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 32: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 32, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$37,107"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 42: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 42, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "independent offices" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "United States Shipping Board"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference have not agreed on amendments numbered 15 and 23.

JOSEPH W. BYRNS,
J. P. BUCHANAN,
WILL R. WOOD,
Managers on the part of the House.

W. L. JONES,
FREDERICK HALE,
HIRAM BINGHAM,
CARTER GLASS,
KENNETH MCKELLAR,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6660) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommend in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

On Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, relating to the Senate: Appropriates for expenses of the Senate in the amounts and in the manner proposed by the Senate amendments.

On No. 7: Appropriates $3,000 for the Committee on Revision of the Laws of the House as proposed by the Senate amendment.

On No. 8: Makes a technical change in the appropriation for the acquisition of additional land for the Library of Congress annex.

On No. 9: Appropriates $20,000 for the Federal Trade Commission, instead of $90,000, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 10: Appropriates $225,000 for the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, instead of $200,000, as proposed by the Senate and $250,000 as proposed by the House.

On No. 11: Makes a total of $14,000 of other appropriations under the Office of Public Buildings and Parks of the National Capital available for maintenance of the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway and other Federal lands, instead of a total of $33,000 of such funds, as proposed by the House bill.

On No. 12: Provides for a resident engineer in connection with the construction of trash incinerators for the District of Columbia at $3,800, as provided by the Senate, instead of $3,600, as provided by the House.

On No. 13: Provides for $5,000 additional for stationery for the Indian Service, instead of $10,000 additional, as proposed by the House.

On No. 14: Appropriates $275,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $200,000, as proposed by the House, for relief of Indians.

On No. 16: Appropriates $55,000, as proposed by the House, instead of $100,000, as proposed by the Senate, for reimbursing certain national-park appropriations on account of expenditures for fighting forest fires.

On No. 17: Provides for the transfer of $12,000 from other appropriations under the Department of Justice to the appropriation, "Traveling and miscellaneous expenses," to cover expenses in connection with the investigation of law enforcement in Hawaii.

On No. 18: Appropriates $5,988.75 for the payment of claims adjusted by the Secretary of the Navy under existing law to cover damages to private property arising from collisions with naval vessels.

On No. 19: Makes not to exceed $50,000 of the current appropriation for the General and Special Mixed Claims Commissions, United States and Mexico, available for expenses incurred after October 15, 1931, and also such expenses as may be incident to closing up the affairs of the United States agency.

On Nos. 20 and 21: Appropriates $200,000 for operating force and $250,000 for furniture for new public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department.

On No. 22: Appropriates $135,152.32 for the acquisition of land at Kelly Field, Tex., in accordance with a condemnation award.

On Nos. 24 to 32, inclusive, relating to claims for the payment of damages to privately owned property settled by the several departments: Appropriates a total of $37,107, as proposed by the Senate, instead of a total of $27,472.35, as proposed by the House, to cover claims certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House. The amount of the Senate amendment was reduced to eliminate a claim under the Navy Department and two claims under the War Department, amounting to $56.25.

On Nos. 33 to 40, inclusive: Appropriates $19,856.25 additional to the amounts in the House bill to cover judgments of United States courts certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House.

On Nos. 41 and 42: Appropriates $143,630.93 additional to the House bill to cover additional judgments of the Court of Claims certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House and eliminates, as proposed by the Senate, judgments in the House bill of $648 in favor of Tillett S. Daniel and $2,510.93 in favor of William B. Hetfield.

On No. 43: Appropriates $50,547.21 for the payment of audited claims allowed by the General Accounting Office and certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House.

On Nos. 44 and 45: Correct section numbers in the bill.

The committee of conference have been unable to agree on the following amendments:

On No. 15: Relating to a road over the Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyo.

On No. 23: Appropriating $100,000 additional for the Organized Reserves.

JOSEPH W. BYRNS,
J. P. BUCHANAN,
WILL R. WOOD,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I will say briefly that the bill as it passed the House carried something over $125,000,000. The conferees agreed to an additional amount of something over $1,000,000, which makes this bill carry something over $126,000,000.

We agreed upon all the amendments except two, which will come up later. The principal additions are $200,000 for items in the Senate; $75,000 additional for the support of the Indians; $450,000 for furniture and the operation of certain new public buildings that are now ready for occupancy; $135,000 for the purchase of land under condemnation proceedings in Kelly Field. Then there are certain judgments on audited claims, which passed the Senate after the bill was sent to the House.

None of the items which were allowed is over any Budget estimate. In fact, they are all estimated for and within the estimate of the Budget.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. I assume that as to amendment No. 11, the figure in the statement "making available $14,000" is an error and should be "$4,000," as is stated in the conference report?

Mr. BYRNS. That is the total of the two items.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I read the conference report on amendment No. 11, the amount is only $4,000, while the statement shows $14,000.

Mr. BYRNS. It is intended to be $14,000, $4,000 and $10,000. If the gentleman will read the amendment as contained in the report, he will find it is $4,000 and $10,000 which makes a total of $14,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman inform the House whether any of this money is going to be used for the policing of the memorial highway or is it purely for maintenance purposes?

Mr. BYRNS. They have a separate appropriation for policing the highway. This is purely for maintenance purposes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I understand we have never agreed by any legislation to the policing of that highway, regarding it as a matter solely for the State of Virginia and that our Government should not go outside the jurisdiction of the District.

Mr. BYRNS. This does not make any provision for policing the highway. My understanding is, however, that the Federal Government is now doing that under the Director of Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. STAFFORD. Without any authority of law?

Mr. BYRNS. Well, I do not know. I do not know whether there is any authority or not.

Mr. STAFFORD. I may say for the information of the House that that matter was contested very strongly here and it was opposed on jurisdictional grounds.

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. HASTINGS. I want to direct attention to the Senate amendment which is No. 19 in the statement. It makes available not to exceed $50,000 of the current appropriation for the general and special Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Mexico, for expenses incurred after October 15, 1931, and I would like to inquire the status of this commission and what claims have been presented to and allowed by this commission.

Mr. BYRNS. I will say to the gentleman that due to the fact the treaty has expired there is no commission, and therefore the commission has no status. However, I understand the State Department is negotiating with Mexico with a view of reviving the treaty. It was stated to the committee by the State Department that there are a great many records and other papers which have been collected that should be arranged, indexed, and preserved in order that the State Department may in the future have the information contained therein for the purpose of answering inquiries about these various claims. This appropriation is made for that purpose and the State Department thought $50,000 would be sufficient.

Mr. HASTINGS. Are there any negotiations pending for the payment of those claims that have heretofore been favorably passed upon or is it expected that their payment will be held in abeyance until all the claims have been passed upon?

Mr. BYRNS. I do not know to just what the gentleman alludes. Of course, the commission is now defunct. There is no commission and no one to take care of these papers.

Mr. HASTINGS. Have not some of the claims heretofore presented been favorably passed upon by the Claims Commission?

Mr. BYRNS. That is true.

Mr. HASTINGS. I would like to know if the gentleman has any information as to their status and when these various claimants may expect the payment of their claims?

Mr. BYRNS. I imagine that if they have been finally passed upon by those who are required to approve them, an estimate will be submitted and that Congress will, in due time, make an appropriation. However, there is nothing now pending looking toward the payment of any of those claims, and this has no relation to them.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 15: Page 19 of the bill, after line 9, insert:
"Road, Wind River Reservation, Wyo.: The unexpended balance of the appropriation of $150,000 contained in the first deficiency act, fiscal year 1931, for one-half of the cost of reconstruction and improvement of the road running from Milford across the Wind River or Shoshone Indian Reservation, through Fort Washakie to the diversion dam in Wyoming, is hereby continued available until June 30, 1933: *Provided*, That not to exceed $5,000 of the said appropriation is hereby made available for payment for rights of way across Indian lands and payment of the total irrigation construction costs and accrued operation and maintenance charges on affected lands: *Provided further*, That the provision in the act of May 27, 1930 (46 Stat. 430), requiring employment of Indian labor except for engineering and supervision shall not apply to the funds provided by the State of Wyoming."

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House insist on its disagreement to this amendment. I will say it has not been estimated for by the Budget and has not been requested either by the President or the Budget.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BYRNS) there were—ayes 161, noes none.

So the motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 23: Page 32, after line 3, insert:

"ORGANIZED RESERVE

"For an additional amount for expenses incident to the use, including upkeep and depreciation costs of supplies, equipment, and material furnished in accordance with law from stocks under the control of the War Department, fiscal year 1932, $100,000: *Provided*, That this sum shall be used for expenses incident to the flight training of officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps on inactive duty status: *Provided further*, That no part of this sum shall be available for any expense incident to giving flight training to any officer of the Officers' Reserve Corps, unless he shall be found physically and professionally qualified to perform aviation service as an aviation combat pilot of Group 1 by such agency as the Secretary of War may designate."

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House insist upon its disagreement to the amendment.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Is a motion to concur in order at this stage? It is a preferential motion, is it not?

The SPEAKER. A motion to recede and concur is in order.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment, and I ask the gentleman from Tennessee to yield me five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves to recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I have invariably assisted in reducing appropriations for the Army and Navy. In this instance I want to point out that the appropriation of this money would actually effect an economy. This money would not be used for any pay of reserve officers. It is not used to train any new men, but under the national defense act the Federal Government provides the various National Guard units and reserve officers with flying equipment, and the reason for this is obvious. It would be impossible for reserve officers to provide their own flying equipment.

Pilots require constant flying. In other words, one becomes rusty if he does not keep up his flying. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN] a few moments ago jokingly said to me that once a man goes in the air he is for everything that aviation wants. This, in part, is true. It is not because we are necessarily in sympathy, but because we have an understanding of what is required.

Sixty-six per cent of the appropriation made for the current fiscal year for reserve officers flying has already been expended and unless we provide additional funds it will be impossible not only for the reserve officers to get the required flying but it will be impossible to keep these machines in good condition; and there is no machine which requires more care than a motor on a plane and the plane itself.

Another factor which is very important is not only the saving of this equipment but the saving of human life. Flying one or two hours a month under the present development of the art is insufficient, and we ought to provide sufficient flying for the reserve officers to keep them efficient and protect not only the property of the Government but the lives of these reserve officers.

Mr. BARBOUR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BARBOUR. As I understand the Senate amendment, this money will be spent for training only Group 1 officers.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BARBOUR. And Group 1 officers and men who are ready to go right now if there should be an emergency.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Oh, yes; they are all qualified pilots, gentlemen, but if they are kept on the ground for six months, they will lose their usefulness as Group 1 pilots.

Mr. BARBOUR. Furthermore, I understand this $100,000 will furnish a total of about 2,000 additional flying hours for these Group 1 flyers, of whom there are about 1,000, aside from those engaged in private flying.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That is correct.

Mr. BARBOUR. This would mean about two flying hours additional on the average for each one of these Group 1 officers who are so well qualified that they are ready to go, if they can have the proper amount of training.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. And the gentleman must add that it also permits proper upkeep of this equipment, which is very necessary.

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I am very pleased to have the assistance of the gentleman who is on the Appropriations Committee. It is the first time we have been together on matters of appropriations.

Mr. BARBOUR. No; not the first, the second, I believe.

Mrs. KAHN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mrs. KAHN. Would it not really be a matter of economy to make this appropriation, because a few planes crashed by inexperienced flyers would cost more than this total appropriation?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. These are not inexperienced flyers.

Mrs. KAHN. I mean flyers who have not had the proper amount of training.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes. Two or three crashes would more than make up this amount, and then in addition the cost of human lives which, of course, can not be measured in dollars.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman tell the House what it costs to educate a flyer?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. During war time it cost about $20,000. I do not know what the cost is now.

Mr. HARDY. It is about $30,000 now, and if they lay them off for a year or two, what does their education amount to?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman is quite right. I would not think of having a pilot go through military flying if he did not have the opportunity to keep flying regularly.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman three more minutes.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Not a cent of this money goes toward paying anybody any salary, as I understand?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Not a cent.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. It goes toward paying for the flying of highly trained officers of the National Guard and the Reserve Corps where the Government has spent enormous amounts of money to educate them, sending them to Kelly Field, and so forth, and here we find ourselves in a condition where these highly trained men can not fly their machines because they have not got the necessary gasoline and oil.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I believe this is just for the equipment.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. We break up a part of our national defense program if we legislate in this way. Is not that correct?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The general is absolutely correct.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Will we not injure our plan of national defense——

Mr. BYRNS. I do not think the gentleman is correct. My information is that they now have contracts for all the gasoline and oil that would be needed. I further understand that if the department would confine this training to those officers and men who have been trained in Army centers and to those in commercial aviation who are flying in the reserves, and cut out this joy riding that they are giving to those who never will qualify or could not possibly qualify in an actual war, they would have abundant money to carry on the work they want to carry on. This is my understanding from a gentleman who was in the conference, and I also understand this to be the intention of the War Department as to next year.

Now, my contention is that they can begin right now.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman from Tennessee is always very accurate and corrects me often; but in this instance permit me to correct him. This talk about joy flying in the air is hardly fair. The only way to make a flyer is for him to fly. The more flying time he can put in the more efficient flyer he becomes. There is no other way to learn to fly. You can not learn to fly by sitting in a swivel chair. It is by no means "joy flying." It is necessary training.

Now, motors and planes require a great deal of attention. You have to have mechanics for motors and riggers for planes, and it costs money to keep a plane in the air. As General MARTIN has said, this money is not to train additional men and not to pay salaries but only to permit reserve officers to keep in "flying fit" condition, if I may use such a phrase.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. There were originally three groups of these officers, 1, 2, and 3. Now, they have eliminated two of the groups and left Group 1 to participate in this additional appropriation. So they are first-class men prepared to go into the air on a moment's notice. It is not a joy-riding proposition.

Mr. BYRNS. It has been a joy-riding proposition. They have been permitting members of Groups 2 and 3 to fly. Now, they propose to cut that out. If they had cut it out before, they would not have to now ask for this additional sum.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. No; the gentleman is in error there.

Mr. DOUGLAS of Arizona. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS of Arizona. Is it not true that the present appropriation, exclusive of the $100,000 put on the bill by the Senate, permits Reserve Corps aviation officers to fly not more than 39 minutes to the month?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. As I stated before, that is not enough. I leave it to anyone who has had any experience in training that it is not enough.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS].

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, we have now as Chief of the Air Corps one of the best officers that it has ever been my pleasure to contact. This gentleman is exceedingly anxious to make the Air Corps of the Army an effective fighting instrumentality. The present Chief of the Air Corps is not a land flyer, but a real efficient flying officer that knows this game and is trying to make the Air Corps an effective fighting organization. He knows something about flying. He has been facing God Almighty 23 years in planes that sometimes were not airworthy. I accept his opinion above all others.

He states to the War Department subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee that of Group 1 flyers, the only flyers whom he feels should have very much training, there are in class 1 of such group 470 officers in an inactive status, who are trained flyers, graduates of the Army training center. In class 3 of the same group, there are 580 officers who are not graduates of the training center.

Now, in these two classes are a number of World War flyers. We all know, whether we have been in the Military Establishment or out of it—and a military man's opinion on it is not worth any more than ours—we all know that an old war flyer is not going to fly in the next war. So we might as well eliminate him from consideration.

Mr. HARDY. When are we going to have that next war?

Mr. COLLINS. If war should come now the Chief of the Air Corps says we should not use these officers, certainly in combat planes, because we would need to have young men.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLINS. The gentleman will pardon me. The class 1 and class 3 pilots make approximately 1,000 pilots. In these two classes, in addition to World War flyers, there are those officers that are engaged in civil aviation, which General Foulois estimates to be around 300 in number, and he says that these pilots in civil aviation ought not to have more than 10 or 12 flying hours a year.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has again expired.

Mr. BYRNS. I yield one minute more to the gentleman.

Mr. TABER. Is there a Budget estimate for this thing?

Mr. COLLINS. No. So when we eliminate the World War pilots and those in civil aviation that General Foulois says need but 10 or 12 hours flying per year, those 10 or 12 hours being specialized training, that should enable the rest of them to have 48 flying hours this year within the amount that has been made available if the cost be reduced to the rate which I understand will obtain during the next fiscal year. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, we do not need this $100,000 at all in order to give these gentlemen the flying hours that it is estimated they should have. We appropriated last year for 16,275 hours, and they will get 4,100 additional hours through reduced costs, or a total of 20,375 flying hours. We do not need it, and all you are doing, if you pass this, is to embarrass the Congress and the War Department next year.

Mr. SWING. Does the gentleman know that General Foulois asked for this from the Senate committee?

Mr. BYRNS. I know that the President of the United States and his Budget officer did not ask for it.

Mr. COLLINS. If he did, he violated the Budget law, and I am sure the gentleman misunderstood his remarks.

Mr. BYRNS. We have been following the Budget estimates here. I know there is no estimate for it. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GOSS].

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege last year to fly for two weeks with the Army Air Corps during their whole maneuvers, so that I had an opportunity to see this matter of aviation first-hand. I want to correct one or two impressions. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] talks about these aviators who are flying commercially. These aviators that do commercial flying fly in lanes some 300 feet apart, over certain given territories, with beacons and other aids to navigation, whereas our Army pilots fly in very close, tight formation. I have flown in bombing planes and all the planes except the pursuit planes, and they fly so close together that the wings very nearly touch each other. Commercial flying and flying for the Air Corps are entirely different types of flying. Let me read what General Foulois told the Senate subcommitee. He said:

That is the situation that we must face. Either we must be willing to admit that we are going to take chances of killing some of these people and crashing more aircraft and washing out a lot of expensive equipment or give them amounts sufficient to determine whether they will require reclassification, or arbitrarily cut them.

I take it from the general's remarks that he is in favor of this as a matter of economy in stopping the breaking up and useless wreckage of these airplanes in flights.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. Yes.

Mr. BYRNS. My understanding is that the War Department is in favor of continuing the flying of those in Group 1, but the great trouble is that they have been flying those in Groups 2 and 3, but they now say that they are going to quit it. If they had cut that out previously they would not have needed any money and would have had plenty of money in the Treasury, as I think they have now.

Mr. GOSS. But in this appropriation it applies only to Group 1.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. Yes.

Mr. BARBOUR. Our committee was assured last year by the War Department that none of this money would be expended on the men in Groups 2 and 3.

Mr. GOSS. That is right.

Mr. BARBOUR. It would be spent on the men who need the training and who after they have their training are ready to go at a minute's notice.

Mr. GOSS. Absolutely, and that is what this appropriation applies to.

Mr. DOUGLAS of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. Yes.

Mr. DOUGLAS of Arizona. General Foulois when he appeared before the Senate committee testified that 48 to 50 flying hours a year are absolutely requisite for purposes of safety, not only for purposes of safety to Government equipment, but also for purposes of safety to human lives. If classes 2 and 3 be eliminated and there be no flying time allowed them whatsoever, and none of this money be available for the purpose of permitting them to go into the air, there still remains not enough money to permit any one of the officers in class 1 to fly more than approximately one and a half hours a month, or 18 hours a year.

Mr. GOSS. As the appropriation stands to-day there is available only 39 minutes per month per pilot, and if we pass this additional $100,000, it will make available so many more minutes per month, in fact 71 minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS. And is it not true that in certain parts of the country flying is especially dangerous? I know that last summer while making an inspection of veterans' hospitals I flew in the State of Washington over the mountains, and in Montana and Wyoming and Arkansas and South Dakota, and in foggy weather over a number of Southern and Western States, and I know the extreme danger of those flights.

Mr. GOSS. That is true.

Mrs. ROGERS. It seems to me only fair to give those men enough hours' training to become experienced pilots in order that they may save human life and their air equipment.

Mr. GOSS. Then there is another reason. Last summer on the Air Corps maneuvers we had these same civilian pilots, these reserve officers flying, and they brought the ships home without accident.

In training pilots for the Air Corps it is necessary to train them in the bombing group, in the pursuit group, the various attack groups, and it makes an entirely different type of flying, and they need this extra 70 minutes.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD].

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, we started out and thus far we have gone along very well in trying to keep the appropriations within the Budget. There is no estimate whatever for this appropriation of $100,000 in the Budget. We can rest assured that had there been any necessity or any very great necessity for this appropriation it would have been recommended by the Budget.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. HARDY. Do we not realize that the Budget Commissioner makes up these estimates about June or July, in the summer time, and that we know much more about it by December, January, and February than the Budget did in July?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. That is possibly true; and I say to the gentleman that if we are going to commence now to make these breaks there is no telling where we will land.

I want to give you another reason why there is no excuse for this appropriation of $100,000 now. We are told that hereafter they will not ask for any such sum; that they will limit their training to class 1. Now, had they practiced that economy throughout the year they would not be here asking for this appropriation.

There are practically 6,000 flyers, including the reserves and everyone, divided into several classes. They now say they will conserve their money and their training to class 1. If they will carry out the same program in 1933 that they are asking you to make appropriation to carry out now for the remainder of this fiscal year, up to July 1, it would require more than $300,000. That is just about what they will ask you to do. This is just an entering wedge. So do not be deluded or fooled by what is going on here.

As I say, had there been any necessity for this thing, had there been any great crying need for it, notwithstanding the fact that these estimates were made back in July, there would have been an estimate here for this amount, because estimates were sent down until the very time this committee made its report. There are items in this deficiency appropriation bill now that were sent down by the Bureau of the Budget two days before the hearings were closed. So that if there had been any necessity for this money, you can rest assured that the Army, which is never neglectful of their interests, would have had an estimate for it. The Army is wide-awake and they do not let an opportunity slip. No. This does not come from the Army, if you please.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. Does the gentleman not believe in preparedness?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Certainly I do. I believe in preparedness, and I believe in preparedness to take care of those who are in absolute need. We are talking about taking care of the needy and the unemployed and those in distress. It would be better if we took this $100,000 and applied it there.

Mr. FISH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. FISH. I would like to know just what the Congress has done for the poor. The gentleman says we should use this money for the poor. Will the gentleman tell us what we have done for the poor? [Applause.]

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Well, we have been trying to do a great deal; and we will be able to do more if we do not waste money on projects like this.



Mr. FISH. I would like to know one concrete thing that this House of Representatives has done for the poor.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. GOSS. I want to ask the gentleman if he believes it would be wiser to cut down the number of officers or give them this appropriation to enable them to stop wrecking our planes and killing the men?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I would say they had better reduce the number, and they should have commenced the reduction long ago.

Mr. GOSS. But how are they to reclassify that number if they can not have sufficient training?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. They are supposed to be reclassified now. The gentleman says they want this money to apply to class 1. Why did they not make the reclassification some time ago and save this money?

Mr. GOSS. I presume that General Foulois figured we needed those extra men.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Well, I do not know what transpired to change his opinion. If we needed 6,000 men as flyers six months ago, why do we only need 1,000 now?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BARBOUR].

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Speaker, in order that we may get something of a picture of this situation I want to point out that in Group 1 of the Air Corps Reserve, where this money will be expended, there are 1,232 qualified flying pilots. Of that number 250 are in civil flying. That is, they are flying with the various air lines and the air mail. That would leave a little less than 1,000 flyers who would receive the benefit of this money in their training.

The appropriation in the bill for this fiscal year provided for a total of 16,275 flying hours for the reserve flyers, which is about 12 hours, on the average, for each of those pilots. If we appropriate $100,000 more for their training, we can estimate the additional flying hours that will be allowed by dividing that amount by $50, which is the cost per hour of this flying training. That is the figure given to us by the Army Air Corps. Dividing $100,000 by $50 will make 2,000 additional hours for which this appropriation will provide. On an average it will increase the flying hours per Group 1 pilot from about 12 to about 14.

Now, these men in Group 1 are the trained, expert pilots of the Organized Reserves. Many of them are men who have gone through the flying cadet school at San Antonio, Tex.

We have spent thousands of dollars in training these men to make them expert flyers. They are selected men, sent through the Army flying school, and when they graduate we commission them as flyers in the Organized Reserve. Under the appropriation as it stands at the present time, and without this additional amount, these reserves are permitted to fly for an average of about one hour a month in order to keep up their training.

General Foulois has made the statement that unless a man is in the air practically every day or every few days he loses his sense of feeling, his sense of touch, and it is not safe for him to fly, so that he is not only in danger himself but is in danger of crashing these valuable planes, and two or three planes saved would justify this $100,000, to say nothing of the lives and limbs of the men flying them.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. In reply to the suggestion made by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS], is it not true that in an emergency all of the old war flyers would be used as instructors, as advisers, and in many other useful capacities?

Mr. BARBOUR. Certainly. General Foulois is a World War flyer, and, as the gentleman from Mississippi said, there is no better flyer in the service than General Foulois. He would be ready to go right now, just as these Group 1 flyers will be ready to go in case of an emergency, if they have the proper training.

That is the reason I take the position that this $100,000 will be money well spent and that it will be more of an economy to spend it for adequate training than it will be to try to save it in this way. [Applause.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS].

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, there are two or three things which have been said here this afternoon that I think should be discussed briefly, one the statement made that there is no Budget estimate for this amount. That, to my mind, is not at all surprising, for the very obvious reason that it is well known on the floor of this House that the War Department is going to protect the Regular Army and that when economies must be effected they are going to effect those economies in the auxiliary branches of the service. They well know that if they protect the Regular Army sooner or later these other organizations will find justice on the floor of this House. That is my answer to those who say the Regular Army is not asking for this appropriation. I am pleased to know that General Foulois has had sufficient independence of action to indicate that he would like to have these funds.

It is my understanding that the Organized Reserves appropriation, the National Guard appropriation, and appropriations for other activities of that kind have been very much cut in the regular bill, more so than the appropriations for the Regular Establishment.

My good friend from Tennessee refers to these men as joy riders. I have ridden in every type of aircraft there is, and I have yet to find a man who figures that riding in an airplane is joy riding. If you want real joy in the air, Mr. BYRNS, you want to ride a balloon. That is fun; but to ride in an airplane is not joy. But let us assume it is. A man is having his experience in handling a plane; he is driving it; he is in the air; he is in touch with it; he is doing the handling of the plane and doing the essential work that will enable him to fly in a time of emergency.

It is my understanding that not one penny of this $100,000 goes in payment of the services of the man who is flying. These men are taking their own time. They personally ask nothing from the Government except that the Government furnish them with an airplane and permit them to fly. Take the men who have been trained. They are experienced men; they are men who are ready to place themselves at the service of their Government whenever they are needed. They personally do not profit from it. This is merely to pay the expense of operating the planes, to help keep them in repair, to carry the depreciation and allow this Government to have a few more flyers who have had experience in handling different types of aircraft, types which the Government would have them handle if the country ever got into war.

Now, a number of Members of the House were in the World War, and I, for one, resent the statement made here to-day that the World War men are getting too old to take an active part in the event another war broke out. It might be that a World War flyer would be put in an administrative position, and it might be that he would be doing more ground work than air work, but quite a number of these men who flew during the war would not be disqualified in the event of an emergency. Take a good look at our good friend from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA], who can outfly any flyer they have now, as he did during the war, and there are other men on both sides of the aisle who have had much experience.

Mr. HART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HART. I would suggest to the gentleman that he suggest to the House that we save this $100,000 out of the appropriation for the Farm Board when that comes before the House. Give it to these boys, and let them fly.

Mr. SIMMONS. The gentleman has an anti-Farm-Board complex which is causing him a lot of trouble but which is not bothering anybody else in the House. When we reach the appropriation for the Farm Board there will be time

to discuss it, and then the gentleman can tell us what he thinks about it.

These young men in the prime of life are ready to serve their Government, and all they ask is that they be permitted to keep fit to serve.

Mr. HART. I am going to vote for it.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. DOUGLAS].

Mr. DOUGLAS of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it is admittedly true that out of the appropriations now available, flying by reserve officers can not be undertaken, either with safety to themselves or safety to Government equipment. Predicated upon this fundamental statement of fact, which is perfectly obvious and perfectly clear to anyone who has taken the trouble to read the hearings before the Senate committee—I say that predicated upon that fact, the position which I think should be taken is that either sufficient money should be appropriated so that flying can be undertaken safely—that it, with safety to human life and safety to property—or that there should be no appropriation at all for flying by the Reserve Corps. [Applause.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CLANCY].

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, I was with members of the Committee on Naval Affairs at Rockwell Field, San Diego, Calif., in 1923, at the naval base for aviation, and the officers of the field pointed out various spots in the field and various places in the water and on the docks, and they would say: "This is where Aviators Smith and Brown fell and were killed; this is where Gray and White fell; this is where Jones and Johnson fell." When the World War came in 1917 the Government sent up young men in very valuable planes, and if they were able to fly they were sent to France. If they were not able to fly and did not have flying aptitude, they fell and lost their lives and destroyed very valuable planes and very valuable equipment which could have been used in the war and which it took a long time to replace.

I was also here in Congress in 1924 when the United States air mail appropriation for the transcontinental route was stricken out on a point of order, and I led the fight to restore it, and it was nearly doubled.

At that time the country generally, and probably also many Members of the House, did not have a correct idea of the value of airplane training. In the air mail being trained at that time were Colonel Lindbergh and many other flyers who have done much since 1924 to make known to the country and to the world the value of airplanes and to make the Nation air minded.

We have in Michigan at Selfridge Field, near Detroit, a great training station for Army flyers known as the First Pursuit Group. Of course, anyone who has been on that field and seen the men in course of training there realizes the advantage of training, because, after all, training for flying is very technical and these flyers need plenty of instruction and many hours in the air.

If we should have to go into another war, and there is talk of war now on the front pages of all the papers, and to-day Japan bombarded Shanghai, although, God forbid, we ever should go to war again, we will lose many times $100,000 in the first few days of intensive training in airplanes and air equipment and in that terrific but intangible value which is represented by the lives of noble young men.

It certainly would seem that the United States should be as air minded as any country in the world. We read to-day of what Japan is doing in the vast stretches of Manchuria and Mongolia with airplanes, and certainly there is every reason why we should be forehanded in preparing ourselves in the air. We read Japan is losing planes and fliers, and probably that is due to lack of adequate training.

There is a battle in nearly every division of Government with regard to airplanes. In the Coast Guard they have 16 torpedo-boat destroyers, which cost $300,000 a year apiece to maintain, with an original cost of $3,000,000 for building. It costs $300,000 just to operate one destroyer a year, and for this same amount we could put many airplanes into operation on the coast. [Applause.]

The collision of the Coast Guard destroyer *Herndon* several days ago disclosed to the country it was carrying a crew of 90 men. Two men is enough for a splendid amphibian plane, which would cost about $30,000, and which would be more effective in peace and even in war than a destroyer costing millions.

Some Coast Guard officials realize this and are fighting for more airplanes and fewer destroyers. The Navy is now authorized to build about five more destroyers. Why not return to the Navy the 16 fine Coast Guard destroyers and save millions for the American taxpayer?

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MAAS].

Mr. MAAS. Mr. Speaker, I hope this appropriation of $100,000 will be accepted by the House. Many of you know that I am a pilot and I am piloting to-day. I was in the Air Service during the war. Many Members of this House have had their first airplane ride with me as a pilot—God save them.

Gentlemen, if we are not to have adequate air training, we had better abolish reserve training entirely, because we are misleading the country. The mere fact that a man may be an air mail pilot does not assure us at all of his value for military purposes. A man flying in the air mail service to a large extent is like a locomotive engineer running his train on tracks. A man in military aviation must perform an entirely different mission. He must be proficient to the point of second nature with respect to acrobatics, something which has no place in commercial aviation.

Not only the success of an air battle but the life of the pilot, and perhaps the entire success of the cause for which he is fighting, depends upon his proficiency in his maneuverability in the air, and this can come only by training, and constant training, and you can not get it in 38 minutes a month.

I would rather see the whole aviation reserve wiped out so that the country would not be misled to the extent of thinking they have air defense when they have not got it. Let us not mislead them, but if we are going to hold ourselves out to the country as having national defense, we should see that we provide real defense. Aviation is the cheapest possible form of national defense, and it provides the greatest economy. The airplane is the quickest defense machine you can put into the field. It is your first line and it costs less, but we are wasting the whole thing when we spend $32,000 to train a pilot and then keep him out of the air after he is trained. You can not stay out of the air and continue to fly safely and efficiently.

The only way that you can make flyers efficient and safe is to have them fly all the time that they possibly can. You can not stay away from the air a month or two months with impunity. We have cases of patriotism and devotion of flyers to the country who fly air mail planes, high-speed planes every day and then who get out and fly these little military primary training planes going less than 80 miles an hour, but they are getting no benefit, and the country is getting no benefit from that. I know that my friend the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations is friendly to aviation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HORR].

Mr. HORR. Mr. Speaker, this bill, in my opinion, is one that should not be rejected. It was my good fortune, along with other Members of the House, to have served our country over the seas, and if we are not careful we are going to place our air force in the same position that you did those fellows you sent over who were ordered over the top and could not even fire a rifle.

Now, our country on the Pacific coast, and Seattle, will be the first part of the country to be invaded. It is too foggy for the Navy and too far removed for the Army, they say, to station units on Puget Sound. You could not fill

these air reserves from boys on the farm in war time. We have to have these air reserve officers. They serve without additional pay——

Mr. GOSS. And they have to pay $20 more for insurance?

Mr. HORR. They do; and if they are killed the only thing that the Government does is to give them a respectable burial. These men are men with families. They are patriotic, and some are young enough that if war was declared to-day they would be available. I can not too strongly urge you as a patriotic duty to vote for this measure. [Applause.]

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I want to take a few minutes more. War is a young man's game. There is not anybody here who does not know that when you get out of class 1, referred to a while ago, you enter into a class that would not be accepted if we had a war to-morrow. There are a number of Members in this body who have distinguished service in the air in the late war. I dare say most of them would be turned down by the Board of Efficiency on account—I will not say on account of age—but for reasons acceptable to the Board of Efficiency.

Mr. YON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. YON. Does the $100,000 provide for taking care of any other group except Group 1?

Mr. BYRNS. That is all.

Mr. YON. What is the age of enlistment?

Mr. BYRNS. I do not think there is any age fixed. They take them from commercial flying and put them in the general reserve.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Not at present. We have had such a long discussion upon the matter, and we have an appropriation bill waiting. I want to make one brief statement, and then I will yield.

In the first place, this appropriation has not been made at the request of the Budget or the President. I dare say that gentlemen interested in this proposition brought tremendous influence on the Budget to make the estimate; but the Budget declined to do so.

It has been the policy of the House, as evidenced by the consideration of the Department of Agriculture bill, not to go above the Budget in any item. Now, we are asked to violate that policy of the House and give $100,000 for this purpose when the Budget has not estimated for it. If you are going to open the door and permit an appropriation of this kind to be made, when the President of the United States and the Budget have not requested it, I say to you that you are going to get in very deep water before we get through with the annual appropriation bills.

The conference committee for that reason refused to accede to it, but there is another reason, and a mighty good one. The 1932 appropriations, those for the current year, are based on 20,000 flying hours for the Organized Reserves. If this amendment be adopted, it will provide for 6,750 additional flying hours, or a total of 26,750 flying hours. The Budget estimates for 1933 provide for 16,750 flying hours. Therefore, you are going to have on July 1, if the Budget estimates are adhered to, in the Army appropriation bill 10,000 less flying hours beginning July 1 than you are here providing if you adopt this amendment between now and July 1. You know what is going to happen. There is going to be a steady pressure from now on until the Army appropriation bill finally becomes a law to secure additional appropriations over and above the estimates of probably $300,000 or more, in order to provide just as many flying hours next year as you will have between now and July 1, if this amendment be adopted. Are you ready to vote $300,000 more over and above the estimates for this particular purpose in the next appropriation bill? I am sure you are not. Then why undertake to give this additional sum between now and July 1? They say that it is a deficiency. I do not know whether it is a deficiency or not. We did not have any hearings on it in the House committee, and very little hearings in the Senate committee, so far as I know. I do not know just how much money they have down there, but my impression is that they have about $150,000. I may be wrong in that statement, but that is my impression. They have also made their contracts for such gasoline and oil as will be needed between now and July 1. They now tell you that they just want this $100,000 for this class 1. They say that is all they are going to use the next appropriation for in 1933. If they concede at this moment that it is only necessary to utilize the appropriation for the purpose of giving those in Group 1 an opportunity to fly, why did not they adopt that last July and prevent this deficiency? Are you going to let those in charge of this fund, are you going to let this department, go along and utilize appropriations in a manner which they know will create a deficiency and then come to you and say, "We did utilize it in a manner possibly we ought not to have, but in the future we are going to utilize it in a proper sort of way"? I think you ought to vote down this motion to concur. I do not think we ought to start here and break the good rule that we established in the interest of economy and our intention to stand by the President in his efforts to reduce the expenditures of this Government. I hope that you will vote down the motion to concur.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. CONNERY. I like to go along with the gentleman from Tennessee, but in this proposition or anything which is connected with the air forces of the United States or the national defense, which means the safety of the Nation, I can not go along with him.

Mr. BYRNS. I will go as far with the gentleman as anyone else when he undertakes to make appropriations to train men who would be used in the service of the Government in the event of war, but here we have a proposition in which the War Department tacitly admits that those in Groups 2 and 3 would not be utilized, in all probability, in the event of war. They have used this money for that purpose, and I am not in favor of Congress surrendering its right to control appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment numbered 23.

The question was taken; and, on a division (demanded by Mr. LAGUARDIA), there were—ayes 67, noes 96.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Connecticut demands the yeas and nays.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count.

Mr. GOSS (interrupting the count). Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of order.

So the motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The vote taken by the House in rejecting the motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment numbered 23 is equivalent to disagreeing to the Senate amendment.

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE LA GUARDIA

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, last night our colleague from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] delivered a very interesting and able address over the radio, National Broadcasting Co. network, upon the subject of "Taxation, Lobbying, and the Freedom of the Air." I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by including that speech.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

TAXATION, LOBBYING, AND THE FREEDOM OF THE AIR

In discussing the subject of Taxation, Lobbying, and the Freedom of the Air it might be well to state just why and how this combination of subjects is on the program this evening. When the American Taxpayers League announced a series of talks over the radio by eminent and distinguished statesmen, I protested to the National Broadcasting Co. that the Taxpayers League, which had been the subject of a senatorial investigation, was not only exploiting the good name of the eminent men on their program but that they were using this radio network for their own propa-

ganda in furtherance of the personal interest of a few promoters. The president of the National Broadcasting Co., Mr. Aylesworth, offered me the opportunity, as he stated, "in accordance with the company's policy to always permit the presentation of the other side of the question." Thanks, National Broadcasting Co. As long as the freedom of the air is maintained on such a high and fair level radio will be the greatest public forum ever known in the history of the world.

Increases in taxes are inevitable. Taxation is always an unpleasant legislative duty. Taxes are always unpopular. At this time the new tax rates will be more than ordinarily painful. Not only higher taxes on existing schedules, but Congress will have to find new sources of revenue. Hence, higher and more taxes. We can not, we must not, pass on to future generations the burden of paying for the failures, the blunders, the mistakes of our present financial collapse. This would be done if all of the present deficit and those of the next five years were met by a bond issue. Such governmental financing is not only economically unsound and unscientific but manifestly unfair. The estimated accumulated deficit for the present fiscal year is $2,122,683,000. Part of this staggering amount has been absorbed already by long-term bonds, thereby passing it on to the next generation. The existing deficit has not been caused primarily by increase in expenditures, but by decrease in expected revenues of the Government due to the business depression and to a nation-wide period of unemployment. Yes; unemployment is the chief factor prolonging the depression. The purchasing power of the great masses of the people is the foundation of our prosperity. Destroy that and the top crashes. To think of balancing the Budget—requiring two billions of dollars—by reducing the wages of loyal Government employees, which would amount to only a few millions, is absurd and ineffective. The total saving would be little more than a decimal point in proportion to our deficit. The plan of reestablishing normal prosperity by a general reduction of the wage scale and resultant lowering of the American standard of living is not only fallacious, but it disregards the very system which made our country the greatest and at one time the happiest in the world, and ignores the best of American traditions and purposes of life. We must stop the concentration in a few families of the Nation's wealth.

All tax legislation must originate in the House of Representatives. The Committee on Ways and Means of the House, one of the most important committees of Congress, has just finished public hearings and is now working on the draft of a tax bill. This bill, providing for increase and new taxes, will in all likelihood be ready for consideration by the House within a very short time.

I stated that public hearings were held by the Ways and Means Committee, which brings up the second subdivision of the subject under discussion, that of lobbying and lobbyists. The committee held public hearings, at which any person or organization having a direct or even an indirect interest in taxation generally or in any schedule in particular had ample opportunity to be heard. In addition, briefs and arguments may be filed, which are carefully considered first by subcommittees and then by the full committee and printed in the hearings for consideration by all Members of the House. These hearings are held in the open and all papers submitted are matters of record. In addition to that, every section of the country having its own peculiar interests has (an equal and) proportionate representation in the House of Representatives. State interests are fully protected regardless of the size of the State, in that every State has equal representation in the upper House of Congress. Any person, business, or interest having any grievance or finding any injustice in the tax bill when it is reported may properly bring the matter to the attention of their Representatives in the House, who may with all propriety present the arguments and oppose the particular schedule when the bill is before the House for consideration. A casual reading of debates in the House on any tax bill will clearly indicate to any unbiased person that every interest is not only well but ably represented and that many are the battles, and sometimes bitter, until the matter is finally determined in proper American and constitutional fashion by the judgment of the majority.

In the face of all of this it is difficult to understand how unscrupulous persons may misrepresent conditions, pose as having magical and mysterious power in shaping legislation, in order to extort money in the shape of contributions. The bigger the pretenses, the greater the promises, I can say—and I am sure I voice the feeling of a majority of my colleagues—the less reliable these lobbyists really are. It is on such representation of influence and power to defeat taxation that huge sums of money have been collected from a gullible and unsuspecting public.

My reason for protesting against the activities of the American Taxpayers League is simply because these activities were resumed on the eve of tax legislation. The activities of the American Taxpayers League and its utter lack of influence and the amount of money they have collected are matters of record in the form of competent and preponderant evidence obtained after a very painstaking investigation by the United States Senate. Were it not for this investigation and the scathing report, which may be found in part 4 of Report No. 43 of the United States Senate, second session, Seventy-first Congress, I would not have protested against the renewed activities of this discredited organization on the floor of the House and I would not have protested to the National Broadcasting Co. that the company was, unwittingly and unintentionally, I am sure, lending aid to another campaign for the collection of contributions. The report just cited was not a partisan act. There were no politics involved. It was the deliberate findings and inevitable conclusion of both Republicans and Democrats. It was the judgment of experienced and able statesmen. The subcommittee submitting these findings and making this unanimous report was composed of the following Senators: The late Thaddeus H. Caraway, of Arkansas, chairman; Mr. William E. Borah, of Idaho; Mr. Arthur R. Robinson, of Indiana; Mr. John J. Blaine, of Wisconsin; Mr. Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana.

I quote from this report: "The American Taxpayers League was the creature of one J. A. Arnold. It operated ostensibly to influence congressional legislation." "There is in truth," says the senatorial report, "no such thing as an American Taxpayers League. The American Taxpayers League originated in 1925 by Mr. Arnold." I am quoting from the senatorial report, "It has no constitution nor by-laws nor membership except 'contributors.' There is no system of voting by which officers may be chosen." Under the name of the American Taxpayers League, according to the sworn testimony, Mr. Arnold has collected in three years, 1926, 1927, and 1928, the sum of $860,574.15. What has become of the money? Have contributors been deceived in believing that it was expended in influencing legislation? Mr. Arnold collected and controlled the money; he should publicly account for every cent. According to the Senate committee's finding, "the books of this organization are audited annually, whereupon all evidence of financial transactions are destroyed." Then the report continues, "the auditor" who makes these reports "was convicted and sentenced for issuing a fraudulent certificate citing the solvency of corporations whose books he had examined." The American Taxpayers League, under the management of Mr. Arnold, I state on my responsibility, has no influence on the American Congress. It never did. I am sure after its record has been exposed it has been entirely discredited. I have been informed that it has been very active of late, accompanied with demands for contributions, in promises to prevent taxes on inheritance and gift taxes and income surtaxes on every dollar earned. It has no influence here in Washington. I have spoken with many of my colleagues on this subject and they all agree that every possible means should be exerted to warn the American people and business men and put them on guard against solicitors for contributions by professional lobbyists and paper organizations seeking to sell congressional influence.

It is reassuring that in sounding this warning I am permitted to quote from recognized leaders of the American Congress:

Hon. CARL E. MAPES, of Michigan, one of the leaders on the Republican side of the House and an expert on fiscal matters, says:

"Organizations, such as the American Taxpayers League, embarrass more than they help the cause which they profess to serve."

Hon. JOHN Q. TILSON, of Connecticut, who for several years was Republican floor leader, says:

"I wish business men would stop contributing money on promises that any person or organization can sell or buy legislation. Legislation, I am happy to state, is not obtained in that way. Any bona fide organization can get an attentive hearing without contributing to anyone."

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, one of the most colorful personalities in the American Congress, courageous, outspoken, and an experienced legislator, the Hon. JOHN N. GARNER, authorizes me to say for him:

"These professed influencers of public opinion are usually fakes, such as the American Taxpayers League was and, I think, still is."

And, in closing, may I say Members of Congress are eager and anxious to serve their constituents. Any organization or person can always get a direct hearing on any legislative matter without the aid of any intermediary. Thanks.

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES M. BECK

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech delivered by my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. BECK] over the radio on Monday, January 25, on the subject of "The Eighteenth Amendment."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

Fellow citizens, the question to be discussed is a very simple one. It does not involve the merits or demerits of the eighteenth amendment. It only involves the right of the American people, if they so desire, to give a new mandate in the matter of prohibition.

PEOPLE DESERVE CHANCE TO DECIDE PROBLEM—URGES BILL

Those who oppose such resubmission must do so on the theory that this provision of the Constitution is a finality for all time. Those who favor such resubmission believe that the American people have an inviolable and ever-continuing right to determine from generation to generation the nature of their Government. If they have not such right, then democracy is a fraud and a delusion.

In a democratic form of government even the Constitution can not foreclose any subject from discussion and action by the people, and its amending article, Article V, clearly shows that those who

framed the Constitution did not regard any who suggested amendments as wanting in patriotism.

It is strange, indeed, that prohibitionists should now claim infallibility for the eighteenth amendment, for clearly they did not regard the Constitution as unchangeable when they added the eighteenth amendment and thus destroyed that basic principle of the Constitution—local self-government. If their inconsistency in this respect proves nothing, yet I can invoke the elementary principles of our Government and the noblest of American traditions to prove that the American people have regarded as the fundamental verity of liberty the right to change their form of government, as and when the interests of the people might require it.

TURNS TO CONSTITUTION

We regard the immortal Declaration of Independence as the Magna Charta of our liberties, and in its noble preamble Thomas Jefferson voiced forever, to use his language, "the self-evident truth" that "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it." To the same end the immortal preamble to the Constitution proclaims, as with the sonorous blast of a trumpet, that "we, the people of the United States * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution," and thus asserted a then novel truth—that sovereignty rested neither in the king nor in the state, but always and inviolably in the people, who have an indefeasible and ever-continuing right to determine their own destiny.

The Constitution itself recognizes such right, for by Article V, under which the eighteenth amendment itself was enacted, express and alternative provisions were made for amendments from time to time and it was one of the many arguments which the proponents of the Constitution made to the American people in the immortal Federalist papers, that a more liberal method had been devised in the Constitution to remedy any defects in its provisions which experience might show from time to time.

Nineteen amendments have thus been adopted, and while a few of these were merely additions to the original Constitution, yet most of them—as, for example, the eleventh, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth amendments—involved important modifications and far-reaching changes in the Constitution of the fathers. None involved a greater change than the eighteenth amendment, for it not only wrote a code of penal law into the Constitution, but in large part destroyed the reserved police powers of the States.

ASKS FOR REFERENDUM

How, then, can it be contended that the American people have not the right to determine whether any part of their Constitution, and especially any amendment, should be either repealed or modified? To assert otherwise is to challenge democracy itself. It makes the final passage of Lincoln's Gettysburg address a rhapsody of words, for if the American people can not undo a clearly demonstrated folly and rescue a previously reserved right, then truly government "of the people, by the people, for the people" has perished from the United States.

Such was the reasoning of the proponents of the eighteenth amendment, when it was submitted to the people for their ratification, and if time permitted I could quote the principal advocates of such submission as stating that to deny the people of this country the right to ratify the eighteenth amendment was to challenge their right to rule themselves, and yet to-day we are told by the same moral enthusiasts that such right should now be denied the American people. In the vehemence of such denial the fanatical "drys" shut their eyes to the unquestioned facts of history, for when we advocate the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to conventions in the several States, to be especially called to consider the question, we are told in a recent statement of the Board of Temperance and Public Morals that such method is "untried," and yet the fact is that the original Constitution was ratified by such conventions and not by the legislatures.

To give the people of the United States such an opportunity of self-expression, my associates and I, of both parties, have submitted a substitute for the eighteenth amendment, which, while giving to every State the right to determine how it will regulate or prohibit the traffic in beverage liquors exclusively within its own borders, yet gives to the dry States not only their reserved rights, but the added power of the Federal Government to protect them in the full enforcement of their prohibitory laws. In other words, we restore home rule to the several States, and no student of American history can question that the men who framed the Constitution would never have adopted it if they had not been satisfied that the right of local self-government would, at all times, be preserved.

CLAIMS STRONG SUPPORT

I concede that no provision of the Constitution should be resubmitted to the people unless there be a considerable sentiment in favor of such resubmission. But no fair-minded man can question the existence of such a sentiment to-day, after 12 years' trial of national prohibition. Whether a majority or a minority favors resubmission need not now be discussed, especially as without such submission there is no authoritative way of determining the fact. What we do know is that in the famous poll of the Literary Digest, conducted with scrupulous fairness, and in which millions of American citizens participated, 70 per cent of the votes cast favored either a repeal or a modification of the eighteenth amendment. This is so palpable that many ardent and sincere drys, in and out of Congress, are now willing to resubmit the eighteenth amendment. Only the fanatical drys oppose.

The form of our proposed amendment is less important than the fact of resubmission, and if my esteemed friend, Senator HOWELL, has a better form to test the will of the people, I hope he will introduce it.

There are especial reasons why the eighteenth amendment should be resubmitted. It was well said on high authority that it was an "experiment," and I concede, on the same high authority, that it was "noble in motive."

If the experience of history has proven anything, it is that such an experiment in this or any country must be both unsatisfactory and hazardous. Even a small, compact, and homogeneous nation like Finland has only recently condemned its own prohibition law, and it is most significant that 60 per cent of the women voters favored such repeal.

In our country the eighteenth amendment has been given over 12 years' trial. Millions have been spent in its attempted enforcement, and, what is more deplorable, over 500,000 American citizens have been either indicted or convicted of violation of this law. Yet to-day, at least in the large industrial cities, the law is less enforced than it was at the beginning. No such general revolt against the enforcement of a law has ever been known in our history, and in itself proves the existence of a very substantial sentiment that the eighteenth amendment should be repealed.

While from a purely legalistic standpoint the eighteenth amendment is as much the law of the land as any other part of the Constitution, yet in considering its resubmission it should always be remembered that it can not claim the same moral sanction as the original Constitution. The latter was framed by the ablest body of men that ever attempted such a task, and they were especially selected for the work. The Constitution, as thus submitted and ratified, contained the names of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, and James Madison, and others of the "immortal 39." I may add that not one of them would have favored the eighteenth amendment, and if they could have conceived of it as a future possibility it is probable that they would have abandoned any attempt to form a central government that would dictate to the citizen what he should drink.

The eighteenth amendment was proposed to the people in a time of great hysteria, by a few hundred Senators and Representatives who had not been elected for such a purpose, and it was ratified by a few thousand State legislators who, likewise, had not been elected with any such mandate.

Moreover, the work of the constitutional convention was the free expression of the able men who created this Republic, while it is an unquestioned fact that the eighteenth amendment was submitted and ratified by many legislatures under moral duress. Indeed, the eighteenth amendment was bootlegged into the Constitution and has inflicted upon this country a reign of corruption, hypocrisy, and disrespect for law such as never before existed in our history.

Apart from this fact, no law which interferes with individual liberty can ever be enforced, unless sustained by a greatly preponderating public sentiment. The old Jewish Talmud was philosophically correct when it said that custom rises above law. The same truth was voiced by the greatest political philosopher of antiquity, Aristotle, when he said that laws and even constitutions could never be enforced if contrary to the ethos, meaning the spirit or genius of a people. The history of sumptuary laws in all ages proves this fact.

BLAMED FOR LAWLESSNESS

There is a final reason for such resubmission at this time. Prohibition is not the only issue before the American people. We are living in very trying times and have many difficult problems. The question is not a partisan issue, and if resubmitted to the people it will go far to clear the decks for other important public policies.

Moreover, the failure to submit will simply intensify the revolt against the law and the ill feeling which now exists between different classes of people. Until thus resubmitted the question becomes an irrepressible one, like the old question of slavery.

Unfortunately it is within the power of a minority of the American people to block the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment. Sixteen States, with less combined population than that of my native State—Pennsylvania—can undoubtedly defeat the repeal of a law which is favored by a large majority of the American people, as resubmission would demonstrate. If thus blocked, the fanatical "drys" need not suppose that the American people are powerless. They are not yet the helpless slaves of a system of moral bondage. They still have the ancient power of the English-speaking race over the public purse, and if their will be defeated by a small minority of the American people, then the day will come, and surely come, when the American people, through their Representatives in Congress, acting under a clear constitutional right to determine expenditures, will refuse to appropriate one penny to enforce an unenforceable law.

This is not nullification, but the exercise of a constitutional right. If the "drys" are well advised, they will prefer resubmission and give the American people an opportunity to express their majestic will.

TAX ON THE SPOKEN DRAMA

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the subject of admission taxes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by myself before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives:

I desire to make a plea on behalf of the spoken drama and enlist your kindly sympathy when considering rewriting section 411 of the revenue act of 1928, which section covers tax on admissions.

Life is nowhere better expressed than in the theater. Indeed, the abundance and richness of life swells up and speaks in the theater. There we see the mirror held up to nature. There we see ourselves as others see us. Our foibles are exposed and we must, of necessity, profit thereby.

Often the satire or the humor of the dramatist's penetrating skill can do much to destroy the shams as well as the hypocrisy of life. I have but to mention the comedies of Shakespeare in this regard. Often the playwright, without preachment but simply by the natural unfolding of character, teaches a nation the ways of truth. The tragedies of Æschylus, Socrates, and Euripides taught the Greeks how to face death and disaster with fortitude and made them realize that unerring and inexorable fate ruled their lives.

Whenever and wherever the native drama prospers, the nation prospers. The period of Elizabeth in England was a great period; so was its drama. It was a time of general prosperity. There may have been fewer millionaires than there are to-day, but there also were fewer paupers. The Englishman of that day was adventurous and courageous, freely believing in his own strength and power. That was the Elizabethan spirit. We see it so nobly reflected in the works of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson.

Is not the greatness of Germany reflected in Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller? If we wish to see the genius of French life, we look to Voltaire, Molière, Rostand, and Brieux. The greatness of the age of Queen Anne is to be found in Congreve, Prior, and Pope. Sheridan and Goldsmith reflect the greatness of English life of a later period, and, finally, in this more modern age we have Shaw, Galsworthy, Masefield, Barrie, Pinero, and Jones. One can not disassociate the Italy of to-day from D'Annunzio and Pirandello. Just so, if one a century hence wished to trace the course of American life of to-day he would have to reread the dramas of Clyde Fitch, Eugene O'Neill, Elmer Rice, David Belasco, and Phillip Barry—to mention only a few of the dramatists of our own land.

The drama of any country is coextensive with its people. It is the art closest to the race. A picture may be painted, a poem written, a statue made, and a sonata composed—without the presence of a group of people, without a crowd. But a play is meaningless unless it is written deliberately to be produced before an audience of the masses. We prefer to view a Rubens or a Rembrandt in an art gallery without a crowd. We read a novel in the solitude of our homes. We can enjoy a Beethoven symphony alone or with others, but a play must be produced before an audience. That is its essential.

The drama, therefore, is the art of widest appeal. Older nations than ours, realizing to the fullest this important fact and seeing in it a potent instrumentality for the enlightenment of its masses, have nurtured and encouraged, by subventions and subsidies, the native drama. We, a younger civilization, have yet to learn this. Nowhere outside of the United States is the theater or the opera taxed. We seem to hurt where we should help. We tax where we should pay and encourage.

Somewhat over a year ago I set in motion an inquiry as to how widespread was the aid or subsidies given by foreign governments to their native drama and/or musical productions. I will offer for the record some of the letters received from foreign legations. They give you some idea of the help drama and music receives from Europe.

The letters are as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 29, 1930.*

DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry of the 21st, I beg to inform you that in Czechoslovakia we have several nationally endowed theaters subsidized by the state. State subsidies were granted to the theaters soon after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic on October 28, 1918, and the reason for these subsidies was to assist the theaters in their cultural task and to keep the prices of tickets low in order to afford people of moderate means the possibility to visit theaters. The prices of tickets in the Prague theaters vary from 3 to 25 Czechoslovak crowns (from 9 to 75 cents).

The subsidies, however, have no influence whatever upon the selection of plays or operas. The subsidized theaters are quite free to arrange their repertoire as they wish, provided, of course, that a certain artistic standard be maintained.

At the beginning of this year, a special law was passed making the two foremost Prague theaters, Národní Divadlo (the National Theater), and Stavovské Divadlo (the Theater of the Estates) giving both plays and operas, state institutions. In this case the state (the ministry of education), will no doubt exercise some influence upon the management of these theaters, but this influence will in all likelihood rather enhance than diminish the artistic value of the performances.

Hoping that this information will answer your purpose, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

DR. FERDINAND VEVERKA,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND,
Washington, D. C., June 3, 1930.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CELLER: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 21, 1930, asking for information concerning the movement in favor of nationally endowed theaters in Switzerland.

Your inquiry has had my full attention, but I regret not to be able to give you circumstantiated information on this question. Owing to the fact that Switzerland is a confederation of 22 States called Cantons, the central Government has actually no competence in the matter, and we have no federal theater and, as far as I am aware, no theater in Switzerland is receiving subsidies from the federal Government.

To my knowledge, the theaters in Switzerland are owned either by the towns or communes (Stadttheater, théâtre municipal) or by private concerns and receive large subsidies from the governments of the Cantons and the administration of the interested cities. These subsidies having in most of the cases proved insufficient, there has been a movement lately to form private organizations or associations (Theaterverein) which would help to raise the necessary funds from private people or commercial or industrial firms; but at all events, the financial situation of the theaters is always very precarious.

Should you wish to have more ample details regarding the organization of theaters in Switzerland, I would suggest that you apply to the United States Legation in Berne or to one of the consulates in the different cities of Switzerland, which no doubt will be in a position to give you any information you may desire.

Believe me, my dear Mr. CELLER, yours sincerely,

J. ALIS, *Attaché,*
(For the minister of Switzerland).

LEGATION OF SWEDEN,
Washington, D. C., May 28, 1930.

MY DEAR MR. CELLER: With reference to your letter of May 21 on the subject of nationally endowed theaters in Sweden, I beg to state that there exist two state-supported theaters—the Royal Opera and the Royal Dramatic Theater—under the supervision of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education.

The repertoire of the opera embraces the chief production of classics and modern Swedish and foreign masters. The Dramatic Theater is devoted entirely to dramatic art.

These theaters are subsidized by the King, the Parliament, and the municipality of Stockholm, also through means derived from the income of the so-called lotteries, operated under Government supervision. Furthermore, funds are secured through public bonds. In addition to this, annual subsidies are granted by the Swedish Parliament to musical art societies.

Unfortunately, the library at the legation does not contain sufficient information to enable me to give you an exact and detailed answer to the various questions set forth in your letter, but I am convinced that you can get further details through the Department of State or directly through the American Legation in Stockholm.

Yours very truly,

W. BOSTRÖM,
Minister of Sweden.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
Representative from New York, Washington, D. C.

LEGATION OF NORWAY,
Washington, D. C., July 30, 1930.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: With further reference to my letter of May 24, 1930, in the above-mentioned matter, I have the honor to inform you that I am now in receipt of a reply from the Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, received through the ministry of foreign affairs in Oslo.

The answer goes to the effect that no appropriation is made in the ordinary state budget to theaters in Norway. Of the surplus of the state lottery (Det Norske Pengelotteri), however, some larger contributions to theaters have been made.

I remain, my dear Congressman,

Sincerely yours,

L. OFFERDAHL,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

WASHINGTON, *May 26, 1930.*

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CELLER: I am in receipt of your letter of May 21, 1930, and beg to inform you that for many years the question of nationally endowed theaters has been under discussion. If I am not mistaken, 45 years ago a very rich banker erected a theater which was donated to the city of Athens under the care of the mayor of the city. For some time the theater barely existed, until finally the doors were closed. Then, owing to the influx of refugees in 1922, the building was turned over for the use of the refugees.

Some 35 years ago another wealthy Greek donated to the King at that time a considerable amount of money for the erection of a theater, which functioned for some years with contributions from the King. Periodic movements have been initiated for nationally endowing the theater, but nothing definite has been obtained. Lately and on the occasion of the centenary of independence a new

movement started under the direction of the theatrical authors and actors for the purpose of obtaining an endowment from the Government of the Hellenic Republic in order to have the theater function. Public funds for the construction of a theater have never been used, once the theater has already been erected through the generosity of the donor. The effort is directed to have the Government of the Republic appropriate a sum of money for its maintenance.

The theater is used mostly for drama and very seldom for operas, as the stage is not adequate for operatic performances.

Very truly yours,

CH. SIMOPOULOS, *Minister of Greece.*

JAPANESE EMBASSY,
Washington, May 27, 1930.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CELLER: I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 21, inquiring whether there is a movement in Japan for nationally endowed theaters.

In reply I greatly regret to have to say that we are unable to answer your several questions on the subject, as there is at present neither any such acknowledged movement nor a manifestation of a sufficiently keen desire for such a theater on the part of the public in Japan.

In the six larger cities of Japan there are 95 theaters dedicated to the presentation of modern stage art, but they are, all of them, under private ownership and management. However, with the growing influence of the drama on the public at large, it seems, as it is our hope, that the day is not remote when such a movement will meet with whole-hearted cooperation of the people of Japan.

Sincerely yours,

S. KATO, *Secretary.*

Mr. CELLER. In other words, the Japanese people, or the Government of Japan, recognize the importance of bringing home to as many of the people as possible the drama, and it will, in the future, undoubtedly subsidize the drama there.

I have here at hand a very interesting document published by the British Government some years ago on the financial support given from the State or municipality funds to dramatic, operatic, or musical performances in foreign countries. This document refers to the subventions given somewhat prior to the World War, but in most countries the situation as to governmental aid to the theater remains unchanged to-day.

In Argentina, the municipality of Buenos Aires exempts from taxation the lyrical companies performing at the opera house and the Politeama.

The Republics of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador of Central America, all, in various ways, offer subsidies to the drama and to the opera.

Chile offers large subventions to the opera house at Santiago, not only for operatic but for dramatic productions.

In the Austria-Hungary Empire the native drama and opera were handsomely supported. The Opera House and the Burg Theater in Vienna are still glorious monumental structures supported by the Government. The Emporer had his various court theaters maintained and administered by the Lord Chamberlain, and the Royal Hungarian Opera House at Budapest as well as its National Theater was royally supported out of what is known as state and theater funds.

In Belgium the subsidies are allocated to Belgian composers whose works are produced in a Belgian theater.

In Bulgaria there is the budget of the Minister of Public Education, which includes a definite yearly sum for the National Dramatic Co.

At Sophia the municipality has put aside a vast sum for the construction of a state theater, which is yearly maintained out of the lottery of the city.

In Denmark there is the Royal Theater at Copenhagen, under the management of the Minister of Religion and Education.

Egypt has always granted a yearly subvention at Cairo and Alexandria for 60 presentations, that is, 36 operas and 24 comedies.

The French Parliament grants a yearly sum to the Opéra, the Opéra Comique, the Théâtre Français, and for the Odéon. This is in addition to money from the government in Paris and the Provinces for all kinds of dramatic, lyrical, and musical enterprises.

In Germany before the war there was the Royal Prussian Opera House and Play House in Berlin, receiving yearly subsidies from the private means standing at the disposal of the Emperor of Prussia. There were a host of court theaters—at Weimar, Carlsruhe, Mannheim, Munich, Stuttgart, and a host of other places throughout the empire. To-day in Germany the Government and municipalities similarly encourage in every way native drama. Since the war, great impetus has been given to Die Volks Bühne, or People's Stage. The subscription audience of the People's Stage totals well nigh half a million and its aggregation of players receives every possible aid and assistance from most of the municipalities of the Republic. It has 305 branches. The People's Stage is a popular theater in every sense of the word. In Berlin, this principle is carved in stone above the monumental entrance of the theater in the following words, "Die Kunst dem Volke" (art for the people).

In Greece we have the Society for the Production of Ancient Dramas, supported by a specific provision in the state budget.

In Rome there is the municipally owned theater, called the Argentina. Florence, Genoa, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Venice, and other cities are wont to give annual subsidies for the maintenance of the stage and the opera.

Lisbon is proud of its two state theaters, the San Carlos and the Donna Maria II.

At Bucharest, Rumania, the state pays annual subventions to the performers. Similar subventions are made at Jassy.

In Russia, before the revolution, the theater was looked upon by the Government as an educational institution, and the Government always sought to bring it within reach of its masses. There were three imperial theaters at St. Petersburg and three at Moscow. At Warsaw, which was then Russian Poland, there were four theaters under the administration of a director appointed by the Minister of the Interior.

At Helsingfors, now Finland, there were three theaters, Finnish, Swedish, and Russian, respectively, and all were protected and aided by the Russian Government, the population of that city being mainly Swedish, Finnish, and Russian.

There were Government-owned theaters at Riga, at Odessa, at Kiev, and at Kharkov. Of course, since the revolution the Soviet Government is in control of all theaters and more than ever uses them as a means of sovietizing the populace.

At Madrid, Spain, the state has always supported the conservatories of music and drama.

Similar governmental and/or municipal aid was given to the drama and opera at Barcelona, Cordova, Seville, and Valencia.

While England offers no evidence of any state subsidies to theaters, there has been a campaign long waged for the establishment of a Shakespearean national theater, and during the past year considerable impetus was given to the movement as a result of energetic work of Lord Lytton, who headed a committee prepared to contribute $500,000 to the fund required for the establishment of the theater, provided the English Government established a grant of $500,000 to meet the annual charges for interest and sinking fund over a short period of years. Unfortunately, the economic depression which settled upon this country and England alike has temporarily halted the efforts of this committee to establish this national theater.

There has always existed in this country, as well as in England, a feeling of hostility and of prejudice against the stage. This is unfortunate and very likely might have the tendency of causing discrimination against it in the way of taxation. There should, indeed, be no feeling of mistrust for the theater. St. John Ervine, in his book the Organized Theater, attempting to trace the reasons for the prejudice against the theater, holds that the hostility is not necessarily Anglo-Saxon, English, or even American, but claims that it is Christian, and goes on to say:

"The whole Christian organization since the time of the Romans has been antipathetic, if not actually opposed, to the theater. The troubles of the mummers were experienced in medieval times not only in England but all over Europe, and the antipathy to them survives throughout the Continent and also in America to a degree which is unknown in England.

"Much of the Puritan antipathy to the theater and to the theatrical profession was due to precisely the same cause as a great deal of the early Christian antipathy to them. Actors and actresses are very conservative people and are invariably on the side of the authorities, even when the authorities do not hanker for their support. The theater depends largely on the patronage of the rich and the powerful. These facts make the people of the theater more likely to take the part of those in office than of those who aspire to office. The red flag will be waving over Buckingham Palace long before it waves over Drury Lane. The whole of the theatrical profession, such as it was, was closely allied with all the things and all the people most disliked and opposed by the early Christians. The whole of the theatrical profession in England for very good reasons was on the side of the King in the quarrel with the commons. Whenever there was a losing battle to be fought in the Roman Empire or in the England of the Stuarts the theatrical profession fought it, partly through an incurable inability to distinguish between the right side and the wrong side, but chiefly because the losing side happened to be the one which was busy buttering the theatrical profession's bread. All practitioners of the arts, given freedom for the practice of them, are inclined to support the authorities and the aristocracy for the very human reason that the authorities and the aristocracy support them; and the theatrical profession, more than most practitioners of the arts, are inclined to do this, and with better cause than any of them. It was to the court and the monarch that the Elizabethans turned for support in their conflict with the city authorities, who were striving either to eject them from the city or to suppress them altogether; and when the time came for the great struggle between the commons and the Crown, the theatrical profession, remembering where their gratitude lay, threw in their lot with the King, and were punished for their loyalty by a period of total prohibition from the practice of their craft."

I read with great interest, as you probably did also, an article appearing in the magazine section of the New York Times of January 17, 1932, entitled "The Road Holds Five Old Troupers." It spoke of five distinguished actresses and actors who were about to tour the country from coast to coast and from the Lakes to the Gulf—Maude Adams and Otis Skinner in the revival of the Merchant of Venice, William Gillette in Sherlock Holmes, Walter

Hampden in Cyrano de Bergerac, and Ethel Barrymore in the School for Scandal.

"* * * are all out—or will presently be out—among the 1-week and 1-night stands that are pinpricks on the map of our 48 States—and the like of which supplied the American theater with nourishment from the beginning of the Republic. The people who were said to be hopelessly subverted to the movies and the talkies—these people are filling the returned itinerants' houses with enthusiastic audiences.

"These stellar adventurers are taking to the country something they are confident the country wants. The Cyrano Co. is expensively equipped and the information is that $18,000 a week is the minimum that will earn a cent of profit for the management. The others are less elaborately mounted. Yet, obviously, there is considerable stake in each of these enterprises.

"What appeals to the imagination, however, is that to-morrow night Oklahoma City will be looking upon Maude Adams as Portia. Tulsa will see her the next night. Last week the cities of Texas took turns listening to her—not over the radio. By the end of the week just ahead she will be in Tennessee to drop in upon Memphis and Nashville. Let us not forget that at the very peak of our prosperity there was not one legitimate theater—to use the familiar label—in the whole great city of St. Louis."

It is difficult at best from a financial viewpoint to send out these famous Thespians. The financial risk is great. The theater, like everything else, is in the doldrums. It would indeed be a pity if the heavy hand of heavier taxation be placed upon these companies. I appeal to you not to increase the taxation on the spoken drama, so that the people in your cities, towns, hamlets, and counties in your district might have the benefit of seeing these fine actors in these splendid plays—of seeing other excellent artists in many other splendid dramas.

Just one more word and I will conclude, Mr. Chairman.

I took the trouble of determining the amount of tax that was yielded under the admissions provision of our present revenue law. I shall not give you now all of the figures, but shall insert them all in the record; I have them from 1918, when the first tax went on at 1 cent for each 10 cents, down through the tax of 1924, when the tax was 10 per cent on admissions above 50 cents, through the act of 1926, when it was 10 per cent on admissions above 75 cents, and through the act of 1928, when it was 10 per cent on admissions above $3. Now, this is very significant, gentlemen: In 1929 you collected, when the tax was only on admissions above $3, something like $4,882,000; and in 1930, $3,116,000; and in 1931 it dropped to $2,110,000.

Practically none of these amounts involved movie admissions, since such admissions are usually below $3, the amount of the exception since 1928. Most of that tax was collected against the spoken drama.

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman where he got his figures?

Mr. CELLER. We got them from the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue yesterday afternoon.

Mr. BACHARACH. We have the older figures, showing that in 1929 it was $6,000,083.

Mr. CELLER. That probably included the brokerage tax. I tried to get that divided further, so as to know the exact figure separately on each kind of tax, but to no avail.

Mr. BACHARACH. Did you see any brokerage figures?

Mr. CELLER. I was very careful to find that out, Mr. BACHARACH, and these figures include the spoken drama and various sports and prize fights. There is another set of figures which included the tax on brokers. These I have not got. I have been very careful to get authentic figures on drama, sports, and movies, and I got them from two sources in that office. The point I want to make is this: There has been a 50 per cent falling off in the figures between 1929 and 1931; in other words, the spoken drama has probably fallen off 50 per cent during that period. If you are going to increase the tax on the spoken drama, you will probably get less than you are getting now; you have reached the point of diminishing returns; and I do hope, therefore, that you will not increase that tax.

I herewith insert:

Memoranda re admissions tax

Amount	Act of—	Effective date
1 cent on each 10 cents	1917	Nov. 1, 1917
Do	1918	Apr. 1, 1919
10 per cent on admission above 50 cents	1924	July 3, 1924
10 per cent on admission above 75 cents	1926	Mar. 29, 1926
10 per cent on admission above $3	1928	June 29, 1928

Tax on spoken drama, movies, sports, prize fights

[This does not include the brokers' tax]

	Fiscal year ending June 30—	Amount
1 cent on each 10 cents; covered period Nov. 1, 1917, to June 30, 1918	1918	$36,357,338.80
1 cent on each 10 cents	1919	50,779,245.83
Do	1920	75,966,166.78
Do	1921	88,355,518.85
Do	1922	72,425,143.69

Tax on spoken drama, movies, sports, prize fights—Continued

	Fiscal year ending June 30—	Amount
1 cent on each 10 cents	1923	$69,340,585.82
Do	1924	76,809,510.88
Above 50 cents	1925	29,991,812.61
Above 75 cents; Mar. 29, 1926, to June 30, 1926	1926	22,997,106.14
Above 75 cents	1927	17,065,035.46
Do	1928	16,675,419.34
Above $3; really whole year less 2 days	1929	4,882,110.00
Above $3	1930	3,116,173.87
Do	1931	2,110,913.22

Now, a brief word on the tax against the movies. The movies and/or talkies are somewhat different from the spoken drama; they reach the multitudes—the masses, everywhere. That which has the widest base as to popular appeal should be freest of tax. Movies are intimately associated with present-day life, manners, morals, and customs of millions of our masses. I know of no tax that would reach as many people as a tax on movies. Therefore, that tax should be small indeed. It should in no event hit the purse of the man or woman or child spending 50 cents or less. I believe the exemption should be 50 cents and 10 per cent beyond 50 cents.

I primarily speak for movie patrons and independent theater owners. Unfortunately their cause is that of the producers. I wish I could take a good fling at the producers. They are not worthy of support. I give it to them grudgingly, because they happen to be on the same side as the public and the independent theater owners.

The producers should not go unwhipped of justice. They have done grievous wrong with their obnoxious block booking and their inordinate thirst for mastery over all phases of the industry.

But their sins should not be visited upon the independent theater owner or the public.

Deal lightly with them, therefore, when you consider the movie tax.

The CHAIRMAN. On behalf of the committee, we thank you for your presence.

THE BUSINESS CYCLE AND ITS RELATION TO AGRICULTURE

Mr. CHRISTGAU. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by including therein an address on business cycles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CHRISTGAU. Mr. Speaker, the influence of the business cycle upon agriculture is a matter of vital interest to a great many people. Practically every agricultural community in the land is interested in the development of a national policy that will bring prosperity to the millions of people engaged in the agricultural industry. During the holidays it was my privilege to attend a number of sessions of the American Farm Economic Association during its annual meeting here in Washington. During one of those sessions, Prof. Alvin H. Hansen, of the University of Minnesota, read a paper on the business cycle in its relation to agriculture. His analysis, I believe, is of especial interest to all those who are concerned with a solution of the problems facing agriculture at the present time. Mr. Hansen spoke as follows:

THE BUSINESS CYCLE AND ITS RELATION TO AGRICULTURE

By Alvin H. Hansen

The recent statistical investigations of Kondratieff, Timoshenko, Pervushin, Petander, Bean, Warren, and Pearson establish at least a very strong presumption that a fairly close interrelation exists between agriculture and business cycles. The precise nature of this interrelation is, however, as yet by no means clear. Even though we may assume that it is by now fairly widely accepted that a causal relation does exist, it does not follow that there is agreement as to which way the causal forces run.

Jevons and Moore attempted to establish a definite periodicity in weather cycles, and from these, in turn, crop cycles, price cycles, and business cycles. According to this view, the business cycles are definitely geared to agriculture just as the wheels of a motor car are geared to the engine. This view has never enjoyed any considerable vogue among economists. The first reaction from the failure of this thesis to obtain a scientific foothold was to assume that, as did Prof. W. M. Persons, little or no connection existed between agriculture and business cycles. Moreover, the view gained ground that the movements of the business cycle could not be explained by external forces which pari passu controlled and regulated every phase of the cycle. It became generally accepted that the periodicity of the cycle is governed by the internal structure of the modern economic order with its capitalistic technique of production and its money and exchange economy. Just as the periodicity of the pendulum is determined by its internal structure, so also with the industrial order, and as these institutions change in the course of the development of

modern capitalism, so also the periodicity of the cycle may change. Thus the length of the cycle was not the same from 1870 to 1900 as from 1900 to 1930.

Three schools of business cycle theories now arose; one held that the cycle was self-generating and as such needed no further explanation than a description of the internal business structure. The second held the view that while the modern economic order was so constituted that it tended, once its equilibrium position was disturbed, to move in more or less periodic oscillations, yet external initiating forces were needed to give the system every now and then a kick, so to speak. These external initiating forces having started the cumulative wavelike movement of business going, the internal structure of the mechanism would then tend to perpetuate the movement for a time until finally the oscillating movement came to rest in a new equilibrium. The third held that each cycle tends to become self-limiting, and therefore each new period of prosperity must wait upon external initiating forces. In short, while each period generates a crisis and it in turn a depression, yet a depression can not give birth to a new revival without the operation of some special outside initiating factor.

Three things in particular were pointed to as initiating factors—inventions, the opening up of new territories, and favorable crops. It is the latter, of course, in which we are chiefly interested in this paper.

With this new theoretical set-up it was now seen that the initiating factors need not themselves run in cycles. The cyclical character of the movements depended not in the existence of cycles in the initiating forces but in the circumstance that the internal structure of the business mechanism is so constituted that once it is given a kick the movement projects itself in a wavelike fashion. It was then seen that even though agriculture does not itself run in terms of cycles, it may still generate business cycles.

This rather tentative and intermittent connection between agriculture and the business cycle is, however, it now appears, insufficient to exhaust the interrelationship. Agricultural prices, and to some extent also production, do actually appear to run in cycles. The causal relationship might conceivably run either from agriculture to business or from business to agriculture. Now it is important to see clearly that even though one assumes that the causal relation runs from agricultural cycles to business cycles, it is still not necessary to believe, as did Jevons and Moore, that the business cycle is geared to the agricultural cycle just as the wheels of a locomotive are geared to the driving piston. We are learning more and more through the works of Ragnar Frisch, Kondratieff, and others that what has commonly been called the business cycle is in reality a component of many cycles, of which the cycle in agriculture may be one. It does not follow, then, that the business cycle is exclusively or even predominantly a resultant of the agricultural cycle. Indeed, such a view would not square with the conclusion now almost universally held by business-cycle theorists, namely, that the cycle springs from laws inherent in the inner nature of the modern business mechanism, more especially the capitalistic technique of production and the money economy.

I do not think it is yet possible to arrive at definite conclusions with respect to the precise nature of the relation of agriculture to business cycles. The problem would be fairly simple could it be shown that sporadic oscillations in agriculture generate now and then business cycles without itself running in cycles. The solution would then lie along the lines suggested by Pigou and Robertson. But, if it be true that agricultural production and prices themselves run in cycles, the problem becomes far more complicated. Granted that such cycles do exist, the nature of the causal interrelationship is by no means clear.

It is quite possible, and it seems to me indeed likely, that the causal relation runs both ways. I should, however, like to advance the thesis, admitting at the outset that it is only an hypothesis, that in the main agricultural price cycles, and even to some extent agricultural production cycles, are dominated by the business cycle.

The violent fluctuations in economic life caused by the war have frequently been said to so obscure the normal economic relations that a whole new economics needs to be created, based on war and postwar conditions. On the contrary, there are good grounds for the view that these upheavals serve as a magnifying glass helping the economist to see more clearly, because of the sweep and magnitude of the movements, the normal inner working of the economic system. In no field of research is this more evident than in the fields of monetary and cycle theory, and particularly in the relation of agriculture to business.

In the war and postwar years the violent fluctuations of business appear to have largely dominated the fortunes of agriculture. This is evident first of all in the prices of agricultural products. The great upward sweep of business from 1916 to 1919 carried agricultural prices well above the curve of industrial prices. The severe business depression of 1921 pushed agricultural prices far below industrial prices.

If we follow the movements of the 40-month cycles during the last decade we discover a high correlation between the ratio of agricultural prices to industrial prices and the business cycle. (Cf. L. H. Bean, Journal of Farm Economics, July, 1927.) If we disregard the 40-month cycle and center attention upon the major cycle we discover the same relationship. From 1922 to 1929 agricultural prices were rising rapidly in relation to industrial prices. In the great depression of 1930–31 the agricultural prices fell sharply in relation to industrial prices.

This relationship becomes increasingly evident the farther agriculture is removed from a local self-sufficing economy and the more perfectly it becomes articulated with industry in an exchange relation. Agriculture is becoming more and more the football of business. Increasingly industry is the chief buyer of agricultural products. When industry is prosperous manufacture absorbs an immense amount of agricultural raw materials and its wage earners, fully employed at good wages, buy large quantities of food products. When industry is depressed the bottom drops out of the market for farm products. We hear much about the inelasticity of the demand for farm products. But a far more important matter are the violent shifts in the whole demand schedule, rising sharply and falling drastically with the ups and downs of business. Taken in conjunction with the very high degree of constancy which obtains in the volume of agricultural production as a whole, this violent rise and fall in the demand schedule for farm products would produce substantially the same fluctuations in agricultural prices whether the demand were elastic or inelastic. The degree of elasticity of demand is important only when the demand schedule is relatively fixed and production fluctuates violently.

It is important as an explanation of the fluctuation in the price of individual products, the production of which may fluctuate sharply according to weather conditions; but it is not of great significance in explaining the cyclical fluctuation in the ratio of agricultural prices to industrial prices, for the total volume of all farm products does not vary greatly from year to year, especially when world output is considered. This is a distinction which, it seems to me, agricultural economists have too much neglected. To repeat, the cyclical variations in agricultural prices are to be explained not by fluctuations in volume of output, which in point of fact is relatively constant, or by inelasticity of demand for farm products, but by the shift in the demand schedule for farm products as a whole, due to the fluctuations of business and the consequent changes in the absorptive capacity of industry as a buyer of farm products. Therefore, while I hold Timoshenko's study, for example, to be one of the very best in this field, and while I agree in most points with his analysis, I can not agree at all with his statement that the fluctuations of agricultural prices are chiefly dependent upon agricultural production and almost wholly independent of business. (Vladimir Timoshenko, The Rôle of Agricultural Fluctuations in the Business Cycle, p. 19.) On the contrary, I hold that the cyclical fluctuations in the prices of farm products are caused chiefly by the violent shifts in the demand schedules for farm products taken as a whole consequent upon the fluctuations in the buying power of industry in the various phases of the business cycle.

Indeed, in so far as cycles of agricultural production exist, I believe that it is at least worth considering whether these cycles are not, in the large part, the result rather than the cause of the business cycle. In general, Timoshenko's study shows that agricultural production since 1870 tends to rise in the depression period and to fall in the period of prosperity. Here again, as I see it, the alternating boom and depression in industry is the moving cause. When industry is prosperous it draws a vast surplus rural population from the country to the city. This process has been going on throughout the last century and is one of the leading characteristics of modern industrialism. When business is depressed, on the other hand, and vast unemployment prevails, there is a partial reversal of the movement. In depression periods agriculture becomes overloaded with workers not only because it must absorb the whole natural increase in the rural population but also because it must reabsorb the backwash from the cities. This urban unemployment creates a surplus of rural workers which finds an outlet in farm employment below the normal margin of production. Urban unemployment exerts, as is well known, a crushing pressure upon rural wage rates; and the lower farm wages fall, the lower will be the intensive margin of cultivation. Moreover, in the depression period, farmers try to offset the lower prices by larger volume. (There is some evidence that the large, capitalistic farms are much more influenced by price factors and profit and loss calculations. This would make them curtail production in the depression period. I am indebted to Mr. O. S. Powell, Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank, for this suggestion.) There is thus a double pressure operating, during hard times, in the direction of a more intensive agricultural production. Prof. Bertil Ohlin, of Stockholm University, finds, from an analysis of world data, that agricultural production has increased in the present depression.

The resulting increase in output causes a still lower ratio of farm-product prices to industrial prices. This presents at least one favorable condition for business revival. Thus, the excessive overproduction of agricultural products, resulting from the business depression, in turn becomes a causal factor helping to generate, or at least prepare, the ground for the next period of prosperity. It is the essence of the self-generating aspect of the cycle that a result in its turn becomes a cause; that one phase of the cycle born out of the preceding phase in turn assists in the birth of the next phase. Numerous similar examples could be cited outside of the field of agriculture, such as the rise and fall of inventories and the rise and fall of bank reserves.

I have argued for the thesis that agriculture is more and more becoming a tail tied to the business kite. (Cf. L. H. Bean, Journal of Farm Economics, October, 1931.) Agriculture is becoming increasingly dependent upon business for a market; and as this market becomes more and more linked up with a world economy, agriculture

becomes peculiarly affected by international forces. This is notably evident in the postwar period and explains in large part the unprecedented swings in agricultural prices, particularly in the depressions of 1921 and 1930. Never before, with the possible exception of the first Napoleonic war period, have we witnessed such a frightful collapse in farm-product prices. The demand schedules of dealers have in the past decade shifted violently owing to the increased uncertainties presented by the world situation, for example, the Russian exports, actual or projected tariffs, actual or projected action of governments such as the export debenture proposal, the wheat pools, and the like. Moreover, agriculture has never before confronted such an extreme dislocation of the industrial life of the whole world as has developed in the postwar period. Finally agriculture is itself becoming more capitalistic and, therefore, more dependent, as Ohlin has pointed out, upon the capital and money markets of the world. Thus, agriculture is coming more and more helplessly under the sway of world-wide business-cycle forces.

What now of the decade that lies ahead? If my analysis is at all correct, the future of agriculture will depend largely upon the course of world business.

Of primary importance is the future trend of world prices. If this trend should continue down, which with some 15 nations off the gold standard now appears less certain, we can be sure that business will be adversely affected. We know from Kondratieff's study of the "long waves" that when the trend of prices is downward the rate of industrial productivity is slowed down. This is due not to any slackening in the progress of technique but rather to the depressing effect caused by the maladjustment in the internal price structure which is characteristic of a falling-price trend. And even though the falling-price trend is not due to monetary causes, but to technical innovations which reduce costs, disequilibrium would still develop owing, first, to the unequal rates of technological progress of different industries and firms; and, second, to the institutional frictions which cause prices to lag behind costs. Into this complicated matter, however, I can not go at the present moment. (See my Economic Stabilization in an Unbalanced World, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932.) It is clear, however, that the maladjustments would be still greater if the falling-price situation were aggravated by monetary causes.

The down swing of the long wave, to use Kondratieff's phrase, is preponderantly a period of hard times and excessive unemployment. In consequence agriculture is depressed on the one hand by the fact that industry is not able to offer a strong market for farm products, and on the other by the fact that industry is unable to absorb the surplus rural population, with the consequent pressure upon farm subsistence and the impetus toward excessive agricultural production. The ensuing impetus to continual improvements in agricultural technique also tends to intensify the difficulty.

It is not possible for anyone to predict even in broad outlines the economic tendencies of the next decade with any assurance. Should a considerable number of the countries, notably England, refuse to go back to the gold standard, the world price level would, of course, be affected. In the event of a general return to the gold standard, the probabilities point toward a downward price trend from a long-time standpoint. The whole international banking situation is, however, subject to a somewhat larger measure of elasticity and control than ever before, and it is by no means impossible that between the end of the present depression and the next major depression we shall run along on a stable price plateau somewhat as we did between the major depressions of 1921 and 1930.

In this event we may enjoy a fairly brisk period of business not unlike the oasis of the so-called "fat eighties" set between the hard times of the seventies and the nineties. During this interlude, should it develop, we could expect agricultural prices to rise in relation to industrial prices, just as was the case from 1922 to 1929. Should we continue in the down swing of the long wave, however, agriculture will find itself preponderantly in hard times, since under the circumstances, as we have seen, industry can not readily absorb either the products of agriculture or the surplus rural population.

Altogether aside from the probable trend of prices, certain industrial changes are taking place in industry which tend to intensify the instability of industry and thereby of agriculture. The rising standards of living, the surplus of incomes above the bare necessities of life, have absorbed a larger proportion of our productive resources in the creation of luxury goods. In the luxury trade the demand is highly fickle and uncertain. The more prosperous we become the higher the scale of living, the more rapidly will demand shift from one fad to another, and the more unstable business will tend to become. Moreover, while continuing to work within the limits of a price economy subject to violent changes in the value of the monetary unit the price structure is becoming more rigid. Cartels, trade associations, and trade-unions all strive to control individual prices and rates. This development tends to make the internal price structure less flexible and so delays readjustments once technological changes and cyclical maladjustments have created a condition of disequilibrium.

The leading factor, as I see it, which points toward a larger means of business stability is the slowing down of population growth. This will tend to minimize the importance of the capital producing industries which lie at the root of the business cycle. But even this favorable factor is of doubtful value to agriculture, particularly if the slowing down of population growth takes place in a period of falling prices and relative stagnation of business. For the slowing down of population growth will inevitably mean an intensification of the difficulties inherent in the drift of population from the country to the city. In the last 30 years, while the proportion of the rural population has decreased rapidly, the absolute numbers have remained nearly constant, owing to the growth in population as a whole. When, however, the total population becomes stationary, the rural population will decline, not merely relatively but absolutely as well. These difficulties are further aggravated by the fact that the decline in the birth rate is preponderantly an urban phenomenon.

Thus with the increasing dependence of agriculture upon business, several factors point to a relatively unfavorable prospect for agriculture. Among these are the probable future trend of the price level, the structural changes in the modern economic structure, and the future trend of population growth.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 8397) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 8397, with Mr. O'CONNOR in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FINLEY].

Mr. FINLEY. Mr. Chairman, I very much fear that I am going to be in the position of the old lady who went to the photographer's studio. Having made contact with the photographer she said, "Do you make pictures of children?" He said, "Oh, yes; oh, yes." "Well," she said, "what do you charge?" He replied, "$12 a dozen." Then she heaved a sigh and said, "I guess I'll have to come back next year. I have only got 11 now." [Laughter.]

Not much of a speech from me this morning, I am afraid.

However, in recent days of this session I have heard a great deal about a creature called the retaliatory tariff. It was a sort of new thing to me. I had not heard of a thing of that kind in years gone by. A great deal was said about it, particularly on the south side of the aisle. Everybody seemed, as the old gentleman said, "To be agin it."

Retaliatory tariffs were subject to such lambasting that it was terrible to listen. As Mark Twain said about the weather, "Everybody seemed to complain about it but nobody seemed to try to do anything."

It is true that a majority of those on the south side of the aisle suggested that we have an international conference about the matter. That sounded promising until some of the same gentlemen who had been most vociferous in their denunciation of retaliatory tariffs spoke equally loudly, with equal force, with equal earnestness and zeal, in opposition to the conference on the subject of international disarmament, forcing me to the conclusion that probably the denunciations of the retaliatory tariffs were probably little more than a gesture, whatever that may be.

However, I decided to make some investigation on my own account. While we have in the entourage of the Government, numerous departments that are making investigations about this, that, and the other thing, I did not care to burden anyone of them with this investigation, and I made it myself. I wanted to find out, if I could, the origin, the beginning, the genesis of the retaliatory tariffs of which gentlemen spoke so earnestly and so ardently. I think I have discovered the daddy of all retaliatory tariffs. I believe I have. Back in 1882 Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, the man who created the German Empire, addressed the German Parliament. This is what he said, in part:

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern times. The American Nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war in all history, but immediately afterwards it disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid most of its debt, gave labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt.

Those were his premises. Here is his conclusion:

Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States.

As far as my investigations went, that was the first tariff system that is supposed to have been the origin of the retaliatory tariffs of recent years.

I may say, Mr. Chairman, that in reading that and comparing it with what was said about retaliatory tariffs, what they were intended to do, what their purpose was, I was reminded of a story about a little boy who saw his first game of baseball. The father was inclined to be sporty; the mother was not. The little son had been going to Sunday school until he was 7 or 8 years old. Finally, when he was about 8 years old, the father decided to take him to see a game of baseball. The mother objected somewhat, and they had some argument and some differences about it in the presence of the boy. The father prevailed and took the boy. When he came back the mother was anxious to know something of his reaction, and said to him, "Johnny, what did you think of the game of baseball?" He was thrilled and enthused by it, as any American boy would be, and he said, "Oh, Mother, it was fine. It was splendid. And, Mother, it was just like Sunday school." She said, "Son, how is that? How was it like Sunday school?" "Why," he said, "at Sunday school they sing stand up, stand up for Jesus. At the baseball game they say sit down, sit down, for Christ's sake." [Laughter.]

The retaliatory tariff of Bismarck and the retaliatory tariffs of which my friends have been speaking remind me of each other, just as the boy was reminded of Sunday school by the baseball game.

Mr. Chairman, when Bismarck thus spoke to the German Parliament the first act of the World War took place. It looks like a far cry to connect that with the World War, but it is connected, for the Iron Chancellor put his native country on a protective tariff basis, and between 1882 and 1914 Germany had perfected her processes, Germany had made inventions that enabled her to carry her products to the soil of England itself, and sell them in competition with British products and British manufactures. So strong did that competition become that the British Government passed an act of Parliament requiring those products to be stamped "Made in Germany." Germany said, "All right, we will make them so fine that in place of being a detriment it will advertise us, and people will ask for goods stamped 'Made in Germany.' We will make them just that good." And they did.

I know that our British friends take a high position to explain their participation in the World War. Of course, they would have you understand that they were shocked beyond measure and angered beyond belief at the violation of the neutrality of Belgium. The fact remains, and it is a fact, that one of the impulses, one of the motives, and I think the dominant impulse that put Great Britain into the World War, was not to vindicate the rights of Belgium but to crush a rival that was taking her commerce from her.

In that length of time, between 1882 and 1914, Germany had so built herself up that she felt able to meet the world and dare the world in a conflict of arms, and except for the participation of the United States there would be no France to-day and but little of England. They would have whipped those countries to a frazzle. There is nobody who disputes that, and the United States, fortunately or unfortunately, almost missed her train; she almost got there too late.

So, Mr. Chairman, we find that the beginning of what you might call retaliatory tariffs was a purpose to do nothing except to imitate the protective tariff policy of the United States and that, in so far as I have been able to find, is the first tariff law based upon any tariff action which the United States may have taken.

Mr. Chairman, I have here a clipping from a newspaper, the Christian Science Monitor, published on the 17th of last September. Mr. Chairman, I think I was mistaken in saying that my voice would not be equal to this speech. It seems to have been harder on my eyes than on my voice, so I am going to ask the Clerk to read this newspaper clipping.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that the Clerk may read the newspaper clipping referred to. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

CANADA RAISES TARIFF TO AID EMPLOYMENT

OTTAWA, September 17.—As a temporary measure to relieve unemployment, an increased tariff schedule, submitted by Premier R. B. Bennett, was in effect to-day.

The increased rates are designed to keep out foreign products, thus stimulating Dominion manufactures, which the Government believes will provide work for 25,000 unemployed.

A total of 130 articles are listed on the increased schedule.

The proposed schedule carries higher rates in almost all cases than the countervailing duties levied by the former Liberal government soon after the new United States tariff went into effect.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. FINLEY. Thus we find that Bismarck, farsighted statesman that he was, and whose genius created the German Empire, believed it was the proper thing and the wise thing to adopt a policy that would give employment to German workingmen, and under that system, from 1882 to 1914, Germany prospered to such a degree, prospered to such an unusual and marvelous degree, that she was able to dare the world in conflict on the battlefield, and would have won except that the United States came to the rescue of the other countries.

Thus we find that Canada, in her retaliatory tariff, so called by gentlemen on this side, had in mind just what the protectionists of this country have in mind to do with a protective tariff here, namely, to employ her own workingmen.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. The tariff law that has been enacted in Canada carries a provision that when a manufacturer seeks to advance the cost of goods because of the tariff and because other goods are not permitted to come into Canada and compete with Canadian goods that immediately the tariff walls come down. If the gentleman will put that kind of a proposition into the American tariff law he will get some support from other sections besides sections represented on the other side of the aisle.

Mr. FINLEY. The gentleman's promises are fair enough, but I have been dealing with free traders for about 50 years. I have been trying to make protectionist speeches since I was 16. I learned my protectionism from Abraham Lincoln, and later on from Thomas B. Reed and William McKinley, and at no time in the 50 years I have been studying the tariff question have I ever found gentlemen who have been infected with the virus of free trade ready to vote for any proposition that had protection in it. Oh, of course, the objection is made that this creates monopoly and all that sort of thing. However, the gentlemen who make that statement slide over the fact that we have within our power and have upon our statute books laws which forbid just that thing, and whatever support they may have received from our free-trade friends can be carried in one corner of your eye without discomfort.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. I will say to the gentleman that if he will include in the American tariff law the same provision carried in the Canadian tariff law he will not find vociferous advocacy on the part of the high prohibitive protectionists on that side of the aisle and from the New England section.

Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri. Will the gentleman explain whether or not the tariff on wheat has been beneficial to the farmers?

Mr. FINLEY. I will let gentlemen from the wheat-raising sections answer that question. I do not live in a wheat-raising section. However, I think it has. While it may not

have given the wheat farmers the prices they ought to have, yet it has kept them from getting less than they would have received if it were necessary for them to compete with foreign-raised wheat.

[Here the gavel fell.]

(Mr. FINLEY asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE].

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I have asked for this time in order that there may be put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of the readers thereof, and also put into the minds of those who may be here, unfortunately at the moment not many, some figures that appeared in an Associated Press dispatch from Chicago yesterday in regard to the winding up of the affairs of the National Credit Corporation.

This organization was the first step in the campaign to meet the fears of the people, and, if possible, to revive in them confidence by protecting the banks of the country. It did not require legislation, but was brought about through pressure by the President upon the banks to help themselves.

The figures in question are these: This corporation has lent about $150,000,000, which has gone to about 750 banks in 43 States.

I may do no more than conjecture as to the number of depositors there are in each bank. Were the average 1,000, this would mean that 750,000 depositors have been saved the harm that is done by the closing of a bank. Even were the average much less, the total of those helped must have been very large.

To be sure, 17 of these banks have failed after all, but the security in the hands of the corporation is enough to save it from any loss thereby.

Let me repeat the figures, because you may have occasion to use them, by reason of the fact that, as always happens in any matter of constructive action, there are critics and carpers who complain that little has been done, as they allege, or it has been done too slowly, or who blame for any reason they can think up for the sake of finding fault. Here in three months this organization has been able to save nearly 750 banks. In three months it has been able to protect hundreds of thousands of depositors. We of Congress have more opportunities than most persons to spread cheering news of this sort, and the more we make use of them to hearten the people, the better for the common good. The wider we let it be known that the program is actually at work and producing results importantly helpful, the quicker we shall stop runs on banks, hoarding of money, and resultant harm to agriculture, industry, and commerce. To quiet the pessimists, to cheer up the doubting Thomases, give them the facts.

I speak of this also in order that I may urge the further carrying out of the President's program without delay, so that as rapidly as possible we may finish the work that has been so prosperously and promisingly begun. [Applause.]

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LUCE. Certainly.

Mr. PARSONS. I noticed in the Post this morning that they contemplate liquidating this institution now, and I presume will ask that the banks to which they have lent money secure funds now from the new Finance Corporation, and that this $500,000,000 National Credit Association will liquidate and go out of business.

Mr. LUCE. That is the understanding.

Mr. PARSONS. That is equivalent to transferring the business of that institution over to the Finance Corporation?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. But in the time since the National Credit Association was organized, does the gentleman know how many banks have failed over the country?

Mr. LUCE. I do not. I have the impression they have been running about 10 a day, but that is merely a conjecture.

Our next step to help depositors will concern those in the closed banks by securing to them an initial payment. This relief for hundreds of thousands of distressed men and women ought to be taken at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. CHRISTGAU. Can the gentleman assure us that the policy of deflation and credit contraction has stopped, or will it continue still longer? I recall seeing press reports that Under Secretary of the Treasury Mills has called upon the bankers to assist in this policy. The gentleman is a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House; can he give us assurance that that policy is now stopped?

Mr. LUCE. The deflation policy?

Mr. CHRISTGAU. Yes.

Mr. LUCE. I can give no information on that point. My own economic thought inclines me to believe that the responsibility for deflation is found in the fears of the people who themselves have contracted credit by withdrawing their money and so refusing to permit its use longer in the ordinary channels of business, and also by refusing to spend their money with the customary freedom. When their fears are allayed and they put their money into circulation again, by depositing and spending, they will create what inflation may be desirable.

Mr. CHRISTGAU. I may say to the gentleman that there are no such fears unless there are some causes for the fears, and the calling in of loans by the banks in the financial centers is largely responsible for such fears in the country.

Mr. LUCE. I doubt if the gentleman, on reflection, would stand by his statement; because if he has ever watched a run on a bank he will have perceived that the fear does not spring from any real cause for fear, but springs from rumor and slander.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. This is for my own information. I understand that a bill is now before the committee or will be brought in soon to provide funds for a new institution to take care of closed banks. Is that true?

Mr. LUCE. That is true. I would make one explanation in order that the situation may be better understood. In the House a bill for that sole purpose has been laid before the Committee on Banking and Currency. In the Senate a like bill has been introduced, and also provisions to the same end have been incorporated in a bill of 61 pages that is meant to amend and reconstruct the whole Federal reserve and banking systems of the country.

Mr. PARSONS. And how much money will be provided for the operation of that institution?

Mr. LUCE. I have not examined the bill carefully enough to answer.

Mr. PARSONS. Does not the Finance Corporation bill provide facilities for taking care of closed banks at this time?

Mr. LUCE. I do not so understand. As far as that bill relates to banks, it is designed only to save them from having to close their doors, and to furnish them funds with which to resume their normal operations for the benefit of activity of every sort, whether in the nature of producing or manufacturing or distributing.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DALLINGER].

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Chairman, in view of the movement for the reduction of salaries of Government employees and bills before the Committee on Expenditures, of which I have the honor to be a member, looking to a reorganization of the executive department, I wish to read an editorial from the Hartford Courant of January 21, 1932, entitled "Salary Cuts for Government Employees." It is as follows:

The position taken by President Hoover with respect to salary cuts in the governmental departments at Washington may well be, in the main, the position taken elsewhere. He is opposed to any blanket reduction, holding that while some salaries may be in need of downward revision, cases should be considered individually and merit be made the determining factor. He applies to the situation the general philosophy that has led him to oppose the lowering of wages in industry, a philosophy which indus-

trialists at the beginning of the depression gladly accepted but which in many instances circumstances have compelled them to abandon.

To maintain salaries and wages at the highest possible level has seemed to the President the best way to sustain buying power. He has been unwilling to admit that prices may be established at definitely lower levels and that compensation for services will have to be adjusted accordingly. He still entertains the belief that by the expansion of credit, for which steps are now under way, prices will begin to advance, production speed up, employment be restored, and the cycle of depression come to an end. It is in this direction that he has expended tireless energy, and he is still full of optimism as to the ultimate result.

Whatever form the situation may eventually take, the proposition is essentially true that salaries in public employment have never been high. It has been with the greatest difficulty that they have been raised to a respectable level. Especially is this true of public-school teachers, whose rewards for years were pitiably inadequate. The general desire of the President is to make the financial compensation of public service sufficiently attractive to bring into it a high degree of loyalty and intelligence.

It is unquestionably true that in Federal, State, and local Governments some officials are paid more than they earn. They owe their positions to politics and rattle around in them. Here is where economy may be properly exercised. It is also true that unnecessary offices have been created for the sole purpose of passing out the loaves and the fishes to party workers. In every division of government superfluous officials and understrappers are to be found. To weed out these useless ones at a time when budgets are undergoing close scrutiny is a plain duty. They have no proper place even in lush times.

But because these conditions obtain it does not follow that the public service as a whole is overpaid. In fact quite the contrary is true. During prosperous periods, when Government has been careless in its spending, very little consideration has been given to the proper compensation of conscientious public servants. They have frequently pleaded in vain for proper recognition. It seems, therefore, unfair that when attention is being directed to the extravagances of Government because of the necessity of reducing taxation, that good, bad, and indifferent public employees should come in for a horizontal salary cut. The President rightly contends that the question of merit and the nature of the tasks performed should receive just consideration.

The first step in the reduction of budgets, whether public or private, should be to get rid of the nonessentials and to effect every possible economy before deciding upon salary and wage reductions. These may have to come, but it should be as a last resort. That part of the personnel that may be described as purely ornamental, that serves no useful function, that is overpaid for the little work it does, should be dropped in order that consideration may be given to those who are worthy of their hire. When it is known that everything is to be on a definitely lower level, then and not until then should the proposition be seriously advanced that the way to bring the cost of Government down is to put into effect a blanket reduction of salaries. That is a process that does not go to the roots of the question. It leaves uncorrected glaring inequalities of compensation and retains in office those who merely draw their salaries.

To stop the overlapping of governmental functions, to get rid of bureaus and commissions that are of no account, to combine jobs wherever feasible, to get full value for services rendered, to effect as much simplicity as possible in the whole structure, to engage in no unnecessary public undertakings—these are far better ways to lower the cost of Government than by resorting to horizontal salary cuts.

[Applause.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLY].

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, the human and economic woes of the bituminous-coal industry challenge Congress in a way which can not much longer be evaded.

For many years this great basic business has been a diseased spot in America's body politic. To-day it is in worse plight than ever in the business depression which has affected all industry. Coal companies have been bankrupted, banks have gone down with them. Miners have faced starvation and whole communities are in the last stages of ruin. No words of mine could even describe, much less exaggerate, the pitiful conditions in the coal-mining regions.

Fact-finding agencies have been organized with monotonous regularity for 20 years. They have investigated and reported the need for remedial action. Volumes have been compiled, such as those of the John Hays Hammond Commission, all filled with the same record, and every page a demand for action.

Four years ago a Senate subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Committee visited the western Pennsylvania fields during a coal strike. Their report was a devastating document showing conditions that should never be tolerated in America. Their conclusion was that legislation is needed to put "the great coal industry on a reasonably prosperous basis."

Mr. Chairman, such a situation in the coal industry affects the comfort, health, and safety of every American. Without this fuel the wheels of industry can not move. It is the lifeblood of thousands of American communities.

Yet the rule of the jungle prevails, and to-day, as for 50 years, the words of President Coolidge, in 1925, are applicable—

> With deposits of coal in this country capable of supplying its needs for hundreds of years, inability to manage and control this great resource for the benefit of all concerned is very close to a national economic failure. At the present time the National Government has little or no authority to deal with this vital necessity of the life of the country. It has permitted itself to remain so powerless that its only attitude must be humble supplication.

It is time for action without further delay. Everyone who has any knowledge of conditions knows that the sickness which besets this industry is cutthroat competition. The jungle has furnished the rules of conduct. Prices have been forced to a point which means losses for producers and starvation pay for workers. Incessant labor wars have levied their toll. Valuable resources, which never can be restored, have been wasted in criminal disregard of the results.

So bitter is the situation that those who now argue that the problem should be solved by a do-nothing policy in order that the strongest may survive, are not entitled to consideration. Their policy has been followed to the injury of every one concerned. The end has been reached in utter demoralization.

This industry, now in a state of hopeless disorganization, must be unified under such regulations as will recognize and protect the rights of capital, labor, and the public. To continue this present situation is to stabilize poverty, distress, and ruinous waste. Instead of that, we should take steps to stabilize conservation and prosperity.

Mr. Chairman, the total bituminous-coal production in 1930 was 467,526,300 tons, according to the report of the United States Bureau of Mines. That production was divided as follows:

Total bituminous-coal production

Rating No.	State	Tonnage
	Eastern United States:	
1	Pennsylvania	124, 462, 700
2	West Virginia	121, 472, 500
3	Illinois	63, 571, 300
4	Kentucky	51, 709, 000
5	Ohio	22, 552, 000
6	Indiana	16, 440, 000
19	Maryland	2, 271, 000
24	Michigan	661, 000
	84 per cent of United States	392, 799, 100
	Southern United States:	
7	Alabama	15, 570, 000
8	Virginia	10, 907, 300
11	Tennessee	5, 130, 000
23	Texas	833, 800
26	North Carolina	28, 500
29	Georgia	7, 100
	7 per cent of United States	32, 476, 700
	Middle West:	
13	Iowa	3, 892, 500
14	Missouri	3, 853, 100
16	Oklahoma	2, 794, 000
17	Kansas	2, 430, 000
22	Arkansas	1, 533, 400
	3.1 per cent of United States	14, 503, 000
	Rocky Mountain district:	
7	Colorado	8, 197, 000
10	Wyoming	6, 088, 100
12	Utah	4, 257, 500
15	Montana	3, 022, 000
20	New Mexico	1, 909, 400
21	North Dakota	1, 700, 100
27	South Dakota	12, 800
28	Arizona	9, 000
	5.4 per cent of United States	25, 255, 900

Total bituminous-coal production—Continued

Rating No.	State	Tonnage
	Pacific slope:	
18	Washington	2,202,000
25	Alaska	120,100
30	California	
30	Idaho	
30	Oregon	18,500
	0.5 per cent of United States	2,440,600

RÉSUMÉ

	Per cent	Tonnage
Eastern United States	84.0	392,799,100
Southern United States	7.0	32,476,700
Middle western United States	3.1	14,503,000
Rocky Mountain	5.4	25,255,900
Pacific	.5	2,440,600
Total, United States	100.0	467,526,300

Mr. Chairman, during the past 10 years the average price received by producers has steadily declined. Even in the boom years of 1928 and 1929 this industry was in a deplorable condition. In 1928 the average price of $1.80 per ton and in 1929 of $1.79 per ton meant that the cost of production was not met.

The 1930 price was $1.75 and the 1931 price was about $1.60. Such conditions have meant that over a period of years there has been demoralization which made it impossible to assure any kind of fair return to investors or fair wage for mine workers.

Actual overproduction of bituminous coal is not the real problem. Generally, coal is sold before it is mined, although some operators produce coal they hope to sell, and this distress coal has its effect in beating down prices and demoralizing the market.

There is excess capacity to produce about twice the normal requirements, but neither is this the real problem. The output in 1918 under the war spur was 579,000,000 tons. Even in times of peace there come emergency demands such as in 1926, during the British coal strike, when American miners produced 14,551,000 tons in one week, or at a yearly rate of 750,000,000 tons. In such an essential service as coal, unused capacity is of national value and a social asset.

However, there must be some control of unused capacity or some individual operators will always attempt to use their own capacity, even though market conditions make it certain that either other mines will have a still greater proportion of unused capacity or the price must go down to starvation levels.

Let us visualize the production problem. Excluding wagon mines with less than 1,000 tons annual production, there were in the United States in 1930 a total of 5,891 coal mines.

Of these, 2,684, or 45 per cent, had less than 10,000 tons annual production and produced only 1.7 per cent of the total output.

The remaining 3,207 mines produced 459,526,000 tons, or 98.3 per cent of the total production.

The real question is, Can we stabilize these 3,207 mines and bring order out of disorder? If we can, we can stabilize the coal industry.

Now, it must be realized that the coal-mining industry is not like other manufacturing. It concerns a national resource, of which there is a fixed and limited supply. If an unnecessary factory is built, it means a waste, but only of a part of the money and labor expended on construction. The building itself can be used for other purposes.

When an unneeded coal mine is opened and equipped it means a much greater waste. It means the loss of unmined coal and the waste of the resource.

From every standpoint there is need for such organized effort as will permit the production of this fuel in an orderly manner, and any stabilization program must have, in the words of Governor Sampson, of Kentucky, before the coal conference of that State, "first a better price for coal, and, second, a better wage for miners."

How shall we secure this stabilization? In my opinion, it must come through agreements under legal sanction and public control, whereby coal companies may secure a price for coal which will maintain a fair standard of earnings for mine workers and yield a reasonable return on money invested.

The great need is the right of cooperative action in order that coal production may balance consumption, make sure that there shall be no unnecessary wastes, and that the welfare of employees and producers may be protected.

Senator JAMES J. DAVIS, former Secretary of Labor, and I have prepared and introduced a measure to stabilize the coal industry along the lines I have mentioned. Section 3 would legalize cooperation among producers, as follows:

SEC. 3. That it shall be lawful for persons, firms, and corporations engaged in the production and interstate or foreign commerce of bituminous coal to enter into any marketing pool or joint selling association approved by the commission after finding by the commission that the same is not against the public interest as an unreasonable restraint of trade and that every such pool or association as to its schedule of prices and production or trade practices shall be deemed to be valid while such approval remains in force and unrevoked. Such approval shall be granted only when such persons, firms, or corporations apply to said commission and secure from it a license therefor; such license to be granted only upon the applicant's acceptance of the provisions of this act and its compliance with the rules and regulations promulgated by said commission for the purpose of carrying the act into effect.

Mr. Chairman, this section legalizes the cooperation by operators which is now prohibited under the antitrust acts. We permit them to form marketing pools for the purpose of preventing the cutthroat competition which injures every factor in the industry. These prohibitions are waived in order that the producers may stabilize production under such control as will protect the public interest. I am sure that Congress would insist that if we are to permit such cooperation and combination there must be provision whereby the Government itself can act as umpire and compel fair play.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Would not a tariff on oil at this time be helpful to the coal industry of the country?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I think it would. However, even if we had an embargo on oil, we would still have this internal situation, which is intolerable. We must deal fundamentally with this industry along the lines I am suggesting.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I yield.

Mr. TILSON. Does the gentleman's plan include anthracite coal as well as bituminous coal?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. It does not. The anthracite coal problem is entirely different. Bituminous coal must be dealt with in the light of the actual conditions which have prevailed for years.

Mr. TILSON. So nothing will happen in connection with the anthracite situation, which, of course, is not so distressful, by any means?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. No. It is a different situation. If I tried, I could not exaggerate conditions in the western Pennsylvania bituminous-coal field. Entire communities are on a starvation level, and that applies to hundreds of communities in eight of the Eastern States.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLY] five additional minutes.

Mr. ESTEP. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I yield.

Mr. ESTEP. How does the gentleman expect, by the provisions of this bill, to overcome the differential in price that apparently would be present between the coal fields of West Virginia and Ohio and western Pennsylvania? Even though a pool were formed among the operators of these different

sections, there would still be a difference in price because of the difference in cost of labor. How would that difference be overcome to put them on an equitable basis for sale?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. There will be differences, of course, in labor costs in certain regions and also differentials in freight rates. We are facing that situation now, as the gentleman knows, as to the differentials between certain fields. I believe they can best be settled justly by cooperation between the producers as to logical marketing territory. I have no doubt that under this bill, without any coercion whatever, that important question would be settled. The schedules of production would be such as would cover the natural marketing areas for the particular regions. There would still remain fair competition between the regions, but there would not be the cut-throat competition that now prevails.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. If the gentleman were to pool market requirements, which, of course, is a constructive thing to do, what would the gentleman do with the two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand surplus miners we would have?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. We have now four or five hundred thousand miners who can not secure a living wage, and, of course, in any kind of stabilization there will be a certain number of those who will be displaced entirely in the coal industry.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. About 300,000?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. From two hundred to three hundred thousand will be displaced, but we ought to face that issue squarely, for we can not continue with one day's work a week for the bread winner of a family.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Exactly. I have introduced a bill to give these men vocational training for a period of one year, and to take care of them during that period, because it is a surplus we will have to absorb.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I agree that is a responsibility which should be met.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I yield.

Mr. MAY. I would like to say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that I have not had an opportunity to read the bill which the gentleman is discussing, but I come from a district that is chiefly interested in the mining of bituminous coal. It is a southern field that is in competition with the field from which the gentleman from Pennsylvania comes, in the late markets. Between those two fields is where the war has raged for the last 10 years on the freight differential question in the noted lake cargo case.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. That is right.

Mr. MAY. I would like to ask the gentleman if the bill which he is discussing here undertakes in any way to solve the problem of the difference in the prices that may be expected on the market, with relation to the difference in the qualities of the coal?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Yes. It is covered specifically as to the varying qualities of coal, and the prices, of course, set up by the marketing pools will cover those differences. Of course, this bill does not directly touch the freight-rate question.

Mr. FOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I yield.

Mr. FOSS. Of course, I come from a section of the country that is as vitally interested in this question as is the gentleman, because we are the consuming section of the country. Would a 6-hour day assist in any way in taking care of the surplus labor?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Well, if our miners could be assured of a 6-hour day, they would think it Paradise itself. The difficulty is they are not getting three hours a day. Many at best are working one and two days a week, and the result is distress and privation for the workers and their families.

Mr. FOSS. But some mines are working more than one day a week. If they could be placed on a 6-hour basis, that would help the situation.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. It certainly would. And even at six hours and orderly production the problem of surplus miners would still exist. The additional cost of the 6-hour day would mean a very slight addition to the price of a ton of coal. The benefits through orderly production would accrue in the end to every consumer. The fact that some operators will throw coal on the market at 60 cents a ton, when it costs $1.70 and more to produce, is no permanent benefit to the consumer. In the end he pays the bill for all the losses sustained.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have outlined section 3 which deals with the legalization of marketing pools and selling associations.

Section 5 provides for the stabilization of labor, which is the second fundamental in any sound plan to promote order in this great industry. This section is as follows:

SEC. 5. Licensees and their employees shall exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements concerning wages and working conditions and to settle disputes in connection therewith; and in the making of such agreements the licensees may negotiate collectively through an operators' association or by representatives of their own choosing, and the employees shall have the right to deal collectively by representatives of their own choosing without interference or coercion exercised by their employers. No such licensee becoming a member of a marketing pool or joint selling association shall make it a condition of employment that the employee shall not join a labor organization, but the right of the mine workers employed by such corporations to organize and maintain their own organization and to deal collectively through chosen representatives shall not be denied or abridged in any way whatsoever.

If any licensee not a member of a marketing pool or joint-selling association as provided by this act desires to employ only unorganized mine workers, its employees shall be free to terminate their employment and join a labor organization at will, and no contract of employment which is intended to impair this right shall be lawful.

Employees of all licensees shall have the right of assemblage for the purpose of peaceably discussing and hearing discussed the principles of organized labor and collective bargaining; employees shall be free to purchase their necessities of life where they choose; employees shall be entitled to select a check-weighman to inspect the weighing of their coal and the weights and scales used by licensees for the purpose of determining the wages of their employees shall be open to inspection by the agents of the Bureau of Standard Weights and Measures of the United States or of this commission.

Mr. Chairman, this section provides that the coal corporations which become members of a marketing pool shall not make it a condition of employment that its miners shall not become members of a labor organization but that such miners shall have the right to bargain collectively in the making of wages. The other provisions are, in fact, only the statement of the constitutional rights of every American.

The War Labor Board, which was commissioned to deal with all labor disputes during the World War, laid down as its first essential principle that—

The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively through chosen agents is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

This board handled 1,245 separate controversies from the time of its creation in 1918 until its dissolution in August, 1919. During that time there was not a single strike involving an entire industry or of national proportions. It enforced the right of labor to organize, and every difficulty was met in a spirit of reason. Within six months after it went out of existence there were three great strikes, involving the steel, coal, and railroad industries and threatening complete industrial paralysis.

On October 6, 1919, a national industrial conference met in Washington at the call of President Wilson. The call cited that the conference would meet to discuss such methods as have already been tried out in bringing capital and labor into close cooperation.

The question of the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively wrecked the conference. The employers' group insisted that employers should not deal with representatives who were not among their own employees. The labor group and the public group voted for a resolution favoring the right to organize and to select their representatives as they chose, but the rule that the vote must be unanimous prevented any action.

The employers went back to Mr. Dooley's "properly conducted unions with no strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly any wages, and few members."

This conference, which might have laid down the principles of a just and effective industrial code, ended in utter futility before the question of the right of organization. If that be not granted, all others become mockeries. I shall always be proud that I, with Senator Poindexter, in the Senate, suggested that conference, but I shall always be ashamed of the result.

You remember how President Harding later came before Congress and recited his efforts to end industrial controversies. It was a story of patient, devoted effort toward effecting a compromise. But it was a record of failure. He suggested the establishment of a fact-finding commission in the coal industry and the formation of an agency to purchase, sell, and distribute coal in interstate commerce.

It is not necessary to enter into the merits of these suggestions meant to apply to a specific emergency. They will not furnish the solution for the fundamental labor problem. President Harding recognized the underlying issue when he declared—

that the warfare on labor unions was in some degree responsible for the strikes and hindered attempts at adjustment. The Government—

Said the President—

has no sympathy or approval with this element of discord in the ranks of industry. Any legislation in the future must be as free from this element of trouble as it is from labor extremists who strive for class domination. We recognize these organizations in the law and we must accredit them with incalculable contributions to labor's uplift. It is of public interest to preserve them and profit by the good that is in them.

Mr. Chairman, it is essential in any constructive program that mine workers have the right to act collectively. The right of both employees and employers to organize must not be denied or abridged, and that includes the right of both employees and employers to have representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments in respect to wages, hours of labor, and working conditions.

The workers who put their lives into the coal industry should have the right to collective action as well as the men who put their money into that industry.

If organization of labor is not right, nothing is right in our industrial system. Organization is a law of our social and economic development. The individual is helpless when he deals with the great corporations. His only hope is in association with his fellow workers. The labor organization is not an artificial product invented by self-seeking agitators; it is a natural outgrowth of industrial conditions. It is the inevitable complement of industrial concentration. Capital to-day controls both the tools and the materials. The worker has only his life and his labor. In his natural right to join with his fellows for material benefit the worker must be made the equal of his employer. Those who declaim about freedom of contract and protest against the workers merging their individuality into such organizations are either incurably ignorant or willfully unjust. Without collective action the workers of America would be a permanently servile class of grave danger in a popular government.

Mr. Chairman, the plan proposed in this bill is fair. It is fair to operator, to mine worker, and to the public. Other plans have been suggested, but every one I have seen leaves out of consideration some of these vital factors in the problem. Neither the operators nor the miners nor the Government can solve this problem acting alone. There must be such balance of interests that a square deal is assured to all.

Let me quote the regional sales-agency plan, which is the method of stabilizing the bituminous-coal industry proposed by a special committee of the National Coal Association and approved by the New York conference December 3, 1931. It is as follows:

Agreement made this _____ day of _____, 193__, by and between A, a corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the State of _____, hereinafter called the "producer," and B, a corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the State of _____, hereinafter called the "selling agent."

Witnesseth:

Whereas the producer is the owner of certain coal mines located at _____ and _____, in the States of _____ and _____, and is engaged in the mining and production of coal; and

Whereas the selling agent is entering into the business of buying and selling coal and of selling and distributing coal on a commission basis for various producers operating in the States of _____ and _____ in the producing territories generally known as the _____ district, and is prepared to sell and distribute coal of the kind and character produced by the producer on a commission basis; and

Whereas this agreement is one of a number of identical or substantially similar agreements between other coal producers operating in the _____ district and the selling agent;

Now, therefore, for and in consideration of the premises and of the mutual covenants and agreements hereinafter contained, the parties hereto hereby covenant and agree as follows:

First. The producer represents that during the calendar years from 1922 to 1930, inclusive, the average annual production and sale of coal of the producer was _____ tons; and that, in the normal course of business, the producer's mines are of sufficient capacity to maintain the present rate of production during a period of _____ years. A list of the producer's mines is attached hereto, showing the date each was developed, and production each year during the life thereof, the present rated capacity, and the remaining recoverable tonnage in the land owned or leased by the producer adjacent and available to same.

Second. The producer hereby appoints the selling agent as its exclusive agent for the sale of the coal produced by it in its mines located at _____ and _____ in the States of _____ and _____, and the selling agent hereby accepts the appointment as such selling agent, all on the terms and conditions hereinafter contained; provided, however, that the producer hereby expressly reserves from the terms of this agreement such coal as may be produced and used by it in the operation of its mines, or which it may furnish or sell to its employees for their use, or which remains to be delivered on contracts now in force and not yet completed at the date of the taking effect of this agreement, a list of which contracts, with informative data, is attached hereto and marked "Schedule A."

Third. The parties hereto agree that, as soon as may be, after the taking effect of this agreement, the selling agent will establish a standard classification for all coal which it sells as agent, based upon the suitability of the coal for particular purposes, such as domestic coals, gas coals, by-product coals, metallurgical coals, and steam coals, and such other classifications as may be decided upon by the sales agency. These classifications shall give regard to chemical analysis, including (a) moisture, (b) volatile matter, (c) fixed carbon, (d) ash, (e) sulphur, (f) British thermal units, and (g) fusion point of ash. The selling agent will also establish a standard classification of sizes for the various grades from the mines of each producer whose coal it sells.

The selling agent shall promptly give to the producer written notice of the standard of classifications established by the selling agent and of the classes in which the selling agent has placed the coal of the producer, and if within 20 days from the receipt of such notice the producer shall not make any objection thereto, the classification of the coal of the producer so established shall be final and binding on the producer until a different classification of the coal of the producer has been made by the selling agent. In the event that within such period of 20 days the producer shall give written notice to the selling agent that it objects to such classification of its coal, and specifies its objections, the producer shall have the right to have a reclassification made of its coal, such reclassification to be made by a competent, disinterested, and experienced coal-mining engineer to be designated by the parties hereto. In the event that the parties hereto shall be unable to agree upon such engineer, each party shall appoint one engineer and the two so appointed shall appoint a third engineer, and the three engineers so appointed shall reclassify said coal, with due regard to the several factors stated in this paragraph. The classification of the coal of the producer so determined shall be final and binding on the parties hereto. In the event that any change shall be made in the classification of the coal of the producer established by the selling agent as a result of action taken by the producer pursuant to this paragraph, all expenses in connection therewith shall be divided equally between the producer and the selling agent, but if no change shall be made in the classification, such expenses shall be paid by the producer.

Pending the establishment and classification of grades of coal as above provided, the selling agent shall classify such coals as nearly as possible in accordance with the classification furnished by the producer; and to this end the producer shall furnish the selling agent with a statement for the year 1930 showing the uses for which its coal was sold during the year 1930, the chemical analysis of the coal from each mine and for each grade of coal from each mine, the sizes of the screens used at each mine, the number of tracks available, and showing the number of grades that can be made at one time, and the percentage that each grade bears to the total mine-run coal produced.

Fourth. It is further understood and agreed by and between the parties hereto that the selling agent will use its best efforts to sell all the coal produced by the producer at the best possible prices obtainable, and that it is likewise obligated to sell all the coal produced by other producers whose coal it sells at the best possible prices obtainable, or so much thereof as the market will



justify; but it is further understood and agreed that the demand for coal of different grades, uses, and classifications varies materially from season to season and from time to time, depending upon the industrial market and weather conditions, and that at times there is a greater demand for coal suitable for certain purposes than at other times and, therefore, the selling agent will be able at times to sell particular classes of coal in greater quantities than it may be able to sell other classes of coal. When the demand is not sufficient to absorb the output of all producers represented by the selling agent the participation as between the various producers, as nearly as may be, shall be as follows:

In the event the demand at the time this contract becomes effective is not sufficient to operate the mines of all producers represented by the selling agent upon a full-time basis, then the participation of the producer in the total sales of the selling agent for the first calendar month after this contract goes into effect, shall be such percentage of the total sales made by the selling agent for that month that the total car allotment of the producer for the three months preceding bears to the total car allotment of all the producers whose coal is sold by the selling agent for the same period; and thereafter the monthly participation of the producer in the total monthly sales made by the selling agent shall be a percentage equal to the percentage the producer's car allotment for the second preceding calendar month bears to the total car allotment of all the producers whose coal is sold by the selling agent for the second preceding calendar month; it being understood, however, that these percentages are subject to variation due to variations in the sale of the different sizes, grades, and qualities of coals as above set out; but that it is the purpose of this and all similar agreements that the selling agent will, over each annual period, as nearly as conditions will permit, all factors considered, give each producer as nearly the same running time as is reasonably possible.

Fifth. The selling agent agrees that, subject to the terms of this agreement, in so far as possible, it will sell the coal of the producer in the markets to the same customers and under the mine name or trade name or names that the producer has heretofore sold such coal, and shall maintain the trade names and good will of the producer.

Sixth. During the term of this agreement the selling agent is hereby authorized by the producer to sell the coal of the producer, subject to the conditions hereinafter stated, at the best price or prices obtainable under existing competitive conditions and with due regard to the quality, preparation, and classification of the coal to be sold: *Provided, however,* That the selling agent shall make no contracts of sale or sales calling for future deliveries of coal from the mines of the producer after 60 days from the date of such contract or sales, without first obtaining the written authorization of the producer thereto.

Seventh. Subject to the provisions of this agreement, the producer agrees promptly to fill all orders taken by the selling agent hereunder; to prepare all coal to be shipped by the producer under this agreement in accordance with good practice; to screen all such coal as directed by the selling agent and as the screening equipment of the producer will permit; and to ship all such coal in the kind of equipment indicated by the selling agent: *Provided, however,* That the producer shall not be liable for failure to make shipments due to strikes, lockouts, car shortages, or any other cause beyond its control. The selling agent shall have the right to inspect at the tipple all the coal of the producer to be shipped pursuant to contracts of sale made by the selling agent, and, subject to the conditions herein contained, to determine all questions of classification, grade, preparation, and quality with respect to such coal.

Eighth. The selling agent shall have authority to make allowances and adjustments with purchasers on account of any complaint of any purchaser resulting from causes within the control of the producer and shall deduct the amount of such allowances and adjustments from the sale price of the coal before the commission of the selling agent is computed and the amount to be paid the producer is determined: *Provided, however,* That in all such cases the producer shall first be given an opportunity to investigate any such claims and make its representations to the selling agent in regard thereto. The selling agent shall bear the cost of any allowances or adjustments with the producers on account of any complaint of any purchaser resulting from causes within the control of the selling agent.

Ninth. The producer agrees to pay to the selling agent a commission of ____ per cent of the gross selling price, f. o. b. at the mines, on coal shipped in accordance with the terms of this agreement; and the selling agent shall deduct the said commission from the proceeds of all sales before making payment to the producer, as in paragraph 10 provided.

Tenth. All coal sold hereunder shall be paid for and settlements made on the basis of weights furnished by the producer, which weights shall be railroad scale weights at scale nearest to the point of origin. On the 20th day of each calendar month during the term hereof the selling agent shall account and pay to the producer the full actual purchase price of all coal of the producer sold by the selling agent under this agreement for which payment to the producer has not theretofore been made and on which railroad weights have been received by the selling agent prior to the 10th day of that month, less any and all commissions and/or deductions authorized under this agreement.

Eleventh. All sales shall be made by the selling agent for the account of the producer, but shall be invoiced to the purchaser in the name of the selling agent, and payment shall be made to the selling agent by the purchaser. A copy of each such invoice shall be sent to the producer at the time it is sent to the purchaser.

It is understood and agreed between the parties hereto that all contracts for the delivery of coal extending over a period of 60 days from the effective date thereof shall be signed by the purchaser, the subagent, if any, the selling agent, and the producer; and that the producer shall either sign and return the said contract within five days after the receipt of same from the selling agent or within such less time as the selling agent notifies the producer the selling agent must accept the same and notify the purchaser; and that the rejection of any contract may necessarily result in the restriction of the pro rata share of the business on such grade of coal as is available for distribution by the selling agent.

It is understood and agreed that each producer will designate to the selling agent two or more persons with whom it may keep in close contact by mail, wire, or telephone to ascertain the views of the producer in regard to contracts being negotiated by the selling agent, and that the producer will accept any contracts negotiated under its authority given by personal conference or in communication by telephone, telegraph, or mail.

Twelfth. The books of the parties hereto, so far as they have to do with the subject of this agreement, shall, at all reasonable times, be open to the inspection of the other party; and the selling agent is hereby expressly authorized to call upon any railway company over whose lines shipments have been made by the producer for any and all information pertaining to any such shipments.

Thirteenth. Not later than the 25th day of each calendar month the selling agent shall furnish to the producer a complete report of all coal of the producer and the total of all other producers who shall have entered into substantially identical or similar agreements with the selling agent, showing for the preceding month the classes, quantities, and grades of coal sold and the average prices received for each.

Fourteenth. In the event that any controversy shall arise at any time between the parties hereto with respect to any matter or question arising under or by virtue of this agreement, which they are unable to adjust or settle, the controversy shall be referred for settlement to a board of arbitration composed of three disinterested and competent persons versed in the coal trade, one of whom shall be chosen by the producer, one by the selling agent, and the third by the two so selected, and its findings and decision shall be binding upon both parties. The provisions of this agreement relating to arbitration shall be governed by and construed in accordance with the United States arbitration act and all amendments thereto.

Fifteenth. The producer may at any time designate any one person, firm, or corporation to act as a subagent of the selling agent to sell the coal of the producer, and said subagent may sell other coal which the selling agent has for sale, unless the producer specifically limits the subagent to the selling of coal produced by it, subject to all the terms and conditions of this agreement and on the terms and conditions contained in the form of subagents' agreement annexed hereto and marked "Schedule B" upon furnishing to the selling agent proof that the subagent is financially responsible and able to meet the obligations to be assumed by it.

In case such limited subagent makes sales contracts for coal during periods of market shortages, under the conditions set out in paragraph 4 hereof, in excess of the pro rata share of the producer so designating such subagent in the total sales of the selling agent, the selling agent shall have the right to offer to other producers of like character of coal the said excess tonnage, and the subagent shall be entitled to its commissions on said excess from the producer accepting the orders therefor.

The selling agent shall be responsible for the acts of its subagents in the same manner as it is responsible for its own acts, except as hereinafter provided.

Sixteenth. The selling agent guarantees payment of all accounts and is hereby granted full authority to collect for all coal sold by it under this agreement, and, for the purpose of enforcing such collection, to bring suit therefor in its own name: *Provided, however,* That the selling agent shall not be liable to the producer for the acts or omission of any subagent designated by the producer.

Seventeenth. It is the intent of this agreement to provide for an orderly and businesslike method of selling the coal of the producer by the selling agent, hereinbefore appointed the producer's exclusive selling agent, and it is therefore agreed that the producer shall not produce, sell, or ship any coal except upon the order and at the direction of the selling agent; and in the event the producer shall, in violation of the terms of this agreement, produce, sell, or ship coal except as herein provided, or fail or refuse to ship coal as directed by the selling agent, the producer shall pay to the selling agent, first, the amount to which the selling agent would have been entitled on account of any such shipments so made or so refused, and, second, all other damages which the selling agent may suffer on account of such violation of this contract by the producer.

Eighteenth. Attached hereto and marked "Schedule C" is a list of producers operating in the States of _____ and _____ in the producing territory generally known as the _____ district, showing the average yearly production of each producer during the past 10 years. This agreement shall become effective when substantially similar exclusive agency agreements are signed by producers representing _____ per cent

of the tonnage shown on "Schedule C" hereto attached, and the selling agent shall have notified the producer of that fact.

Nineteenth. This agreement shall continue in force for a period of 10 years after the date on which this agreement shall become effective, and at the expiration of such period shall continue thereafter for periods from year to year unless and until either party hereto shall elect to terminate this agreement by giving to the other party six months' notice thereof. Upon receipt of such notice the selling agent shall promptly notify all producers with whom it has entered into substantially identical or similar agency agreements, and within 10 days from the receipt by the producers of any such notices the producers may serve notice of termination to take effect on the same date.

Twentieth. This agreement shall inure to the benefit of and be binding upon the successors and assigns of the parties hereto.

In witness whereof the respective parties hereto have caused this agreement to be executed by their proper officers thereunto duly authorized, the day and year first above written.

Mr. Chairman, this regional sales plan is the proposal of some coal operators who believe they can, in this manner, navigate the perilous passage around the antitrust laws, without specific legislation.

I am not a constitutional lawyer, but I have been assured by those who are entitled to that description that this contract is nothing but concerted price fixing of the type forbidden by the antitrust laws.

In the case of American Column & Lumber Co. *v.* United States (257 U. S. 377), the effort was by a trade bureau whose ostensible function was to furnish information, reports as to sales, productions, and so forth. But the court held that its real object was to procure uniform action among the members as to production and prices, and that it was therefore a combination in restraint of trade. What, then, can be said if the purpose to do these things is baldly set out in written covenants? Many of these trade association cases have been before the courts. If the purpose is simply to disseminate information, leaving the dealers to act on their own judgment with respect to prices and production, they are lawful; but if they intend concerted action with reference to prices or production, they are unlawful. In Maple Flooring Association *v.* United States (268 U. S. 563), our Supreme Court said:

> We realize that such information, gathered and disseminated among the members of a trade or business, may be the basis of agreement or concerted action to lessen production arbitrarily or to raise prices beyond the levels of production and prices which would prevail if no such agreement or concerted action ensued, and those engaged in commerce were left free to base individual initiative on full information of the essential elements of their business. Such concerted action constitutes a restraint of commerce and is illegal, and may be enjoined, as may any other combination or activity necessarily resulting in such concerted action as was the subject of consideration in American Column & Lumber Co. *v.* United States (257 U. S. 377), and United States *v.* American Linseed Oil Co. (262 U. S. 271).

Mr. Chairman, in the bill I am outlining there is explicit authority for the formation of such a sales organization as is covered in this contract. We legalize this cooperation in marketing bituminous coal. But assuredly we do not propose to free the operators from all restraint either in fixing prices or in dealing with the efforts of the mine workers to better their wages and working conditions. If there is to be collective action on one side there must also be collective action on the other. The operators are permitted to cooperate, and so must the mine workers, while above all the public interest must be safeguarded.

In order that Members may be fully informed as to proposed methods of stabilizing the coal industry, let me quote a section from the form of incorporation of Appalachian Coals (Inc.), a proposed Delaware corporation. It is as follows:

> The nature of the business, or objects or purposes to be transacted, promoted, or carried on are:
>
> To mine coal on its own or leased premises; to buy and/or sell coal, as principal, in its own name and for itself, and/or as agent for others, for commissions or other remuneration; to buy or sell coal lands, mineral lands, mining rights; to purchase, own, sell, and develop, lease, work, and operate coal mines, coal lands, mineral lands, mining rights, and coal property; to own and/or lease and operate coal yards, depots, and docks, and to engage in and to conduct a general merchandising business; to carry on the businesses of coal mining and merchandising in all of their branches; and to manufacture and sell coke and its by-products.
>
> To institute, prosecute, and develop research work for the purpose of increasing and broadening the use of coal and coal products and to advertise the same.
>
> To take, acquire, buy, hold, own, manage, finance, work, develop, sell, convey, rent, lease, mortgage, exchange, improve, and otherwise operate and deal in and dispose of real estate and buildings, or any interest or rights therein, without limit as to amount; to erect, construct, and alter buildings and other structures; to make and enter into any and all manner and kind of contracts, agreements, and obligations by or with any person or persons, corporation or corporations, and with or by this corporation, for the erection, construction, equipment, improvement, working, developing, leasing, renting, repairing, management, or control of any building and edifice of any kind whatsoever.
>
> To conduct and carry on the business of builders and contractors for the purpose of building, erecting, altering, repairing, or doing any other work in connection with any and all classes of building and improvements of whatever kind and nature, including the building, rebuilding, alteration, and repair of houses, factories, works, and erections, and the building and repair of bridges, and to buy and sell and deal in roofing materials, building materials, including paints and oils, steel and iron and glass, and to do and perform any and all works as builders and contractors, and with that end in view to solicit, obtain, make, and perform contracts covering the building and contracting business.
>
> To acquire by purchase, subscription, contract, or otherwise; to hold for investment or otherwise; to sell, exchange, pledge, or otherwise dispose of, or turn to account or realize upon, and generally to deal in and with stocks, bonds, and other evidences of indebtedness, and any and all other securities issued or created by corporations, associations, partnerships, firms, trustees, syndicates, individuals, governments, states, municipalities, or other political or governmental divisions or subdivisions, or by any combinations, organizations, or entities whatsoever, or issued or created by others, irrespective of the form or the name by which they may be described, and all trust, participation, and other certificates of, and receipts evidencing interest in any such securities and any and all personal property of every kind and description and wheresoever situated.
>
> To borrow money and to issue bonds, debentures, notes, or other obligations or securities of the corporation from time to time for any of the objects or purposes of the corporation, and to secure the same by mortgage, lien, pledge, deed of trust, or otherwise. To loan money and to act as agent or factor for any person, partnership, or corporation.
>
> To manufacture, purchase, or otherwise acquire, own, mortgage, pledge, sell, assign, and transfer, or otherwise dispose of; to invest, trade, deal in, and deal with goods, wares, merchandise, and personal property of every class and description.
>
> To acquire, and pay for in cash, stock or bonds of this corporation or otherwise, the good will, rights, assets, and property, and to undertake or assume the whole or any part of the obligations or liabilities of any person, firm, association, or corporation, and to become surety and/or guarantor on the obligations or liabilities of any person, firm, association, or corporation.
>
> To acquire, hold, use, sell, assign, lease, grant licenses in respect of, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of letters patent of the United States or any foreign country, patent rights, licenses and privileges, inventions, improvements and processes, copyrights, trade-marks and trade names relating to or useful in connection with any business of this corporation.
>
> To organize and conduct a credit bureau, or bureaus, and to exchange credit information with others.
>
> To enter into, make, and perform contracts of every kind and description with any person, firm, association, corporation, municipality, country, State, body politic or government or colony or dependency thereof.
>
> To borrow or raise moneys for any of the purposes of the corporation and from time to time, without limit as to amount, to draw, make, accept, indorse, execute, and issue promissory notes, drafts, bills of exchange, warrants, bonds, debentures, and other negotiable or nonnegotiable instruments and evidences of indebtedness, and to secure the payment of any thereof and of the interest thereon by mortgage upon, or pledge, conveyance, or assignment in trust of the whole or any part of the property of the corporation, whether at the time owned or thereafter acquired, and to sell, pledge, or otherwise dispose of such bonds or other obligations of the corporation for its corporate purposes.
>
> To purchase, hold, sell, and transfer the shares of its own capital stock, provided it shall not use its funds or property for the purchase of its own shares of capital stock when such use would cause any impairment of its capital except as otherwise permitted by law, and provided further that shares of its own capital stock belonging to it shall not be voted upon directly or indirectly.
>
> To have one or more offices, to carry on all or any of its operations and business, and without restriction or limit as to amount to purchase or otherwise acquire, hold, own, mortgage, sell, convey, or otherwise dispose of real and personal property of every class and description in any of the States, Districts, Territories, or colonies of the United States, and in any and all foreign countries, subject to the laws of such State, District, Territory, colony, or country.
>
> To do any and/or all the things authorized to be done, through and by agents, and, where the corporation is itself acting as agent, to name, designate, and appoint subagents to act for it and in its stead in the performance and doing of any of the things it is authorized to do as agent.

In general, to carry on any other business in connection with the foregoing, and to have and exercise all the powers conferred by the laws of Delaware upon corporations formed under the act hereinafter referred to, and to do any or all of the things hereinbefore set forth to the same extent as natural persons might or could do.

The objects and purposes specified in the foregoing clauses shall, except where otherwise expressed, be in nowise limited or restricted by reference to or inference from the terms of any other clause in this certificate of incorporation, but the objects and purposes specified in each of the foregoing clauses of this article shall be regarded as independent objects and purposes.

Mr. Chairman, it is impossible to stabilize the bituminous coal industry through complete and arbitrary power in the hands of coal producers. Every fair-minded American would oppose such an attempt even if it were a possible plan of action. Far too vital are the interests of the other elements in this problem—labor and the public. Their interests are in no way opposed to the true interests of coal operators, but they must be protected from unjust domination. Such protection can not be expected from the selling agency contract plan or through such a charter as that of Appalachian Coals (Inc.).

I understand the desire of coal-mine owners to operate without any interference from labor organizations or the Government. For many years they have had as free a hand as they could wish and the result is a disorganized, demoralized industry with bankruptcy and poverty the portion of the great majority of those engaged in it.

The measure I have outlined is the way out of the jungle for the coal industry. It is no revolutionary proposal but is in line with American experience and policy. It is my hope that operators and mine workers alike will realize the necessity for constructive action now and will join in support of a plan to make mutual cooperation the guiding principle in the future of this great essential industry. [Applause.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, prohibition has been given a trial of nearly 12 years. Impartial observers must admit that conditions in respect to enforcement are growing worse each year. Unlawful traffic in liquor is to-day a well-organized industry. The older generation has not been weaned from liquor and the younger generation is acquiring the taste for alcohol. All the facts and information necessary for reasonable men to solve the problem are available. All the arguments pro and con are matters of record. The question has been debated over and over again in Congress. No issue in this country has caused more discussion than that of prohibition. Additional statistics are not necessary. There have been official, private, and semiofficial, unofficial, and every other kind of investigations. The facts contained in the Wickersham report, ignoring posthumous conclusions and the President's irrelevant letter of transmission, is a fair presentation of actual existing conditions under prohibition. In it fair-minded drys admit the failure of national prohibition and make specific recommendations. Prolonging prohibition will only increase the evils which it created, assure prosperity to criminals, and prevent the consideration of important economic issues.

There is no honest justification for postponing the solution of this problem. The drys and the wets must stop making faces at each other. Both sides must meet at a conference table. Every dry is not a fanatic and every wet is not a drunkard. There is no use repeating the same old arguments. Let both sides concede that the saloon at its worst is as bad as the speak-easy at its best. Let both sides admit that unrestricted, uncontrolled, and unregulated sale of whisky is harmful. Let both sides admit that liquor traffic to the extent that it exists to-day can not be carried on without the knowledge if not the connivance of town, village, city, county, State, and Federal officials. Let both sides concede that the corruption of public officials for the purpose of violating even an unpopular law is demoralizing. Let both sides concede that temperance can and will be brought about by education. Let both sides concede the necessity of a change in the law and the necessity of Government regulation in the traffic of liquor. Let both sides concede that as the saloon must not return, so also must the speak-easy go. Let both sides concede that no State should be forced to legalize the traffic in liquor against the will of its people, as, likewise, no State should be compelled to submit to absolute prohibition contrary to the will of its people. Let both sides accept the uncontroverted facts contained in official reports and the records of the courts. Let both sides admit that there is a deficit in our National Treasury while racketeers are operating with a surplus. Let both sides look at our empty factories and then turn to our overcrowded prisons. When this is done, reasonable men and women, having the interest of their country at heart and the welfare of the people in mind, can agree on a solution.

What shall we do? The first thing to do is to open the way for conference and agreement on necessary legislation. Let us get down to something concrete. As long as wets talk with wets and confer with wets and drys talk with drys and confer with drys we will get nowhere.

From my 14 years experience as a Member of Congress I know that all controversial questions can easily be ironed out and proper legislation provided whenever there is a proper spirit of approach and a proper understanding of the facts and a willingness to hear the other side. Therefore I would suggest that a group of wets of the House and Senate meet with an equal number of drys from the House and Senate for the purpose of agreeing on a tentative solution. Such an agreement would be no more than a proposal to be submitted to Congress. But if such a proposal is the result of a sincere effort on the part of wets and drys it surely would be impressive.

Some one must start an exchange of views. There can be no such thing as an uncompromising attitude in the face of the intolerable conditions existing to-day.

Many of us here have served together in Congress for many years. We have differed on a great many issues and agreed on others. Many of us are in accord in our position against war. We stand for peace as against war. Yet when our country became engaged in a war, many of us entered the military service in defense of our country. We put our country ahead of any other consideration or personal views. In this instance we must do the same. Conditions are so bad and the confusion, disorder, crime, and racketeering brought about by prohibition endangers our country to such an extent that it calls for the devoted loyal service of every man and woman. And I therefore appeal to prominent dry Members of this House to meet with us for an exchange of views. And I hereby invite my dry colleagues to consider this proposition. Let us meet and have something concrete to offer this Congress. Present conditions must not continue. [Applause.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as may be necessary, and ask unanimous consent that the Clerk may, in my time, read an editorial which appeared in the Wheeling Intelligencer of January 25. The heading of the editorial is the "Prohibition Referendum."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that the Clerk read in his time an editorial from the Wheeling Intelligencer. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

THE PROHIBITION REFERENDUM

Senator BINGHAM'S proposition looking to a popular referendum on prohibition was overwhelmingly beaten in the United States Senate. The majority was nearly four to one against it.

It would be hard to present more conclusive evidence of the fact that prohibition has the moral and practical support of the very large majority of the American people. The prohibition amendment was written into the Constitution after a prolonged contest, in which every phase of liquor legislation was considered and discussed. The prohibition victory was won after a long and arduous process, not by a mere popular referendum in one State, or in a few States, but by decisive legal action in a regularly prescribed manner. The prohibition amendment can be wiped out in the same way, and in no other way.

The noise made against prohibition centers in a number of large cities like New York, Chicago, and perhaps a few others, but these do not make up the majority of the American people, nor do they do the thinking for the American people. The real

thought of the American people springs from the countryside and the villages; from the homes, and not from the speak-easies; from the churches, and not from the night clubs; from the substantial leaders of industry, who know that workmen are more sober than they ever were before; from business men who know that business is conducted on a sounder basis than it ever was before; from wives and mothers, who know that their children are better taken care of than they ever were before.

They approve the prohibition amendment, and until this sound and sober thought has reason to change, the amendment will stay a part of our fundamental law.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. LOZIER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to register a protest against H. R. 4524 and H. R. 7438. In my deliberate opinion these and similar bills should not be given favorable consideration. One proposes to increase the allowable credit balance in Postal Savings banks from $2,500 to $5,000 and the other from $2,500 to $10,000. These bills embody an unwise policy. They push the Government farther and farther into business and put these Government-controlled banking institutions in direct and dangerous competition with private business. In effect, they are competing banks established and maintained by the Federal Government to receive deposits in every nook and corner of the land, which funds, without the Postal Savings System, would be deposited in local banks and be available for loans to the banks' customers.

In this period of unprecedented depression the Postal Savings depositories have been a menace to our banking system, State and national, in thousands of communities. Millions of dollars have been withdrawn from solvent and well-managed State and national banks and deposited in postal-savings banks. This has not only materially reduced deposits and depleted the funds available for loans but has aided tremendously in creating or increasing the suspicion which has grown up in many communities as to the solvency of banks and has precipitated withdrawals for hoarding purposes. Numerous well-founded reports have come to me where the aggregate withdrawals for deposits in postal-savings banks have precipitated other withdrawals and undermined confidence to such an extent that banks were compelled to close.

Moreover, it was never contemplated that postal-savings banks should compete with legitimate banking institutions. Postal-savings depositories were established to encourage thrift among wage earners so that a person might lay by in store a few dollars each week, and as many communities are without savings banks, and as many banks could not handle these small deposits without loss, the Federal Government provided these postal-savings depositories for the accommodation of wage earners. But they should not be permitted to compete with our banks to the extent contemplated by these bills. In my opinion the allowable credit balances of postal-savings banks should be reduced rather than increased.

The enactment of either of these bills will further weaken our State and national banking system, and I am sure Congress will not enact either one of these measures. [Applause.]

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROWNING]. [Applause.]

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Chairman, this time has been requested that I may attempt to bring further to the attention of the committee a matter which is embodied in H. R. 7356, introduced by me on January 9.

We have gone very far at this session of Congress in extending credit in order to relieve the desperate situation of the industries and banks of our country. As a permanent national policy this would not be justified. Credit is not going to cure our situation, but in so far as credit can be of benefit to us, I believe we have misjudged the place to apply credit that will give us the greatest national relief.

The mortgage indebtedness on the farms of this Nation on January 1, 1930, was $9,241,000,000. Of this amount, 12.1 per cent was held by Federal land banks; 7 per cent by joint-stock land banks; 10.8 per cent by commercial banks; 10.4 per cent by mortgage companies; 22.9 per cent by insurance companies; 10.6 per cent by retired farmers; 3.6 per cent by active farmers; 15.4 per cent by other individuals; and 7.2 per cent by other agencies. These figures are taken from information given by the Agricultural Department.

If credit is to benefit our national condition, I insist that we can not effectively use it by undertaking to dam the mouth of the stream. In other words, we can not back up the water to irrigate the entire watershed by extending credit at the mouth of the stream. It must fall on the headwaters. From there it will naturally find its way to the bed of the stream by gravitation. Economic gravitation works that way as well as natural gravitation.

We have voted a moratorium to the debtors of America that they in turn might extend the same to Germany for one year. We have voted $125,000,000 to the Federal land banks of this country, expressing the wish and hope that some of this will be used in liberalizing the present policy with respect to foreclosures and that it will also be used for the extension of loans.

We have voted $2,000,000,000 for the relief, as we all know, primarily, of the railroads, the insurance companies, and the large banks. It is true that in this amount we made available $50,000,000 to be used by the Department of Agriculture in any way they see fit in temporary relief to farmers. As I understand it, they practically have the entire discretion in the use of the $50,000,000.

This money, in my judgment, will never get half way down. From 1929, in September, until January 1 of this year, the valuation of stocks that were on the New York Stock Exchange alone shrunk over $90,000,000,000. This is only one incident in the tremendous deflation that the great banking institutions as security holders and the railroads and the insurance companies have had to suffer, and $2,000,000,000 is not going to relieve their situation; and we know, and well know, that its first use will be for their relief.

Now, my contention is that if we want to give that relief which will be the most far-reaching, that relief which will touch immediately the lives of the most people, we can best do it by giving credit to the farmers of the Nation on first mortgages on their farms.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BROWNING. For a question; yes.

Mr. KETCHAM. In that connection, has the gentleman seen the statement which is credited to the Secretary of Agriculture that under the terms of the bill that $50,000,000 may be extended to $200,000,000?

Mr. BROWNING. Yes; I have seen that statement, but the gentleman would not contend that $200,000,000 lent directly to farmers on first mortgages would relieve the farm-credit situation?

Mr. KETCHAM. It would go considerably farther than $50,000,000.

Mr. BROWNING. It would go four times as far as the $50,000,000, but the mortgage debt is already $9,240,000,000, and here is where the pinch comes, and we might as well recognize it. At least half of this burden rests on the localities where these loans are made on the farms. The commercial banks of the country hold over $1,000,000,000 of it, and there is where your frozen assets in the small banks are. If you want to give relief to 30,000,000 people directly on the farm and 30,000,000 people who are directly dependent on them for their subsistence and their existence, so far as their business is concerned, if you would relieve the farmer by lending him on first mortgage and permitting him to relieve his local bank of the frozen assets that it holds and permit him to relieve his local merchant of the debt he is carrying against him for supplies, I insist that this would be the greatest measure of relief this country could give.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BROWNING. For a question; yes.

Mr. ALLGOOD. The last census shows that 45 per cent of the farmers in my section already have their farm mortgaged. How would the gentleman's measure affect them?

Mr. BROWNING. Are any of them being foreclosed?

Mr. ALLGOOD. Under the conditions that exist, with cotton selling at 5 cents a pound, I do not think many can pay their mortgages.

Mr. BROWNING. Does the gentleman's local bank hold any of these mortgages?

Mr. ALLGOOD. I do not know who holds them, but the census report shows that 45 per cent of them are mortgaged.

Mr. BROWNING. I will make this statement to the gentleman: Of that 45 per cent, the gentleman will find that half of them are held locally, and that is where the pressure is coming. The banks are carrying the burden in the gentleman's home community, and if the gentleman would help me get this bill passed and permit the Government to lend to that man on first mortgage he could pay off the bank and release that much of the frozen assets that are in its coffers to-day.

This bill does not create any new organization. It does make a new designation.

I propose that the Federal Farm Loan Board now in existence be incorporated, that the corporation's stock be $500,000,000, with the privilege in this corporation to issue three times that much of debentures or notes or bonds. This corporation is to lend to the intermediate credit banks, one of which exists with every Federal land bank in the country, and this bank is to lend directly to the farmers who are in this distress, and take a first mortgage, and, in turn, secure their loan from the corporation with this first mortgage as collateral, and that the farms are to be valued at 70 per cent of the fair market value to-day. The reason I make this so high is because farm land has the least value it has had since I have known anything, and 70 per cent of it would be a very safe investment if any property is worth anything in this country. What I mean by this statement is that if farm land is not a safe collateral, if farm land has no value as the basic industry of America, then nothing we have has any value, and if the Government can lend on anything it should be willing to lend on as safe an investment as real estate, and unless real estate comes back in this Nation of ours, we have not seen the worst of it yet, and we have nothing to build in. [Applause.]

Mr. ALLGOOD. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. BROWNING. Yes.

Mr. ALLGOOD. I agree with what the gentleman says in regard to real estate, but the gentleman proposes to lend up to 70 per cent of the real value to-day——

Mr. BROWNING. Of the fair value to-day; yes.

Mr. ALLGOOD. And I contend that with cotton having gone down from 20 cents a pound to 5 cents a pound, and with 45 per cent of the farms in my section having been mortgaged on a basis of 20-cent cotton, 70 per cent valuation now would not clear the existing mortgages and get them out of debt.

Mr. BROWNING. The gentleman does not contend it would be a fair, economic proposition to require the Government to lend on 100 per cent of the value? Possibly that would not reach it, but I will say to the gentleman that of all the farms that are mortgaged to-day in America less than 12 per cent of them have a mortgage on them of more than 70 per cent of their value.

This would reach 85 per cent of all the farms where foreclosure is being threatened.

Now, this is not any idle gesture. No doubt you get letters every day from your local banks, as I do, wondering where they are going to come in under the credit plan. These banks want to learn that the Government is going to fix it some way for credit to be extended to them.

This bill will not, in my judgment, cost the Government anything, but only call on the Government to extend its credit so that it will give relief to 60,000,000 people, and it will give relief at that point where we must increase the purchasing power of the American people if business is to be revived. It will put it at the place where it will be most effective and where it will alleviate the greatest amount of suffering.

It is a pitiful thing for a man who in many instances has passed the meridian of life, his earnings of a lifetime in a farm with a little home on it, who has spent his life working 12 and 15 hours a day undertaking to accumulate a competence, to see him turned out, to see the hammer fall on the sale of his little home, and see him facing the world with his earning power wasted and gone, with no prospects of ever accumulating anything in the future.

I insist that it may be tragic to see a great corporation crumble and its stockholders suffer because they have their surplus accumulated in the stock of that concern, but I insist it is far more tragic to see a man bent and decrepit, full of many years, having to face the future with the loss of his farm and all that he has undertaken to build up.

I am appealing to you to look with me in a different direction from the legislation we have already adopted for relief purposes.

The theory seems to be that the whole thing is suspended from the top, and that if we will water that source, some of it will filter through and drip down on the common people.

In my judgment, it is a better philosophy to hold that substantial relief must begin at the bottom, and those at the top will receive their part of it in due course.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNING. For a question.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. The gentleman alluded to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. My construction of the bill is that it is broad enough to give the very relief the gentleman proposes to give by his bill if that corporation will only act in this respect. It can if it will grant this relief.

Mr. BROWNING. How?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. They can do it by purchasing the mortgages from the bank that holds them against the farmer. I am frank to say, though, I very much fear this relief will not be given. Does the gentleman anticipate any real help from this source?

Mr. BROWNING. No. First, because it is going to be taken up before it gets halfway down, and, second, there is not half enough to go around. There are $9,000,000,000 placed on real estate and two billion could not relieve the big banks and the railroads and have anything left for the farmer. It is not enough.

I voted for it, fearing that it would not get down that far. But what else were we to do? We could not stand here with the information coming publicly and privately that the financial structure of the Nation was in danger, and those in places of responsibility saying that this would cure the situation. They said that much of the benefit was to be psychological, but I have not seen any results yet.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNING. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. The gentleman believes that the farmers will get the $50,000,000 provided for in the Smith amendment, does he not?

Mr. BROWNING. Yes. I have no doubt that that will be loaned to the farmers for production purposes, but where the pinch is coming is that your local bank, carrying the burden on farm lands, is not going to get any relief from the $50,000,000. What they need is for the Government to give its credit so that they may be relieved of the frozen assets in the bank vaults which are ordinarily good collateral, but on which they can not realize anything because of present conditions.

Mr. GREEN. If that $50,000,000 is loaned, it all would be for production purposes, with liens on the crops, and not for the purpose of carrying the mortgage.

Mr. BROWNING. I think so, and I think that the intention of Congress was that it should be for production purposes. There are many communities that need that. I repeat, unless this Nation is going to liquidate from top to bottom, there is no way for the Government to lose on this investment I speak of, and my bill provides that this money shall be loaned for periods from 3 to 10 years, with the privilege in the bank of extending the loan from time to time until the 10-year period is up. It shall be loaned for three specific purposes and none other. First, it shall be loaned for the purpose of furnishing equipment and livestock for the proper operation of the farm that is mortgaged;

second, for permanent improvements on the farm that is mortgaged; and, third, for the payment of debts accumulated for agricultural purposes or those made for any purpose before the passages of this bill.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNING. Yes.

Mr. ALLGOOD. What rate of interest does the gentleman's bill provide?

Mr. BROWNING. It provides not more than 6 per cent, but I am not quibbling about the amount of it. I would like for the farmers to get it for nothing if they could.

Mr. ALLGOOD. With cotton selling for 5 cents a pound, the cotton farmer can not continue to pay 6 per cent for money that he borrows.

Mr. BROWNING. I am not an expert draftsman, and there may be some flaws and mistakes in the bill that I drew myself, but I think the intermediate-credit banks should be allowed to make expenses of making the loan and a reasonable commission.

I believe that the farmer could afford to pay, within the course of those 10 years, enough interest to take care of the accumulated charges on the bonds that might be issued for this purpose; and, unless this farm condition comes back within those 10 years, then God only knows what will become of us.

Mr. SPARKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNING. Yes.

Mr. SPARKS. The gentleman is not basing his bill altogether upon the conditions existing at the present time, but on the supposition there will come some relief so that conditions may be better in the future, and having different conditions they could pay a higher rate of interest.

Mr. BROWNING. Yes; but so far as I am concerned I think the farmer is like the old colored man who said of himself that he was right down on the bottom of the wheel of fortune and if it turned either way he was going to rise, it did not make any difference which way it turned, he could not go any farther down. If by extending this credit we can save the homes of thousands of farmers in the United States, if by extending this credit we can start a movement to relieve the frozen assets of our country banks, if by extending this credit we can let those farmers pay their merchants what they owe them, that is one way in which I believe you can start the movement of commodities and rise in the price of commodities; and, unless we do that, I have no prediction to make.

Mr. ALLGOOD. One of the local troubles that the farmers through our section have is this: At a time when farm commodities were bringing good prices taxes were raised on the farm lands in keeping with the price of cotton and other farm products, and those taxes are still on that high basis, while cotton is down. Cotton is the money crop of our section of the country. The taxes were placed on a basis of 20-cent cotton, and now we have 5-cent cotton. That is one of the troubles confronting our people.

Mr. BROWNING. That is true; but you must admit this proposition that I am making will give the farmers a chance to work out of that condition within the 10 years and place themselves back on a basis where they can afford to pay the taxes. Otherwise they have no chance, because under present conditions, as the gentleman well knows, the farmer can not survive and pay those taxes, and there will be either a repudiation of debts based on that assessment or the farmers will all have to turn their property over to the Government.

Mr. ALLGOOD. The farmers can not exist under the present burdens, not only in my State but in other States.

Mr. BROWNING. I hope the gentleman will be interested enough to help persuade the Committee on Banking and Currency to report out this bill and let the House take it up.

Mr. ALLGOOD. I shall be glad to assist the gentleman from Tennessee, who has so ably presented this measure in behalf of those who need help, and I wish we had more men like him in this body.

Mr. BROWNING. As I said before, there are few rules in this world to which there are no exceptions. As a national policy, it would not be my position that the Federal Government should go into the loaning business, any more than it would be my position that we should follow the plan we adopted in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation formation; not as a national policy. But there come times when we have pestilence, there come times when we have famine and when we have war and when we have a crash of our financial structure, and this is the latter emergency. Under the conditions of that emergency I believe that this would be a remedy for more ills than any other one thing that we could accomplish.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BROWNING. I yield.

Mr. MAY. I am very much in sympathy with the policy expressed by the bill which the gentleman is discussing. We have appropriated not only millions but billions for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of business and industries. Does the gentleman not feel that the very class of people for whom the gentleman is arguing now are less responsible for the condition that exists than any other class of people in the country?

Mr. BROWNING. Absolutely. The paralysis which struck the Nation began 10 years or more ago, as we all know, with the very class of people I am undertaking to get something done for at this time. We might as well admit that one of the main causes of that paralysis was the destruction of the markets for his surplus products. It has grown, but the farmer was able to survive because he could live off the products of his farm for a certain length of time, but his earning power and his consuming power were finally pressed to such a low ebb that the condition got to town. When it got there, not only the country districts but the entire Nation was paralyzed. That is the condition to-day. Somebody has to be able to buy and go to work before there can be a revival of prosperity. We can not start that by beginning with the men who were last affected. It must begin at the root. It must begin where the paralysis first struck. It must be treated at that point first. I believe that is sound philosophy. In so far as credit can cure the situation, I am insisting we should adopt this policy and permit this, without any red tape; instead of the use of the Federal land banks, and without the red tape of having to form joint-stock land banks, where the Government subscribes to none of the capital stock, and without standing by and letting the commercial banks of the Nation go to pieces holding this, which under ordinary conditions would be good collateral, to go directly from the Government to the farmer and loan to him, that it might relieve the situation. Then there would be no doubt about doing what was intended to be done.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNING. I yield.

Mr. KETCHAM. I always listen with a great deal of interest to what the gentleman has to say, and I have listened with particular interest to-day. The statement which the gentleman has just made prompts me to ask him to spend a minute or two upon this question: To what extent and in what circumstances does the gentleman believe that the extension of still more credit is of great advantage? Undoubtedly credit ought to be extended, but will the gentleman please state the specific points at which he believes the credit would be helpful along the lines of the bill which the gentleman has introduced?

Mr. BROWNING. I would be glad if we could manage not to enlarge the farmers' indebtedness; I am seeking more to transfer that indebtedness. But in the first place, it would save that man his farm, which is now going under the hammer, and the Government would give him 10 years to regain his feet and let him have a chance to live. In the next place, it would put this money at a point where it would relieve not only the banks and the merchants and the farmer himself, but it would start the wheels of industry rolling, because it would increase the consumption of things that are manufactured in this country. Those are two instances which I think of now.

I repeat, as I said before, I do not believe credit will cure the situation, but in so far as it will work, I think this is the

place we should apply it, because it is an emergency, and it is a place where everybody would have a chance to get the benefit of it.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWNING. I yield.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. My thought is that it is not a question of credit that is affecting the gentleman's people and my people. It is more a question of stabilization of farm prices. I have gone through this credit work in my country ever since the War Finance Corporation was formed 10 or 12 years ago. I find it is not so much a question of credit as it is a question of the price which the farmer gets.

Mr. BROWNING. But it depends entirely on where the price is stabilized. We do not want to stabilize at where it is now. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa. I should say not. I am in sympathy with what the gentleman has just been talking about.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 40 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. COX].

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I shall speak to the subject of Philippine independence. The question is one that can not be covered entirely in a single address. Therefore I shall content myself with discussing only one phase of the question and will undertake at a later date to complete my argument.

I come to plead the cause of a people who have the right to be heard. There is no forum in all the world that is open to them for the redress of their wrongs other than the American Congress. On the one hand there are involved the hopes and aspirations of a subject race, and on the other the honor and fame of a great republic. Full power of making decision is in our hands, and to the task of deciding a right we should manifest a willingness to strip ourselves of party pride and put aside all foretaken false opinion.

For more than 30 years this question has lain heavily upon the conscience of the American people. It is the skeleton in our closet, and as long as we keep it there we will ever be troubled with self-accusation. In disposing of it many unhappy recollections will be brought back to us, but dispose of it we must if we are to ever put our country right with itself and the world.

As a basis for intelligent discussion and understanding, it is necessary to recount in part some of the history of the struggle out of which dominion over the Philippine Islands came to us.

For more than a century prior to the declaration of war on Spain, the island of Cuba had been the subject of great concern to the United States. All of the elder statesmen saw the danger to the Republic of its falling into the hands of some one of a dominant power. Later many favored conquest and annexation, and except for the trouble leading up to the War between the States this doubtless would have been done during the period of national territorial expansion.

The question of forcible acquisition became something of a party issue. In the Republican platform of 1860 it was declared—

> That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" is essential to the preservation of our republican institution.

A reversal of this lofty position was threatened by the head of the same party in 1869, but was prevented by the then great Secretary of State, Mr. Fish.

The general belief has been that the sinking of the *Maine* in Habana Harbor constituted the major cause of the war against Spain, but this is not true, for it should be remembered that responsibility for the blowing up of the *Maine* has never been fixed against Spain. Cuba had for several years been in a state of insurrection. Her grievances were many, and they were just. Her misgovernment and oppression by Spain had aroused the indignation of our people. But behind this outraged public sentiment there was operating another influence driving us to war. American business with special interests to serve had entered the list. This group, that fattens upon adversity and misfortune, always reaps a harvest in times of war. It is the same influence that to-day holds the Philippine Islands by the throat; and lest I forget, let me here and now indict as the chief sinner of this job the Filipino-American Chamber of Commerce, with the privilege of setting forth in detail the counts of the indictment in an address to be made later on. The blowing up of the *Maine* undoubtedly hastened intervention. It served to bring forth spontaneous explosion of an already carefully manipulated public sentiment for war.

Look to the RECORD for Executive and legislative expression given as the basis for war. In his message to Congress, President McKinley said:

> Our people have beheld a once prosperous community reduced to comparative want, its lucrative commerce virtually paralyzed, its exceptional productiveness diminished, its fields laid waste, its mills in ruin, and its people perishing by tens of thousands from hunger and destitution, all due, if you please, to Spanish oppression and their inhumane and unlawful methods of conducting war.

Following this message, Congress adopted the Teller resolution, which declared that "the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent," and further defining the intentions of the Government, provided—

> That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

This was reassurance to the world that in spite of special claim due to close proximity, trade relations, and therefore the laws of political gravitation, the United States had not entered upon a land-grabbing campaign, and wanted none of the islands belonging to Spain. She had become the champion of the cause of humanity, an adherent to the doctrine that long and consistent misrule involves the penalty of forfeiture.

Let us turn to the Philippines. The policies of government pursued by Spain in these islands were no different from those applied to Cuba. The full power of tyranny to debase and degrade had been exhausted in its application to the rule of the people.

In December, 1896, Spain committed her fatal blunder in the Philippines. She killed, under the forms of law, Dr. José Rizal, a great world patriot. Because of this atrocious act the people of the different islands were unified, and a new-born zeal for deliverance sent them to war with their master. Not even the substitution of Gen. Primo de Rivera as governor of the islands, with all his humanity and political concessions, could abate their determination for self-rule.

Two months before the United States declared war against Spain Commodore Dewey, in the anticipation of the conflict which followed, obtained command of the Asiatic Squadron, and sailed out of the Gulf of California for Hong Kong, where weeks before the sinking of the *Maine* he received a cable from Theodore Roosevelt, the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which was as follows:

> Order the squadron, except the *Monocacy*, to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In event of declaration of war with Spain your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and start offensive operations in Philippine Islands.

At the time war was declared, Aguinaldo, the great Filipino revolutionist, was at Singapore; and the American consul at that port, realizing his value as a leader of his people, counseled with him in behalf of his rejoining the Philippine insurgents and making common cause with the United States in warring upon Spain. Aguinaldo accepted the proposal, whereupon the consul telegraphed Commodore Dewey through our consul general at Hong Kong as follows:

> Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hong Kong. Arrange with commodore for general cooperation insurgents Manila if desired.

To which message the commodore replied:

> Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible.

But before Aguinaldo could reach Hong Kong Dewey had sailed out for Manila Bay. From Hong Kong Aguinaldo sent to the islands this proclamation:

Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach.

The Americans, not from mercenary motives but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country * * *. At the present moment an American squadron is preparing to sail to the Philippines * * *. The Americans will attack by sea and prevent any reinforcements coming from Spain * * *. We insurgents must attack by land * * *. There where you see the American flag flying, assemble in number; they are our redeemers.

The American consul at Hong Kong wrote Aguinaldo:

Do not forget that the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering and not for the love of conquest or the hope of gain. They are actuated by precisely the same feelings for the Filipinos.

Aguinaldo, who was brought to Manila on the American gunboat *McCulloch*, at the instance of Commodore Dewey, issued a second proclamation, from which I quote:

Filipinos, the great nation, North America, cradle of liberty and friendly on that account to the liberty of our people * * * has come to manifest a protection * * * which is disinterested toward us—considering us with sufficient civilization to govern by ourselves this, our unhappy land.

Upon his arrival at Manila and before a gun had been fired by the American forces—in fact, months before the arrival of any of the land forces of the United States—Aguinaldo was told by Commodore Dewey:

Go ashore and start your army.

And of his operations later said:

And he [Aguinaldo] did wonderfully well. He whipped the Spaniards battle after battle. * * * I knew what he was doing—driving the Spaniards in—was saving our troops. * * * They [the Filipinos] looked on us as their liberators. Up to the time the Army came he [Aguinaldo] did everything I requested. He was most obedient; whatever I told him to do he did. I saw him almost daily. I was waiting for troops to arrive and I thought the closer they [Filipinos] invested the city the easier it would be when our troops arrived to march in. The Filipinos were our friends, assisting us; they were doing our work.

The administration here at Washington knew of the sacrifices being made by the Filipinos, knew of the profligate contribution of flesh and bone of their people that they were making to the cause of liberty.

Commodore Dewey, in a dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, said:

Insurgents have been engaged actively in the Province of Cavite during the last week; they have had several small victories, taking prisoners about 1,800 men, 50 officers; Spanish troops, not native.

And again six days later:

Insurgents continue hostilities and have practically surrounded Manila. They have taken 2,500 Spanish prisoners, whom they treat most humanely. They do not intend to attack city proper until the arrival of the United States troops thither; I have advised.

Did Washington know that the Filipinos were acting upon the belief that the United States had come as their deliverers—and with no selfish interest to serve? Listen to a later dispatch from Commodore Dewey:

I have given him [Aguinaldo] to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. * * * He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government. Aguinaldo has acted independent of the squadron but has kept me advised of his progress, which has been wonderful. I have allowed to pass, by water, recruits, arms, and ammunition, and to take such arms and ammunition from the arsenals as he needed. Have advised frequently to conduct the war humanely, which he has invariably done.

The Filipinos were fighting for their independence, and how did the United States help?

Aguinaldo was instructed to return to the islands and head the revolutionary forces. A gunboat was sent for him. He was told to go ahead with his army; he was seen and advised almost daily, told what to do; the landing of fresh Spanish troops was prevented; there were allowed to pass, by water, recruits, arms, and ammunition, and such arms and ammunition as were needed were furnished out of the arsenal of the United States.

Up to this time there had been no apparent conflict of motives or objectives as between the United States and the Filipinos. The United States had gone to war for purely humanitarian reasons, and the world had been so advised. The Filipinos were already fighting a war for independence, and this the world knew. The two made common cause and this arrangement continued until the Filipinos had done the work of the American soldier, until they had driven the Spanish soldiers within the limits of Manila and thrown a ring of iron around the entire city. It continued until the surrender of the entire Spanish Army, which was effected without the firing of a single American gun. [Applause.]

It was not until after this bloodless victory to American arms that there developed a perceptible change in the humanitarian sentiment that actuated our going to war.

American public opinion believed that the same treatment accorded to Cuba would be extended to the Philippines. No one suspected that the Government held evil designs against the islands. The imperialist had not shown his hand. His work had been done under cover, but as it later developed, to him national honor was not the question; the swag and loot of conquest was the object of his concern.

Certainly the Filipinos believed that we would treat them as we were treating Cuba. Had not Dewey said approvingly in one of his official reports:

He [Aguinaldo] has gone to attend a meeting of the insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government.

Was not the government formed and provisional constitution issued by proclamation with the object to—

Struggle for independence of the Philippines until all nations, including Spain, shall expressly recognize it and to prepare the country for the establishment of a real republic.

General Anderson, in charge of our land forces, said:

Whether Admiral Dewey and Consuls Pratt [of Singapore], Wildman [Hong Kong], and Williams [Manila] did or did not give Aguinaldo assurance that a Filipino government would be recognized, the Filipinos certainly thought so, probably inferring this from their acts rather than from their statements.

Accompanying the issuance of this provisional constitution there appeared a presidential message given by Aguinaldo from which I quote:

Thus they [Filipinos] have constituted a revolutionary government with wise and just laws suited to the abnormal conditions confronting them, and which at the proper time will prepare them for a true republic. Thus, taking for its only justification the right; for its sole aid, justice; and for its only means, honorable labor; the government calls upon all its Filipino sons without distinction of class and invites them to unite solidly with the object of forming a noble society, ennobled not by blood or pompous titles but by labor and the personal merits of the individual—a free society where there is no place for egotism and personal politics which wither and blight, nor for envy and favoritism which debase, nor for charlatanry and buffoonery which cause ridicule.

No other course is possible. A people that has given proof of fortitude and valor in suffering and in danger, and of industry in time of peace is not made for slavery. These people are called to be great, to be one of the strong arms of Providence in directing the destinies of humanity. These people have sufficient energy and resources to recover from the ruin and humiliation in which it has been placed by the Spanish Government and to claim a modest but worthy place in the concert of free nations.

This provisional government was speedily set up at Cavite, 5 miles across the bay from Manila, and there began to function beneath the very muzzle of American guns and apparently with American sanction; and if not with actual sanction, then why the furnishing of American guns and ammunition to the native soldiers?

Visualize in your mind's eye, if you can, the heavy cloud of despair that must have settled upon the Filipino people when they came to realize that their liberator was slipping from the high moral ground which had been taken in the beginning, while they with the advice and under the directions of Commodore Dewey were doing the work of the American soldier.

This Government's first disloyalty to their brethren in arms was manifested in the terms accepted for the sur-

render of the Spanish forces which had been hemmed up in Manila by the Filipino soldiers. Although not a single American soldier had been scratched, while thousands of Filipinos had died in battle and many more thousands wounded in different degrees, not a single Filipino soldier was to enter the city. Not even Aguinaldo, the general, who had led his forces to victory. They were to stand back and see the glory that by rights was theirs go to others who had not contributed one drop of blood to the victory. So firm was the determination that the Filipino soldier should not enter the capital city, that General Anderson sent out his troops to hold them back and addressed Aguinaldo as follows: "Unless your troops are withdrawn beyond the lines of the city's defenses before Thursday, the 15th instant, I will be compelled to resort to forcible action."

Two weeks before the final surrender of Manila the Spanish Government had sued for peace, and the President had named his terms for the suspension of hostilities. Between the time of going to war and the assembling of the peace conference the President's views had undergone rapid and radical change. In his message of December, 1897, he said: "Forcible annexation can not be thought of; that, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression," and yet a few months later we witnessed his demanding the cession of Porto Rico and the other islands then under the sovereignty of Spain in the West Indies, and then increased to include possession of the whole of the Philippines.

While the terms of peace were being negotiated in Paris the provisional Philippine government sent there an official representative with petition to be heard, but against him the doors to the conference were closed. He then came to Washington where he received like treatment, all indicating that the reward for Filipino cooperation and sacrifice was to be continued slavery under a new master.

Under the protocol of August 13, 1898, the United States acquired the right to occupy "the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusions of the treaty." Transfer of sovereignty by Spain to the United States did not take place upon the signing of the peace treaty December 10, 1898. It was seven weeks later before the Senate ratified the treaty, but in his proclamation of December 21 we hear the President saying that with the fall of Manila the conquest of the Philippines was effected. Strange words to fall from the lips of one who just a few months previous had said that such conquest "by our code of morality would be criminal aggression." Nevertheless, the military government theretofore maintained by the United States in the city of Manila is "to be extended with all possible dispatch to the whole of the ceded territory." And thus we find our country making war upon an ally, upon a people that the world thought we had fought to free, making war upon them before the treaty transferring sovereignty had been ratified, and making war, too, by no other authority than presidential proclamation.

Shall we touch upon the campaign that was conducted against these people who believed us to have been their liberator? Go read the story anew and weep with shame that the crimes of pillage, loot, and murder could have been committed in the name of liberty and justice.

This war against the Philippines commenced before the islands were ours. Under the peace treaty we held the right to occupy only the city, harbor, and bay of Manila, all the remainder of all the islands were under the control of the Filipino government. Yet by virtue of this proclamation our soldiers, under the American commander at Manila, General Otis, began to drive the Filipino soldier from the soil that was his.

Before the treaty was ratified, and therefore before the Philippines became our property so far as Spain had the right to make conveyance, Filipino soldiers were killed within an area to which they had a lawful right, and this killing resulted in the exchange of fire between the two armies that resulted in injury to no one but was accepted by our generals as justification for "letting loose the dogs of war that they had been holding ready." Remember this incident took place before the ratification of the treaty by senatorial action. On the following morning, and before fighting was renewed, General Aguinaldo sent explanation and apology to General Otis for the firing of the night before, explaining that it was against his orders and begging cessation of hostilities. The brutal reply given by General Otis was that the fighting having begun, it must go on to the grim end, and it did go on until more than 3,000 Filipino soldiers were killed.

I will not longer dwell upon this sordid story of conquest by force of arms. Suffice it to say that it constitutes the blackest page yet written in the history of this great Republic. All the atrocities committed by Spain against Cuba, and for which we went to war, were committed against the Filipinos, of whom Dewey said, "In my opinion, these people are superior in intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races."

But let some one else complete this part of the story. Painful as it is, it ought to be told. My appeal is not merely for the freedom of a people whom we should never have enslaved but for the honor and glory of my country.

There is no reconciliation possible as between the subjugation of the Philippines and the liberation of Cuba. Their situations were identical, and to have lifted the one to freedom with benevolent justice and pressed down the other to slavery with the sword was an indefensible contradiction which corrupted our motives in the first instance. [Applause.]

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. GLOVER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. GLOVER. Mr. Chairman, in the time allotted to me I desire to discuss with you a very vital question that must be settled soon by this Congress of the United States and our several State governments. This is the subject of caring for our old-aged persons.

On December 9, during this Congress, I introduced House bill 5103, which was a bill granting a pension to old-aged persons. Times are different now from what they once were. There was a time when older persons could get employment, but in this mad rush of the twentieth century there is no employment for these persons, and many of them are to-day suffering.

Ten or twelve of the more progressive States of the United States have passed already old age pension laws. The States alone are not able to contribute what would be necessary for the caring and maintaining of all the needy persons of this kind. So it has become necessary that the Federal Government cooperate with the States in trying to care for old-aged persons that can not get employment and have nothing on which to depend for a living.

The pioneer of this country who has helped to build the Nation is as valiant a soldier as has ever fought in the trenches. He has helped to clear the forests and prepare the lands for agriculture. He has supported our churches and schools and has spent a life in toil and in helping to build up the great Nation we have. It is unthinkable that a State and Government would see this class of people suffer for the necessaries of life in their declining years.

A man now past 50 years of age stands no chance or opportunity of getting employment in the rush and hurry of the world for money making. The one who wants to employ takes the younger manhood that is able to bear more burden and toil, and the man who is in real want for employment on account of his age is denied employment.

I do not believe that the State or National Government should undertake to care for all persons, by reason of age only, but what I am desirous of seeing is the States and National Government cooperating to care for the old persons who are absolutely in need and in want, and see that they do not suffer for food and clothing during their declining days.

The bill that I introduced provides that for the purpose of administering the provisions of the act, the President of the United States be, and with the Senate is, authorized and directed to appoint a director of old-age pensions, who shall be at the head of this department, which shall be in the

Department of Labor. The bill introduced provides that all moneys appropriated for this department shall be upon condition, first, that for each dollar of Federal money expended there shall be expended in the State under the supervision and control of the State, at least an equal amount for the same purpose.

Section 3 of the act provides that—

In order to secure the benefits of the appropriations provided in section 2 of this act the governor of any State, so far as he is authorized to do so, shall accept the provisions of this act and designate a commissioner of pensions or some other agency to act until the adjournment of the first legislature convened after the passage and approval of this act and shall designate the State treasurer as the custodian of appropriations, who shall receive and provide for the proper disbursement of all money paid to the State from the appropriations under section 2 of this act: *Provided*, That if the legislative authority of any States shall fail to accept its provisions, no further money shall be paid to such State.

Section 4 of the act reads as follows:

It shall be the duty of the director of the old-age pension bureau to carry out the provisions of this act, and to that end—
(a) To make the necessary rules and regulations;
(b) To examine plans submitted by a State authority for the disbursement of an allotment to the State under this act and to approve such plans and any changes thereof;
(c) To make necessary investigations of the administration of any plan approved by it;
(d) To cooperate with State authorities and other agencies, public and private, for the purpose of improving the administration of old-age assistance and of old age in the United States;
(e) To withhold from any State the payment of any allotment or installment thereof when he decides that the money allotted is not being expended as provided in the plan;
(f) To certify to the Treasurer of the United States the amount of allotment to any State; and
(g) To take any other action necessary to carry out the purpose of this act.

Section 6 of my bill throws every safeguard possible around the appropriation made by the Federal and State Governments, so that the needy persons or old-aged can be cared for and that the act will not be abused. This section reads as follows:

The director shall not approve any plan submitted by the State authority which does not provide that—
(1) An old person entitled to relief under it: (a) Has been a citizen of the United States for at least 20 years and resident of the State for a period of years determined by the State law providing old-age assistance, but in no case for less than 5 years; (b) is 65 years old or over; (c) does not possess real and/or personal property of a value in excess of $500; (d) has no child or other person responsible under the law of the State for his support and able to support him; (e) has not disposed of any property to bring him within the provision of this act prior to his application for relief, unless the State authority has, under a power granted by the State statute, waived this requirement; (f) has been decided by the State authority to be of good moral character.

Section 8 of the bill provides that the compensation shall be at the rate of $1 per day.

If this bill could become a law at this session of Congress, then our aged persons who are in need, many of whom are to-day subjects of charity and receiving help from community funds, would be cared for and protected as they should be. It would be very much easier to care for them in this way than it would in the manner they are now being looked after, and certainly they would appreciate very much more help given them in this manner.

I hope we will be able to pass this bill before the close of this session. [Applause.]

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, this is our second annual appropriation bill. The House has just passed a bill making appropriations for the next fiscal year for the Department of Agriculture.

The Interior Department appropriation bill carries appropriations for all the activities supervised by the Secretary of the Interior.

The committee began its hearings on this bill on December 15, 1931, and concluded them on January 8, 1932. The hearings cover 1,207 pages, are exhaustive, and are indexed. There is testimony in the hearings covering every item in the bill.

The chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, is entitled to special credit for the method of conducting the hearings. His long service as a Member of the House and upon this committee, and his great personal familiarity with the matters recommended for appropriation in this bill made his services invaluable to the House and the country. His uniform kindness and courtesy have further endeared him to all members of the committee. I am sure I express the sentiment of every member of the committee when I acknowledge this indebtedness to him.

All of the members of the committee earnestly cooperated with the chairman and made it possible to bring out the unanimous report, and the committee and the country are indebted to Congressman MURPHY for his most earnest and sympathetic cooperation, and to Mr. FRENCH, who is familiar with conditions throughout the West, and to our new Member, Mr. GRANFIELD, for their whole-hearted cooperation and valuable assistance and suggestions during the hearings and preparation of the bill. We are exceptionally fortunate in having assigned to us our very efficient clerk, W. A. Duval, who rendered valuable assistance to the entire committee and to the chairman in arranging the hearings and in the preparation of the details of the many items contained in the report.

The amount recommended in this bill is $50,431,432.33, which is $18,911,174.40 less than the 1932 appropriation and $6,273,920 less than the estimates of the Bureau of the Budget.

In addition to the amount carried in this regular annual appropriation bill the estimated permanent and indefinite appropriations authorized by law amount to $13,921,800, making a total available for the next fiscal year 1933 of $70,627,152.33.

The bill does not increase any Budget estimate above the amount requested by the President and does not include any item not contained in the Budget estimates.

In this connection, permit me to say that in the preparation of this bill the members of the committee earnestly cooperated with the members of the full committee in reducing appropriations to a minimum. No new items are included. Some which were thought to be meritorious were brought to the attention of the committee. However, when the Ways and Means Committee is searching for every new method of taxation to raise an additional billion dollars and when it is estimated that the revenues for this coming year will fall $2,000,000,000 below our estimated expenditures, the members of our committee felt that the new items proposed were not so urgent that they might not be postponed for another year. Everyone knows that we are scraping the bottom of the flour barrel. Conditions are unusual. For this reason the committee adopted temporarily the policy not to consider any new items and not to increase any item above the recommendation of the Bureau of the Budget.

It was not the intention of the committee to cripple any bureau in the public service. We did, however, feel justified in reducing many items for the coming fiscal year where, upon careful consideration, we felt that the amounts recommended could be reduced. This does not indicate any unfriendly feeling on behalf of any member of the committee toward any bureau.

During the recess of Congress some of the members of the committee were able to visit many of the activities for which appropriations were carried in this bill, made an earnest study of them, and we believe, with the distressed condition of the Treasury, that the strictest economy should be observed by every bureau throughout the entire Government.

The best way to economize is not to appropriate. The best way to reduce taxes is to reduce expenditures. The best time to commence is now. A good example was set in the agricultural appropriation bill, and we should follow it in the consideration of this bill.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield before he proceeds with that?

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. The gentleman was speaking of not conceding our right to go beyond the Budget recommendations.

Of course, every Member, I think, would agree with the gentleman on general principles, but does not the gentleman think that also on general principles when the disbursing department—that is, the executive department—makes a recommendation we ought to study it very carefully before we go farther and hand over to the disbursing officials a larger fund than they have asked for?

Mr. HASTINGS. I would say to the gentleman that we have not increased a single item in this bill over the Budget estimate and we have not handed over to the Secretary of the Interior or to any bureau more than has been asked and submitted by the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. TILSON. I wish to be understood as approving the course of the gentleman's committee, especially under present circumstances, without, of course, yielding our power and our right to go beyond the Budget recommendation if we see fit.

Mr. HASTINGS. I thank the gentleman for his contribution and I had just stated that, of course, we did not adopt this as a permanent policy, but during these abnormal times we felt it was our duty to cooperate with the administration and to economize in every possible way.

Mr. TILSON. Does not the gentleman on general principles think that this should be so always, and that always there should be some real reason shown before the appropriating department of the Government goes beyond the estimate of the officials of the disbursing department and hands them more money to spend than they say they can use?

Mr. HASTINGS. I think they ought to be made to make out a very clear case.

Mr. TILSON. I think so myself.

Mr. HASTINGS. The bill carries appropriations for the office of the Secretary of the Interior, the General Land Office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Geological Survey, the National Park Service, the office of education for the Territories of Hawaii, Alaska, and the Virgin Islands, for St. Elizabeths Hospital, Columbia Institute for the Deaf, Howard University, and the Freedmen's Hospital.

The report goes into each item in detail, showing the amount recommended for 1933, the estimates of the Bureau of the Budget, the amount appropriated for 1932, the increase or decrease compared with the 1932 appropriation, and the increase or decrease compared with the 1933 Budget estimates.

For the office of the Secretary of the Interior the amount recommended in this bill for 1933 is $378,580, which, as the report shows, is an apparent increase of $5,580 over the Budget estimates, but this is due to a transfer of four positions and the amount is deducted from the item making appropriations for the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The total amount for the office of the Secretary of the Interior, recommended in this bill, is $775,880, which is $3,720 less than the appropriation for 1932.

The appropriation for the General Land Office, recommended in this bill, is $1,958,300, which is a decrease below the Budget estimate of $235,000, and is $281,100 less than was appropriated for 1932.

The committee was of the opinion that there would not be during present depressed conditions a demand for surveying public lands, and reduced this item in the sum of $200,000. We do not believe this will interfere with the service, as the more valuable public lands throughout the West have already been entered.

The report also shows a deduction of $10,000 in the item for contingent expenses, and $25,000 in the item for protecting timber on public lands, reducing this amount to $450,000, which was the amount appropriated for 1931.

The appropriation for the Bureau of Indian Affairs is more difficult of analysis. This bureau is supported by a gratuity appropriation from the Federal Treasury, with reimbursable appropriations, treaty appropriations, and expenditures from tribal funds.

The total amount recommended in this bill from gratuity appropriations aggregates $18,563,375.33. The total reimbursable appropriations for the Indian Service aggregate $2,097,624. The amount of the appropriations carried in the bill because of treaty items aggregates $1,097,340, making a total recommendation for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, exclusive of tribal funds, of $21,758,339.33. The amount authorized to be expended by the Bureau of Indian Affairs from tribal funds is $2,476,780.

There are about 193 Indian tribes in the United States, for the most part west of the Mississippi River. Appropriations are carried in the bill for the six nations in New York, the Cherokee school in North Carolina, the Seminoles in Florida, and the Choctaws in Mississippi. All the other Indians are in the Western States. The Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates the number at about 340,000, and one-third of these belong to 33 tribes residing in Oklahoma.

The difficulty in enumerating the number of Indians in the United States arises from the fact that a large number of them are of small degree of Indian blood, all of whom have been made citizens of the United States, and a large number have been emancipated from supervision or control by the Government and they are therefore not enumerated as Indians.

We are frequently asked why during the past few years increased appropriations have been necessary for the support, civilization, and advancement of Indians. It is because of the fact that during the early part of our Government the Indians were located on reservations and were dealt with collectively as tribes. Our policy toward the Indians has been greatly changed during the past half century. On March 3, 1871, the Government discontinued making treaties with the Indian tribes. Thereafter, for about 25 years, agreements were substituted for treaties. Since then Congress has legislated direct for the benefit of the Indians. The courts have uniformly held that there is no difference in legal effect between treaties, agreements, and acts of Congress. All can be amended, modified, or repealed at the pleasure of Congress because the Government of the United States occupies the relationship of guardian toward the Indians of the country. During the past few years it has been the policy of the Government to induce individual Indians of the several tribes to take land in allotment and to issue patents to them for their lands.

All Indians of the United States by an act of Congress passed in 1924 were made citizens without in anywise interfering with or restricting the power of Congress to legislate for them and for their benefit.

Therefore during the past few years we have been making larger appropriations for industrial assistance, education, and health in an effort to prepare the Indians of the Nation to assume their full responsibility of citizenship and to be able to cope with their white neighbors in the various States and communities in which they live. Instead of dealing with the Indians as tribes we are dealing with them as individuals.

The gratuity appropriations recommended in this bill aggregate $18,563,375.33, which is a decrease under the Budget estimates of $332,500.

Permit me to say, generally speaking, that the most of this reduction arises out of the fact that only the most urgent construction items were recommended for appropriation because of the condition of the Treasury. No new items were recommended. The committee felt some meritorious items should be postponed for consideration when economic conditions throughout the country were improved.

There are some reductions under the item for industrial assistance, because the committee believes that during the coming year the amount appropriated for the sale of timber can be reduced.

There is a small reduction in the water-supply item. Inasmuch as appropriations have been regularly made from year to year for this purpose, it is believed that the amount recommended in the bill for water supply for the coming year is adequate.

For agency buildings the bill recommends $275,000, the amount of the Budget estimate. The total general items for

the Indian Service aggregate $1,825,900, which is $65,100 under the Budget estimates.

The committee went over the items for industrial assistance and made some small reductions of $76,000 under the Budget estimates, $25,000 being from the item for the development of agriculture and stock raising, $20,000 from the supervision of mining operations, $10,000 for the sale of timber, and some other small items explained in the report. Under the head of irrigation and drainage for the Indian Service, which for the most part are either reimbursable or from tribal funds, reductions of $15,000 from the Wapato project, $12,000 from miscellaneous projects, and of $5,000 from the estimates for the Crowe Reservation were made.

The appropriation for education for the Indian Service is payable from gratuity appropriations and from tribal funds. The total amount for Indian education, exclusive of tribal funds, carried in this bill is $10,578,000. The amount authorized to be expended from tribal funds aggregates $803,000. This money is expended upon reservation and nonreservation boarding schools, where an industrial education is given the pupils in attendance. The reports show an increased attendance during the past year, and the capacity of many of the boarding schools has been exceeded. The per capita cost of the various boarding schools, because of the reduction in cost of supplies, was reduced $10. The appropriation for the various boarding schools carried in this bill is upon the following basis:

Schools having an average attendance of 200 and less, $335; from 250 to 500 pupils, $305; and more than 500 pupils, $290. There are a large number of these boarding schools, for the most part in the Western States. Some of them were visited by the subcommittee during the recess last summer, and we had an opportunity to inspect them. They are doing a fine work and are to be commended.

In addition to boarding schools, a large number of separate Indian day schools are maintained, and Indian children very largely attend the public schools, where an amount per capita is paid to assist in their support. The number of Indian pupils in public schools is reported as 43,562. The year before the number reported was 34,775.

The total amount for the support of Indian schools not specifically provided for, including tuition for Indian pupils attending public schools, from Federal funds is $3,521,500. In addition, $803,000 is authorized to be expended from tribal funds.

In addition, $4,825,000 is appropriated for boarding schools.

Four hundred thousand dollars is carried in the bill in aid of common schools in the Five Civilized Tribes and the Quapaw Agency.

The Government, through education and industrial assistance, is making every effort to place the Indian in a position to meet the full responsibility of citizenship and to be competent to cope with his white neighbor.

For conservation of health there is carried in this bill $3,594,800, to be expended by the Indian Bureau, and in addition $125,000 is authorized to be expended from tribal funds. The amount carried is $97,000 less than the Budget estimates, which is accounted for by the fact that two hospitals, one for the Sioux and one at Albuquerque, will not be completed, and $45,000 each for maintenance is eliminated from the bill, and also $7,000 for construction of physician's quarters. The reduction in the bill under the amount carried in the appropriation for the current year is accounted for by the fact that no new construction for hospitals is provided in the bill.

For general support and administration the amount carried in the bill aggregates $2,167,300, and in addition there is authorized to be expended from various tribal funds $1,045,480. The expenditures from the tribal funds of the Osage Agency were reduced from $259,000 to $175,000. The Osage Tribe occupies one county in Oklahoma, and the committee believed that $175,000 was sufficient to administer the affairs of this tribe, and further reduced the Budget estimates $35,000.

The several items in payment of annuities and per capita payments are as required by treaty.

There is recommended for appropriation in this bill for the Bureau of Reclamation the sum of $11,089,360.

The amounts reduced in the various provisions of the bill are fully explained in the committee report.

For the Geological Survey the total amount carried in the bill is $2,279,500, which is a reduction of $862,240 from the appropriation for 1932 and is $624,500 under the estimate of the Bureau of the Budget. A careful examination of the various items for the Geological Survey convinced the committee that the service would not be crippled by the reduction and that the work will go forward with the amounts carried in the bill.

The total amount carried in the bill for National Park Service is $8,140,620 and is a reduction of $1,136,400 under the Budget estimate; $1,000,000 is on account of the reduction from $6,000,000 to $5,000,000 for roads and trails. There are 22 national parks in the United States, including Mount McKinley in Alaska. Separate appropriations are made for each. Amounts are appropriated for their further improvement each year in the hope of inducing the people of the United States to visit these parks and see America first. Most of the items, except the reduction of the $1,000,000 for roads and trails, estimated by the Bureau of the Budget for park service have been allowed. The members of the committee visited most of these national parks during the past summer and we desire to commend their excellent management to the people of the entire country. Every courtesy is extended visitors. With the building of better roads across the country increased attendance is expected in all of the these parks. Recently an elevator was installed at Carlsbad Cavern National Park in New Mexico. This additional facility for entering and leaving the cavern should be the means of attracting a much larger number of visitors.

The Office of Education is appropriated for in this bill, and the amount recommended is $425,000, $59,600 less than the estimates of the Bureau of the Budget; $50,000 of this is for the item of investigating the school finances, $5,600 for salaries recommended but not accepted by the committee, and $4,000 from general expenses.

For the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands there is a total recommended for appropriation of $1,262,300. The amounts recommended for each item for the three Territories is the same as recommended by the Bureau of the Budget. However, some unexpended balances amounting to $209,618.40, which were submitted for reappropriation, are not carried in the bill.

Alaska is about one-fifth the size of the United States. It is twice as large as the State of Texas. We acquired it by purchase from Russia in 1867 when William H. Seward was Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Andrew Johnson. Within the last few years large appropriations have been made for the development of that far-away land. Our expenditures, in round numbers, for the past year or so for Alaska have aggregated $12,100,000. Our receipts have been comparatively small. We have invested $60,000,000 upon a railroad from Seward to Fairbanks, a distance of 470 miles. This railroad is operated at a great loss. There is no hope for it to become self-sustaining. During the period of depression, and certainly not until conditions improve in our own country, we did not feel justified in making any larger appropriations than those recommended in the bill.

For St. Elizabeths Hospital there is now carried in the bill $1,245,653. There is no new construction at this hospital.

For Columbia Institute for the Deaf the sum $128,000 is carried in the bill. This is the same as estimated by the Bureau of the Budget, and $3,000 in excess of the appropriation for 1932.

For Howard University the bill carries $1,075,000. This institute, located here in Washington city, is for the higher education of the members of the colored race. The bill appropriates $450,000 for salaries, $225,000 for general expenses, $300,000 for heat, light, and power system, and

$100,000 for completion of a library for Howard University. The committee was of the opinion that $500,000 was sufficient to erect an adequate library and that $300,000 was sufficient to install a heat, light, and power system.

In addition to the amount carried in the bill as an annual appropriation, there is authorized by permanent law additional appropriations known as permanent and indefinite appropriations to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, aggregating $13,921,800.

The total amount of all permanent and indefinite appropriations for which no annual appropriations are required for the current year is $1,181,407,064, and those estimated for the coming fiscal year are $1,285,907,728. The expenditures on behalf of the Government, therefore, consist of the appropriations carried in the several bills enacted by Congress into law, including direct appropriations and reappropriations of unexpended balances and the permanent and indefinite appropriations. These figures are too frequently not understood and they are sometimes juggled in an effort not to have the public understand the total expenditures for any fiscal year.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SWING].

Mr. SWING. Mr. Chairman, the conditions which confront the country to-day, causing misery and suffering to millions, threats of bankruptcy to many of our citizens, the loss of homes and property and life's savings warrants the most serious consideration we can give to the problem of finding some remedy.

It has been said we are engaged in a war against depression. If so I would complete the figure of speech by observing that an army of unemployed is awaiting its opportunity to go into action. What can we do to relieve the situation? What can we do to put some of these people back to work? Obviously there were many contributing causes to bring about this condition. But one of the outstanding immediate factors that is contributing largely to keeping us in this condition is the fact that money is not circulating normally to-day. It is estimated that of $5,000,000,000, money and currency, which normally is in circulation, $1,000,000,000 is now in hiding, withdrawn from circulation. Obviously, if we should withdraw one-fifth of the blood from the human body, we would observe at once that the body was sick. When money does not circulate normally business becomes sick, and that is the situation to-day.

We have heard during the debate on the appropriation bill which just passed the House, and we will hear again on the present appropriation bill, the cry of economy; cut appropriations to the bone. I am glad that Secretary Wilbur, in referring to this bill which we are now considering, pointed out that there are different kinds of economy; that there is constructive economy and that there is destructive economy, and it does not follow that the cure for the depression is to shut down on every possible expenditure of the Government. If we set that example and it were followed by the States, cities, and counties, and by private industry, and if we were successful in carrying it to its logical conclusion, the stopping of all possible expenditures, we would bring what little movement of business there remains to a complete standstill.

We have now been two years in a vicious circle. Protracted unemployment has resulted in a great restriction of the purchasing power of the public. The inability of a large part of the public to purchase has reacted, under the law of supply and demand, unfavorably upon production, which, shutting down to meet the restricted demand, has produced additional unemployment, which in turn has further contracted the purchasing power of the public, and so on around the vicious circle, and in each time around a further contraction of that circle. If there is a way by which we can reverse the movement from a vicious, contracting circle into a beneficial, expanding circle, we shall be getting out of the hole of depression instead of digging ourselves deeper in. If we increase employment, we shall to that extent add to the purchasing power of the public, thereby further stimulating production, thereby calling for additional employment in the manufacturing plants, thereby adding that much to the purchasing power of the public, and we shall have a beneficial circle in operation, expanding under each successive impulse.

What can be done about these depressions? There is that school of thought which says that nothing can be done; that they are like misfortunes which have befallen the human race from time to time; we must simply endure them. There was a time when our savage forefathers thought that disease was an evidence of the displeasure of the gods, and that nothing could be done about it, but the development of the science of medicine has shown that it is possible to do something about it; and, to-day backed with the forces of organized society, when an epidemic breaks out, society and the science of medicine attack it and put an end to it as soon as possible. There was a time, too, when drought and its correspondent—floods—were considered something over which man had no control; but the development of engineering has taught us that it is possible to go into the mountains in times of plenty and store the flood waters and save it for the needs of the human race in times of drought.

So, it seems to me, it is entirely possible for us to devise some plan whereby we can either prevent these depressions recurring or limit the duration or intensity of them when they do occur. I am very glad to know that the Senate committee which has been considering this matter under the chairmanship of Senator HEBERT, has about arrived at the conclusion that it may be possible to devise legislation which will authorize industry, particularly corporations engaged in interstate commerce, to set aside annually a small part of its funds, to accumulate under Federal supervision, so that when these emergencies do happen funds will be available for carrying on work that would not otherwise be done, thereby stabilizing employment.

The Federal Government should in prosperous years build up such a fund. The States and cities should do the same thing. The result would be that at least the force of the depression would be lessened.

To-day, however, we are in the midst of a depression. It is too late now to start to accumulate emergency funds for the relief of this depression. What we must do is to make funds for public work available at once if possible.

I am glad the President of the United States has taken a bold and forward-looking position upon this matter. I quote from his statement to the United States Chamber of Commerce in May, 1930, in which he said:

> Many have looked upon all this rise and fall as a condition which must run its course and for which nothing could be done. I do not accept the fatalistic view.

In addressing the American Bankers' Association October 2, 1930, President Hoover declared that—

> During a period of depression the soundest and most available method of relief to unemployment is the expansion of public works and construction in the utilities.

When the depression first came upon us the President did not take the view that it was no concern of the Federal Government. He immediately sent out an appeal to the governors of 48 States and asked them to contact their legal subdivisions, the States and counties, and to cooperate with the Federal Government in the expanding of a public-building program.

After that had been in operation for a period of seven months the President addressed the governors' conference at Salt Lake City and said the efforts to alleviate unemployment through the expansion of public works has been working successfully:

> We have—

Said the President—

> need for continued serious effort. Every dollar of work we provide now adds to the security of the home in this time of stress. Renewed resolutions for even further effort in every State and every community and in the Federal Government will add faith in early recovery.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. SWING. In addressing the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor on October 7, 1930, the President referred to this effort on the part of the Federal Government in cooperation with the States as proving the success of this plan. He said:

> The fine cooperation in providing organized emergency employment through Federal, State, and municipal public works and utility construction has been an important contribution in taking up the slack of unemployment. The measure of success is easily demonstrated.

To the United States Chamber of Commerce the President declared:

> The acceleration of construction programs has been successful beyond our hopes.

These wise statements by our President have my hearty indorsement, and I take my stand beside him upon the position which he therein assumes. I can conceive of no antidote for unemployment except employment, and yet the so-called Gifford committee, which has been at work for some time undertaking to find some solution of this unemployment problem, finally, through a subcommittee, of which Mr. Garfield was chairman, has presented a report completely at variance with the views of the President which I have just read. This so-called Garfield report, published December 21, 1931, says:

> Unemployment should, as far as possible, be met by private resources, marshaled locally.

As I understand that, it means that nothing can be done except by way of charity. The report goes on to say:

> There are times when private enterprise fails.

That means, I take it, fails to put up the necessary money to take care of the unemployed.

> In such periods—

Says the report—

> society must attempt to meet the needs of those who are unable to help themselves and their children. The primary obligation is upon the local political subdivisions.

Local political subdivisions, I take it, means cities and counties. The report then adds:

> If these localities are unable to carry their burden, then the States must do their share.

The report concludes—

> The hardships, in reality, are the readjustments being made in an endeavor to meet the new and changed conditions.

In other words, according to the report, nothing can be done about the depression except to allow nature to take its course. That is just the opposite to the answer the President gave in his United States Chamber of Commerce speech to those who said "Nothing could be done to speed recovery or to relieve the hardship which wreaks itself especially upon workers, farmers, and small-business people." The President vigorously rejected this "fatalistic view."

President Hoover also told the governors at their Salt Lake meeting:

> We have hitherto regarded great business depressions with their inevitable train of unemployment and hardships as an inevitable fever which must run its course. This time the Nation has realized that as a sound economic policy prudent expedition of construction could be to an important degree used as a balance wheel to maintain security of employment, to maintain consumption of goods, to thus contribute to economic stability and, above all, to relieve hardship.

That seems to me to completely answer the Gifford report.

The Gifford proposal starts at the wrong end. It suggests the treating of results instead of treating causes. It waits until a man has lost his job; it waits until a man has lost his home; it waits until a man's family has been sent to the poorhouse; it waits until a revenue-producing citizen has been turned into a beggar; and it intends, so far as I understand the report, to extend him charity only. Having once permitted a revenue-producing citizen to be broken and turned into a beggar, it is a mighty serious problem if he can ever be turned back into a revenue-producing citizen again.

Also the Gifford report is wrong in discussing it as a local problem. Unemployment is nation-wide, and it must be treated nationally. If any community undertakes to solve it locally and alone, it invites disaster, because there will be an influx of the unemployed from the less favored localities. In my own State of California there is this winter an estimated influx of 1,000 a day of unemployed from other States. We are having a hard enough time taking care of our own unemployed without also taking care of the unemployed coming from other places.

The credit relief measures which the President has proposed and which the House has accepted and put into effect are good, only they do not go far enough.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. SWING. The proposals which we have already enacted and those which will be enacted as part of the President's program, seem to me to guarantee at the most to stabilize conditions where they are now; that is, we have set up a fire department with funds to run here and there, to put down conflagrations wherever they may break out in our financial and industrial structure and thereby prevent further bankruptcies and further failures, but this does not, to my mind, give promise of any present revival of business or any forward movement at this time.

I therefore think we should go further and, besides taking care of big business and the banking and industrial corporations, supplement the President's program with a largely expanded public building program for the benefit of the millions of unemployed and for the relief of the little fellow in the business world.

In this proposal there is not involved any dispute over the proposal that we shall have economy. I would not see one dollar of Federal money spent needlessly, wastefully, or extravagantly. We are all in favor of economy, but the thing I ask and the thing that I think ought to be done, is that wherever the Federal Government has a building program which it is going to do in the next four or five years, it ought to do it now when it will produce double benefits, get the work done that must be done, at the cheapest possible rate, and also give relief to those out of work and stimulate business on the road to prosperity.

The thing that I fear is that the Garfield report to the Gifford committee, because of the big names attached to it, may unduly influence the President and cause him to surrender his own convictions in the matter through deference to the adverse views of others. I can not help but feel that big business and the big fortunes of the country are unfriendly to a large public-works construction program, primarily because they fear that it will result in their having to pay increased taxes. If that is true, then it is time for men of means in this country to reappraise the present crisis and recognize the certain fact that it would be cheap insurance for them to make whatever contribution is necessary through increased taxes in order to end the present depression and relieve the present widespread unemployment, and thereby do away with a serious menace to our existing political and economic institutions.

I trust that the President will have the courage to resist this committee of big names and adhere to his own views, which have the support of the leading economists of the country, without which program there is small chance of our getting out of the present depression for a long time.

If the President is right in the statements I have quoted, then there can be no logical objection to the bonds that will be necessary to carry out such a program. All over the United States it has been the established precedent for years to use bond issues for permanent improvements, and that is what we are proposing here in the expansion of the public-works program of the Federal Government to take care of the necessary and needed permanent improvements. Therefore there can be no sound objection to the issuance of bonds for this purpose.

In addition to this a bond issue would have this beneficial effect: It would call forth from hiding the money that

to-day is in the safe-deposit box, the money that is in the old sock, the money that is in postal-savings accounts, bring it out and put it in circulation, where it is so badly needed and where it will do some good.

The cost to the American people of the present two years of this depression has been conservatively estimated to be in excess of the cost of the World War, or over $50,000,000,000 in loss of wages and salaries, in loss in business, and in shrinkage of values of tangible property. I do not include in this estimate losses in stocks and bonds, but only so-called real, tangible property. This staggering loss is enough to compel us to take some drastic and immediate action.

I would favor any one of the number of proposals pending before the House and Senate, whether it is $2,000,000,000 or $3,000,000,000 or $5,000,000,000. The larger the amount, the better the effect upon the psychology of the country.

If Congress will declare to the people of the United States that we are going into this war against depression with every ounce of energy the United States has and that we are going to stay in this fight until we have business started again, the psychological effect can not be overestimated. In the World War, when we wanted to produce a psychological effect upon the enemies with whom we were at war we declared we were going to send overseas, without stint and without limit, men and money and munitions, until the war was won. The psychological effect upon the enemies with whom we were at war was immediate. The war was soon won.

If we could have a bold declaration made by Congress to this same effect, the psychology of the country would turn overnight, and it would not be necessary to spend all of this money, because its expenditure should be left in the control of the President to taper off the Government's activities as private business, under the stimulus of this increased employment, began to pick up of its own momentum.

To-day business reminds me of nothing so much as an automobile stalled in the sand. It has gasoline, it has spark, but it can not get going, and it will not get going until a pair of strong, friendly shoulders is put back of the car to give it a start. Once in motion, it will pick up and go down the road on its own power, gaining momentum as it goes. Business to-day reminds me of nothing so much as a man working at an old-fashioned pump but getting no water. Yet he knows the well is not dry, and he will get no water from the well until some person comes along and furnishes the initial bucket of water with which to prime the pump.

To-day the Government is the only agency which can get the money from the people and put it in circulation. The Government has work to do and ought to do it now. The Government could thus be the friendly pair of shoulders that can be put back of the stalled automobile and get it going. The Government can be the friendly agency that furnishes the bucket of water to prime the business pump and get profits flowing once more. I hope we have the courage and vision and determination to act. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GRANFIELD] such time as he desires.

Mr. GRANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, after listening to the remarks of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS] and his splendid summary of the Interior Department appropriation bill which is before us for consideration, I am forced to deviate a moment from the remarks which I intended to make, and take advantage of the opportunity to tell the Members of this House that he and the other members of the subcommittee on appropriations, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR], and on the other side of the House the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY], have rendered a splendid service to the country. During my association with these gentlemen while the hearings on this bill were being held I was impressed with the thorough, painstaking, and intelligent consideration which they gave to this legislation. Their knowledge of the needs of the various bureaus in the Department of the Interior transcended that possessed by the heads of the various bureaus who appeared before us. If the Members of this House will take the time to read the hearings, I am confident they will be satisfied that this bill is the result of their conscientious consideration. At times people are inclined to criticize Members of Congress who have taken trips in connection with their legislative duties. The Members of whom I have spoken during the past summer spent 60 days studying the conditions and the needs affecting the various bureaus of the Interior Department. They visited each of the national parks, the various reclamation projects, the Indian reservations, and they made a trip through Alaska. In each instance they made a thorough and minute study of each project. They acquired some very valuable information, and I was impressed during the hearings on this bill that not only was their time well spent but they were equipped with an intelligent understanding of the needs of the department. The subcommittee, by reason of the acquired information and knowledge, were able to reduce the Budget estimates of this appropriation over $6,000,000. These economies were made scientifically and in a manner that will not affect, even in a small degree, the proper functioning of the department. They are to be congratulated by this House. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, when I arose I intended to speak on the stamp tax on checks and drafts, which at the present time is being considered by the Committee on Ways and Means.

Throughout the past three or four weeks a great many protests against this legislation have been sent to me by constituents in my district and by citizens throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I wish at this time to record a vigorous protest against this revenue recommendation proposed by Mr. Mills, of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury. The Ways and Means Committee has nearly concluded its hearings and will soon give consideration to the drafting of a bill which will provide the manner in which the additional revenue will be raised to meet the obligations of our country. I realize the seriousness and the importance of this question, and I do not wish to say anything which would tend to embarrass the committee in its consideration of the bill. I do insist, however, that a stamp tax or any tax on checks is unwise at this time. It is a method that should not be employed to raise the revenue which is needed. Business is in a very bad financial state, and the imposition of this tax will aggravate conditions and will bring many harmful effects on the paper industry. From my study of this question I am confident that it will produce a reduction of the working forces and add to the increasing army of unemployed. The lithographing industry, like every industry in our country, is at present in a precarious situation, and the imposition of this tax will add to its already heavy burdens and is likely to prostrate this industry. This is no time to interfere with the orderly processes of business in the country. Every Member in this House knows that it is our duty as Members of the Congress to pass legislation which will relieve them, as far as possible, of the financial strain from which they are now forced to undergo by reason of the condition of the times. The imposition of the stamp tax on checks would result in a further hoarding of money, and we all know that this practice has interfered greatly with the economic and business life of this Nation. The importance of the use of checks in the conduct of business can not be underestimated. It is the most usual means used to pay all current debts and obligations. The imposition of this tax would influence many people to use money as a medium of exchange—a method of doing business unsound, unwise, and impracticable. Individuals and business concerns would limit their activities in the issuance of checks in order to save the expense incurred if this tax proposal becomes a law.

The Associated Industries of Massachusetts submitted to the members of the House Ways and Means Committee for their consideration and urged the committee to carefully weigh the arguments in opposition to any tax on checks, and which I believe are sound arguments and worthy of the con-

sideration of every Member of the House. They point out the advantages of the use of checks, as follows:

(1) Its advantage to employees where pay rolls must of necessity be cared for at night in concerns engaged in continuous operations, such as paper mills, etc.

(2) Its advantage in encouraging thrift on the part of the employees so paid.

(3) Its certainty in amount, a factor which does not always prevail where payment is made to an employee in currency and coin because of the danger of error in inserting cash into a pay envelope.

(4) Its advantage in reducing the danger of the loss of a pay envelope containing cash, in which instances the employee has no recourse other than to accept a total loss.

(5) Its advantage over the payment in cash system, which comprehends the possibility of the issuance to the employee of a new check for the full amount in all cases where a draft is lost or mislaid prior to indorsement of it by the payee.

(6) Its advantage in increasing the number of depositors in the finanical institutions resorted to by the employees paid by check.

(7) Its advantage in reducing the temptation of fellow employees to commit larceny of the pay envelopes of other workers where cash is used in lieu of checks. Currency unless provided with a distinguishing mark can not easily be traced to the person unlawfully appropriating it, while checks drawn to a specific person can not be cashed save by forgery of the payee's name, or if previously indorsed by him before they are lost can not be cashed unless again indorsed by the finder who attempts to convert the amount they represent into cash, thus making certain his apprehension later.

(8) Its advantage in lessening at all times hold-ups of recently paid employees and robbery from the person.

To the employer some of the major advantages of an exemption such as is suggested may be emphasized as follows:

(1) Material lessening of the dangers of hold-ups of pay rolls in cash which so frequently occur in transmitting large sums of money from banks to offices.

(2) The economic saving of premiums paid on pay-roll insurance policies which ordinarily are carried by all concerns using cash in preparing their weekly pay rolls.

(3) The economic saving effected as the result of not being obliged to sort and count large quantities of currency and coin weekly and the insertion of the same into pay envelopes, with all the attendant risks of human errors.

(4) Its advantage in lessening disputes on the part of employees as to the amount of cash placed in his pay envelope.

(5) Its advantage in giving the employer a receipt in the form of an indorsed check for a specific amount paid each employee.

(6) Its advantage to the United States Treasury Department in accurately and speedily checking the expenditures of an employer for pay rolls.

Our Government has already had an experience with the stamp tax on checks. During the War with Spain in 1898 the Committee on Ways and Means of the Congress at that time reported a measure which provided additional revenue of $100,000,000 for war purposes. The stamp tax on checks was resorted to as one of the means of raising this money. The experience of the Treasury Department in connection with this tax was very unsatisfactory, and the records indicate that it cost our Government more to collect the tax than it received in revenue. At that time it was found impracticable for every person to purchase a 2-cent stamp and place it upon each check that they issued. Faced with this situation, the Government attempted to name 12 or 13 lithographing companies in various sections of the country as the only places where the stamp could be imprinted upon the face of the check. By this action the Government gave to those designated firms a monopoly of the business and discriminated against competing firms in the same industry. The imposition of this tax at that time placed our Government in a position where it was forced, in order to secure payment of this tax, to arbitrarily appoint certain firms in different sections of our country to have the exclusive power to print the stamp on the checks.

Our Government should profit by this experience. It is safe to say that if the stamp tax on checks recommended by the Treasury Department is adopted, it will work a hardship on the banking and commercial relations of our citizens, and it will be most difficult to enforce the collection of the tax. I do not hesitate to state that the returns to the Government from such a tax will be very small.

Because of the general conditions of our country this tax is unnecessary, impractical, and unwise. I trust the members of the Committee on Ways and Means, in their wisdom and good judgment, will report adversely on the recommendation of the Treasury Department. The imposition of this tax on checks would result in more harm than good, and for that reason, and the reasons that I have already stated, the recommendation of the Treasury Department should not be accepted.

Although I have received a great many protests against the passage of the Treasury recommendation, I believe the letter which I received from S. L. Willson, president of the American Writing Paper Co., of Holyoke, Mass., adequately and intelligently presents the position taken by the concerns which are opposed to this legislation, and I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD to include therein the letter which I have received from Mr. Willson.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The letter is as follows:

AMERICAN WRITING PAPER CO. (INC.),
Holyoke, Mass., January 5, 1932.

Hon. WILLIAM J. GRANFIELD,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GRANFIELD: We respectfully submit our reasons for believing that the stamp tax on checks and drafts proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury would be unwise, impractical, and dangerous.

1. It would force a return to the antiquated, inefficient, expensive method of cash payment of obligations.

2. In view of the widespread adoption of the National Crime Commission's recommended pay-by-check plan a return to the cash payment of wages would mean:

(a) Increase in pay-roll holdups, with resultant loss of human life and of money.

(b) Increased expense in the handling of pay rolls by the many large firms affected. Railroads, especially, would be put to a tremendous expense by a return to the cash payment plan, while to continue to pay by check under the proposed tax would cost the large roads from $100,000 to $200,000 per year.

3. It would be a tax on a necessity, not a luxury.

In industry, checks have become a tool for dispensing money safely and economically. Ninety-five per cent of the business of this country is transacted by means of checks. Checks are as necessary to the conduct of business to-day as are letterheads, invoices, order blanks, and other forms of business stationery, which rightfully are not taxed.

4. A tax of 2 cents per check would mean a burden of approximately 1,000 per cent on the purchase price of checks, as compared with the proposed 5 per cent on radios, 5 per cent on automobiles, etc.

5. It would mean an increase in unemployment by lessening the volume of business in printing and lithographing plants and in such allied industries as paper, ink, cloth, wire, and glue manufacturing, and by decreasing transportation volume.

6. It might conceivably result in the failure of numbers of lithographing firms whose main activity is the manufacture of bank checks, it being generally conceded that the volume of this class of business has decreased at least 30 per cent and would be further adversely affected by the proposed tax.

7. It would tend to increase the hoarding of money by individuals, thus accelerating the present crime wave and also making necessary a vast increase in the manufacture of currency to meet the need for money circulation.

8. It would be in every sense of the word a "nuisance" tax

(a) To banks, because of the care that would have to be exercised to see that each check cleared was stamped.

(b) To the business public because of the added operation incident to affixing of the stamps to the checks.

9. It would cause the immediate withdrawal of large sums from banks, due to the alarm over the prohibitive expense of using checks. A stamp tax on checks, plus the increasingly prevalent service charges imposed by banks would tend to still further augment the inclination of the public to sever its relations with banks.

10. It would be another discouragement to business activity at a time when business needs every possible encouragement.

11. From the public's standpoint it would be an inefficient and clumsy way of adding to the Government's revenue.

12. By discouraging the use of checks the tax would partially defeat its own purpose and would fall far short of producing the anticipated revenue.

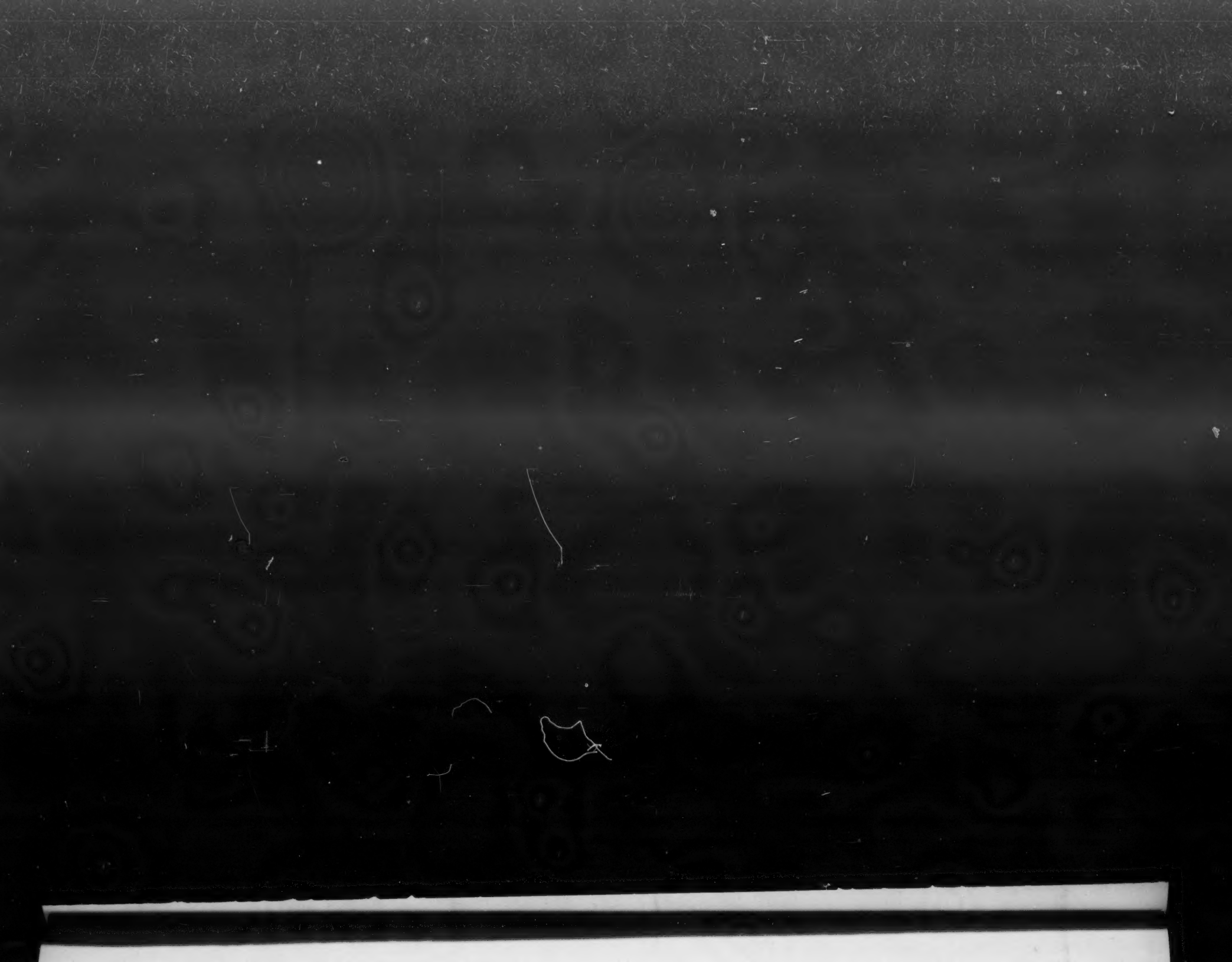
As an indication of the view the business public may be expected to take of a stamp tax on checks, we quote from the December 23 issue of The Business Week:

"The proposed tax on checks is coming in for criticism. It discourages bank deposits and encourages increased use of cash. It will put a stop to the use of checks for pay-roll purposes. More currency means more gold reserves. The British are about to get rid of their tax on checks, despite their great need for revenue."

In conclusion, we respectfully offer to furnish necessary proofs and data covering the statements we have made and otherwise to assist in any manner that will be helpful to you and your committee.

Respectfully submitted.

AMERICAN WRITING PAPER CO. (INC.),
S. L. WILLSON, *President.*



Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, if uninterrupted, I shall not use all of that time, but as one Member of the House I want to reply to the suggestion made to-day by our friend from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] that those in the House who are denominated as wets sit around the table with those who are denominated as drys and agree upon some measure to come before the Congress on that issue.

There is no room for any conference on that question in this Nation. The American people have spoken. Before the eighteenth amendment went into effect I want to remind the gentleman from New York and the country of the Senate investigation and what was then said about beer and those who manufacture it in the United States.

There was appointed a very distinguished committee of the United States Senate composed of Senator Lee Overman, Senator WILLIAM H. KING, Senator Walcott, Senator Knute Nelson, and Senator Sterling under a resolution passed by the Senate, under which they made a special investigation of the activities of the beer manufacturers.

On June 16, 1919, more than six months before the eighteenth amendment went into effect, that Senate committee, after exhaustive investigations, made its report to the Senate, and I want gentlemen to remember some of the things they certified to in their report. You will find their report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 16, 1919, on page 1133. This Senate committee said with regard to the conduct and activities of the brewing and liquor interests:

The committee is of opinion that the record clearly establishes the following fact:

(a) That they have furnished large sums of money for the purpose of secretly controlling newspapers and periodicals.

Is that true now as it was in 1919? Why, on the night of January 16, 1932, a couple of weeks ago, I heard Senator SHEPPARD at the Mayflower Hotel, at a big banquet attended by guests from all over the United States, deliver one of the most eloquent addresses I have heard in Washington, and not one single reference was made to Senator SHEPPARD's address in a single newspaper in Washington—not one. Senator SHEPPARD is a prominent man in this Nation. Why is it they could not make a reference to his splendid address that night? Remember what the Senate committee further found. It certified a fact:

(b) That they [the brewers] have undertaken to and have frequently succeeded in controlling primaries, elections, and political organizations.

Is that true to-day as it was in June, 1919? Look what we find in the Washington Post this morning. It stated that notice has been served on a distinguished representative of the people in the city of Washington as to what he should or should not do, and served by whom? By the infamous Vare machine of Pennsylvania, that if this high official did not change from a dry to a wet he would be put out of office, and the Post intimated that he was going to make the change.

The distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHAFER] has just entered the Chamber and seated himself right in front of me, and I would say to him that I am talking about the infamous brewers' influence over legislators in the Nation's Capital. I will say to my friend from Wisconsin, I wonder who financed that big airplane here in Washington the other day that had movie stars around it interspersed with a wet Congressman from Wisconsin and a wet Senator from Connecticut in the pictures?

Mr. SCHAFER. Perhaps the gentleman's friend and leader, Bishop Cannon, may have done it with some of his collections.

Mr. BLANTON. Bishop Cannon is not my leader. I have been fighting to free the United States of the infamous liquor traffic just about as long as has Bishop Cannon. The Washington Post said this morning:

He was told [by the Vare machine] that he either had to come out for repeal of the eighteenth amendment or else expect some man who is for repeal to challenge him in the April primary.

Does that carry out what the Senate committee found in June, 1919, that they are controlling not only the press of the country but legislators in their duty to the public? That is not all they found.

I want to read some more from this Senate report to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin, who has honored me by his presence. The Senate committee certified further:

(c) That the brewery interests have contributed enormous sums of money to political campaigns, in violation of the Federal statutes and the statutes of several of the States.

(d) That they have exacted pledges from candidates for public office prior to the election.

A man who would permit a pledge to be exacted from him by any selfish group regarding his duties in office before he gets the office is not fit for public office. There is not an organization in the world that can make me pledge to them one promise before my election. I come to the Nation's Capitol free and untrammeled, without any strings on me when I am elected in my district.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. In just a moment. I want to get these findings in their regular categorical order, findings that were made by the Senate committee which investigated the pernicious power and influence and activities of the brewing interests of the country. The Senate committee further certified:

(e) That for the purpose of influencing public opinion they [the brewers] have attempted and partly succeeded in subsidizing the public press.

Is not that a terrible indictment for the Senate of the United States to make? If I were a member of the honored press of the Nation, I would either state that that is not true, or I would come out from under that pernicious influence. This Senate committee certified further:

(f) That to suppress and coerce persons hostile to and to compel support for them, they [the brewers] have resorted to an extensive system of boycotting unfriendly American manufacturing and mercantile concerns.

(g) That they [the brewers] have created their own political organizations in many States and in smaller political units for the purpose of carrying into effect their own political will and have financed the same with large contributions and assessments.

(h) That with a view of using it for their own political purposes they [the brewers] have contributed large sums of money to the German-American Alliance, many of the membership of which were disloyal and unpatriotic.

All of the above were findings of your investigating committee of the United States Senate.

Mr. SCHAFER. When was that?

Mr. BLANTON. That Senate report was made on June 16, 1919.

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. When I get through reading all of their findings I shall, gladly.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. BLANTON. I read further from the report with reference to the brewers, the Senate found:

(i) That they organized clubs, leagues, and corporations of various kinds for the purpose of secretly carrying on their political activities without having their interest known to the public.

(j) That they improperly treated the funds expended for political purposes as a proper expenditure of their business and consequently failed to return the same for taxation under the revenue laws of the United States.

(k) That they undertook through a cunningly conceived plan of advertising and subsidation to control and dominate the foreign-language press of the United States.

(l) That they have subsidized authors of recognized standing in literary circles to write articles of their selection for many standard periodicals.

(m) That for many years a working agreement existed between the brewing and distilling interests of the country by the terms of which the brewing interests contributed two-thirds and the distilling interests one-third of the political expenditures made by the joint interests.

No wonder the Senate voted down the Bingham beer resolution by a vote of 55 to 15.

Do you think there is any room for any conference around a table at this time under these circumstances, if representatives of the people, who are under oath to uphold and defend the Constitution, make that kind of finding?

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I will, gladly, when I tell the gentleman this: There is just one way that the gentleman from Wisconsin and his wet beer bunch can change the Constitution, and that is to do it constitutionally just as the drys did.

They worked for 50 years to change it. They began at the bottom in the precincts. They changed a precinct here and there; they changed a town here and there; they changed a county here and there; they changed a State here and there; they changed an aggregation of States, and finally they put it in the Constitution. You have to begin at the top and go down. You have to change the Constitution first, and you have to do it by constitutional rules and regulations. You have to pass a repealing resolution by a two-thirds vote of both Houses, and then you have got to send it to the States and let three-fourths of the legislatures of the 48 States of this Nation ratify it and say it shall be changed. Then the gentleman can talk about beer, and that will be 150 years after the gentleman's grandchildren are dead and gone.

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Now I yield.

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman vote to submit such a resolution to the State conventions along the lines advocated by his dry leader, the Senator from his own State, the father of the eighteenth amendment?

Mr. BLANTON. No; I will not now, and I will tell the gentleman why. I represent nearly 400,000 people in a district that the gentleman would be lost in for a week if he were to try to go over it in an automobile. Not one of them has asked me to submit this matter to the people. Not one. My constituents are just about as intelligent as the people in the gentleman's district in Wisconsin. They are about 99.7 per cent white people. We have universities and colleges over my district. There is a university of the first class and two first-class colleges in my home town. Not one person has asked me to vote to submit it. They do not want any more submission. They want the law enforced.

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman stand by legislation enforcing the fourteenth amendment just as strongly as he stands by enforcement of the eighteenth amendment?

Mr. BLANTON. I will stand for enforcing all laws of my country.

Mr. SCHAFER. Then the gentleman will vote for it when it comes up in the House.

Mr. BLANTON. I am for the enforcement of all laws. When I took an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States I took it in dead earnest. The eighteenth amendment is a part of the Constitution. I am carrying out my oath by using the floor at this time to defend the Constitution.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'CONNOR, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 8397, the Interior Department appropriation bill, had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. BEAM, for one week, on account of important official business.

INVESTIGATION OF METHODS OF STABILIZING THE VALUE OF SILVER, ETC.

Mr. O'CONNOR, from the Committee on Rules, presented a privileged report on House Resolution 72, which was referred to the House Calendar.

The resolution is as follows:

House Resolution 72

Resolved, That the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures is authorized and directed, as a whole or by subcommittee, to investigate the cause and effect of the present depressed value of silver, the monetary policies of the United States and foreign countries and their relation to the value of silver, methods of stabilizing the value of silver, and the advisability of an international conference to consider methods by which by international cooperation the value of silver can be stabilized. Such committee shall report its findings to the House together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to employ such experts, and such clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to take such testimony, to have such printing and binding done, and to make such expenditures, as it deems necessary.

PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

Mr. O'CONNOR, from the Committee on Rules, presented the following privileged report for printing under the rules:

House Resolution 125

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 4583, a bill to provide for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.

That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour—to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Library—the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment the committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and the amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate recedes from its amendments numbered 15 and 23 to the bill (H. R. 6660) entitled "An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes."

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 218. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1207. An act granting an increase of pension to Helen K. Snowden; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 1234. An act to authorize an emergency appropriation for special study of and demonstration work in rural sanitation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 1569. An act for the relief of Della D. Ledendecker; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 1861. An act authorizing the George Washington Bicentennial Commission to print and distribute additional sets of the Writings of George Washington; to the Committee on the Library.

S. 2334. An act to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

S. 2569. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lewis O. Wick; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2894. An act prohibiting misrepresentation as to seating accommodations by theaters in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. J. Res. 58. Joint resolution to authorize the printing of 100,000 copies of the Annual Report of the Federal Farm Board for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931; to the Committee on Printing.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the

President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6596. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, January 29, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Friday, January 29, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

(9.30 a. m.)

Revision of patents.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Section 15a, H. R. 7116 and H. R. 7117 (recapture clause, interstate commerce act).

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Akron investigation.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

Commodity short selling.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE, RADIO, AND FISHERIES

(10 a. m.)

General inquiry into the American merchant marine, United States Shipping Board, and Merchant Fleet Corporation affairs.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

(10 a. m.)

Various relief bills (H. R. 3460, H. R. 491, H. R. 5429, H. R. 4860, H. R. 6223, H. R. 5933, H. R. 5212, H. R. 1808, H. R. 1409).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

410. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated January 25, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on Gooseberry River, Minn. (H. Doc. No. 238); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

411. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a bill to authorize the licensing of patents owned by the United States; to the Committee on Patents.

412. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated January 25, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Dickinson Bayou, Tex.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BYRNS: Committee on Appropriations. H. J. Res. 261. A joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks; without amendment (Rept. No. 294). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 258. A bill to amend sections 22 and 39, Title II, of the national prohibition act; without amendment (Rept. No. 295). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HARLAN: Committee on Revision of the Laws. H. R. 7121. A bill to repeal obsolete statutes, and to improve the United States Code; with amendment (Rept. No. 296). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'CONNOR: Committee on Rules. H. Res. 72. A resolution to investigate the cause and effect of the present depressed value of silver; without amendment (Rept. No. 297). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'CONNOR: Committee on Rules. H. Res. 125. A resolution providing for the consideration of H. R. 4583, a bill providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 298). Referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1921. A bill for the relief of Judd W. Hulbert; without amendment (Rept. No. 291). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2027. A bill for the relief of the legal representatives of Gallus Kerchner, deceased; without amendment (Rept. No. 292). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4408. A bill for the relief of the estate of William Bardel; without amendment (Rept. No. 293). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 4940) granting a pension to John A. Ridenour; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 7571) granting a pension to Lottie Hoxie; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 7570) granting a pension to Ida Wells; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8539) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by condemnation or otherwise, such land in the town of Orange, Orange County, Va., as may be necessary for the location of a post-office building in said town, and also to construct a suitable building thereon, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8540) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and determine claims of the To-to-tin Nation of Indians residing in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8541) restricting immigration from Mexico, South American and Central American nations; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8542) excluding Filipinos from immigration to the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SOMERS of New York: A bill (H. R. 8543) to authorize the erection of a recreational building at the United States naval hospital in Brooklyn, N. Y., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 8544) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8545) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BEEDY: A bill (H. R. 8546) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8547) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8548) authorizing the adjustment of the boundaries of the Siuslaw National Forest, in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. JEFFERS: A bill (H. R. 8549) to make it a crime to advocate or promote the overthrow or the destruction of the Government of the United States by force or violence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MARTIN of Oregon: A bill (H. R. 8550) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HORR: A bill (H. R. 8551) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PARTRIDGE: A bill (H. R. 8552) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8553) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SNOW: A bill (H. R. 8554) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NELSON of Maine: A bill (H. R. 8555) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HADLEY: A bill (H. R. 8556) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 8557) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8558) to authorize certain former officers of the Regular Army to appear before an Army retiring board; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FULMER: A bill (H. R. 8559) to provide for the use of net weights in interstate and foreign commerce transactions in cotton, to provide for the standardization of bale covering for cotton, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 8560) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain unused Indian cemetery reserves on the Wichita Indian Reservation in Oklahoma to provide funds for purchase of other suitable burial sites for the Wichita Indians and affiliated bands; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. McLEOD: A bill (H. R. 8561) to amend section 4 of the immigration act of 1924; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8562) to grant emergency relief to certain World War veterans by providing for immediate payment of the face value of adjusted-service certificates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. POLK: A bill (H. R. 8563) to amend the public building act, approved March 4, 1931, authorizing the acquisition of site and construction of post office at Portsmouth, Ohio, and other places; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MARTIN of Oregon: A bill (H. R. 8564) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HORR: A bill (H. R. 8565) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SNOW: A bill (H. R. 8566) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BEEDY: A bill (H. R. 8567) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8568) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PARTRIDGE: A bill (H. R. 8569) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8570) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 8571) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HADLEY: A bill (H. R. 8572) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8573) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 8574) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NELSON of Maine: A bill (H. R. 8575) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROMJUE: A bill (H. R. 8576) to regulate the manufacture and sale of stamped envelopes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ROGERS of New Hampshire: A bill (H. R. 8577) to amend section 95 of the Judicial Code, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANKIN: A bill (H. R. 8578) to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended, by providing allowances for widows and children and dependent parents of veterans of the World War; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. WELSH of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8579) to convert Veterans' Bureau Hospital No. 49, at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, to a diagnostic center and to authorize the appropriation therefor; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. HOGG of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8580) to declare illegal the use of puzzle contests, naming contests, prize offers, or any other form of competition for a prize, wherein such offers are made for the purpose of securing names and addresses of people to the end that these may then be induced to compete in another contest which involves either the purchase or sale of goods as a requisite of winning; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MANSFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8581) to authorize payment for printing and binding reports on examinations and surveys of rivers and harbors from the appropriation, maintenance, and improvement of existing river and harbor works; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: A bill (H. R. 8582) to amend section 2 of the act of June 21, 1930 (46 Stat. 793); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8583) to provide for a survey and estimate of cost of a suitable southern approach to the Arlington Memorial Bridge project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. MORTON D. HULL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 262) inviting the President to use his good offices to prevent a breach of the general pact for the renunciation of war; and, in the event of a war between any signatories of the pact, authorizing the President to determine and proclaim in the name of the United States, which, if any of the belligerents is guilty of a violation of that treaty, and to prohibit the export to such state or states of materials of war; and to authorize the President within his discretion to prohibit by proclamation the export from, or the import into, the United States of any article of merchandise whatsoever from such state or states, or any loan or extension of credit to such state or states or the nationals thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 263) for the relief of farmers in the drought and/or storm and grasshopper stricken areas of the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MEAD: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 264) proposing an amendment to the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 265) to make available certain appropriations for advances or loans to farmers in the drought and/or storm stricken areas of the United States for the purchase of feed for livestock and seed, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 266) authorizing the distribution of Government-owned wheat to the American National Red Cross and other organizations for relief of people in distress; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RUTHERFORD: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 267) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States fixing the commencement of the terms of President and Vice President and Representatives in Congress, and fixing the time of the assembling of Congress; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 268) to provide that paper bought for use by the United States or the District of Columbia shall be American made of American materials; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. STEVENSON: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 15) to provide for the printing and binding of the prayers offered by the Rev. James Shera Montgomery, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, during the opening of the daily sessions of the Seventieth and Seventy-first Congresses; to the Committee on Printing.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDRESEN: A bill (H. R. 8584) granting an increase of pension to Esther S. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BALLRIGE: A bill (H. R. 8585) granting a pension to John Edward Hamilton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRAND of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 8586) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Janes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BRITTEN: A bill (H. R. 8587) for the relief of John Edward Ward; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8588) for the relief of Carl Stador; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8589) granting an increase of pension to Frank Hartman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CARTER of California: A bill (H. R. 8590) for the retirement of Alfred Sorensen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8591) for the relief of Ethyl Grazer Smalley; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8592) granting a pension to Marion W. Cavenaugh; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8593) for the relief of Charles Pettis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8594) granting a pension to Angelo Tavaglione; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 8595) for the relief of Dent, Allcroft & Co., A. J. Baker Co. (Inc.), Horwitz & Arbib (Inc.), and Richard Evans & Sons Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DAVENPORT: A bill (H. R. 8596) for the relief of John A. Carney; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8597) for the relief of Angelo J. Gillotti; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FIESINGER: A bill (H. R. 8598) for the relief of Jennie Perin, widow of Christian B. Scott; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FISH: A bill (H. R. 8599) granting an increase of pension to Mary Morgan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8600) granting an increase of pension to Viola V. Buckley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GIFFORD: A bill (H. R. 8601) for the relief of Eldon F. Tripp; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GRANFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8602) granting a pension to Angele Dragon; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARE: A bill (H. R. 8603) to provide a preliminary examination of the Combahee, Big Salkehatchie, Coosawatchie, Edisto, and South Edisto Rivers, S. C., with a view to the control of floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. JEFFERS: A bill (H. R. 8604) granting an increase of pension to Bertha H. McArthur; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KEMP: A bill (H. R. 8605) to confer jurisdiction on the United States court to hear and determine the case of Stephen O. Fuqua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAMNECK: A bill (H. R. 8606) for the relief of Florence Overly; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8607) for the relief of Calvin M. Head; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LOZIER: A bill (H. R. 8608) granting a pension to Willie A. McDonald; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 8609) authorizing the Secretary of War to award a distinguished-service medal to Joseph A. Minturn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8610) granting a pension to Hattie E. Shobe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8611) for the relief of James D. Tandy; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 8612) to amend Private Act No. 548, Seventieth Congress, approved March 2, 1929; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8613) for the relief of A. L. Castleman; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8614) for the relief of the Federal National Bank, of Shawnee, Okla.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McLEOD: A bill (H. R. 8615) to provide for the appointment from civil life of Gerard Farmer to the grade of master sergeant, unassigned, United States Army, and immediate retirement from the service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8616) for the relief of Edward Ray Sloan; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8617) granting a pension to Ruth A. Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8618) granting a pension to Walter B. Stevens; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ROGERS: A bill (H. R. 8619) for the relief of Nellie Oliver; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8620) for the relief of Catherine L. Merrill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8621) granting an increase of pension to Annie Stevens Dyer; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH: A bill (H. R. 8622) to reinstate Lawrence L. Myatt and Miller S. Burgin as midshipmen in the United States Naval Academy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. YON: A bill (H. R. 8623) providing for an examination and survey of Carrabelle, Crooked, and Ocklockonee Rivers and Ocklockonee Bay, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

961. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petition of Robert Morton and 16 other citizens of Pawtucket and Valley Falls, R. I., urging support of legislation for maintenance and enforcement of prohibition law and in opposition to modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

962. By Mr. BACHARACH: Petition of sundry citizens of Millville, N. J., protesting against modification of prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

963. Also, petition of sundry citizens of Pleasantville and Somers Point, N. J., protesting against Senate bill 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

964. By Mr. BACON: Petition of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, favoring the erection of a memorial in Washington, D. C., to the World War National Guard of the United States; to the Committee on the Library.

965. Also, petition of the New York State Women's Committee for Law Enforcement, opposing a national referendum for repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

966. By Mr. BEAM: Resolution by Chicago Post Office Clerks Union, No. 1, relative to substitute clerks and the Kendall 44-hour week law; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

967. By Mr. BOYLAN: Petition of F. K. Rhines, of New York, advocating tax on capital gains; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

968. By Mr. CHINDBLOM: Resolution of the Evanston Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evanston, Ill., representing 508 people, opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

969. Also, resolution of the woman's organization of the North Shore Baptist Church, of Chicago, Ill., representing 380 people, opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

970. By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Sioux Falls, Avon, Hurley, and Mount Vernon, S. Dak., against resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

971. By Mr. CONDON (by request): Petition of C. T. Lakey and several other citizens of Rhode Island, protesting against the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

972. By Mr. CORNING: Resolution of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, favoring the erection of a memorial to the World War National Guard of the United States at Washington, D. C., or in any other place in the United States; to the Committee on the Library.

973. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of members of Fulton and Montgomery Counties, District Lodge of the International Order of Good Templars, State of New York, requesting support of the prohibition law and its enforcement and opposing resubmission to the States or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

974. By Mr. EATON of Colorado: Resolution by the Colorado State League of Building, Loan, and Savings Associations (Inc.), declaring it to be just and necessary that building and loan associations be exempted from the effect of section 5219 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

975. Also, resolution of the Colorado State League of Building, Loan, and Savings Associations (Inc.), representing 84,863 stockholders, supporting House bill 7620; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

976. Also, resolution of the Colorado State League of Building, Loan, and Savings Associations (Inc.), representing 84,863 stockholders, proposing an amendment in bankruptcy act covered in House bill 374; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

977. By Mr. ESTEP: Petition of the Allegheny County committee, Pennsylvania Society, Colonial Dames of America, urging passage of House bill 4509, to exempt Dumbarton House, Washington, D. C., from taxation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

978. Also, petition of citizens of Allegheny County, Pa., protesting against any repeal of the eighteenth amendment or modification of the Volstead Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

979. By Mr. HOPE: Petition of Etta Asher and 289 others of Haviland, Kans., favoring prohibition and its enforcement, and protesting against modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

980. By Mr. KVALE: Petition of Big Stone County Farmers Union of Minnesota, urging enactment of Senate bill 1197; to the Committee on Agriculture.

981. By Mr. LAMNECK: Petition of A. V. Soderstrom, Orville Rader, and C. C. Hanawalt, of Columbus, Ohio, petitioning Congress to enact such legislation at this time as is necessary to curb the activities of the growing monopolistic organizations commonly known as the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

982. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of Erie County committee, American Legion, Department of New York, relating to Federal appropriations for the National Guard; to the Committee on Appropriations.

983. By Mr. PARKER of Georgia: Petition of S. E. Bolton and 45 other citizens of Screven County, Ga., urging Congress to provide pensions for the relief of the old and infirm citizens of the United States who are unable to provide for themselves, and who, in many instances, are facing starvation; to the Committee on Pensions.

984. By Mr. POLK: Petition signed by Alonzo E. Cloud, Leesburg, Ohio, and others, opposing any measure looking toward modification or resubmission to the States or repealing of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

985. By Mr. RICH: Petition of citizens of Williamsport, Pa., protesting against the proposed tax on automobiles and automobile accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

986. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of Treasury Post, No. 45, the American Legion, New York City, opposing any salary reduction of Federal employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

987. Also, petition of Bartley Bros. & Hall (Inc.), New York City, favoring the passage of House bill 6219, for the relief of the Charles P. Shipley Saddlery & Mercantile Co.; to the Committee on War Claims.

988. Also, petition of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, favoring the erection of a memorial to the World War National Guard of the United States at Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

989. By Mr. SNELL: Petition of residents of Brushton and Constable, N. Y., relative to the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

990. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of T. R. York and many other citizens of Mars Hill, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

991. Also, petition of E. L. Dean and other citizens of Greenville, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

992. Also, petition of A. B. Waddell and other citizens of Mapleton, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

993. By Mr. SWING: Petition of Angeline G. Courtney and other residents of Orange, Calif., supporting the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

994. By Mr. WHITLEY: Petition of citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging reduction in the expenditures of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Appropriations.

995. By Mr. WOLFENDEN: Petition of West Chester Farmers' Club, West Chester, Pa., consisting of 22 families, opposing submission or change in prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

996. By Mr. WOLVERTON: Petition of 325 citizens of Salem, N. J., and vicinity, favoring maintenance and en-

forcement of prohibition law, and protesting against resubmission to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

997. By Mr. YATES: Petition of Clara J. Swanzey, Mary Swanzey, L. M. Swanzey, Ellen R. Swanzey, Ada M. A. Blakeway, Mrs. C. W. McCulloch, Charles M. McCulloch, and other citizens of Freeport, Ill., protesting against the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

998. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Capital City Chapter, Girard College Alumni, favoring enactment into law of House bill 199; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the pillars of Thy throne are truth and righteousness, yet Thou art as pitying as a father and as comforting as a mother. May we rest in the Lord and wait patiently for Him. In our busiest hours direct us and in our loneliness give us good cheer, and may gratitude be the language of our hearts and happiness the music of our souls. Do Thou ever be the guide and the guardian of our country and give depth and power to the fundamentals of our Government. In this hour, O God, lead the way. Give comfort to any heart sitting at the hearthstone and asking the reason of an empty chair and to any who may be murmuring in the shadows of grief. Through Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with an amendment, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

S. 355. An act providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.

PRAYERS OF THE CHAPLAIN OF THE HOUSE

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Resolution No. 105, passed on January 13, 1932, providing for the printing of the prayers of the Chaplain of this House, be rescinded. It was amended so as to put it in such shape that it could not be carried out. I have a resolution which will properly take care of the matter.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I think the resolution should be reported, and then the gentleman from South Carolina should make a statement in regard to it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman if his proper request should not be that all proceedings whereby that resolution was passed be vacated?

Mr. STEVENSON. It was passed by unanimous consent, and I am merely asking unanimous consent that it be rescinded.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the proceedings of the House whereby Resolution No. 105 was passed be vacated and that the resolution lie on the table. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the gentleman a question, under a reservation of objection, and I shall not object. Is provision made in the resolution for the distribution of these documents through the folding room?

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I will ask that the resolution which I propose to offer as a substitute be read.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Clerk will report the resolution.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 15

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That 5,000 copies of the prayers offered by the Rev. James Shera Montgomery, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, at the opening of the daily sessions of the House during the Seventieth and Seventy-first Congresses, be printed and bound for the use of the House of Representatives.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, under that resolution these documents will be distributed through the folding room and each Member will receive 11 copies.

Mr. BLANTON. Ought not that to be in the resolution itself—to be distributed through the folding room?

Mr. STEVENSON. The clerk of the Joint Committee on Printing, who drew this resolution, says not. I have no objection to its being in the resolution, but I understand that is the regular course.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understood the reading of the proposed substitute it provides that the 5,000 copies to be apportioned to the House of Representatives are to be distributed through the document room.

Mr. STEVENSON. No; it does not.

Mr. BLANTON. It does not provide anything about distribution. But since they are to be distributed through the House folding room, I shall not object.

Mr. STEVENSON. The resolution provides that these documents shall be for the use of the Members of the House, and that carries with it distribution through the folding room.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk again read the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

GENERAL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Joint Resolution 251, making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, 1932, with a Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 2, line 13, strike out "$390,000, to remain available until June 30, 1933," and insert "$300,000, to remain available until June 30, 1933."

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House concur in the Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee moves that the House concur in the Senate amendment.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes; gladly.

Mr. SNELL. I notice the gentleman from Indiana is not present on the floor. Does the gentleman know his position in this matter?

Mr. BYRNS. I could not say that I know his position with reference to this particular amendment. I know his general attitude on the subject of reductions. I spoke to the gentleman from New York about this a moment ago and explained the matter to him. I have been endeavoring in the last 10 minutes to find the gentleman from Indiana, but I have not been able to do so. If the gentleman or anyone else

thinks I should postpone this until I can talk with the gentleman from Indiana, I will gladly do so.

Mr. SNELL. If the gentleman knows the position of the gentleman from Indiana generally on the matter it will be all right, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I want to say to the gentleman that I quite concur with him, and it seems to me we had better settle this now, because every time it comes before us there is $50,000 or $100,000 lopped off, and if we keep on postponing it they will have to swim across.

Mr. BYRNS. I am reminded that the gentleman from Indiana made a speech in which he favored a lower amount.

Mr. SNELL. I have no objection to its consideration.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Is it the judgment of the chairman of the Appropriations Committee that this will be a sufficient amount to pay the expenses of our participation in this conference?

Mr. BYRNS. I will say to the gentleman, frankly, I think there will be ample money. I have never been able to understand just why it will be necessary for this commission to sit eight months on one proposition. I asked Mr. Carr, who came before the committee on behalf of the State Department, whether or not it was the intention of the commission to take up the subject of reparations or extension or cancellation of the debt, and he said positively not; that they were going over there for the purpose of discussing reduction of armament. Unless they are going to float around the Riviera a lot this summer I do not see why they can not get through their business in three or four months and then adjourn.

Mr. SNELL. As I understand, this provides enough money to pay their expenses for six months?

Mr. BYRNS. They figured that $415,000 would pay the expenses for eight months, and the gentleman can see how long this would carry them, based on their own estimates.

The House reduced the amount to $390,000 for the reason stated the other day. I think the per diem is entirely too large, and I believe they can get through, even if they sit for eight months, with $300,000; but if they do not the State Department has a fund of $400,000 which it can use in any way it pleases in matters of this kind, and they can supplement it to a certain extent, although if they come back next year and ask to have the fund reimbursed, they will understand down there, of course, that the House is going to make a thorough inquiry as to why they need such reimbursement. So this is no invitation to them to dip into that fund.

Mr. SNELL. According to the gentleman's statement, at the highest estimated expense, we have provided enough money for the commission for practically six months.

Mr. BYRNS. It would seem to me so, based on the figures I have just given. We appropriated $390,000 for eight months, and there is $300,000 provided under the Senate amendment.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. The estimated cost is $55,000 a month?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes; practically.

Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM].

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I want to say to the House that it seems to me this is cutting the fund for disarmament very low indeed. We authorized an appropriation of $450,000 and I then wrote to the Secretary of State and told him that the House thought this was rather too much money and that he should cut it down, if possible. I got a letter from him in which he made specific statements and cut the amount from $450,000 down to $415,000, a saving of $35,000 upon the authorization, copies of which letters I append hereto.

I was asked on the floor at the time whether I considered an authorization a command upon the Committee on Appropriations to appropriate the amount of money authorized. I said that according to the statements made when that committee was established I construed it as authorized and directed. I said that the Appropriations Committee had not always done this, but had used their own discretion. Then the Appropriations Committee cut this authorization from $415,000, the amount asked by the State Department, to $390,000. It goes to the Senate and the Senate cuts it to $300,000. I fear when our delegates get over there, we will not be able to do our part of the work feeling that we have to finish up the work so quickly without sufficient time to deliberate.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINTHICUM. Yes.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Does not the gentleman think he had better take this before it comes before some other body?

Mr. LINTHICUM. I do not intend taking any action just now which would involve taking any chance. I do want to impress upon the House that the amount now is very low, and I want to ask the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations if it is found, in good faith and by calculations, that the amount is too low, whether or not we will have a chance to come before Congress and ask for something additional?

Mr. BYRNS. I may say to the gentleman he will always have that chance, but I want to remind the gentleman that every member of the Committee on Appropriations is from Missouri when it comes to showing the necessity for a deficiency, and the gentleman will have to make a mighty good showing.

Mr. LINTHICUM. If we take it upon the basis that the gentlemen are from Missouri and we can show you, then there would be a chance, would there not?

Mr. BYRNS. Certainly.

Mr. HOLADAY. Speaking just as one member of the Appropriations Committee, I would like to convey to the gentleman, and I hope he will convey my idea to the State Department and to the delegation, that this is probably all they will ever receive; and if they come back the committee will no doubt receive them and give the careful consideration that the chairman has mentioned, but as far as I am concerned, I think that careful consideration is about all that they will receive.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That will depend largely on what takes place and what success they have over there. As far as this appropriation is concerned, I would like to have them get through with it for less, but as far as the calculation is concerned, they have estimated it at $415,000.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include two letters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

JANUARY 10, 1932.

The honorable SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SECRETARY: If you have had an opportunity to read the debate in the House of Representatives of yesterday, January 18, you will observe that much criticism was advanced by those opposing the appropriation for the Disarmament Conference as to the amount of money to be expended. You will also notice that on many instances I explained to the House committee that this authorization was still subject to the Appropriations Committee, which was well manned. I also told the committee of the saving of $68,000 from the amounts appropriated for the London Naval Conference, and I said that the gentlemen composing the delegates and personnel were persons who would not expend any more than was necessary for the proper representation of our Government commensurate with its importance.

I am stating these things to make a special request that the State Department endeavor to hold down the expense of this conference in every possible way. Not, of course, to be niggardly or to represent us other than the splendid nation that we are, but to see if we can not save a considerable part of this appropriation. It will demonstrate to Congress and to the country that we all realize the importance of economy, and, while we desire to do what we can to assist other nations in their struggles for disarmament, yet we do so as economically as is possible under the conditions.

I am writing you this not that I feel you will not do so, but to express the wishes of our committee and the sentiments of the House of Representatives expressed in the passage of the resolution yesterday.

With my kind regards, and wishing the Disarmament Conference every success, I am,

Very sincerely yours, J. CHAS. LINTHICUM.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 21, 1932.

The Hon. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
Chairman Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. LINTHICUM: In reply to your letter of January 19, 1932, I take much pleasure in saying that it will be the policy of this department to observe the utmost economy in the expenditure of any appropriation which the Congress may make for the expenses of the disarmament conference at Geneva. The estimate of expenditures has already been revised on the basis of information received subsequent to the discussion of the authorizing resolution in the House of Representatives, and the Budget which was transmitted by the President to the Congress yesterday is for $415,000 instead of the $450,000 authorized.

I wish to take this occasion to express my thanks to you and to your committee for your action in connection with the passage of the resolution authorizing an appropriation for the disarmament conference.

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, this action of our conferees demonstrates the fact that when a Member of this House knows that he is right, a determined fight will bring results, even when tremendous odds are against him and he temporarily suffers defeat.

On January 12, 1932, as shown on pages 1840 to 1844 of the daily RECORD, I called attention to the fact that the President of the United States had requested Congress to appropriate $450,000 for the conference at Geneva.

I then printed the full statement of expenses of our delegates last year to the Sixth Pan American Child Conference at Lima, Peru, showing that the expenses of our 10 delegates and 3 translators for this entire conference cost only $9,127 when Dr. J. H. Mason Knox, jr., was there from June 20 to August 8, 1931.

I then printed the full statement of expenses of our seven delegates last year to the Sixth International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy, at The Hague, Netherlands, the entire conference costing only $6,700, notwithstanding that Col. Ralph A. Fenton was there from April 8 to July 5, 1931, and Commander William S. Bainbridge was there from May 27 to September 3, 1931, and Maj. Edgar E. Hume was in Peru from April 30 to October 24, 1931.

I then printed the full statement of expenses of our 19 representatives last year attending the International Technical Consulting Committee on Radio Communication, at Copenhagen, Denmark, and the total cost of this conference was $13,796.

I then printed the full statement of expenses of our 17 delegates to the Fourth World's Poultry Congress, at London, England, last year, covering dates from July 3 to as late as October 16, 1931, with a total expense of $10,764.

I then printed the full statement of expenses of our 12 representatives to the International Conference on the Limitation of Narcotic Drugs, last year, at Geneva, Switzerland, with dates ranging from April 27 to September 8, 1931, and its total cost was $14,473.

I then printed the full statement of expenses of our 54 representatives last year to the International Exposition of Colonial and Overseas Countries, at Paris, France, when our commissioner general, Hon. C. Bascom Slemp, was there from August 29, 1930, to October 3, 1931, and our commissioner, Hon. Charles H. Burke, was there from August 29, 1930, to October 30, 1931, and their expenses for their entire delegation of 54 totaled only $23,190.

I then printed the full statement of the expenses of our delegation of 17 representatives last year to the Twenty-sixth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, and it totaled only $11,267.

And I called attention to the fact that with only five delegates, besides some experts from the State Department, to attend this pending conference at Geneva, the proposed sum of $450,000 was extravagant, wasteful, unreasonable, and should not be allowed, but that only a reasonable sum should be granted.

On January 18, 1932, this proposal to authorize an appropriation of $450,000 for the Geneva conference was brought up in the House under a special rule. The Senate had already passed a resolution to allow the full $450,000. Our House Committee on Foreign Affairs had voted unanimously for the proposal to allow the full $450,000. Not a member of the Committee on Rules opposed the proposition. When an attempt was made to have the Senate resolution substituted for that of the House, I succeeded in arranging for 20 minutes to be allowed me to oppose the resolution.

I offered an amendment to reduce the amount from $450,000 to $200,000. After very caustic debate my amendment failed by a vote of ayes 80, noes 110. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CAMPBELL] then offered an amendment to reduce the authorization to $350,000. It failed by a vote of 69 ayes and 93 noes.

I then moved to recommit the bill, in an attempt to save $250,000, and succeeded in getting the yeas and nays ordered, and on a record vote (p. 2197) my motion to reduce the amount from $450,000 to $200,000 failed by 135 yeas to 200 nays.

But the fight did not end there. The Committee on Appropriations allowed only $390,000, reducing the amount requested by $60,000; and when the Senate reflected, and realized that this sum was out of all reason, it further reduced it to $300,000, and our chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has asked the House to approve it, which is a reduction of $150,000 below the sum asked for by President Hoover. And I am going to repeat what was said by my good friend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HOLADAY] that this delegation had better economize and not come back for any additional amount, as this conference ought not to cost over $100,000.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. If they accomplish what they propose to accomplish——

Mr. BLANTON. Oh, if they could effect world peace and force all nations to disarm, I would vote to appropriate every dollar that they needed; but they have no more chance to do that than they have to bring about the millennium in five minutes. They could not do it under the conditions that now exist in Europe. My private opinion publicly expressed is that we would do much better if we kept them out of Europe just now. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 8397, the Department of the Interior appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. O'CONNOR in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, of which the Clerk will read the title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. TEMPLE].

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Chairman, my remarks will be confined to one item in the bill under consideration. That item is the appropriation for the Geological Survey and the paragraph having to do with the topographic maps. It reads as follows:

For topographic surveys in various portions of the United States, $366,000, and in addition thereto $150,000 of the unexpended balance for the fiscal year 1932 is continued available for the same purpose for the fiscal year 1933, of which amount not to exceed $345,000 may be expended for personal services in the District of Columbia: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended in cooperation with States or municipalities except

upon the basis of the State or municipality bearing all of the expense incident thereto in excess of such an amount as is necessary for the Geological Survey to perform its share of standard topographic surveys, such share of the Geological Survey in no case exceeding 50 per cent of the cost of the survey: *Provided further*, That $256,000 of this amount shall be available only for such cooperation with States or municipalities.

I wish first to call attention to the appropriation of $150,000 of the unexpended balance for the fiscal year 1932. In the hearings an explanation is given for the cut made by the committee under the Budget estimate. The estimate of the Bureau of the Budget of the amount needed for this topographical survey for the fiscal year 1933 was $616,000. That is reduced by $250,000, leaving an appropriation of $366,000 in the bill. In the report of the committee the statement is made that $150,000 of this cut is made possible by the reappropriation of an unexpended balance of that amount, so that the total appropriation, including the supposed unexpended balance, would be $516,000, or $100,000 less than the amount recommended by the Bureau of the Budget.

When the committee made its report, or when the hearings were held before the committee on January 5, there seemed to be a prospect that there would be $150,000 of an unexpended balance, but a number of State legislatures have been in session since and have made appropriations for the cooperation work between the Federal Government and the States, and when those appropriations are matched out of the Federal funds the unexpended balance will not be $150,000 but only $85,990. So, if the $150,000 of the unexpended balance was necessary to justify a portion of the cut, the fact that the unexpended balance had been reduced, diminishes the justification for the cut. When the time comes and the bill is read under the 5-minute rule for amendment, I shall offer an amendment to cover that point.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TEMPLE. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. How much was recommended by the Bureau of the Budget?

Mr. TEMPLE. Six hundred and sixteen thousand dollars.

Mr. TILSON. How much is reported in the bill?

Mr. TEMPLE. Five hundred and sixteen thousand dollars, if the reappropriated balance should amount to $150,000; but without that the appropriation in the bill is only $366,000, which is a reduction below the Budget estimate of $250,000.

Mr. TILSON. So the cut was made by the committee and not by the Bureau of the Budget?

Mr. TEMPLE. That is correct. For the present fiscal year the appropriation is $780,000, and the Bureau of the Budget recommended only $616,000 for the year 1933. During the summer I asked the Geological Survey, and particularly the topographic branch, for information about the work that has been going on and about the needs of the topographic survey. In response to my request, I have a good deal of information that I shall not be able to give the House in the 10 minutes at my disposal. Some of it I shall include under the permission to extend my remarks.

The older Members of the House doubtless will remember that in 1925 a bill was passed authorizing the President of the United States to complete the topographical survey of the whole country in the period of 20 years.

Appropriations contemplated when that act was passed have not been made, and the rate of survey necessary to complete the work in 20 years has not been kept up. When the bill was passed it went through both Houses without a dissenting vote, the value of the topographic map being generally understood by the Members. Such a map is valuable for a great variety of purposes. It is a base map by which many kinds of engineering work can be planned without further survey, with a great saving in any project that requires engineering work for its completion. Any municipality building waterworks, for example, may have its engineer sit down in his office and with a properly made contour map estimate with a considerable degree of accuracy how much land the city will have to buy for its reservoir for water supply, how much land will be flooded by a dam 10 feet high, how much land will be flooded by a dam 20 feet high. That can be calculated with a considerable degree of accuracy from a topographic map if the map exists, and the municipality will be saved a great portion of the cost of a special survey for that purpose. Mark you, also, if the municipality has to make a special survey for that particular purpose, that survey is of no use to anybody else, and any other outfit that wants engineering work in the same district must make its own topographic survey. While I was working on the bill of 1925 I received a letter from an engineer who had to do with the construction of one of the railroads of the country. A survey had been made by the railroad of a district through which the road was to pass, for which no topographic maps existed. After the route of the road had been fixed according to their plan two advance sheets of a topographic map covering a portion of that route were issued. The advance sheets came into the hands of the engineer, and with those sheets he sat down in his office and found a new route that would cut out a tunnel, reduce curves, so that the cost of construction for only 28 or 30 miles of road was diminished by about $180,000. The maps had cost the Government something like about $10,000, and for one project they had saved $180,000, and they were available for any other project in the future. A great saving might be made on every item of work done in later times by having this map ready to save the engineering corps that work.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TEMPLE. Yes.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Has any consideration been given to the consolidation of the map-making agencies on the part of the Government?

Mr. TEMPLE. Oh, yes.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. As I understand it, there are many agencies making maps in the Government.

Mr. TEMPLE. There are several agencies. There is now a board of surveys and maps, whose function is to coordinate as far as possible the work of those map-making agencies, but I am of the opinion that a very great saving could be made to the Government if there was a real consolidation of these agencies. I hope it will be done; but, of course, it can not be done in an appropriation bill.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TEMPLE. Yes.

Mr. MAPES. On the basis of the progress that has been made since the passage of the gentleman's bill in 1925, and the appropriations that have been made, how long will it take to complete the survey of the country?

Mr. TEMPLE. I have no accurate estimate as to that, but from a general knowledge of the situation which I have followed with some care for several years I should say probably 75 or 80 years instead of the 20 years contemplated in the law.

I should like at this point to introduce a table showing what appropriations had been made by the States when the committee held its hearings on January 5, and what appropriations by States have become available since, which required matching out of that unexpended balance available for the year ending June 30, 1932, the appropriation for this year being $780,000.

Summary of modifications made since justifications were transmitted on December 7, 1931

	1932 allotments	
	Federal	State
Allotted, as stated in justifications	$361,509.52	$401,333.06
Unallotted	179,490.48	
Reserve in 1932	2,000.00	
Total	543,000.00	
Additions since the justifications were transmitted:		
Tennessee	500.00	500.00
Hawaii	1,000.00	1,000.00
New York, public works	15,000.00	15,000.00
Louisiana	30,000.00	30,000.00

Summary of modifications made since justifications were transmitted on December 7, 1931—Continued

	1932 allotments	
	Federal	State
Additions since the justifications were transmitted—Continued.		
New Jersey	$15,000.00	$15,000.00
Oregon	2,000.00	2,000.00
Total	63,500.00	63,500.00
Decreases: Alabama	6,000.00	6,000.00
Net change	+57,500.00	+57,500.00
Revised allotments	[1] 418,009.52	457,333.00
Revised unallotted	[2] 122,960.48	
Reserve in 1932	2,000.00	
Total	543,000.00	

[1] Of the revised allotted total of $418,009.52 there will be withheld and lapse $47,000 (an estimate of the cost of engraving and printing provision in the appropriation act for 1932). This sum, added to the estimated unallotted balance of $85,960.85, will make a total of $132,960.48 available for reappropriation and is less than the $150,000 reappropriated in H. R. 8397.

[2] In addition, there are allotments approximating $37,000 pending in Texas, Minnesota, and Michigan that may further reduce the present unallotted balance of $122,960.48 to $85,960.48 on June 30, 1932, as compared with $152,000 estimated in the justifications transmitted on Dec. 7, 1931.

The appropriations for the present year will be much more nearly exhausted at the end of this fiscal year and more appropriations from States may come in. Now, it seems probable that the unexpended balance would not be more than $85,000. Let me tell you this: A shortage of $85,000 in the appropriations of the States makes unexpendable an additional $85,000 of the Federal appropriations. So that the loss runs to about $170,000, which the survey expected to have for the prosecution of its work, but does not have. What is the result? The furloughing of trained engineers.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. TEMPLE. There are normally 221 field engineers. A considerable number of them have been furloughed already. Enough more are really on a list to be furloughed before the end of the year to bring the total number up to 87. Those are men who have been trained at the expense of the Government.

The personnel composing the topographic force of the Geological Survey is recruited from engineering graduates of technical colleges, and even after graduation require special training in the highly specialized art of topographic map making. It has been estimated that to train each of these young engineers to a point where he becomes productive requires an expenditure on the part of the Government of approximately $10,000. To furlough 87 men whose education has cost the Government $10,000 each does not seem to be economy.

The Geological Survey is an organization more than 50 years old, and when established in 1879 one of its functions was to furnish topographic maps for Geological Survey investigations. This organization has gradually grown until it is one of the most important technical organizations of the Federal Government, and its major activity is the making of standard topographic maps. The maps made by this organization are recognized throughout the world as the highest example of topographic maps. The engineering profession throughout the United States relies on them entirely as a basis in all their investigations which have to do with the development of the natural resources of the country.

The personnel, as I said, is recruited from the engineering graduates of the technical colleges and are trained, after they go into the service, in this special line of work.

Topographic mapping has always been considered a Government function. It is so considered by the governments of the world, and was so considered in the United States formerly; that is, a Federal function. There is no law that requires cooperation on the part of the States. There is no law that forbids appropriation by the Congress of the United States for the whole work without any cooperation from the States. The custom has grown up, however, of requiring cooperation. There was not any law justifying this appropriation at all or authorizing it until the bill was passed in 1925, which I had the honor to introduce, and which I spoke of a little while ago as passing without a dissenting voice in either House. Since that time the appropriation has been authorized and is not subject to a point of order.

Several of the States that had previously been appropriating somewhat generously have not been appropriating lately. Most of the work done in the past has been in the prosperous States that have been able hitherto to make appropriations. The result of that policy of cooperation is that in New York—I would like the men from the North, the West, and the South to listen to this—the more prosperous States, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Maine, New Hampshire, and others, have taken advantage of that policy and have had funds expended continually within their borders, whereas such States as Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and many others, not being able to advance their share for the cooperation work, have been unable to obtain mapping within their borders and have been entirely neglected for the last 20 years.

The topographic branch of the Geological Survey has a technical force of 221 men employed in making field surveys throughout the United States. This organization has a wonderful record. For military purposes topographic maps are indispensable, and in time of war the Army relies almost entirely on the personnel of the Geological Survey as a source of supply for trained personnel for its map making. During the World War the survey furnished 113 officers, ranging from lieutenant colonel down to second lieutenant. Sixty-six of these served in France, the remaining officers being retained in the United States on military duty. Of the officers that went to France 10 received citations from General Pershing, 7 were decorated by the Republic of France, 3 received the order of the croix de guerre and 4 the order of palms from the French Academy. Of the present force of 221 engineers, 91 have a record of war service, including 13 wounded veterans who have received rehabilitation training at the expense of the Government. In connection with the military service of these engineers I think the Members of the House will be interested in a letter from General Pershing to the commanding officer of the Twenty-ninth Engineers, in which General Pershing says:

> That our map supply was entirely adequate is due to the efforts of the officers and men of the Twenty-ninth Engineers, at general headquarters, at the base printing plant, and with the armies, corps, and divisions.

A letter also from General Bourgeois, Director Général du Service Geographique de l'Armee Français, contains the following sentence. The letter is dated June 29, 1918.

> I have just examined the topographical sheets made by the American topographical brigade in the vicinity of Breteuil. These are of excellent accuracy and besides were made with a rapidity which testifies to the technical skill of the personnel.

Now, in addition to calling attention to the deficit which will occur because the unexpended balance was overestimated, an overestimate which the committee is not responsible for but which was based on all the information it had on the 5th of January, when the hearings were held, and, in addition to attempting to correct that matter I wish also to provide in the amendment that I expect to offer, when the bill is read under the 5-minute rule, for some surveys in the States where there are unsurveyed areas, that will not depend on cooperation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania five additional minutes.

Mr. TEMPLE. In a good many Southern States there has been no such survey. Men who can work in the summer time in the North in the field can not work in the field in the cold climate in the wintertime, but if we allow them to work in the Southern States in the winter, when the weather would permit, it would have two advantages. Under present conditions we bring those high-priced field men into Washington and keep them here during the winter, working up

their notes, which is work that can be done by others not so skilled and who do not receive such high salaries. If we should allow them to work in the warmer States in the wintertime, we could keep the high-priced men on high-priced work, and their notes would be worked up with a very little supervision from them, by draftsmen and others in the District of Columbia.

The amendment that I intend to offer will not only save to the Government these highly trained men but will give them work that other men can not do. A number of the men that have not been furloughed are employed as rodmen, merely that they may have some income in this time of depression. We did not want to lose those men. We do not want to disrupt the organization. I am placing in the RECORD two tables. One of them, relating to the supposed unexpended balance of the appropriation for the present year, has already been explained. The second, relating to the amount carried in the pending bill for cooperation with the States, is presented here.

State cooperation for fiscal year 1933, as of January 27, 1932

	Federal	State and municipal
States that have appropriated, 1933:		
California	$50,000	$50,000
Illinois	50,000	50,000
Maine	50,000	50,000
Michigan	26,500	26,500
Missouri	40,000	40,000
New Hampshire	12,500	12,500
Pennsylvania	15,000	15,000
Vermont	5,000	5,000
Total	249,000	249,000
States and municipalities that have appropriations pending but practically assured:		
California, Los Angeles County	24,000	40,000
California, San Mateo County	15,000	15,000
New York	15,000	15,000
Oregon	5,000	5,000
Louisiana	50,000	50,000
Virginia	25,000	25,000
Texas	13,000	13,000
Total	147,000	163,000
Total State cooperation, including appropriations already made and others pending	396,000	412,000

Thus a total of $396,000 of State cooperation may reasonably be expected to be offered during the fiscal year 1933. It is urged that the $256,000 restricted to meet cooperation with the States and municipalities in the present bill be restored to $356,000 and that a corresponding restoration be made in the total appropriation to the Budget figures of $616,000. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON]. [Applause.]

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to make a few observations on the popular and much-discussed question of economy in Government. I desire, however, especially to direct those few remarks to the proposal by the War Department to abandon certain Army posts throughout the country. I hope I will not be misunderstood in my position about this matter, because I am in hearty sympathy with the proposal by the War Department, not only to practice economy but also to concentrate our soldiers as much as possible, and especially to abolish or abandon unnecessary small Army posts in the interior portion of the country. I do take issue, however, with the position of the department at this particular time in abandoning the posts along the Mexican border. I say that first, as a matter of policy and also as a matter of economy.

I do not want to appear, in the few remarks I shall make, as being in any sense critical of the War Department; in fact, I entertain a very warm and high admiration for the distinguished Secretary of War. Those of us in the Southwest know something about the struggles of his boyhood and his young manhood, and we glory in his success, as well as believe him to be an able and patriotic officer of the Government. It is also my opinion that of the great soldiers this country has produced none has a finer record than Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff. I am happy also to enjoy a close personal acquaintance with the Deputy Chief of Staff, Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, and I am in hearty accord, I repeat, with the general principles announced by the department to abandon small and unnecessary posts in the interior.

I am certain from the investigation I have made that there are a large number of small posts in the interior of the country that ought to be abandoned and those soldiers sent to other camps or posts.

I believe, however, that condition does not exist at this particular time along the Mexican border. I am permitted by my good friend from Massachusetts [Mr. UNDERHILL] to say that there are two Army posts in his State that are not needed and ought to be abandoned. Likewise, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZPATRICK] says he has a post in his district that he would like abandoned. I also understand there are other camps and posts throughout the country where the Congressmen from those districts admit that Army posts are not needed and that there is no economy in retaining them at this time. But I do believe that no such condition exists along the Mexican border. In my remarks directed to the matter of economy may I refer to a resolution passed by the Senate yesterday. It was introduced by the junior Senator from Texas, Senator CONNALLY. The resolution reads:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War is requested to report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date with respect to each of the forts or military posts herein specified all information available in the records of the War Department as to (1) the amount of land owned by the Government at such fort or military post; (2) the value of all property, including buildings, equipment, and improvements situated at or connected with such fort or military post; (3) the amounts heretofore appropriated by the Congress for the purchase, establishment, equipment, and improvement of such fort or military post and all appurtenances connected therewith; (4) the number of buildings and structures at each fort or military post; (5) the number of troops that can be accommodated at such fort or military post; and (6) the number of troops now quartered at such fort or military post: Fort Brown, Brownsville, Tex.; Fort McIntosh, Laredo, Tex.; Fort Clark, Brackettville, Tex.; Fort D. A. Russell, Marfa, Tex.

I want to direct my remarks specifically to Fort D. A. Russell, at Marfa, which happens to be in my district, and about which I claim to be more or less familiar.

It seems to me that if there is any place in the country in times of peace where we ought to have soldiers, it is along the Mexican border. If you will recall some of the correspondence that passed between the Kaiser and the late President Huerta of Mexico, I think it is safe to say that if we were ever invaded by any land forces it would be along the Mexican border. All is quiet along the Canadian border, and if soldiers are needed at any place in this country at this particular time of peace—which I hope will continue—it seems to me that soldiers are needed more along that long stretch of wild border country than in any other part of our Nation.

It would serve no good purpose here to recount the Columbus, N. Mex., raid, because it was not a very bright spot in our national history, when Pancho Villa invaded that peaceful little town and killed a lot of American citizens. He even stole some of the horses of our own Army, and then burned and wrecked the town. Neither would it serve any good purpose to recount General Pershing's expedition into Mexico in a wild chase after that noted outlaw. Neither would it serve any good purpose for me to recount that on Christmas Day, 1917, near this very town of Marfa, at what is commonly known in that country as the Brite ranch, Mexican outlaws came across and killed American citizens well in the interior of the State of Texas.

Please do not misunderstand me and think that I entertain anything but the best of feeling toward the Mexican people. They need and are entitled to our friendship and cooperation; but, unfortunately, they have had a lot of outlaws and bad leaders down there. We have had some ourselves at different times in our history. But every revolution that has been had in Mexico has found birth and origin along the States in the northern portion of that Republic and near the Texas and New Mexico border, and the

records of the Federal courts in my own city of El Paso will show that perhaps half of those conspiracies have been hatched on American soil.

Mr. JONES. Will my colleague yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield to my colleague from Texas.

Mr. JONES. Can the gentleman give us approximately the length of that border?

Mr. THOMASON. I will say to my colleague that my own district, extending from El Paso to below Del Rio, is more than 500 miles long; and I may say that the distinguished Speaker of this House and I represent all the Mexican border from El Paso to Brownsville, which, on an air line, is more than 1,000 miles, and by the meandering of the rivers more than 1,500 miles. The law-abiding Mexican citizens also want protection along this border. The American soldiers along that border exert a fine influence for peace. You can go from El Paso to Del Rio, near the eastern end of my district, probably 600 miles away, and on the Mexican side I am told by their own officials that there are only 65 soldiers in the town of Ojinago.

Mr. BLANTON. Will my colleague from Texas yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. It is also true, is it not, that what is known as the Big Bend country is right below this new Fort D. A. Russell?

Mr. THOMASON. I was just about to say to my friend——

Mr. BLANTON. And I want to call my colleague's attention also to the fact that back in 1917 and 1918, when I represented his district, the El Paso country, I introduced a bill to construct a Federal highway, or border highway, from El Paso along the Rio Grande down to Brownsville, and General Bell, who was then in charge of our military forces at El Paso, gave his hearty approval to the proposition and said it would save the Government millions of dollars ultimately; and my succeeding colleague, Mr. Hudspeth, likewise introduced such a bill, and I hope my friend will also introduce that bill, and I hope that some day we will build such a border highway along the Rio Grande.

Mr. THOMASON. Yes; I am in hearty sympathy with the project, and when finances will permit expect to urge such legislation.

We ought to encourage friendly relations with Mexico. My official connections in the city of El Paso have been such during the last few years that I have come in close contact with those people, and if I may repeat an expression I have used before, a people who love flowers and music and children, as they do, are not bad. They need our friendship and cooperation, but this border needs protection; and I undertake to say that at this particular time, with Fort D. A. Russell at Marfa, Tex., more than 200 miles from El Paso, and more than 400 miles from San Antonio, if soldiers are needed at any place in this particular time of our Nation's life, they are needed along the Mexican border; but because my time is so brief I want to mention specially some of the history of that post.

After the Columbus raid in 1914, when American citizens were killed and our own Army's horses were stolen, and after General Pershing went into Mexico, the War Department, without any solicitation whatever from the people of that community, established a camp, as they called it, Camp Marfa, at Marfa, Tex., down in that wild Big Bend country, where so many of these revolutions have started, and so they built up a considerable camp there. But after the death of Senator Warren, of Wyoming, in order to honor that distinguished man, they changed the name of Fort D. A. Russell at Fort Russell, Wyo., to Fort Francis E. Warren, and on the 11th day of December, 1921, by the official act of the War Department itself they did this, and I read from the order:

GENERAL ORDER NO. 20

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, December 11, 1929.

Camp Marfa announced as a permanent military post and designated as Fort D. A. Russell. Under the provisions of paragraph 3p AR 170–10, the military reservation now known as Camp Marfa, Marfa, Tex., is hereby announced as a permanent military post, and will on and after January 1, 1930, be designated as Fort D. A. Russell, in honor of Brig. Gen. David A. Russell, United States Volunteers, who was killed at the Battle of Winchester, September 19, 1864.

In this connection may I briefly call your attention to this, because I said I was approaching this subject at this particular time from the standpoint of economy. Do you know what the Government has there now? The United States Government at Fort D. A. Russell, a permanent post, if you please, made so voluntarily by the War Department, owns in fee simple title 434½ acres of land. They have at that place already 154 permanent buildings and 26 temporary buildings or a total of 180 substantial buildings. I have not the time to read them, but they have officers' quarters, barracks, married and enlisted men's quarters, stables, garages, mess halls, filling stations, blacksmith shops, saddle shops, bakery, laundry, fire station, well houses, veterinary hospital, hospitals for the men, and I would like to go into detail if I had the time; but the United States Government to-day has, approximately, I undertake to say, $1,000,000 invested in this post.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman from Texas yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield to my colleague from Kentucky.

Mr. MAY. I would like to ask if it is not a fact also that the removal of these Army posts from the Mexican border, thereby subjecting the State of Texas to invasion from what we might call outlaws from Mexico, would have a decided effect upon the value of property around there?

Mr. THOMASON. Yes; but more important it would create a feeling of uneasiness in the minds of our people.

Mr. MAY. And would mean decreased revenue to the Government.

Mr. THOMASON. Probably. I have such great confidence in our War Department that I would not want to take issue with the War Department, or with men who have had an experience of a lifetime in our military affairs, as to where our soldiers ought to be, especially if war is threatened. The Constitution gives to the President and to the War Department the right to locate and move soldiers wherever they please, if it is for the good of the service, but I contend Congress has full authority about appropriations and what use and disposition shall be made of Government property.

I contend that this post, being 200 miles from El Paso and 400 miles from San Antonio, should not be abandoned at this time, and that the junking of probably a million dollars' worth of property is not justified at present, when we are faced with the worst financial crisis in all our history. More than 500 men, thirty-odd officers, over 500 horses are to be moved and the men and equipment sent to Camp Knox, Ky.

I do not wish to criticize Camp Knox. I understand it is an old cantonment, a small camp, and when it comes to taking care of men and horses that they propose to take away from Fort D. A. Russell, they will have to spend a few hundred thousand dollars in order to take care of them at Camp Knox.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. BLANTON. And after they move them and have junked a million dollars' worth of property at Fort D. A. Russell, if in years to come there is any menace they will ship them all back again, and it will cost the Government a fabulous sum to provide a new plant.

Mr. THOMASON. Yes; and if the country ever does get into war again, the same thing will happen that happened before the World War, when the soldiers and the National Guard by the hundred thousand were rushed to El Paso and San Antonio and the Mexican border in order to train them for service.

I am not criticizing the department, but I am discussing what I regard as common sense, common justice, and common economy.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. If the department does a fool thing, why not criticize it? I am a free lance, willing to criticize the department when it does a foolish thing.

Mr. THOMASON. Well, I admire the gentleman's courage. I do contend that in times of peace these officers and men are needed more on the Mexican border than anywhere else.

In addition to that they say they propose to sell the property; and in my opinion it would not bring $10,000 for kindling wood, if anybody had the money to buy the kindling wood, and I know of no such person.

Now, I want to make this observation: The Army belongs to the United States. The Army belongs to the taxpayers of this country, because they are the ones that support it.

They issued an order of December 11, 1929, which order made this a permanent post; and the people of Marfa, a little city of 4,000, in good faith, saying that they believed in their own Government, in their own Uncle Sam, started to lay water mains and sewer extensions, built a modern hotel, paved streets, and made other creditable public improvements.

The Government should act in good faith with the people of that community before they undertake to abandon valuable property, after those people down there have built public buildings and paved their roads and streets and extended their water mains and sewer lines and all that sort of thing. I am in sympathy with the resolution introduced yesterday by the distinguished junior Senator from Texas. I think Congress ought to know about this. I do not think it is in the interest of economy. In addition, I think soldiers should be along that Mexican border at this time. Mexico is still in turmoil. New cabinet members and officials are appointed nearly every week.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. Yes.

Mr. DIES. Although my district is about 1,200 miles from that of the gentleman, the people of my district believe we ought to have ample protection along that border and I am in hearty sympathy with the position taken by the gentleman.

Mr. THOMASON. I am hopeful of the result of the Geneva conference for a reduction in armaments. I hope it will bring about some good results. At least it will be educational, because sooner or later I think we are going to reach that point in the history of the world when we will work out some plan by which we shall enjoy permanent peace, but that is certainly not in the immediate future. Last summer I had occasion to stand in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles. All in our party had placed in their hands the pen that signed the peace treaty, and we were shown the table where the peace treaty was signed. In the middle was the seat occupied by Clemenceau and at his right the seat of Woodrow Wilson. In that great place, famous throughout the world, I must say something welled up in my heart and I said, "Thank God for Woodrow Wilson and his passion for an honorable and lasting world peace." [Applause.] We shall probably wait a long time for world peace, and in the meanwhile I believe in adequate preparedness. I think this Nation ought to make certain until that time does come that we let not the other nations of the world build up their armaments and we stand idly by. It behooves this Nation to do everything in its power to see to it that we have an adequate army and navy. [Applause.] I am the friend of the Army. I hope these posts will not be abandoned without due consideration for economy as well as protection for all our people, and especially for those living along 1,000 miles of our Mexican border. [Applause.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BEEDY].

Mr. BEEDY. Mr. Chairman, yesterday there was introduced in the House by Members from various sections of the country vitally concerned bills which seek the protection of American industries against the abnormal competitive conditions growing out of the depreciated currencies in those nations which have abandoned the gold standard. The bills in question were introduced by the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. HAWLEY] and by each of the members of the Maine delegation, and by certain members from the Northwest. The legislation has been approved unofficially by the experts in the Bureau of Customs. It grew out of this situation. Industries throughout the Nation are facing competition to-day which could not have been and was not foreseen when the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act was written. Like many other pending measures, that in question is of an emergency nature and provides that it shall not be effective beyond December 31, 1933. Of course, if the crisis should pass prior to that time, it would be repealed by the Congress should it now be enacted into law.

It so happens that the industry which was first affected by abnormal foreign competition was the great pulp and paper industry. This for the reason that in this industry, existing contracts customarily expire in the fall of the year. In the case of a limited number of our pulp and paper mills, contracts entered into expired in the fall of 1931. To these few mills, attractive contracts were offered for the purchase of foreign pulp at unprecedentedly low prices subsequent to September, 1931.

I make this prefatory statement so that the gentlemen may understand why it is I confine myself to a brief discussion of the pulp and paper industry. That industry presents an interesting cross-section study of American industry to-day. It is only one of many industries similarly situated in the abnormal present-day competitive crisis.

The American paper and pulp industry ranks among the 10 greatest industries of the Nation. There is invested in this industry within our own borders a billion and a quarter of dollars, roughly speaking, and the industry directly employs in round numbers 140,000 people.

In my own State of Maine there is invested in this industry $180,000,000, and the industry in normal times directly employs upward of 13,000 people. Of course, this does not take into consideration—and can not from the necessities of the case—thousands of people employed in wood operations when this great industry is functioning at normal. In my own State, for instance, when the pulp and paper industry is functioning normally there are employed from 50,000 to 100,000 farmers, small wood-lot owners, and larger timberland operators, either on half or whole time. All of these people, the small farmers who own their wood lots and those who have capital invested in extensive timber holdings, must rely upon a healthy pulp and paper industry for the sale of their products. When this pulp and paper industry languishes by reason of unusual competitive conditions the market is flooded with cheap foreign pulp and the local mills are unable to purchase the farmers' spruce, hemlock, or other wood that is customarily purchased by the pulp and paper industry.

To-day thousands of Maine farmers, owners of small wood lots, are unable to sell a stick of pulpwood to our Maine mills. This situation, which is state-wide, is a severe blow to those farmers. Deprived of work in the woods, there is no gainful labor to which they may turn their hands. Thus it will be seen that with the depressed price of agricultural products this loss of their pulpwood market is the last straw. In the northeastern section of my State, where the price of potatoes at 50 cents a barrel barely pays for the cost of hauling them to the station, the added loss of their pulpwood market is a double stroke of adversity. Many a farmer in Maine to-day is unable to pay his taxes because he can not realize a dollar from the pulp mills for his pulpwood.

Men with hundreds of thousands of dollars invested in large tracts of standing timber find their extensive properties without any present market value and are overwhelmed with tax burdens. Indirectly agriculture itself is affected, because large amounts of money, which in normal times change hands locally through the pulp and paper industry, no longer find their way to the farmer who depends upon the sale of his farm products to those gainfully employed in the manufacturing industries.

A painfully interesting situation was called to my attention recently. In times past many farmers have been able to sell their wood to the general storekeeper in exchange for general supplies. To-day this convenient method of barter is impossible because these general storekeepers can find no market for the wood which they have already bought in

this manner. Some of our great pulp mills, in order that the storekeepers may maintain their credit and continue to supply the farmers themselves on credit, are carrying these general stores. That condition obtains more generally, I understand, in the great Northwest.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEEDY. I would like to yield, and I think this talk may be productive of discussion——

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I just wanted to ask how long it takes that timber to reproduce itself when it is cut away?

Mr. BEEDY. In the gentleman's country in the South they can produce full grown pine in 25 years. In my State it takes nearer 50.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. We can grow it in 10 to 12 years so it can be worked for turpentine purposes. It takes a few years longer for it to become large enough for other uses.

Mr. BEEDY. I am glad the gentleman brought up that question, because this pulp industry is one of the great industries of the new South. You of the South produce sulphate pulp from the rapidly growing southern pine.

Your people are faced with a demoralized market, due to the imports of this sulphate pulp from Sweden at a price which your southern people can not meet.

To show you what a growing industry the manufacture of pulp in the South is I want to call attention to the fact that in 1917 the total domestic production of this sulphate pulp was approximately 85,000 tons. In 1930 it had reached the astounding total of 952,000 tons, an increase of more than 1,100 per cent. Just picture the growth of this great southern industry. Of that total of 952,000 tons, 700,000 tons were made in the South. So you see how vitally concerned the South of this Nation is in the situation which now confronts us.

To continue, I want to show you how the United States is vitally affected by any abnormal conditions developing in this industry abroad. I call your attention to the fact that we produce annually four and three-quarters million tons of wood pulp. The imports of wood pulp in 1930 amounted to about one and three-quarters million tons, while in the same year we imported newsprint and other paper which is the equivalent of two and one-half million tons more of pulp. It is, therefore, clear that this great industry in the United States is largely dependent upon foreign pulp and paper producing countries. Any abnormal conditions arising there are immediately reflected in our own wood pulp and paper markets.

What happened last September when the Scandinavian countries went off the gold standard? Here is a typical illustration: The cost of unbleached sulphite pulp in Maine was approximately $38 a ton. The price of foreign unbleached sulphite pulp was recently quoted at $29 a ton landed at the Atlantic seaboard. Last September this foreign pulp was $40 and $42 a ton. So with a cost here of $38 a ton as against the foreign cost landed at the seaboard of $40 and $42 a ton we were barely able to hold our own, even when the Scandinavian countries were on a gold basis. They then had a slight advantage. Imagine the advantage they now have when, with their depreciated currency, they can make as much profit on a ton of unbleached sulphite pulp at $29 as they formerly made at $40.

Bear in mind also that transportation charges do not operate greatly to our advantage.

A ton of Norwegian or Swedish pulp can be shipped across the Atlantic and landed at Baltimore for $4.50, and thereupon can be shipped by rail at a rate of approximately $6 a ton from the seaboard to the Middle West. Our mills in order to ship pulp from the seaboard to the West must pay an all-rail freight rate of from $8.50 to $9 a ton. You will thus see that there is little advantage for the American pulp industry under normal conditions accruing through freights. There is about one dollar and a half a ton on these transportation costs to our advantage, but that is more than offset by the difference between the cost of production abroad and in the United States. Yet I say under normal conditions, while the industry presented no rosy prospects, it was holding its own.

I have just called your attention to a drop in the price of foreign unbleached sulphite pulp since September, 1931, from $40 and $42 a ton to $29 a ton. In the case of bleached sulphite it costs from $50 to $55 to produce a ton in my section of the country. Swedish bleached sulphite to-day is delivered on the Atlantic seaboard at from $38 to $40 a ton. How can American industry survive such competition?

In the hope that I may make the situation entirely clear, let me call attention to the fact at this point that there are two kinds of pulp mills in this country. One is called the self-contained mill. It has perchance millions of dollars invested in timberlands. It has his overhead to carry and its heavy investment in the pulp mill where it makes its own pulp. On the other hand, there are conversion mills. These conversion mills have no funds tied up in pulp-making machinery. They have no money invested in timberlands. They buy the raw product and convert it into paper.

When these Scandinavian pulp-producing countries abandoned the gold standard, demoralization of the pulp and paper market in the United States ensued.

At this point I shall insert in the RECORD a chart showing the precipitate decline in prices of foreign bleached and unbleached sulphite pulp—which, by the way, are of principal importance in international competition—since January, 1930, and particularly since September, 1931. You will note by the chart that the price of foreign bleached sulphite on the 1st of January, 1930, was 3.65 cents a pound, or $73 per short ton. By January 1, 1931, the price had steadily declined to 2.85 cents per pound, or $57 per short ton. Meanwhile note the rapid descent forced in the price of domestic bleached sulphite, as indicated by the heavy black line. The price of this domestic bleached sulphite had dropped by September, 1931, to $50 per ton. You will recollect that this is the bare cost of the domestic product. But note what happens to the price of foreign bleached sulphite between September 1, 1931, and January 1, 1932. In three short months the ominously competitive price has dropped from $50 a ton to $45. Later in January the Atlantic seaboard price of this foreign bleached sulphite was quoted at from $38 to $40 per ton.

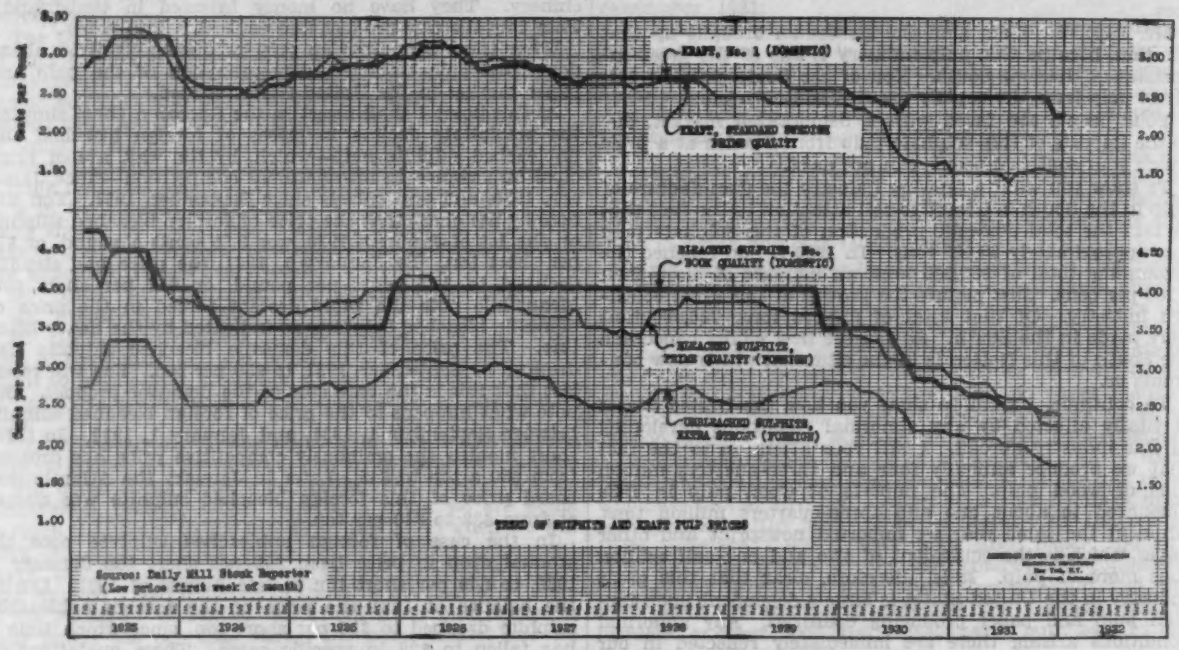
In the case of foreign unbleached sulphite note the gradual drop in price from $56 per short ton January 1, 1930, to $40 per short ton in late August of 1931. During the balance of 1931 the price of the foreign unbleached sulphite dropped to $35 per short ton, since which time it has fallen to $29 in specific cases. These quotations on foreign pulp are the prices at the Atlantic seaboard.

It was the conversion mills which were best adapted to take prompt advantage of the low prices of foreign pulp. This type of mill can survive the difficulties of this present-day situation. But they do so only to the great detriment of our self-contained pulp-producing mills. If something is not done at once to save the situation, all these self-contained mills must be abandoned. And remember it is the self-contained mill which gives employment to American labor in the manufacture of pulp. Shall this Congress sit idly by while an unprecedented depreciated currency situation permits a ruinous invasion of our market to the ultimate destruction of our great pulp and paper industry and to the further injury of American labor already facing extremes of unemployment? There can be but one answer to this question. That is an unqualified American "No."

Let me attempt to make clearer still the problem which to-day confronts the American self-contained mill. And bear in mind that it is the self-contained mill which represents by far the major investment in the American industry. It takes about one year to complete a lumbering operation. In other words, it is a year from the time the pulpwood is cut until it is delivered at the mill. A self-contained mill, therefore, must anticipate its wood requirements one year in advance. In addition, these mills must have at least a year's supply of wood on hand and available for immediate use. In other words, they must carry an inventory sufficient to meet their requirements at all times for 12 months in advance. Clearly the wood cost of such a mill is so far prede-

termined that it becomes extremely difficult to alter the cost basis of manufacture to meet changes in market conditions even in normal times. Add to this disadvantage the further extreme handicap of a change in pulp values by as much as 25 per cent within the period of a few brief weeks, and you can understand how desperate is the situation which to-day confronts our self-contained pulp and paper mills.

When the rapid decline in prices struck this country late last year these self-contained pulp and paper mills were not only carrying from one to two years supply of pulpwood purchased at the high costs of domestic wood, but many of them were committed under high-price contracts extending over another year. It is in this situation that both invested capital and labor dependent for employment upon the success of the industry stand appalled in the face of present-day invasion of our local market by cheap foreign pulp.



My attention was called only a few days since to the case of one of the largest pulp mills in the State of Maine, which could and did buy—and, mind you, its yard was filled with highly inventoried pulpwood—200 tons of foreign bleached sulphite pulp. This purchase, which is within my own knowledge, confirms the statement I have made that foreign bleached sulphite was quoted late in January at from $38 to $40 per short ton at the Atlantic seaboard. The purchase of the 200 tons in question was made at $42 per ton delivered at the mill in the heart of Maine. The mill in question, in its decision to make the purchase of foreign pulp, found itself in a situation common to many self-contained mills. They must gamble on which course of action will involve the least loss, namely, to abandon lumber operations on their own lands and chance further possible losses through deterioration of yarded pulpwood by temporarily resorting to foreign pulp, or they must refuse to buy any foreign pulp and make their own pulp from a high-cost pulpwood supply now in the mill yards, thus necessitating heavy losses.

Meanwhile it is the aim of public-spirited owners of such mills to carry on to the limit in order to give employment to American labor. To this end they have nearly reached the limit of their endurance. Protective aid must be given them or they must do one of two things: They must close up their plants altogether or run the paper end of their mills on cheap foreign pulp. In this latter event, the small wood-lot owner, as well as the heavy investor in timberlands, to say nothing of the countless thousands who have for years been employed in pulp mills and the countless other thousands who depend either partially or wholly upon lumber operations for a livelihood, are wholly without hope for the future.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 10 additional minutes.

Mr. BEEDY. I shall insert in the RECORD at this point some statistics furnished me by the Tariff Commission. These statistics were checked by the Tariff Commission but were originally secured from the Department of Commerce. The figures show you, notwithstanding our substantial importation of pulp from Canada, that Sweden has come more prominently into the picture of late, and that while formerly Canada was our chief source of supply, to-day Sweden is in the lead.

WOOD PULP

General imports into the United States from specified countries, calendar year 1931

Country	Sulphite				Sulphate				Soda		Mechanically ground		Total	
	Unbleached		Bleached		Unbleached		Bleached		Unbleached and bleached				Unbleached and bleached	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
	Tons		*Tons*		*Tons*		*Tons*		*Tons*		*Tons*		*Tons*	
Sweden	300,682	$12,946,221	49,063	$2,580,894	252,228	$6,149,021	7,040	$286,058			9,174	$218,123	618,187	$24,160,317
Finland	97,467	4,127,380	8,922	456,535	53,671	1,755,804	2,021	101,603			11,105	295,760	173,186	6,737,082
Norway	10,195	421,998	18,011	961,793	4,360	144,777	25	1,479			6,040	136,114	58,631	1,666,151
Germany	22,212	954,613	47,155	2,766,390	801	23,849	143	6,851			137	5,234	70,448	3,756,937
Canada	88,604	3,754,962	185,037	11,542,298	32,216	1,926,022	20,484	1,891,099	3,055	$165,581	161,640	3,842,791	491,036	23,122,753
All other	16,860	642,693	7,923	402,248	5,239	33,325							30,012	1,978,196
Total	536,019	22,847,787	316,111	18,710,158	344,515	12,032,798	29,693	2,287,090	3,055	165,581	188,096	4,498,022	1,417,470	60,521,436

Source: Compiled from import statistics at Department of Commerce.



The bills introduced yesterday provide for the levying of countervailing duties to a degree sufficient to restore the same competitive basis with respect to foreign nations, which obtained in normal times. The proposed legislation would permit the levying of a countervailing duty at the port of entry on goods now on the dutiable as well as on the free list. The extent of countervailing duties permitted would be exactly sufficient to match the drop in foreign prices which has been made possible through the depreciating currency of foreign nations. It would permit the levying of a duty, for instance, on wood pulp. Wood pulp is now on the free list. When the Congress was studying the difference between production costs abroad and at home in 1930, there was evidence to show an appreciable advantage enjoyed by the manufacturer of foreign pulp over the manufacturer of domestic pulp. However, it was thought that the advantage was not then sufficient to justify the placing of wood pulp on the protected list. To-day, with added advantages accruing to Scandinavian countries from their depreciating currencies, advantages ranging from 20 per cent to 30 per cent over and above those enjoyed by the same countries in 1930, this proposed legislation would provide for the levying of countervailing duties sufficient to freeze landing prices of foreign competing merchandise in this country as of October 31, 1930.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEEDY. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. A little better word than duty would be a straight-out equalization.

Mr. BEEDY. We call it a countervailing duty.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. That is exactly what it is.

Mr. BEEDY. A balancing duty.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. To make the situation as it was before the currency of the other countries began to depreciate.

Mr. BEEDY. Exactly.

Let me say to you that France has passed a similar law to protect herself against competitive advantages arising from depreciated currencies of other countries. She is still on the gold basis and faces this same problem which we face. Canada, with a depreciated currency, which I believe now approximates only 17 per cent—although it has been 20 per cent—facing Swedish competition, whose currency has depreciated approximately 30 per cent, has been obliged to pass orders in council to protect herself and restore her former competitive status quo.

Nations now on the gold basis in self-defense must take some steps to protect themselves against abnormal competitive conditions now obtaining. There is no possibility of the situation stabilizing itself as long as so many countries are off the gold basis.

Generally, when a nation's currency starts to depreciate, there comes a time when that nation is forced into the open market to purchase supplies and raw materials. In such an event if the nation concerned is forced into the markets of gold-standard countries her depreciated currency places her at a great disadvantage. She must then pay dearly for her supplies and raw materials, and the prices of her own products inevitably rise. As we say, the situation rights itself. Such will not be the case to-day. Too many countries are off the gold standard.

The Scandinavian countries are self-contained so far as the manufacture of pulp is concerned except for one item. They must go into the gold-standard market to buy sulphur, and there they must pay an increased price for sulphur with their depreciated currency. But the cost of sulphur constitutes from 6 to 10 per cent only of the cost of pulp production.

Sweden formerly purchased quantities of our wheat, bacon, and other of our foodstuffs. She is no longer obliged to do so. She has ceased to buy here and now goes to Australia for her wheat and foodstuffs. There she takes advantage of the situation arising out of the depreciated currency of Australia. Similarly, many of the countries with debased currencies are trading with each other and thus enjoying mutual advantages of depreciated currency. In the light of this situation there is little or no promise of stabilization unless the United States solves the problem so far as she is concerned and by a system of countervailing duties reestablishes her industries and returns them to a living competitive basis.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEEDY. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. The pulp and paper manufacturers during the making of the last tariff bill asked for a tariff on pulp, and had this situation then been in existence, in all probability, we would have granted them some protection in that tariff act; is not that true?

Mr. BEEDY. That is a very fair statement. The industry then suffered from foreign competition but has nearly held her own in the face of great difficulties. To-day those difficulties have increased until they are insurmountable in the absence of legislation.

Mr. HORR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEEDY. Yes.

Mr. HORR. Getting away from the tariff discussion, as a matter of fact, in normal times when the two countries were on the gold standard, we could beat them in competition. Is not that true?

Mr. BEEDY. I do not hesitate to say we could not.

Mr. HORR. But we could meet the competition.

Mr. BEEDY. We were able to meet it after a fashion.

Mr. HORR. So, really, the gentleman's measure is based upon the differential in exchange; is not that true?

Mr. BEEDY. That is all; yes.

Mr. HORR. And it is not a tariff measure.

Mr. BEEDY. In the ordinary sense it is not.

Mr. Chairman, I repeat that I have referred to the pulp and paper industry because it was the first to suffer from abnormal conditions now obtaining. It only illustrates the situation in which many American industries now find themselves. I trust that legislation called for by the introduction of bills yesterday providing for levies of countervailing duties will be given a prompt hearing and receive a favorable report from the Committee on Ways and Means. I trust that the proposed legislation will then be considered promptly by the House. I do not doubt that in its consideration the same public-spirited and nonpartisan attitude which has thus far characterized this session of Congress will still obtain. Surely this Congress will meet the problem with a degree of wisdom comparable to that exhibited by Canada, France, and other nations.

We hold in our hands not only the future existence of many great industries but we have intrusted to our care the well-being of hundreds of thousands of laborers who will be deprived of further employment unless this Congress rises to the emergency and acts with wisdom and dispatch.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I have been very much interested in the statement made in regard to the conditions in the pulp industry of the United States caused by the competition from countries which have gone off the gold standard.

It affects not only the pulp industry in Maine and Wisconsin and the State of Washington but in the South and elsewhere. This is an emergency. The resolution (H. J. Res. 268) to which the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BEEDY] referred was introduced after many conferences and is deemed to be a bill which will work in the present extreme emergency. Care has been taken in the preparation of the bill to protect the situation in connection with the protective tariff, so that the emergency bill can not be called a tariff bill and so that it will not disturb existing tariff rates.

The gentleman from Maine spoke primarily of the pulp industry, but the situation will arise in other cases. I am told that because of depreciated currencies manufactured leather now comes into the United States in increasing amount, and is selling almost for a song. I am told that chinaware, protected under the tariff, an industry that has

been building up in the United States, is being hurt because under the depreciated currency foreign goods have begun to come in. If we were in a little better condition to buy things of this kind, we would soon see how a larger increase in the imports would come in but would see very little increase in the amount of tariff duties collected.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I yield.

Mr. GARBER. The gentleman from Maine spoke of the bill but failed to inform the House as to the delegation of power. I agree with the gentleman from Washington that the delegation should be general and apply to all imports.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If the gentleman will get the bill introduced yesterday, he will see that it is a blanket proposition. It is mandatory. It is not a delegation of power. We are urging it now because it is an emergency.

Mr. GARBER. It authorizes the commission to ascertain the differential in a currency.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. We seek to provide that where the differential is shown after proper examination by the people who appraise the duty, then a countervailing duty, the equal of the depreciation in the money of the other country shall be added.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman state whether these several bills—I assume that they have not yet been printed—provide for the transfer of items from the free list to the dutiable list?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No; there is no transfer. That plan was not deemed feasible. The bill is carefully drawn, so that the differential is provided where there is now a tariff, and the same differential in items on the free list. We could see that if we would undertake to transfer items from the free list to the dutiable list, we would open up the whole tariff question and require the preparation of a complete tariff bill, which would take a long time. The emergency is right now, and it is acute.

I would like to call attention to a situation which has just arisen and which will serve as an example. Next Monday the Joint Committee on Printing will meet to award contracts for 16,000,000 pounds of paper. The total amount on schedule to be awarded, some of it later, is for 52,000,000 pounds of paper, to be used by the Federal Government. But bids for 16,000,000 pounds are to be awarded here on bids already in. There was nothing in the specifications to provide that the American material should be preferred. The President of the United States only a few days ago asked that legislative action to provide that specifications for governmental supplies should contain a clause providing that the goods should be purchased in the United States of material made in the United States, provided the prices are not prohibitive. That should be done. But before legislation can be passed here are bids to award 16,000,000 pounds of paper at once. By the very nature of things, some of the manufacturers will offer bids for paper made with imported pulp. Those bids should be canceled. None should be awarded until the joint committee can revise the specifications so that the preference shall be given to American products.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Competition is so close that it stands to reason that the bids will be close. Some of the manufacturers of paper for the United States Government will get the awards and will use imported pulp, while the mills in the State of Washington and in Maine and elsewhere are running at a loss, while striving, might and main, to keep working people in the United States employed. I am glad the opportunity has come to make this address, to call the attention of the members of the Joint Committee on Printing to the fact that they can and must find authority to award none of these bids until new specifications are drawn providing that American products for this paper must be used.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Has the Joint Committee on Printing required a clause in those contracts that the manufacturers of the paper will not reduce wages during the period of the contract?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I am glad that phase has been brought up. I am not a member now of the Joint Committee on Printing, but I am informed that these new contracts about to be awarded do have that clause, in order to protect American workingmen; but what is the use of protecting American workingmen if the base material in the paper is made abroad and comes in with an advantage under this differential brought about by a depreciated currency? Our mills will have to shut down.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. It is essential, so far as wages are concerned, that the manufacturers do not make the contract and then turn around immediately and deflate the wages of the employees.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I understand that the prevention of that is in the contract.

Mr. HALL of North Dakota. Expressed in carloads, how much wood will be involved in the letting of bids next Monday?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. On the whole award of 52,000,000 pounds for the use of the Federal Government, I think there would be about 15,000,000 cords of wood in the raw state. That means a lot of work for wood choppers, haulers, and the like. Much of the wood is hemlock that is not salable just now. The whole order would call for 5,000,000 feet of logs, if you can get the picture—an enormous amount of American raw material, with no place in the world to find a market for it, with people all over the State of Washington and the State of Maine and other States begging for something to work at, willing to cut wood, work in the sawmills, work in the pulp mills. Here is a chance to do something.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes; I yield.

Mr. HASTINGS. The gentleman is making a very interesting statement with reference to the pulp and paper industry, showing its distressed condition, and he appeals to the House and to the Joint Committee on Printing to come to its relief. Let me say to the gentleman that the oil industry in the western country is in distress. A resolution was passed last year directing the Tariff Commission to investigate the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, and a report has recently been made to the effect that the diffence in that cost is $1.03 per barrel. I sincerely hope that we will have the sympathetic consideration of the gentleman from Washington when this matter is brought before us.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. The gentleman has always had it, and he has it now, particularly in this depression, this struggle, this collapse of world credit, this decline in the values of foreign money. It hits far and wide. A world financial collapse began in Europe prior to the breaking out of the World War in 1914. European countries were mostly dead broke then, and we are all cashing in on that broken condition now. I congratulate the Chairman and Members on both sides of the House that so far in the discussion of these great relief problems, finding remedies, there is little or no partisanship, and I hope there will not be. This is much more than the ordinary tariff struggle. I am quite willing to help as far as I can. [Applause.]

The text of the bill is as follows:

House Joint Resolution 268

Joint resolution to provide that paper bought for use by the United States or the District of Columbia shall be American made of American materials.

Resolved, etc., That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, no purchase shall be made after the enactment of this act of paper for use of the United States or the District of Columbia

unless such paper is made wholly within the United States, and wholly of materials which are grown, produced, or manufactured wholly within the United States.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HOLADAY].

Mr. HOLADAY. Mr. Chairman, I received this morning, and I presume other Members of the House received a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on Railroads and Business," by Gen. W. W. Atterbury, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, one of the largest, and, I believe, one of the most successful railroads that we have in our country. In this pamphlet he points out some of the difficulties of the railroads, and that they are losing business to the busses and other means of transportation. I am going to point out to General Atterbury where and why the railroads are losing business in this country, and I shall call attention to a few specific instances with which I am personally acquainted.

Last year in July there was a fair at Kankakee, Ill. Several thousand head of horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep were on exhibit there. This livestock was released at 5 o'clock on Friday evening. The Illinois State Fair at Springfield commenced the next day, Saturday. Under the rules livestock for exhibition at the State fair had to be in Springfield by 9 o'clock on Saturday morning. Something like 200 miles separates Springfield and Kankakee. Representatives of two railroads came to the fairgrounds and were soliciting the business of shipping this livestock from Kankakee to Springfield. Finally, one of the freight agents was able to contract for considerable business. He promised the exhibitors, knowing that the livestock had to be in Springfield by 9 o'clock on Saturday morning, that if the stock was loaded by 6 o'clock on Friday evening a special train would be made up and would make a through run to Springfield. On the basis of that agreement a special train was made up of, I think, something like 50 carloads of livestock, loaded, ready to be hauled out at 6 o'clock in the evening. Instead of being pulled out at 6 o'clock, as the railroad had agreed to do, it remained there in the yards until about 4 o'clock the next morning. It was then hauled to Decatur, Ill., and it laid over there until afternoon Saturday, and arrived in Springfield about 3 or 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon. The excuse the railroad gave was that it could not pull out of the Kankakee yards on account of some other railroad refusing to allow it to cross its lines.

What there was to that excuse I do not know. There was great inconvenience, there was actual loss of livestock, and, as I said, great inconvenience in arriving at Springfield, Ill., there at that late hour.

At the end of that week the Illinois State Fair was followed by the State fair at Columbus, Ohio, and the State fair at Des Moines, Iowa, and as a result of the failure of that railroad to give service livestock was trucked from Springfield, Ill., to Columbus, Ohio, and to Des Moines, Iowa. That was done because they could not get service over the railroads.

Let me give you another illustration. Across country from Charleston, Ill., to Martinsville is something like 28 or 30 miles. By truck we can get livestock across there in two hours. Livestock was loaded at Charleston at about 5 o'clock on Friday evening and by railroad it had to go to Terre Haute and then come back to Martinsville, a distance of, perhaps, 150 miles. Livestock loaded at Charleston, Ill., at 5 o'clock on Saturday evening intended for exhibition at Martinsville was delivered at Martinsville Sunday evening.

I have been engaged in this business all of my life, even when I was a boy with my father. The railroads have lost a large percentage of the transportation of livestock going from one fairgrounds to another because they did not give the service. The local agent, the man with whom the contract is made, has no authority. It is not his fault. It is the fault of the dispatcher, 50 or 100 miles away. The rates are cheaper by railroad. I moved a car from Kankakee to Springfield for a little over $24. It would cost me $40 by truck. Leaving Springfield I paid $40 for a truck when I could have shipped by rail for $24, but I had no assurance when my livestock would be delivered.

Only a few weeks ago a Member of this House from a State just beyond the Mississippi River wanted to ship some household goods to Washington. The agent told him he thought it would go through in five or six days. He shipped the goods out two weeks ahead of time. He stopped in Chicago for a visit. When I was talking to him two weeks had elapsed, and those household goods had not yet arrived.

In my opinion, the thing that is causing the railroads to lose business to the trucks is not the rates, but it is the fact that they do not give service. It is impossible to make a contract with them upon which you can rely, as far as the time of delivery is concerned. That comes about, I think, to some extent, by the efforts of the railroads to handle longer trains. They have doubled the length of the trains, doubled the capacity of the cars and of the engines, so that to-day when a shipper of other commodities than livestock is compelled to ship through a division point he has no assurance when that car will be delivered. It may be hauled down the road 50 miles to a division point and remain at that point 2 or 3 or 4 days or a week until an entire train can be gathered together.

When I read General Atterbury's complaint against the failing business of the railroads, I thought I would take this opportunity of replying to him and pointing out, at least in one particular, why they are losing business. It is because they are failing to give the public accommodations and are failing to give the public any assurance when they may expect a carload of freight that has been shipped to be delivered at the other end of the line. In other words, a man shipping by rail has no assurance when his goods will arrive. Therefore he would prefer to pay more and ship by truck.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLADAY. I yield.

Mr. GARBER. I was very glad, indeed, to hear the gentleman call attention to this question of service. Does the gentleman not think that the competitive service being furnished by the trucks will eventually drive the railroads to giving equal service to the shippers?

Mr. HOLADAY. One of two things will happen. Either they must give equal service or the railroads will lose the business. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, in the last Congress, at the direction of the House of Representatives, I helped conduct an investigation into the activities of the propaganda of the communists of the United States. Since then I have been called upon many times in public speeches to uphold our own economic system, and even defend our republican form of government.

There is no question in the mind of anybody in these days of depression, unemployment, hardship, and suffering, but that there is something wrong in our own economic system, which fails to provide adequate security for American wage earners. I believe for the last 40 years, since 1893, that our wage earners have been the best paid, the best housed, the best fed, the best clothed, and the most contented in the world, and if we let down our immigration barriers tens of millions of foreigners would try to come into this country of ours; but, at the same time, it must be apparent that there are abuses and evils in our own economic system which should be eliminated. My answer to all the charges made by communists, socialists, and pink intellectuals against our economic system as being oppressive to the workingmen and being full of abuses and injustices and our form of government corrupt and rotten, and democracy a failure, is that the American people still have that capacity, intelligence, and patriotism to solve all of their political and economic problems for the best interests of all Americans, as they have done in the past, and which we propose to do in the future, without the help of communism, socialism, or any form of foreign dictatorship. Nevertheless, we can not continue to be blind to the fact that millions of American wage earners are suffering to-day, due to the defects of our own economic

system, and they will continue to suffer unless we make some modification and some necessary adjustments in our high-powered mass-production system.

I am about to propose to you a suggestion that may seem radical, that may seem revolutionary, because it is new; but, in my opinion, it is conservative, because it is aimed to destroy any possible appeal of communist and socialist propaganda in the United States, or even argument for Government ownership. We must remember that in the last 20 years our economic system has changed very rapidly, and that we have seen merger after merger in every line of industry and vast accumulations of capital in the hands of a few corporations, so that 6 per cent of all the corporations in the United States employ 70 per cent of all the wage earners, and those wage earners have become mere cogs in an enormous industrial machine. I desire to take this opportunity to present an economic plan for the purpose of passing prosperity around among the great mass of American people when we emerge, as emerge we will within the next few years, from the present deplorable depression. The House of Representatives has so far failed even to discuss giving aid or comfort to those who are unemployed or in distress or destitute or suffering from hunger or undernourishment.

The plan I propose is aimed to stimulate and encourage individual initiative, to pass prosperity around, to provide a square deal to labor, organized and unorganized, and the white-collar class as was proposed years ago by President Roosevelt and give the millions of American wage earners a bigger share in the profits of their labor by affording adequate security.

I want the Members to realize that this is not a final proposition. It is just the seed. I want your advice and your help. If it is a worth-while and constructive proposal, I should have your cooperation, but if it is un-American, demagogic, unsound, or against the welfare of the people then I will not urge further consideration. My suggestion is simply this: That all corporations having 100 employees or more and doing an interstate business shall be required to take out a license through the Department of Commerce; that they shall not be permitted to pay more than 8 or 10 per cent dividends, and after that they must deduct a certain amount, say 5 per cent, of the total pay roll to establish reserve funds to provide security insurance for their employees including health, life, unemployment, and retirement before any additional dividends may be paid to the stockholders.

I have received in the last few days over 500 letters, due to a radio speech in which I referred to this proposition for adequate security to American wage earners and only 1 or 2 letters against it.

It is a tragedy and a most pathetic thing that in this country of ours, the richest and the greatest in the world, that men who have worked faithfully 20 and 30 years in private corporations to build up the prosperity and wealth of this country have been fired out on a week's notice, without any retirement pay whatever.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. During the last 25 or 30 years, on account of our great inventions, mass production, and efficiency, much of the need for man power has been done away with. To-day we can produce more than we can consume or for which we can find a market. What would be a permanent solution of unemployment? Would it not be fewer hours of labor throughout the United States and that be made mandatory?

Mr. FISH. That might be a solution and I am in sympathy with the idea.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is the only permanent solution in my opinion.

Mr. FISH. I am asking security for American labor and the preservation of our own economic system based on individual incentive. I am not at all opposed to the gentleman's suggestion, because it may be one of the things that will help solve the industrial problem.

The House of Representatives has the capacity, intelligence, an dthe same desire as former Houses to solve our economic problems for the best interests and welfare of all the American people. We have solved them in the past. Fifty years ago labor was underpaid and worked 12 and 14 hours a day and had no protection from accident or disease. What happened. As each one of these evils and abuses under our economic system developed the different State legislatures and the Congress solved them one by one. Labor was given shorter hours, better working conditions, and then the States passed child labor laws and workmen's compensation laws, and now old-age pension laws.

The time has come when we should solve the economic problems that now confront the country, and we can solve them here just as we have in the past and in the State legislatures without changing our industrial system, without Government ownership, without socialism, and, of course, without any foreign form of dictatorship.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I understood the gentleman to say that he would provide that these licensed corporations, after they had paid a 10 per cent dividend, should create a fund to provide unemployment insurance and other insurance.

Mr. FISH. Exactly.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Why would not the gentleman be willing to provide that fund first and provide for the payment of dividends afterwards?

Mr. FISH. That is a fair question, but the gentleman knows that we could not get such legislation through.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Why?

Mr. FISH. There would be opposition not only from big business but from all conservative-minded men. They would never permit such legislation to pass this Congress and the State legislatures which would destroy all incentive for capital investment. I am trying to present a practical solution.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 10 additional minutes.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. For a brief question.

Mr. GARBER. I repeat the question asked by the distinguished gentleman from New York. Why should not human effort be given a preference over dividends?

Mr. FISH. My friend, do not go any farther. That is what I am speaking about. I am trying to uphold human rights. I am trying to put human rights above property rights. I am trying to provide security for human beings in this country, which they are not getting at the present time.

Mr. GARBER. I understood the gentleman to say he favored the payment of dividends first.

Mr. FISH. Of course, you have got to give some incentive to capital to go to work and obtain reasonable profits.

Mr. GARBER. If you paid dividends first, then the laborers would never get anything.

Mr. FISH. Do not let us get into an argument over the details of the proposal, which can be worked out later on. We are practically all agreed on the main proposition, that our economic system is not perfect. It has been found wanting in this depression; it does not provide necessary security for the great mass of American wage earners. We have found that in times of prosperity wages went up, yet at the same time the cost of living and taxes went up. Then when we have a depression we find 6,000,000 men unemployed and many more millions on part time, while others have received reductions from 10 to 50 per cent of their wages.

I have not the time in 10 minutes to go into the details, but I repeat that you can not get any such legislation through if you propose to deduct money for security funds before dividends are paid. Perhaps it might be feasible to deduct such funds at the time of payment of dividends. Certainly big business should not object in normal and prosperous years to establish adequate funds for security purposes. If all large corporations having a hundred or more

employees were required to do this, then it would be fair, as far as competition is concerned.

I submit that the proposition I am presenting to you to-day is not radical, it is not revolutionary, but it is, in my opinion, quite conservative. Its main purpose is the welfare and security of the American people and permanence of our economic system.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I will agree with the gentleman that it is most conservative.

Mr. FISH. Of course, in drawing up an economic plan of that kind you have got to take other matters into consideration. You have got to provide that there shall not be any bonuses paid to the executives. Millions of dollars in bonuses have been paid to executives in recent years before they even pay dividends to the stockholders. There are many other details that must be taken into consideration before shaping a practical and workable bill.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. And they should not be permitted to water their stocks.

Mr. FISH. Oh, we could speak an hour on those different loopholes that must be guarded against.

Lincoln was right when he enunciated the doctrine that "labor is prior to capital." The Pope at Rome has recently called for a program of industrial and social justice and a better distribution of wealth.

In the present great affliction millions of the savings of our thrifty working people have been literally swallowed up in foreign bonds and bad investments on the advice of the international bankers. Yet in spite of depression and affliction, which has brought poverty, hardships, and misery to millions of Americans, there still remains loyalty and faith in the hearts and minds of our people toward our free institutions, Government, and American flag. They have not joined in with the communists or other ultraradicals to tear down our economic structure or republican form of government. The Nation owes them a debt of gratitude for their deep-rooted faith in our institutions that are being attacked from all sides. I am opposed to communism, socialism, fascism, and Government ownership, but am convinced that the American people under the continuation of our existing economic system are entitled to greater rewards and security and a bigger share in the fruits of their labor in days of prosperity; at present too much goes to the stockholders of our large corporations, often to increase already swollen fortunes. We must, however, remember that capitalism is now being confronted with a real test of its benefits and virtues, and we who uphold it can not afford to hide our heads any longer in the sands of depression and not try before it is too late to restore confidence in it by abolishing some of its well-known evils and abuses.

I am submitting the proposal in good faith and hope that it will be considered by the Congress and the American people on its merits and demerits with view to providing much-needed security to the American wage earners, because if this depression continues for another year or two a complete change in our economic system will be imposed on us and we will be confronted with Government ownership or some other form of socialism which will destroy what is best in our industrial system and place all business in politics and in the hands of the Government. My proposal is an answer to communism and the program of government ownership in Soviet Russia; it seeks to preserve that individual incentive under our economic system that has made for the wonderful development of our country and at the same time bring about a fairer and more equitable distribution of wealth and eliminate the seeds of class hatred and revolution that spring up as a result of the accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of a few.

Mr. CAVICCHIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. CAVICCHIA. Is it not a fact that almost all unemployment insurance, wherever it has been tried, has had a contribution from the employer and the employee as well as the State?

Mr. FISH. I would not say almost all, because I do not think that is correct. It may start that way, but sooner or later politics gets into it and the employee pays nothing or next to nothing. But I may as well tell you now I am opposed to any financial dole. I am opposed to Federal unemployment insurance. I am opposed to it because it puts a premium on idleness. I hope we will never be forced to it. Maybe if this depression continues a couple of years we will be compelled to enact some temporary legislation, but I am opposed to it because it has caused the ruin of the great economic system in Germany and Great Britain.

Mr. CAVICCHIA. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. FISH. I am sorry, but I only have a few minutes. If the Members will excuse me, I would like to digress and speak on one or two other matters in my remaining time.

I speak as an individual and not with any authority from the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, on which I have served for almost 12 years. The American Congress and the Government have been the subjects of very bitter attacks in the French Parliament during the last few weeks. Everything we have done in the past or present, or contemplate doing in the future has been condemned. We have been pointed out as being a Shylock demanding the pound of flesh, and for one I believe it is time that the facts and figures should be put into the record of the House of Representatives, and if the French people and the French—not statesmen but politicians—knew the facts they would be ashamed of themselves and would cease whining and pointing the finger of scorn at the United States, which has shown the utmost generosity and liberality in adjusting the so-called war debts with France.

The people in this country are still friendly toward the French people and the French Republic, but they are losing their patience and they are getting somewhat tired of being constantly pointed out as a harsh creditor.

Now, what are the facts? We lent France after the armistice $1,027,477,800, payments were made at the end of 1918 and in 1919 and 1920. All of this after the armistice was signed and the war was all over. In addition we sold France $407,341,145 of surplus war material after the war. If France had paid interest on those two debts, the war material plus what we had lent her after the armistice, at a 5 per cent basis, she would be paying to-day $82,000,000 a year to the United States. The total amount of money that France has paid on the entire war debts to the United States in the last 12 years, or since the war, amounts to $200,000,000, a pitiful sum in view of the attacks in the French Parliament on the United States as a hard-hearted, cold-blooded creditor.

On the other hand, Great Britain, who has not complained and has not publicly attacked us, has paid into the Treasury of the United States $1,300,000,000, or $700,000,000 more than she has received in the way of reparations.

Still this attack in the French Parliament and press goes on, increasing in volume and bitterness each year, and it is about time the facts were put into the RECORD with respect to the small sum of money paid by the French Government to the United States, which does not even begin to pay the interest on the money we lent France after the armistice.

Mr. MURPHY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. How much in reparations has Germany paid France in the time that France has paid us the $200,000,000?

Mr. FISH. About two and a half billion dollars. France received from Germany, until the moratorium went into effect, under the Young plan, $200,000,000 a year, of which she has paid less than $100,000,000 to Great Britain and the United States and has had a surplus left of over $100,000,000.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. In the United States to-day there are 24,000,000 people working 48 hours or over a week. If we made this 40 hours a week throughout the United States, it would mean four or five million more people going to work. Is not that true?

Mr. FISH. That is possible. I am not against the gentleman's proposition at all.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Would not that be a permanent solution of the unemployment throughout the country?

Mr. FISH. No; it is far, far bigger than that. No one thing will settle it. My proposition is to go into effect only when we get back to normalcy. The gentleman's proposition is to change the situation as it exists, and the gentleman knows very well it will not entirely settle it, although it may be very helpful, and I am in sympathy with it.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. It would settle it if the various States made it mandatory, and that is the only way we can get it, because the corporations will not voluntarily shorten the hours of labor.

Mr. FISH. I would like now to say a few words to my Democratic colleagues.

Mr. HASTINGS. Before the gentleman does that will the gentleman yield on the question of Government debts?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. HASTINGS. I was called out of the Chamber, and I am wondering if the gentleman has given the figures as to how much we remitted to the Italian Government in the payment of debts.

Mr. FISH. I will be glad to, briefly. We reduced the Italian debt to 25 cents on the dollar. We reduced the French debt to 49 cents on the dollar; but, as a matter of fact, the French debt settlement does not even cover the money we lent them after the armistice, plus the surplus war materials which France bought from us after the war. We reduced practically all other war debts from 50 to 75 per cent, with the exception of Great Britain's, which was only reduced 20 per cent.

Mr. HASTINGS. I may say, if the gentleman will permit, that if you counted all of the reductions or remissions, and if you counted the interest that we actually received in place of the 4¼ per cent interest that we pay on our own obligations, although it was the understanding we were only lending the foreign governments our credit, we lost in these settlements $10,705,006.90.

Mr. FISH. Oh, the gentleman's figures are so big it is hard to understand them. The fact is that the Congress agreed to these debt settlements and we can not go behind them now. I do not question his figures.

Mr. HASTINGS. That is the Treasury statement.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. I yield the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. FISH. We can agree that the Congress has shown unprecedented generosity to all the nations of the world in these debt settlements.

Mr. HASTINGS. I did not vote for any of them.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. This one billion and a half dollars advanced to France, that the gentleman speaks of, was a billion and a half dollars advanced by President Wilson.

Mr. FISH. Yes, it was; but I think it is foolish to discuss the legality or illegality of those loans, because it is water over the mill, whether legal or illegal.

Now, I would like to say something to my Democratic colleagues. We have been here two months, and we have not discussed the question of unemployment or done anything for the millions of hungry, undernourished people in our own country. We have talked about everything else but nothing about relieving our own undernourished American citizens. I do not say starved; I say undernourished; and I say it advisedly. When are the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives going to act?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. What would you suggest as relief?

Mr. FISH. The Senate of the United States sent over to the House a bill to donate 40,000,000 bushels of wheat to the Red Cross to have it processed into flour and distributed to your city and to every city where there was need, and so far that bill has not been reported out. You have a Democratic majority on the Committee on Agriculture, and I am very positive that there would be very few Americans who would object to a proposition of that kind.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is the gentleman's program for immediate relief?

Mr. FISH. I do not want to see any person starving or undernourished when there is an overabundance of foodstuffs in the United States.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. If the Government were to appropriate a billion dollars to place people at work, it would be better, even if we had to issue bonds.

Mr. FISH. That is another proposition, but we must feed our people first.

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. No. I do not yield any further.

Mr. GARBER. Why does not the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I would be glad to yield if I can have more time. The gentleman from Ohio agrees, so I will yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. HASTINGS. The gentleman is complaining about our not doing anything for the unemployment. The President of the United States in a special message advocated the enactment of legislation which resulted in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the relief of land banks, and other things. Why does not the gentleman, who is an influential member of that party, go down and get the President of the United States to send a special message here on unemployment?

Mr. FISH. I think the House is able and competent to enact any legislation it desires for relief purposes with or without a message from the President.

Mr. CLANCY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. CLANCY. Does not the gentleman from New York know that the Government owns wheat that is rotting now, according to the declaration of Senator CAPPER, the wheat expert of the Senate?

Mr. FISH. Yes; we have an abundance of foodstuffs, and yet millions of our people are undernourished.

Mr. CLANCY. Does not the gentleman know the Capper wheat bill handing over 40,000,000 bushels of the 160,000,000 bushels of Government-owned wheat to the American Red Cross and local government agencies to feed starving people and starved animals passed the Senate unanimously? Does not the gentleman know the whole country applauded that action and scores of editorials were written praising it?

Mr. FISH. Yes; that action was taken by a supposedly Republican Senate, and a lot of Senators from wheat States voted for it.

Mr. CLANCY. Does not the gentleman know that the Government-owned wheat is rotting, and that it is costing millions of dollars, $28,000,000 per year, for storage charges; and does not the gentleman know that over 10,000,000 bushels of that wheat is in Canada, and that we are paying Canadians about $2,500,000 rental for warehouses each year, and that the Canadian charges were over $10,000,000 per year for over 50,000,000 bushels recently?

Mr. FISH. And everybody knows that this House voted to send $20,000,000 of food products to Soviet Russia in 1921 and $10,000,000 to Germany in 1923 to help the starving people over there, and yet the Committee on Agriculture of this House has so far failed to take any action toward reporting a relief bill in this emergency of our own people.

Mr. CLANCY. And does not the gentleman know that there are millions of people hungry in the United States, and that 1 bushel of that wheat would make 60 loaves of bread for hungry men and women and children?

Mr. FISH. I shall have to take the gentleman's word for that. I also want to take this opportunity to call attention to a bill that is pending in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which affects somewhat the situation in the world to-day. It is a bill that we have been striving to get out for several years and secure consideration of. It aims to prohibit the sending of arms and ammunition of war to any belligerent nation, without the consent of Congress, from the private munition manufacturers in the United States.

I submit that the people of this country do not want to send arms and ammunition to Japan or to China in case of war between those countries. We do not want to make the United States the slaughterhouse of the world, so that any nation can come here and buy munitions which are sold for profit and greed, to be used against people with whom we are at peace and with whom we have no quarrel whatever.

I call attention also to the loans being investigated by the other branch of Congress, where it was proved that in one loan, made by a New York banking house for Bolivia for $23,000,000, $6,500,000 were taken out to buy munitions and armaments from Vickers (Inc.), in London, England, when the money of the American bondholders was supposedly sent down to South America for productive purposes. I hope the Democratic majority will support this proposition to see that munitions of war are not sent all over the world to those nations which are at war, and thus help to avoid out being dragged into every future war in every part of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CROWTHER].

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Chairman, in view of the remarks of my colleague from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS], I can not see the value of criticism at this or any other time of the settlement of the international war debts. I think you gentlemen all realize that they were settled in a way that apparently was fair to everybody concerned, on the basis of ability to pay, a consideration of the value of the natural resources of the nations involved and their prospects in the future. There is no provision in international law for the settlement of debts of that character. If they had not been settled by agreement at the round table, as a matter of discussion and consideration of all the fundamentals involved, how could they have been settled? We made the best settlement we could under the circumstances. There was no way to compel a settlement, and there is no way to enforce payment of the present settlement of the installments and interest that are due annually. Of course, we could send a couple of cruisers or battleships over there and notify them we are going to take charge of their customs and collect the money, but that means war, and that is unthinkable. It is too late now to offer any criticism in respect to the unfairness, as considered by some, of the settlement of the war debts. We must charge up the balance that we did not get as a war loss, as we did on supplies and on ship tonnage and the cost of railroad management by the Government, and of a thousand other items that had to be charged off as war losses. There is no sane reason for constantly bringing this subject up for argument. There is no use in now calculating how much money we lost in the settlement of the war debt. We made the best settlement possible, after very calm, careful consideration by the balanced minds of a commission made up of two very splendid Members of this House, Mr. CRISP and the late Member from Ohio, Mr. Burton, two Senators and the Secretary of the Treasury, sitting in consultation with the accredited representatives of the countries who owed these debts to the United States. I think they did a splendid job, and the congratulations of this body are due for the duty they performed, and if those congratulations have not yet been extended then they are overdue. It is time we quit haggling and quibbling about the settlement of these foreign debts. I believe that our European debtors will pay their just debts. We were very generous in the terms, and I feel certain that they will live up to their agreement.

It has just come to my attention that two of the largest sugar refineries in New York City, located near Yonkers, have been closed. There is a loss to the city of Yonkers of $67,000 to $76,000 in weekly pay roll and 1,800 men and women are unemployed. I understand that in Philadelphia the refineries are working only part time. These sugar refineries are scattered all over the United States.

The conditions are about the same everywhere, due to what I termed at the time an error in computation of the differential rates in the last tariff bill. The differential is so small between refined sugar from Cuba and raw sugar from Cuba that it is almost impossible for the American refineries to compete with the Cuban refineries as they bring the product into the United States. That was brought to our attention before the bill was completed, and it was well understood by all of the members of the committee at that time that we were going to endeavor to cure it by a concurrent resolution, but at the last minute we were faced with that sugar resolution and the anthracite coal resolution and the lumber resolution and two or three others that wanted to be cured at the eleventh hour, and so we finally decided not to cure any of them, which I think was wrong, because most of them were of sufficient importance to demand attention. The figures for the differential as between refined sugar in Cuba and refined sugar produced in the United States were absolutely correct in the House bill. They were wrong in the Senate bill. But you will remember that when we came before the House asking for a separate vote on sugar we did not come before the House with the rate that had been agreed upon by the Ways and Means Committee. Very much against my individual wishes, we appeared on the floor with a compromise rate. I have never been very strong for compromises on tariff. But we came in here and asked for 2.5 instead of 3 cents, and we were defeated on the 2.5 cents, and that left us with the Senate rate of 2 cents.

In that Senate rate there apparently was an error in the figures that has proved a hardship for the American refiners. Some of the people who were interested in this sugar-refining business came to me and said:

> We can not live under a provision of that kind and we are an important industry in the United States.

There are 15,000 workers employed in and connected with the national refining of sugar. In Boston there are 2 refineries; New York and New Jersey have 6; Philadelphia 3; Baltimore 1; Savannah, Ga., 1; New Orleans 4; San Francisco 2; Texas 2. It is safe to say that upwards of 75,000 people are supported by that industry in this country. Their business is the refining of raw sugar imported largely from Cuba.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROWTHER. I will be glad to.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Could the situation be cured by an amendment to the tariff bill?

Mr. CROWTHER. It could.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. It ought to be done, then.

Mr. CROWTHER. Well, I think it ought to be done, but the gentleman knows the absolute impossibility of considering tariff legislation by piecemeal, by pop-gun bills, or anything of that character, no matter how important they are.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. When the employment of 15,000 men is involved I think we ought to act.

Mr. CROWTHER. I will say that it is hoped by those who are interested, the manufacturers, that they may be able to do something through the activities of the Tariff Commission. In fact, the Tariff Commission is working on it now. I talked with the chairman of the Tariff Commission a few moments ago, and he said the investigation would be a matter that would consume considerable time, and he did not believe they would be able to get what might be termed an immediate answer to this problem.

In passing let me say that the question of whether or not the differential was fair to the American refiner was submitted in a paragraph of the last tariff law to the Tariff Commission, and on that they made a report to the Ways and Means Committee in response to a letter from the then chairman, Mr. HAWLEY, and their report was made December 12, 1930, in which they show by figures that the differential in comparison to what was allowed in the bill of 1922 was manifestly low, but they did not recommend anything because there was no provision in the act asking them to make a recommendation. They could not make a recommendation. They were just asked to investigate it, and that report is available and if the Members care to examine it, it is an interesting report to read.

Now, this has nothing to do with the beet-sugar industry. It is a matter of cane sugar entirely. The fact remains that it is quite possible to import refined sugar from Cuba at a small fraction per hundred pounds over what you can bring raw sugar in here for.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROWTHER. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman says it has nothing to do with beet sugar. If we could produce all the sugar required through beet culture and what cane is produced in Louisiana, it would take up a great deal of the slack in agriculture, would it not?

Mr. CROWTHER. Oh, yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. And if we could get a 3-cent duty——

Mr. CROWTHER. If we could produce all of the beet sugar we could use, it would, but we do not do it.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CROWTHER].

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Chairman, the sugar refineries in New York have spent upward of $30,000,000 in construction; $1,500,000 in one given year in repairs. They consume 900 tons of coal in those two refineries every day, and large quantities of other supplies, such as bags made of cotton and jute, containers, boxes and barrels made of paper and wood, bone black, fuel and machinery oil, and other articles of a miscellaneous character are in daily use, the item of cotton and jute bags reaching a total of 50,000 bags a day. All of these supplies are purchased from outside sources and represent an annual expenditure of approximately $4,750,000.

So you can visualize the ramifications of this industry and how far they extend into the various other industrial activities of the country. The industry employs a high type of American labor. The lowest class of labor receives $5 a day, and skilled labor from $8 to $11 a day. The sugar refineries in the United States represent an investment of over $250,000,000. That is the list I read to you, extending from Galveston, Tex., to the Jersey shore and New York. The annual turnover is $500,000,000, and the payment to the men and women who labor in the industry is from $80,000,000 to $90,000,000 in wages paid by the sugar refineries.

I think this problem should certainly receive the earnest consideration of the Tariff Commission, and if nothing can be done under their authority I hope that the matter will receive the careful consideration of the House. Sugar is refined at a very small profit, and there is a loss of 7 pounds in the refining of a hundred pounds of raw sugar, which is another advantage that the refiner in Cuba has over the domestic manufacturer, because he has his work done at a lower price and he has 7 pounds out of each hundred that he does not have to pay freight on when he brings it into the country. It takes 107 pounds of raw sugar to make a hundred pounds of refined sugar.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask unanimous consent to print a part of this report in my remarks at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CROWTHER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CROWTHER. The following represents the importation of white and foreign refined sugar which came into the United States during the past three years:

	1929	1928	1927
	Tons	*Tons*	*Tons*
Cuba, Mexico, Central America, etc.	398,163	245,604	94,274
Porto Rico and Philippines	64,548	77,351	20,856
Total	463,711	322,955	115,130

By far the greatest amount of these importations came from Cuba, and the remarkable rate at which the tonnage from this country is increasing is shown in this: That in the year 1927 this country exported to the United States 87,000 tons of white sugar, 191,000 tons in 1928, and up to November 30, 1929, 313,765 tons. A portion of such white sugar was sold in New York, the center of consumption, some of it even finding its way to the Pacific coast. This white sugar at all times was sold in this country for from 10 to 25 cents a hundred under domestic refiners' prices. The importations for the year 1929, about 450,000 tons, mean that the production of one of the largest American refineries has been displaced, as approximately 450,000 tons of 2,240 pounds each represent about 1,080,000,000 pounds, or 10,000,000 bags of 100 pounds each, the loss falling not only on the sugar industry but also on other manufacturers whose products would have been used had this amount of refined sugar been of domestic origin. Since last November one of the refineries of our employer, located at Yonkers, N. Y., has been closed, which means that for the last three months 1,000 of our coworkers have been without employment. If the 450,000 tons of refined sugar which came from abroad had not been sold in this country during the past year, it is fair to assume that the operation of this plant would not have been suspended, for of the 450,000 tons of white sugar imported into the United States in 1929, it is safe to say that 50 per cent of it was sold in the New York market, or those markets tributary to it, and that the proportion of this tonnage, which has in all probability displaced the product of our employer, would be more than sufficient to keep this plant in operation at this all-important season of the year to ourselves and our coworkers. Nor are we the only ones who suffer by this invasion of foreign refined sugar. The Pacific coast during the past year has had a large quantity of this sugar sold in its markets, as reports from that part of the country show that refined sugar produced in Cuba is now being shipped from that country through the Panama Canal to Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma, a distance of almost 3,500 miles, and sold at these points at a lower price than San Francisco refiners can sell it in these markets, which are only four or five hundred miles away.

The existing tariff differential against imported refined sugar is 14/100 cents per 100 pounds applied to the Cuban article, which is 20 per cent lower than the differential prevailing on such sugar coming here from other countries. Under this rate 450,000 tons of refined sugar were imported during the year 1929, the last of the six years in which the tariff was in force, the importation in some instances showing an increase of 100 per cent per annum.

The present rate of duty, so far as it applies to white or refined sugar, is plainly inadequate, and if it is not increased the business of sugar refining in this country will be destroyed. Already plants in other parts of the world now producing raw sugar are being reequipped to extend the process of sugar making to the finished or refined product. The importation now going forward by leaps and bounds will soon attain a volume when this, the most valuable market in the world, will be at the mercy of the foreign refined article, and, tested by what has transpired in the last two years, refined sugar from other countries will soon reach a point where the large tonnage of sugar now reaching our shores in a raw state will enter the country in a refined condition, leaving our employer and all others engaged in the same business faced with the alternative of transferring their plants and business to other parts of the world, or of going out of business, leaving their costly equipment to become mounds of rust and tumbled-down bricks and mortar, while the American people, who every year shout their loudest and vote their strongest in support of the principle of protection to the working men and women of the country, will contemplate the spectacle of a commodity which enters into the domestic life of every household in the land being imported to the last ounce from foreign countries, without one dollar of the $500,000,000 which it will cost them yearly going into the pockets of American labor.

We respectfully submit that no such conditions should be permitted to continue in this country. Where a great industry has been built up and fostered by hundreds of years of legislative protection, it should not be allowed to decline, much less perish. No article of domestic consumption, for which our people pay $500,000,000 yearly, should be allowed to enter into use here without the labor of the country deriving some portion of the benefit arising from its production. The refining of sugar—that is to say, the conversion of raw sugar into the refined article—suited to domestic use, is but the last step in a complex process. Surely the labor involved in this, a small part of the operation, may well be reserved for the people of the country whose liberal use of the commodity, as evidenced by its per capita consumption annually, has made possible the vast increase in production that has enriched the other countries of the world, which now threaten to invade our markets and deny to the working men and women of this country any participation in the fruits of the labor involved in the production of the commodity.

When confronted with the same situation, Great Britain did not hesitate to go to the assistance of the refined sugar producers within her borders, and by a law passed on the 25th of April, 1928, placed an additional duty on refined sugar of 75 cents per 100 pounds, making this duty apply to all sugars testing over 98 polariscopic degrees, just as France, Germany, and Italy had done a short time before.

The above statement is from a brief submitted by the working men and women of the National Sugar Refining Co. of New Jersey, 129 Front Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. CROWTHER. I want to say a word about the dire necessity of a duty on copper. I have here a magazine which I receive regularly on my desk from the West. I believe it is published in Arizona. In it are some of the most pungent, clear-cut, and well-thought-out arguments as to the benefit of a protective tariff for the copper industry and industry in general that I have ever read.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROWTHER. Yes; for a question.

Mr. KNUTSON. It may be interesting to the gentleman to know that the editor of that magazine is a Democrat.

Mr. CROWTHER. I believe so, but I am not concerned as to his politics. I am extremely partial to a Democrat if he is for the tariff.

Mr. KNUTSON. So am I.

Mr. CROWTHER. One of the most stanch protective tariff supporters I ever knew was on the Democratic side of the House, Claude Hudspeth, of Texas. It would be well for some of you gentlemen on that side to take a leaf out of his book.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROWTHER. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Has the gentleman made any study as to the necessity of a tariff on oil?

Mr. CROWTHER. I am for a tariff on oil, and I always have been. I have been one of the first Members of the House to suggest to my committee that if we can not get a tariff on oil that we place an excise tax on it. I have said to my Democratic friends, "There is no use of our fooling ourselves about getting a tariff on oil. There will not be a tariff on oil because you Democrats have not the necessary courage to make it possible." However, I said to them, "Perhaps we can raise some money from oil by placing an excise tax for revenue." I do not care how we help the oil people as long as we help them. I am not afraid of mixing up the tariff with an excise tax, as long as it will help protect the oil industry in this country, raise us some money in this emergency, and bring relief to an industry that has been paralyzed for the last two years. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, let us return for a moment to this copper tariff. I desire to offer an editorial from the magazine Copper, published at Miami, Ariz., which presents the problem clearly and suggests the only sane remedy—a protective tariff.

CURTAILMENT OF COPPER PRODUCTION NOT THE REMEDY

When the United States controlled the world market a diminished output was effective to prevent overproduction.

With many international producers concerned retrenchment becomes impossible.

For our domestic market copper tariff is only protection against world copper chaos.

There are a number of people laboring under the impression that copper conditions to-day are the same as they were in 1921. A drastic curtailment in copper production in the United States in 1921, with similar action on the part of only a few of the foreign mines, cut down the overproduction of copper to the point where prosperity was restored.

This was possible at that time because foreign production had not yet reached a point where it could menace the position of domestic production. At that time the United States supplied well over 50 per cent of the world's copper and by curtailing the output in this country the market could be adjusted.

Since 1927, however, foreign production has been in the predominant position. In 1929 the peak of the United States production occurred, but in spite of this peak domestic copper produced amounted to less than 48 per cent of the world's production.

When in 1930 the stocks of copper increased in the United States and this same remedy was again applied in this country, this corrective had little or no effect upon the situation. In spite of drastic domestic reduction of production the copper stocks continued to pile up. The reason being that the foreign mines continued to produce at a high rate. The market for copper became too low in price to permit of a profitable production in this country, but, due to cheap native labor, the foreign mines continued to produce an unprecedented poundage.

Much of this foreign copper was dumped into our country. The foreign copper was also dumped into those countries which had formerly consumed American-produced copper. As a result, our mines began to curtail still further and many were eventually compelled to close down.

There are over 1,200,000 people, of whom 204,000 are wage earners, directly dependent upon copper production in this country. Whenever the mines reduce 10 per cent it throws over 30,000 wage earners out of employment. Less than 20 per cent of our wage earners are now employed in this industry. That means 243,200 have lost their jobs and are unable to support 960,000 people dependent upon this industry.

There has been nothing in our laws to protect 1,200,000 people from suffering this loss of means of making a living. A tariff on copper of about 8 or 10 cents a pound would have prevented this loss and would have made a vast difference in the hard times now confronting the people of this country.

The general hard times have veiled this situation. People who have not gone into the matter carefully reach the erroneous conclusion that copper is suffering from the same difficulties all other commodities are. While copper consumption is suffering from general hard times it is carrying this additional burden. If the depression should lift to-morrow, it would not carry copper with it, and the copper industry will not come back until a tariff is secured protecting it from foreign mines manned by cheap foreign labor.

One million two hundred thousand people are looking to this session of Congress to rectify this situation. These people are scattered through 19 States of the Union and are entitled to receive the same legislative consideration as other protected industries are enjoying in this country.

There are a few Americans who have invested in these foreign mines, but such an investment was made voluntarily, and should not mitigate against the rights of 1,200,000 people to make their living in our home country. Whenever it becomes necessary to sacrifice the welfare of 1,200,000 people living in 19 States in order to protect the foreign investments of a few rich mining men the purposes for which our Government was founded have failed.

The question before Congress on this copper issue to-day is whether the homes, jobs, and business enterprises of 1,200,000 Americans shall receive protection or whether speculative investments in foreign lands shall be protected.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON]. [Applause.]

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Chairman, during the long years I have served in this House it has always been my belief that each Member of Congress ought to try to inform himself just as thoroughly as possible about every subject coming before Congress for action. In accordance with this view I have spent many of the recesses of Congress in trying to inform myself at first hand with regard to the various activities which it is our duty to consider in this House.

Last summer it was my good fortune to encounter on one of my trips across the country the subcommittee having charge of the appropriations made for the Department of the Interior. My itinerary coincided with that of the committee for about a week. Let me say to the membership of this House that if there are those who have an idea that this subcommittee was on a "junket," then their idea of a "junket" is very different from mine.

I think there is a good deal of "bunk," if I may use this overworked word, in regard to junkets. In my opinion, every Member of Congress who can do so and certainly every committee of Congress having the activities of this Government under their direction should visit these activities and try to inform themselves at first hand. I believe that every cent of money spent by the Government for such education is well spent, and oftentimes worth an incalculable amount in the better legislation that such Members are able to enact on account of this information.

The subcommittee to which I have referred as making this trip of inspection and study was composed of its present chairman, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR], the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY], and the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH]. Along with them were the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. SMITH], who during the former Congress was chairman of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, the gentleman from Utah [Mr. COLTON], who was formerly chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE], who like myself is an interested student in the school of governmental problems. The members of the subcommittee took me in as a member ex officio, or rather pro tempore, of the subcommittee during the time I was with them, and let me say that on all the trips I have made for the purpose of seeking information I have never seen a committe, a subcommittee, or an individual work more earnestly or more assiduously than this group of men having charge of appropriations for the Department of the Interior.

I do not know what other activities the work of the subcommittee covered after I left them, but while I was with them the subcommittee went from Boulder Dam, where I first joined them, into California, visiting the Yosemite National Park and others. From Yosemite we went to San Francisco, where we had opportunity of seeing many of the important

governmental agencies and other interesting places in and around this most interesting city. From San Francisco the subcommittee went on to a number of other parks, and finally to Alaska. I did not accompany them there.

I wish to testify to the membership of the House as to the fine work this committee did. As a result, I for one, am the more inclined to follow their leadership and their recommendations after having witnessed this demonstration of their earnestness, their activity, and their willingness to do really hard work.

The activities covered by this committee are of a kind to appeal to our higher and finer senses, to the esthetic, and all that is beautiful as well as useful.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. TILSON. The national parks, of course, constitute one activity under the jurisdiction of this committee in which, perhaps, there is more general, I might say universal, interest than any other. As was suggested the other day by the distinguished gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] in his opening explanation of this bill, probably the one governmental activity for which this generation of ours will be remembered longer than any other will be our awakening to a realization of these wonderful beauty spots of nature and our preservation of them for all the generations that are to follow us.

The first one of our national parks, as I recall now, was established in the seventies. Some of us here would have to plead guilty to an age that would cover that period, so it may be said that in the lifetime of men now serving in this body this whole movement for national parks has been started and developed; but never in all of these years has it had the impetus or has it gone forward so rapidly and so efficiently as during the last 10 years. The late Doctor Mather, first director of the National Park Service, should ever be gratefully remembered for his notable service in this connection, and we are indeed fortunate in having his mantle fall upon Horace M. Albright, who is in every respect a worthy successor.

Our former colleague, Mr. Cramton, of Michigan, was a wheel horse in the service of the national parks. For a number of years he filled the position now so ably filled by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR], and many of the improvements, both in the parks themselves and in the park service, are due to his energy and enthusiasm. The plan adopted by the management of the national parks of granting concessions for hotels, transportation, and other services is, in my judgment, a most fortunate one, and we should not fail to give much credit to the concessionaires as well as the management of our national parks for the wonderful success of the plan in taking care of visitors to the parks.

Some may be disposed to look askance at a concession to a private concern or corporation within the parks in which there may be personal profit, because if there is any profit the concessionaires are entitled to it. I doubt, however, whether there is very often a profit. Most of these concessions are held by men of public spirit, greatly interested in our national parks and the States in which they are located, and who are ready to invest more than they may ever expect to get out of it.

So in most of our national parks there are hotels, lodges, camps, and all the facilities for transportation to make the visit of everyone comfortable and pleasant, and, as I say, I doubt if very many of the concessionaires make any money out of it. However, they are prepared to take and do take excellent care of all tourists who come there at prices to fit every pocketbook.

Some of the hotels in the national parks are of a kind that would compare favorably with the metropolitan hotels of any large city. Good prices are charged, but certainly not too much considering what they give in the way of comfort and service.

Then there are the lodges at a cheaper rate, but quite comfortable. Then there are cabins for rent at quite reasonable rates. And then there are the free camp grounds, with all modern conveniences, so that anyone who has a Ford automobile, a tent, and a few necessaries for camping can go into our national parks and camp without money and without price except for food, which can be procured at reasonable prices.

I hope that more and more the people of the country will come to know about our great national parks and to use them more. I believe that a people are better, as well as happier, who are privileged to enjoy the natural beauties of their own country. Our great national parks are filled with natural beauty and natural wonders. The more our people learn about these parks and the more they are utilized by the people the better it will be. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself three minutes.

On behalf of the Interior Department subcommittee it is only courteous to acknowledge the splendid statement made by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON], the former leader of the House on the other side of this Chamber. It was a delight for our committee to meet him and have him with us for something like a week or 10 days last summer.

I feel it is appropriate for me to speak about this matter, because during the past 10 years this committee has been under the leadership of Mr. Cramton and the other side of the House. The personal inspection on the ground and investigation they have been making each alternate year have been of tremendous benefit to our country.

I speak as a western man, as one who has lived on the frontier from my infancy, knows the conditions of the West, and I know that when this subcommittee representing the Interior Department visited and diligently examined the actual conditions in nearly all these parks, and the irrigation reclamation projects and the Indian reservations, and all of Uncle Sam's vast interests throughout the West they have rendered a splendid service to our country and to Congress. We never could know anything about those activities without going and seeing them on the ground and making that kind of a personal investigation.

I feel sure that this personal work of the five members of this Interior Department subcommittee during the past 10 years has saved millions of dollars to the Federal Treasury and has brought about a much more intelligent, economical, and beneficial expenditure of the money that has been appropriated for all of these activities.

When anyone refers, as a few newspapers occasionally do, to that biennial trip as being a junketing trip, or a joy ride, he is making a wholly unwarranted and unjust slur on conscientious and earnest public servants. I have been with them on three or four of those trips. I know the Members get up early every morning and put in a full and hard day, and never get to bed until after midnight. It is really hard work. But as a result, when we come before this House and present the appropriation bill for all those thousands of matters, we know whereof we speak. We come here with personal information after individual inspection of nearly all of these activities involving something like $75,000,000 a year. That information is worth a hundred times what it costs the Government. We are specifically authorized by law to make that examination of estimates for appropriations in the field for any bureau, office, or service of the Interior Department.

We are supposed to be refunded our actual and necessary expenses, when itemized in minute detail as to times and places, and so forth, and duly sworn to. But, as everyone knows, no one can itemize every little expenditure, and we always come out from a hundred to possibly two hundred dollars behind.

I feel that some time every subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of this House will be required by the House itself to go out and personally examine all the conditions of all the activities for which it appropriates money. In that way we will have a much more intelligent, beneficial, and economic expenditure of money from the Federal Treasury. I feel that the old system of just sitting here in Washington and taking only the statements and requests of Federal employees is all wrong and not performing our full

duty to the taxpayers of the country. I do not impugn their honesty. But they naturally want to build up their bureaus, and they do not see the side of it from the taxpayers' viewpoint. A definite systematic study, inspection, and personal survey of every appropriation out in the field and on the ground will bring about a great saving to our country. [Applause.]

I now yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. SWANK].

Mr. SWANK. Mr. Chairman, while the committee is considering this Interior Department appropriation bill I wish to call the attention of Congress to the bills pending here which provide for the payment of the adjusted-service certificates of our soldiers of the World War. When the law was enacted to provide for the issuance of these adjusted-service certificates, the Congress of the United States acknowledged this indebtedness to the boys, and its object was to adjust the pay, in a small way, to the soldiers who were in the military service of their country during the war. It was not the intention of Congress to attempt to pay for the services of the boys during that crisis, for their services could not be paid in money. The veterans of that war now hold these certificates and at no time have they needed the money due them more than they need it now.

These certificates are held by 3,600,000 veterans, and the value is from $126 to $1,590 each, and have an average value of about $1,000. Under the law enacted in 1930 the holders of the certificates can borrow one-half the value of the certificates. If $500 is borrowed on a $1,000 certificate the balance of the certificate will be eaten up by the interest. Think of a soldier paying half of the face value of his certificate in interest—pay that amount for the use of his own money. It is not right, and is the only case to my knowledge where there is such a procedure. If these certificates are paid in cash it will cause the circulation of $2,000,000,000 throughout this country and will go a long way to help bring back prosperity that we have been told for some two years is "just around the corner." It is not only a just debt, but its payment at this time is a good business proposition.

Some say that it will cause too great a strain upon the Treasury of the United States. We did not hear that question raised by those who favored the moratorium on debts owing our country by foreign governments a few days ago when the moratorium was granted to those nations which owe us. That time was extended those countries in the sum of $252,000,000, and its enactment into law did not seem to worry our officials much at that time. Then just a few days later a law was enacted creating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and another $2,000,000,000 has been provided for that purpose. Most of that money will go to financing the big banks of the country, the railroads, and other large concerns. Mr. Chairman, I am more interested in keeping faith with these veterans than with granting aid to the international bankers and other large corporations.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. CROWTHER], who just preceded me, spoke about our foreign-debt settlements.

When the French debt to the United States was funded in 1926 in the sum of $4,025,000,000, more than one-half of that debt was canceled and that amounted to more than $2,000,000,000. In 1925 the Italian debt was likewise funded in the sum of $2,042,000,000, and 75 per cent, or about $1,500,000,000, of that debt was canceled. These cancellations would much more than pay the balance due our veterans on their adjusted-service certificates. I just mention these enormous amounts to call the attention of Congress to the fact that we can pay these certificates, and we should provide a way to pay them at this time. [Applause.]

I opposed these foreign-debt settlements, as I did the moratorium and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The argument was advanced that the payment of these certificates could not be made by reason of the great deficit in the Treasury, and with these other obligations the same argument is now used against the payment of them. If the Reconstruction Finance Corporation can be financed in the sum of $2,000,000,000, then these certificates can also be financed. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] has a provision in his bill by which the certificates can be paid, by the issuance of Treasury notes, without increasing taxes and without the payment of interest. As he suggests in his bill, these notes can be issued in denominations from $1 to $1,000, and they will circulate as other money. Here let me take time to compliment the gentleman from Texas for his able and persistent fight for the payment of these certificates. We need more money in circulation, and this payment will do that.

Many bills are now pending before Congress for that very purpose. Our gold reserve is sufficient for the issuance of that amount of money. Our money now in actual circulation does not exceed $2,000,000,000. The amount of money now on deposit in the banks of the country on various accounts is about $70,000,000,000. If these certificates were paid it would amount to about $16 per capita to our total population. Why, Mr. Chairman, since 1922 income-tax refunds and rebates have amounted to the sum of $3,000,000,000, and I have never heard anyone who opposes this bill say that caused any strain upon the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I have introduced H. R. 6693, providing for the payment of these adjusted-service certificates in cash and for the cancellation of interest, and here insert a copy of that bill:

H. R. 6693

A bill to provide for the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates, the elimination and refunding of interest on said certificates, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That notwithstanding any provision of the World War adjusted compensation act and the World War adjusted compensation act, as amended, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is hereby authorized and directed to pay to any veteran making application therefor, upon receipt of his adjusted-service certificate properly indorsed, and surrender by him of his certificate and all rights thereunder, the amount of the face value of the certificate: *Provided*, That if the veteran is not living, then said amount shall be paid the person entitled to the same under the law.

SEC. 2. There shall be no limitation of time for making application for payment of the adjusted-service certificates, but they shall be paid when presented under such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

SEC. 3. All interest heretofore charged against the adjusted-service certificates of veterans and remaining unpaid shall be canceled, and any interest heretofore paid by a veteran on his adjusted-service certificate shall be refunded by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to the veteran: *Provided*, That if the veteran is not living, then such interest shall be refunded to the beneficiary of his adjusted-service certificate.

SEC. 4. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall provide for payment of the adjusted-service certificate at the most practicable place to the person who receives the payment.

SEC. 5. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

I have also introduced H. R. 397, to amend the World War veterans' act in several particulars, and one provision of that bill is to provide payment of compensation to widows, children, and dependent parents of deceased veterans, whether their death was caused by a service-connected disability or not. I have known personally so many cases where a veteran died and because he could not prove service connection his loved ones were left destitute. A few days ago I had the honor to appear before the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation in support of a similar bill, introduced by the able chairman of that important committee, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN], who is ever alert for the best interests of our veterans. The Rankin bill has been reported favorably by that committee, and I wish to congratulate it for its action in reporting the bill to Congress for its consideration. May it soon become a law.

On yesterday's mail I received the following from the American Legion post of my home town:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
FLETCHER O'DELL PLEDGER POST, No. 88,
Cleveland County, Norman, Okla.

To the Hon. ELMER THOMAS, T. P. GORE, F. B. SWANK,
Washington, D. C.

We, the undersigned veterans of the World War, hereby severally request that you, and each of you, use all your influence in securing the passage of the bill recently introduced in the House of

Representatives by Mr. SWANK, Congressman from Oklahoma, which authorizes the payment in full of the ex-service men's adjusted-compensation certificates, also H. R. bill No. 397.

This is signed by 260 veterans who attended a meeting of the above post at Norman, Okla., and I greatly appreciate this indorsement and assistance of these boys.

Mr. Chairman and colleagues, let us renew our efforts and enact a law to pay these adjusted-service certificates, and not longer delay a debt long past due to the boys who composed the mightiest army that ever marched under any flag. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KARCH].

Mr. KARCH. Mr. Chairman, we frequently hear the question propounded, "Can national prohibition be enforced?" I say "no" without qualification or reservation. No responsible person seriously contends that it can be enforced. The highest authority we have on the subject, namely, the Wickersham Commission, gives the Nation to understand that the 11-year effort in that direction has wholly failed.

Let Mr. Hoover have whatever satisfaction he will out of this report, and let the ardent "drys" and "die-hards" celebrate their dubious victory to their heart's content. The reasonable and open-minded and conscientious citizen deduces from the findings of this report that national prohibition has hitherto proven to be and always will be an ignominious failure.

In this country we start out with the proposition that man is not only sovereign as a unit in our social scheme, but sovereign as to himself, which means that he has inherently the privilege of ordering his own private life. This principle is technically called "the Ethos" of our American democracy.

It is not expressly written into any particular paragraph of the Constitution of the United States that sumptuary legislation shall be forever forbidden, but that salutary inhibition runs all through the Constitution and all of its original amendments, and its very breath emanates from every word and every sentence of every paragraph in that immortal document.

Prohibition is paternalism, pure and simple. Paternalism will never mix with a democracy and is so repugnant to the American genius that it will never be tolerated. I, of course, defer to the Supreme Court of the United States and its decisions interpretive of what we call the original Constitution, including the ancient 15 amendments, but I reserve the right to differ with the conclusion of that august body in holding the eighteenth amendment a valid appendage to our organic law, and venture the assertion that if the test of the constitutionality of the eighteenth amendment had been postponed until to-day, the Supreme Court, in the light of experience and the culminating public sentiment of the hour, would declare the eighteenth amendment unconstitutional as repugnant to the genius of our democratic form of government, permanently and indelibly engraven into the original Constitution.

The American people will ever rebel against any doctrine, however solemnly it may be promulgated, which is destructive of the fiber of individual freedom, not established by the Constitution but therein recognized as a basic, natural, and inalienable right upon which the entire structure of the democracy has been predicated.

Inconsistent as the eighteenth amendment may be with the original fabric of the Constitution, harmful as its effects have proven to be, socially and economically considered, I would be willing to honor it and abide by it and suffer under it with the rest of my fellow beings if the move for its enactment had been honestly inspired at the time, and if its ratification by the States had been the deliberate act of the people of the United States.

In such event, I would simply charge it up as an act of popular imprudence to be endured, just as an individual may in his private conduct consciously commit an act which later redounds as a life's mistake, haunting him to the end of his day.

But I charge that the eighteenth amendment was conceived in fraud and clandestinely and surreptitiously ratified by the States. It was shystered through the legislatures by the dry minority at a time when the public mind throughout the Nation was steeped in grief. No decent man would hold another accountable on a contract signed, or silently acquiesced in, while standing at the bier of his beloved child, distracted by anguish and grief, oblivious and unconscious of secular affairs. The drys took advantage of the American people in a similar state of mind.

The members of every general assembly which ratified the eighteenth amendment were elected in November, 1918, during the days and events climaxing the World War. The voters at home read nothing, heard nothing, and were interested in nothing except war. Absorbed in exultant patriotism, crushed with fear and anxiety for their boys at the front, they perused the daily newspapers, not for enlightenment on public issues to be voted upon at the November election but to scan the casualty lists, daily reported during that period at a daily average of 50,000, to learn whether the beloved son in the trenches had survived the day. In that year 4,000,000 voters were disfranchised, fighting on foreign soil so that democracy might be made safe for all time.

I recently made it my task to examine the pages of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch to ascertain to what extent the proposed ratification of the eighteenth amendment had been commented upon by that distinguished newspaper, which in ordinary times never shirks its responsibility to expound the political issues of the day, and found that throughout the campaign of 1918 not an editorial word appeared apprising the electorate of the pendency of so vital and drastic and far-reaching an issue as a proposed amendment to the organic law of the land. Its columns were devoted almost exclusively to war news, then of sole and paramount interest. Its editorials sustained the hopes of the Nation and the patriotic morale of the people in this critical hour of the world's greatest disaster. And what was true of the Post-Dispatch in those days was true of every leading newspaper and periodical in the United States except the American Issue.

Nor is that all. Do you recall that in the fall of 1918 there raged throughout the United States, principally in the larger cities, the greatest plague that ever scourged the human race? Referring again to the Post-Dispatch I noticed that throughout the month of October, 1918, whatever columns were not devoted to war news and the fourth Liberty loan drive, reported day by day the victims and deaths not by the hundreds but by the thousands.

Everybody in the land crouched in ghastly fear and dread in the face of this awful calamity. Consternation and pandemonium reigned throughout the land. Nobody but the designing and organized drys, who so strangely retained their composure, knew that the ratification of the eighteenth amendment depended upon the general election in 1918; nobody even thought about it, and nobody in the United States except the drys understood that a vote for a State representative or State senator in the several States affected in the slightest degree the ratification or rejection of that amendment.

Not only was the press silent on the subject but public meetings and assemblages of all sorts were suppressed in every community of every State in the Union as a precaution against spreading influenza. The churches were closed; the schools were closed; theaters and cabarets and public gatherings of any character were suppressed by order emanating from the President of the United States. Not a single public political meeting was held in the closing days of the 1918 campaign. Not a single public speech was made by any candidate for office, high or low, during that campaign. The national prohibition issue was unheard of and unknown to everybody—except the "drys," who capitalized the distress and the gloom and the tribulation of the Nation in those horrible hours of chaos and calamity.

In stealth and with a sinister secrecy the Anti-Saloon League inspired its minions in both parties to aspire to mem-

bership in general assemblies in every State and thereupon promoted and subsidized their candidacies—all with a view to springing the ratification coup in the assemblies to meet in 1919—fixed and packed to deliver the ratifying vote.

It must be conceded that the technical requirements to enact an amendment to the Federal Constitution had been complied with, and that is all the Supreme Court of the United States has so far held and probably is all the jurisdiction it has in the controversy. But the implied mandate of the original Constitution is that it shall not be amended for "light and transient causes." At any rate, it is not only impliedly mandatory but prudentially essential that any proposed amendment, theoretically to become the permanent policy of the Nation, shall be adopted advisedly and understandingly by the sovereign populace.

It is presumed in our scheme of things that the electorate shall always be educated on the import, as well as the consequences, mediate and immediate, of any measure calculated to redress an existing evil. Therefore we have the constitutional guaranties of free press and free speech. Popular government would be a joke and a fiasco without agencies of enlightenment.

No fair-minded person will ever contend that the adoption of the eighteenth amendment was the deliberate act of the people. The majority of the people are not now and never were in favor of the amendment. We have it forced upon us by a chicanery, which, if perpetrated in a court of justice, would receive merited rebuke from his honor on the bench as a piece of mendacious pettifoggery, as reprehensible sharp practice, and a contemptible fraud upon the court.

Even the sophisticated voters of 1918 who realized that the eighteenth amendment would sooner or later come before the States for ratification little dreamed that it would be jammed through the legislatures in 1919. Assuming, as they had the right, that inasmuch as the amendment itself contained a provision authorizing the ratification by the States within seven years after the date of its proposal by Congress, it would come before the States in proper season as an issue to be thoroughly expounded by the proponents and opponents to enable the voters to understand it and act intelligently on so solemn, so momentous, and so revolutionary a matter, which not only affected their private lives but would surrender the inherent sovereignty of the States to the Federal Government, reversing the basic scheme of our Republic.

I am probably threshing old straw and making myself tedious in commenting upon the method of the adoption of the eighteenth amendment at this late day, when the question uppermost in our minds is, "What are we going to do about it?"

I digress merely to establish a predicate for the point that the American people will never tolerate a law in which they had no voice in the making, and which has the vigorous disapproval of two-thirds of the masses. The people in their indignation are determined to disregard it and transgress it with impunity. Judges, clergy, lawyers, Congressmen and Senators, Presidents, intellectual and cultural leaders, the high and the low in all walks of life, irrespective of sex or age, violate it without compunction.

Hence, I say, prohibition can never be enforced. Our national prohibition laws are the most drastic, considering the nature of the offense, upon our statute books. From the standpoint of procedure and penalties they are a shame and disgrace to our Government, transcending Article XIII of the Constitution forbidding excessive bail, excessive fines, and the infliction of cruel and unusual punishments.

Failure to enforce prohibition can not be imputed to the weakness of the law nor to the laxity of enforcement officials. They have gone as far as the law and beyond the law. The average apprehended offender is veritably crucified.

The enforcement agents proceed against suspects in most instances in a summary and ruthless manner, in contravention of law and constitutional rights. The accused in the majority of cases is poor and, therefore, unable to employ counsel. Bail is arbitrarily fixed in the excessive sum of $4,000, which, in exceptional cases, on application, is reduced to $2,000. The extremes of wire tapping and entrapment and impersonation, the use of stool pigeons and female decoys, shadowing, and every conceivable underhanded method of detection, long condemned by civilized nations, are resorted to in the name of the Department of Justice of the United States, not always with its consent, but with a supine attitude until specially apprised by complaints, which few victims are inclined to make, either through ignorance of their rights or because of fear of requital at the hands of the parties who control the prosecutions against them. The courts in most jurisdictions determine the guilt and fix the penalties in keeping with the drastic spirit of the law.

Col. Amos W. W. Woodcock, National Director of Prohibition Enforcement, on his pedestal in the Federal Department of Justice, is now in the heyday of his program of intensive, not to say ruthless, enforcement to demonstrate to the world that enforcement is possible. But with all this, bootlegging goes merrily on. Whisky is as plentiful as ever, only older and better, and, if anything, a little cheaper. The art of home-brewing is becoming more finely developed, and everybody is doing it. The broom has failed to stem the tide.

So far as I am concerned, I have quit trying to demonstrate the evils of prohibition on the one hand and the benefits that would follow legalization of wine and beer on the other. On these questions there is no longer any occasion for argument. We have passed the stage of sermonizing and moralizing on this question. Everybody admits the ignominious failure of prohibition and concedes all the viciousness laid at its door. No one disputes that its immediate abrogation and resumption of legal wine making and beer brewing would promote happiness, end crime, and stimulate our depressed business in every sphere. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FIESINGER].

Mr. FIESINGER. Mr. Chairman, I ask the indulgence of the Members for a few minutes to express myself upon a proposition that is of vital concern to the people of the great State of Ohio; more than that, it is of great interest to the people of the Nation as well as having international import. We must face the fact, whether we will or no, that industry and commerce, both national and international, must gear themselves to fierce competitive conditions. We are in a time again when only the fittest can survive. While hard to face, it is a natural law, which, when given full and free play, has a way of distributing its benefits better than any man-made law. When the history of the present era is written I venture the guess that one of the high lights will be the failure of governmental action to stabilize artificially and by artificial means promote industry and commerce. It just simply can not be done, because any means of this kind has the inevitable effect of discrimination between producer and consumer. It means the giving to one class and taking from another, and therefore is not founded upon God's eternal principles of justice.

For a few examples of what I mean, let me cite excessive tariffs, schemes to stabilize rubber, sugar, coffee, wheat, and so forth. Against these schemes there is always natural reaction which inevitably defeats the objects sought to be attained—in fact, make matters worse. There are ways, however, that governments may aid commerce and industry, perfectly natural ways, which run in the groove of natural justice and not against it. To its everlasting credit our own Government has for many years been engaged upon such tasks. Specifically I refer to the development and maintenance of our inland waterways. In their full import these waterways are not yet visualized or realized by the average American. Unless he lives in close proximity he is apt to consider them as means of useless governmental expense, when, in fact, these waterways are unobtrusively and persistently slipping dollars into his pocket, furnishing conveniences and affording means of protection against the elements. Generally by these means three most beneficent objects are accomplished—transportation, power resources,

and flood control. As a compliment to this great system of inland waterways let me now speak of a proposal in my own State.

When the great God of the heavens made the earth and the waters thereof, He provided in the northern part of the United States five great inland seas, a fresh-water system of lakes the largest in the world. Almost directly bearing upon the largest and most northerly of these lakes, He places great beds of iron ore. Not directly bearing but in close proximity to another of these lakes are perhaps the greatest coking coal fields in all the known world. I refer to the fields of coal in the great States of Kentucky and West Virginia. In the most direct path between the two He has planted inestimable quantities of flux stone. When brought and used together, these in the main produce a commodity that is most vital to the needs of mankind. Its use is so universal that its cost is of vital interest to industry and all the people. One of the ways to help all the people is to lower costs of transportation, not only of the materials that go into the making of steel but many others. Brick, sandstone, cement, lumber, perhaps in no small degree the products of our farms, find boon in cheaper means of transportation. The savings entailed, as I said before, will find their way into the pockets of all the people, at the same time provide a margin for capital that because of fierce competitive conditions otherwise in many instances would be denied. God did some other things. He cut near by the great coal fields an artery which man has greatly enlarged and improved. The beautiful Ohio River now teems with commerce and connects with another highway of water-borne commerce, the greatest in these United States, with potentialities difficult to contemplate.

The Mississippi is an avenue to the sea and the markets of all the world. Seemingly to fit into this design, two rivers were provided in my own State, not comparable in extent, but not necessarily so, with those mighty rivers. I allude to the Scioto and the Sandusky in Ohio. Happily the sources of the two are less than 5 miles apart at the watershed. One flows to Lake Erie and the other to the Ohio. They form almost a straight line through the center of the State, commencing at Sandusky and Sandusky Bay, the finest natural land-locked harbor on all the lakes, about 18 miles long and 5 miles wide, up the Sandusky River through such thriving cities as Fremont, Tiffin, Upper Sandusky, Marion, Columbus, Chillicothe, and Portsmouth. With the hand of man and not either with impossible expense the same may be made to serve dual purpose of flood control and transportation. In short, this proposal is called the Sandusky-Portsmouth shipway. If this improvement should be made it will help American prosperity, and when the St. Lawrence River project is completed, which is not so far away, this link in the chain of inland waterways will help to a degree unimagined the prosperity of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIESINGER. Yes.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. The gentleman has given much thought and careful attention to this matter and he is making an excellent presentation. I am very much interested in the subject he has been discussing. It is of vital interest to my State and district. Can the gentleman tell us the approximate cost of this waterway project?

Mr. FIESINGER. It was estimated in 1920, and I think costs are not now any higher and are perhaps lower, at about $115,000,000 or $120,000,000.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I happen to represent in part one of the great agricultural, industrial, and coal-producing sections of Ohio. I feel that if the subject the gentleman has proposed could be consummated it would be of much benefit in relieving the serious condition that now confronts these industries.

Mr. FIESINGER. This waterway would provide a market for the gentleman's coal and other products that would be immense. As I understand it, the coal in the gentleman's district is not coking coal, but this waterway would furnish means of transportation and send it to the upper lakes and to Canada.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. MONTET].

Mr. MONTET. Mr. Chairman, I wish to bring to the attention of the House and commend for scrutiny to the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, and other appropriate committees, a matter of most grave importance, particularly in view of the economy that this Congress has been admonished to practice and which the country demands at this time.

Economy is not merely a matter of unwasteful appropriations. An economical and lawful administration of funds appropriated is just as necessary a governmental function as is the making of the appropriation itself. When we think in terms of billions and the country is prosperous, with no one crying for food, clothing, and shelter, and profits are universally abundant, a matter involving two and one-half million dollars is not usually considered of grave concern and normally attracts little attention. At this time, however, when revenues are curtailed and deficits mounting to monumental figures demand our serious consideration, every dollar not wisely and properly spent concerns us all.

The country and this Congress have been advised as to the necessity of economy, but let us turn to a page of our recent governmental affairs and see what is written or about to be written and study a most amazing transaction. Less than 60 days ago the Postmaster General awarded to the Seatrain Lines (Inc.) a 10-year so-called mail contract involving a Government subsidy totaling two and one-half to three million dollars, and, based upon this contract, the Shipping Board has granted to this company a shipping loan of $2,400,000 to build two new ships. The subsidy contract and the loan for the two ships are directed toward the operation of the company in the New Orleans-Habana route, with the liberty to operate elsewhere, including in competition with the companies in the Habana trade which have mail subsidies and construction loans. In fact, the United Fruit Co. has a mail contract already from New Orleans to Habana, involving building of new ships, but this company has served notice of abandonment of this construction project if this Seatrain scandal materializes.

The Seatrain Co. is a newly formed concern, American so far as is known, but it is the outgrowth of a venture started in late 1928 to provide a vessel for transporting freight in railroad cars between New Orleans and Habana, a service known as a car-ferry line. Before the inauguration of this proposed raid upon the United States Treasury this venture was known as the Overseas Line. It had but one ship, the steamship *Seatrain*, built in Great Britain, flying the British flag, owned by a Canadian corporation known as the Over-Seas Steamship Co. (Ltd.), and the cost of building this craft was largely financed with a British mortgage, which I am reliably informed amounts to a half million dollars or more, a substantial portion of which is still in force and effect. The operating company was known as Over-Seas Railway (Inc.), and was chartered in the State of Delaware. It is owned by a number of stockholders, including the Missouri Pacific Railroad interests, with a certain percentage of shares held by aliens and it was always known as a foreign-flag enterprise.

Under the new set-up the steamship *Seatrain* will be transferred to the American company, placed under the American flag, and her foreign mortgage paid off in order that a subsidy be collected on her as well as on the two new ships.

This subsidy and loan are nothing else than the application of the shipping-aid provisions of the 1928 merchant marine act for the benefit of a foreign-flag enterprise. It is distinctly and directly to the detriment of American shipping, as attested by the protests filed against this scheme by all of the old-line American companies in this trade, and eventually will lead to the termination of similar service now pro-

vided by like enterprises between this continent and Cuba, and which enterprises are all American built, financed by private American capital, and now operating without any aid from the Government.

The only like service provided to Habana is the Key West Habana Line known as the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co. This is an old established American concern with its bottoms built in American yards and has always operated under the American flag. This service was established some 16 years ago and has handled on an average of 60 per cent of all Gulf-Habana exports and nearly 50 per cent of the imports.

Several years ago it became evident that because of the broad transition of traffic conditions a great deal of business for Habana which had heretofore passed through Key West would thereafter move through New Orleans. This transition was principally the result of an important Interstate Commerce Commission order affecting the routing of traffic; and it became evident that a great portion of the traffic heretofore moving by way of Key West to Habana would be forced to move by way of New Orleans. The company operating the Key West-Habana Line decided to remove two or three steamers from that service and establish a New Orleans-Habana service on at least a twice-a-week schedule or more if conditions warranted. Public bodies of the city of New Orleans encouraged this proposed new venture and rejected vigorous protests made by Overseas Railway (Inc.), who claimed that such competition would ruin their business. During the month of December, 1930, for reasons best known to the Key West-Habana operators, this company filed an application with the Interstate Commerce Commission for a permit to engage in this New Orleans-Habana service. Hearings were had on this application in the month of March, 1931. The board of commissioners of the port of New Orleans, the civic bodies of that city, some of the principal southern railroads, the Mississippi Valley Association, representing the entire Middle West, associations of packers and oil companies—all entered appearances for this new proposed service by the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co. The one and only objection entered was that of Over-Seas Railways (Inc.). This protestant claimed that the New Orleans-Habana trade was already greatly overtonnaged and that the addition of any ships, such as the East Coast proposed, would prove the ruination of the British-flag *Seatrain* of the Over-Seas Co. It was made clear at the hearings that the East Coast Co. was not adding a single ship not already plying the Gulf-Habana trade but was merely proposing to transfer from Key West to New Orleans ships to serve the same traffic which the East Coast Co. had always served. The testimony in this matter was under study by the Interstate Commerce Commission for many months, when finally favorable disposition to the applicant was made during the middle of last month.

Bear in mind at this time that the steamship *Seatrain* is a vessel of 90 cars capacity in which the cars are loaded by crane. It is the only vessel of its type and size in the world and it is built under a patent so that no one else can build a like vessel without the consent of the patentees. The Florida east coast vessels are of 30 cars capacity. Sometime during the month of August of this year news trekked out of the Shipping Board that the Post Office Department was about to call for bids for a postal subsidy involving a car ferry line from New Orleans to Habana. Upon inquiry it was found that the bids required, among other things:

* * * for ocean mail service on the route hereinafter described, for a term of 10 years beginning at a date optional with the contractor but not earlier than January 1, 1931, or later than 1 year from the date of the award of the contract * * *.

It further provided that these ships would operate—

* * * on a schedule satisfactory to the Postmaster General of not less than 50 trips per annum during the first two years and not more than 100 trips per annum during the remainder of the contract term (subject to the other provisions of this advertisement for increase or decrease in frequency). * * *

It further provided that:

* * * the contractor will be required to operate in the performance of service on route cargo vessels of class 5, capable of carrying not less than 90 railroad cars and of maintaining a speed of 13 knots at sea in ordinary weather, and of a gross registered tonnage of not less than 6,500 tons; provided that the contractor shall have constructed in American shipyards two new cargo vessels of class 5, capable of carrying not less than 90 railroad cars and of maintaining a speed of 14 knots at sea in ordinary weather, and of a gross registered tonnage of not less than 6,500 tons, such new vessels to be placed in service as soon as practicable but not later than the end of the second year of the contract term.

It also provided:

The contractor and the Postmaster General may agree upon the operation of other vessels of any class.

Classifications of vessels on this route are based upon speed without regard to tonnage.

To anyone familiar with the Seatrain Car Ferry service and the East Coast Car Ferry service it is obvious that this advertisement could have no purpose other than the giving of a subsidy to the Over-Seas, as no other concern of any kind could bring itself within the purview of the advertisement. While this was going on there was also under way the matter of granting the Over-Seas a loan by the Shipping Board for two news ships, which, with the British Seatrain, would be paid the subsidy. Strong protests were promptly lodged with the Post Office Department and the Shipping Board by the East Coast Co., the Ward Line, the Munson Line, and the United Fruit Co. I am reliably informed that the Post Office Department declined to hold up the matter and that some high officials in the Post Office Department circles admitted that the entire venture was for Over-Seas; that they had never considered the position of the East Coast Car Ferry Co. and knew nothing of the case pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission. This venture was brewing during the early part of this year, for on February 17, 1931, Assistant Postmaster General Glover wrote to Senator DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, of Florida, as follows:

Knowing your interest in the matter of mail routes from Gulf ports, thought you would be interested in knowing that the subcommittee on ocean mail contracts (of which the writer is chairman), at a meeting recently held in my office, approved the application of the Over-Seas Railways (Inc.) for an ocean mail contract from New Orleans to Habana, Cuba.

This contract will provide for the building of two new steamers, which will be valuable adjuncts to the merchant marine and available also to the Navy in time of international distress as airplane carriers.

This was many months before bids were officially asked for this service. It is very significant that the Post Office Department should have approved of the Over-Seas' application for an ocean mail contract before bids had been asked for.

It is my information that the report of a certain bureau in the Navy Department as to the possibilities of using this type ship as an airplane carrier would be astounding and most illuminating.

The Post Office Department referred the East Coast Co. to the so-called mail committee and to the Shipping Board for relief. I am also reliably informed that the mail committee failed to take any action and refused any actual hearings to the East Coast Co., notwithstanding the fact that the Secretary of Commerce, as chairman of that committee, investigated the situation and informed the East Coast Co. that the Postmaster General would be asked to hold up the advertisement. The Shipping Board, however, invited statements as to the proposed loan and received protests from the East Coast Co. and the other companies.

The East Coast Co. also protested the matter to the Comptroller General alleging that the advertisement and any bid had thereunder was invalid, as the advertisement was not for competitive bids but was for the sole and only benefit of overseas.

For the reasons assigned, neither the East Coast Co. nor any other company could bid under the terms of the advertisement and further the East Coast Co. was awaiting the sanction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Postmaster General also refused to await the decision of the Comptroller General, refused any audience and hearing to the protestant, refused to await even the outcome of the Shipping Board's inquiry, but proceeded on October 30, 1931, to award the subsidy contract to the Seatrain Line, the new company of Over-Seas. The new contract was in effect made

conditional on the Shipping Board finally granting the loan, and this it did on November 27, 1931. The East Coast Co. requested the Shipping Board to defer action on the application for a loan until its application to the Interstate Commerce Commission for service between New Orleans and Habana was passed upon. The board was also informed that the mail contract was being protested before the Comptroller General, who I understand has not yet decided that the award is in order.

As I shall show later, Hon. WILL R. WOOD, then chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, advised the board that the entire project was such that it should be investigated, in view of which the loan decision might be deferred. All interests which had supported the East Coast's position with the Interstate Commerce Commission also pleaded with the board not to approve the loan, as it would put the East Coast Co. out of business, leaving the Gulf-Habana car-ferry service in the hands of a monopoly with Government backing. So far as known, the Seatrain's application had no public support whatever except by the interests who will build the ships.

On November 19, 1931, I also protested the contract and the award to the Postmaster General, the Comptroller General, and the United States Shipping Board, and to the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, sending each of them the following telegram:

NEW ORLEANS, *November 19, 1931.*

It has been brought to my attention to-day that despite protests filed by civic bodies of the city of New Orleans and the board of commissioners of the port of New Orleans, the Post Office Department has awarded a contract for the additional carrying of mail from New Orleans to Habana, Cuba, to the Seatrain Corporation. The protests referred to were based upon the method used in advertising this contract, and requested postponement of any award thereon until the application of the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co., now pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission, for inauguration of service between New Orleans and Cuba was decided by the commission. I am positively informed that under your advertisement no other sea-craft operating company would bid upon this contract save the Seatrain Co. In other words, that the advertisement for bids was a mere sham and the conditions thereof not to the best interests of the port of New Orleans, especially in view of the fact that the Seatrain Co. does not operate out of the city of New Orleans. I am also informed that testimony by the Seatrain officers before the Interstate Commerce Commission discloses ownership held by foreigners and by the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co. and by the Texas & Pacific Railroad Co., among others, and that it is operating under a foreign flag.

I am also informed that this proposed contract is to be the basis for a loan to the Seatrain Co. of some two and a half million dollars by the Shipping Board from their construction-loan fund for the purpose of financing the construction of two other vessels. In view of the legitimate protests filed against the method of this award, and in view of the fact that I am in full accord with such protests, I wish to here and now notify you that I, too, protest against the method used by your department in awarding this contract, and if carried out that I shall introduce at the approaching session of Congress a resolution calling for a full and thorough investigation of this whole transaction. I am sending a copy of this telegram to the United States Shipping Board with the request that they withhold action on the pending loan until this whole matter is properly and fully ventilated. I am also sending a copy hereof to the Comptroller General and the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, as I do not believe the award of this mail contract is entirely legal nor within the intent of the act. A reply to me at Thibodaux, La., will be appreciated.

NUMA F. MONTET, M. C.

I received replies as follows:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., November 23, 1931.

Hon. NUMA F. MONTET,
Member of Congress, Thibodaux, La.

MY DEAR MR. MONTET: The Postmaster General has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of November 19, with respect to the award of a contract under the merchant marine act, 1928, for service from New Orleans to Habana.

The advertisement of this service was issued in the same manner as those for the other routes that have been let. The matter of issuing the advertisement with the specifications contained therein for the building of new vessels was recommended by the Interdepartmental Committee on Ocean Mail Contracts. A number of competitors of the Over-Seas Railways protested against the granting of the contract. It developed, however, that the competitors did not desire to compete under the specifications for the construction of the vessels that had been determined as advantageous to the Government. These protests were very carefully considered before the award was made.

This department, of course, will be pleased to furnish such additional information with respect to the letting of the contract for the services and undertakings on this route as you may desire.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD N. GRAVES,
Executive Assistant to the Postmaster General.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, November 24, 1931.

Hon. NUMA FRANCOIS MONTET,
Thibodaux, La.

MY DEAR MR. MONTET: There has been received your telegram of the 19th instant quoting your telegram of the same date to the Postmaster General protesting against his action in advertising for proposals and accepting bids for certain types of vessels for the transportation of mail between New Orleans and Habana, Cuba.

This matter has been under investigation by this office and there are inclosed herewith for your information copies of my letters of October 24 and November 10, 1931, to the Postmaster General, which are self-explanatory.

Respectfully,

J. R. MCCARL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, October 24, 1931.

The honorable the POSTMASTER GENERAL.

SIR: There has been received in reference to my letter of October 3, 1931, bringing to your attention, with request for report, the matter of the protest of the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co. against the terms of certain advertisements issued by the Postmaster General for proposals for the transportation of mail over the New Orleans-Habana route, your letter of October 10, 1931, with inclosure, wherein it is admitted that the specifications in question were drafted and issued at the instance of the Over-Seas Railways and wherein it is denied that the terms of the specifications were so designated and so fixed that only the Over-Seas Railways or its subsidiaries could meet them.

It seems to be admitted also that the *Seatrain*, which appears to be in service between New Orleans and Habana, is a British built and British registered vessel, and you invite attention to section 405 (a) of the merchant marine act, which provides that—

"The vessels employed in ocean mail service under a contract made under this title shall be steel vessels, shall be steam or motor vessels, and shall be either (1) American built and registered under the laws of the United States during the entire time of such employment, or (2) registered under the laws of the United States not later than February 1, 1928, and so registered during the entire time of such employment, or (3) actually ordered and under construction for the account of citizens of the United States prior to February 1, 1928, and registered under the laws of the United States during the entire time of such employment."

You are requested to inform this office specifically when the *Seatrain* was built and where it was built and for whom it was built; that is, whether the *Seatrain* was American built and registered under the laws of the United States prior to February 1, 1928; and if not, whether it was actually ordered and under construction "for account of citizens of the United States prior to February 1, 1928." If these questions must be answered in the negative, as would appear to be from the representations made and not specifically denied, you are requested to report by what authority it is proposed to enter into a contract with the present owners of the *Seatrain* for that service.

Sections 406 and 407 of the merchant marine act of 1928 provide that contracts for carrying ocean mail shall be advertised and awarded to the lowest bidder who, in the judgment of the Postmaster General, possesses such qualifications as to insure proper performance of the mail service under the contract. It is alleged by the protesting company, and not specifically denied in your report that the said company now has in operation a car-ferry service between certain Florida ports and Habana, and that the only reason it has not established a similar service between New Orleans and Habana has been due to the opposition of the Over-Seas Railways and its subsidiaries actively expressed before the Interstate Commerce Commission to prevent the issuance of authority for the inauguration of such service. In the meantime, the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co., and other American companies, appear to have opposed any proposed action of the United States Shipping Board to grant a construction loan to the Over-Seas Railways or its subsidiaries for the construction of two additional vessels to be used on the New Orleans-Habana route and which will be in effect largely subsidized or paid for by the maximum rate allowed by the merchant marine act for mail contracts in an aggregate amount of $2,167,200 for the 10-year term, which is stated to represent $2,060,384 as the estimated extra cost of construction, etc., of the two new vessels and $106,816 for carrying the mail.

As there appears to be no great hurry or need for the early inauguration of this service, it being understood that mail service already exists between the two ports, report is requested—in addition to the information as to the alleged foreign construction, registry, and ownership of the *Seatrain*—why the issuance of an



advertisement for proposals and the letting of a contract for this particular service should not be postponed until the Interstate Commerce Commission has disposed of the matter of the request by the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co. for authority to inaugurate service on the New Orleans-Habana route. If such authority is granted, the advertised specifications may then be in such terms as to permit both companies to compete for the business.

Respectfully,

J. R. McCARL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, November 10, 1931.

The honorable the POSTMASTER GENERAL.

SIR: By letter dated October 24, 1931, this office invited your attention to section 405 (a) of the merchant marine act prescribing the qualifications as to nationality, etc., of vessels for the carrying of the United States mails under said act, and to sections 406 and 407 of the merchant marine act with respect to the advertisement and awarding of contracts to the lowest bidder for the carrying of the mails. You were requested to inform this office, in effect, as to the nationality or registration of the *Seatrain* within the requirements of section 405 (a) of the aforesaid merchant marine act and to report why there should not be delayed until after the Interstate Commerce Commission has passed on the petition of the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co. to operate ships between New Orleans and Habana the advertisement and letting of contracts for contract mail service between the two ports.

You have replied in letter of October 31, 1931, in pertinent part, as follows:

"It is believed that under the specifications the question of the *Seatrain's* eligibility is not at this stage material. The advertisement fixes the capacity and speed of the vessels to be operated and requires the construction of two new ships within two years from the beginning of the contract term, and provides that service on the route shall begin at a date optional with the contractor not later than one year from the date of the award of the contract. Under these conditions the ineligibility of the *Seatrain* would in no sense disqualify its owners from receiving the contract, but would simply put them under the necessity of having at least one of the new vessels ready for operation at the beginning of the contract term, or within one year from the date of the award. It is considered, therefore, that the questions which you have asked in the present connection may properly be left for subsequent determination.

"The second point raised by your letter has to do with the need for the early inauguration of the proposed service. You ask why the letting of a contract for this service should not be postponed until the Interstate Commerce Commission has disposed of the request of the Florida East Coast Car Ferry Co. for authority to inaugurate service between New Orleans and Habana. And you conclude with what I understand to be a suggestion that, upon a settlement of this matter favorable to the Florida Co., the department should redraft its specifications in such a way as to permit that company to bid.

"Upon further consideration on this part of your inquiry, I am sure that you will agree with me that questions relating to the need for the service, the character of the services, and the specifications for the service are for determination by those agencies of the Government which by law or Executive order are charged with responsibility for the administration of the various phases of the merchant marine act. The specifications issued in this instance were approved, in substance, by the Shipping Board, the Secretary of the Navy, the President's Merchant Marine Committee, as well as by this department, as best meeting the public necessities which are involved. I can not assent to their modification simply in the interest of a private corporation. And, since the corporation in question has declined to signify its intention or willingness to submit a bid under the present specifications, should it subsequently become eligible to do so, there would seem to be no reason for further postponing a disposition of the matter. Accordingly I have this date awarded a contract under the advertisement of August 26 to the Over-Seas Railways (Inc.)."

Whatever may be the administrative responsibility under the statutes in question, it is the duty and responsibility of this office to see that appropriated moneys are expended in accordance with the law and the terms of the appropriations. You will, of course, realize that the letter of October 31, 1931, does not constitute a reply to my letter of October 24, 1931, and this office must inform you that no charges against appropriated funds will be approved for payment to the Over-Seas Railways (Inc.) under the contract you report as having been awarded until there have been presented the facts requested in my letter of October 24, 1931, and such facts are shown to bring the contract within the terms of the statute.

Further, it must be satisfactorily explained why a contract was entered into with the Over-Seas Railways (Inc.), as you have reported in your letter of October 31, 1931, when the only bid received, as reported in your letter of October 19, 1931, was from Seatrain Lines (Inc.), and the facts must be submitted showing the nationality of these corporations and the nationality or registration of the ships which are to be put into operation under the contract.

Respectfully,

J. R. McCARL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS,
Washington, D. C., November 21, 1931.

Hon. NUMA F. MONTET,
New Orleans, La.

MY DEAR MR. MONTET: I received your wire protesting against the proposed contract now pending between the Post Office Department and the Seatrain Co.

In reply, permit me to say that some two weeks ago, having heard of this proposal and being informed that a contract was in the hands of the Shipping Board for its approval, I addressed a letter to Mr. O'Connor, chairman of that board, requesting that the whole matter be held in abeyance until a thorough investigation as to the manner in which this contract was made may be had.

Since that time I have been deluged with appeals to withdraw my request. I have not done so, and am answering all those who approach me on the subject, that this investigation should be had in the interest of the Government and in the interest of all parties concerned.

With very great respect, I am

Very truly yours,

WILL R. WOOD.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONTET. Yes.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. I hold in my hand a copy of the second deficiency appropriation bill, approved March 4, 1931. In that law, on page 2, it is provided as follows:

Those members of the Committee on Appropriations, Seventy-first Congress, third session, comprising the subcommittee on Treasury and Post Office Department appropriations, who are Members elect to the Seventy-second Congress, or a majority of them, during the period from March 4, 1931, and until the convening of the first regular session of the Seventy-second Congress, are authorized to conduct hearings at Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, concerning the foreign and domestic air mail and ocean mail work of the Post Office Department and the estimates and appropriations for such purposes.

If the mandate of the Congress had been carried out, is it not evident that this might have been stopped?

Mr. MONTET. In reply to the gentleman I do not know how far the mandate of Congress has been carried out.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. It has not been carried out in any way, shape, or form.

Mr. MONTET. I am at this time calling the attention of Congress and the proper committees to a specific case which I feel warrants their thorough investigation.

I never received a reply from the Shipping Board. It would seem that the protestations were general but in the face of this situation, the Shipping Board proceeded to act, and on November 27, 1931, approved the application for this loan. It is of significance that the board found in effect that the New Orleans-Habana trade alone did not justify the transaction, although this was the specific route for which the project was at all times directed, and the board allowed the ships to be used in any foreign trade which the owners desired. I understand that this is unprecedented.

I sincerely hope that the Comptroller General has final jurisdiction in this matter, and that he will remain steadfast in his position that the whole transaction is of very doubtful legality, to such an extent that he will refuse to sanction this outrageous raid upon the Federal Treasury.

This entire transaction is a mockery on our merchant marine act and is a travesty on justice. There was no possibility of competition, no necessity whatever for this mail service, and if this award is effectuated it will not only foreclose the possibility of competitive bids in the mail service from New Orleans to Habana but will also detrimentally affect the ship lines already operating on the New Orleans-Habana route.

The Seatrain does not even operate out of New Orleans. It is outside of the port of New Orleans, being established some 21 miles below that city and along the Mississippi River. It will affect all shipping interests operating out of New Orleans to Habana. It will keep out of that trade an American company soundly financed and possessing efficient vessel equipment which its patrons find eminently suited to the trade, long experienced in the trade, and fully willing and abundantly able to provide the car-ferry service in-

volved out of the city of New Orleans direct without costing the Federal Treasury a penny. The East Coast Co. has not sought the aid of a subsidy or a loan to establish this service. It has merely asked to remain unmolested by the Government and to be allowed to continue to fulfill its duties under the merchant marine act. This company has also constructed all of its ships in American yards with American capital, and this is ample and significant evidence that it is interested in the American merchant marine.

Instead of availing itself of this most unusual opportunity, it appears that our Government deliberately ignores this real American company and schemes with a group heretofore operating under a foreign flag, foreign financed, and foreign-built craft, to the end that the American company be put out of business, and that there should be established in its place a new concern with about $5,000,000 of Government money, one-half an outright subsidy and the balance a 20-year loan, and this loan is done at a time when it is pretended that the Government shall practice stringent economy.

I almost forgot to state a very pertinent fact. It is this: When the Seatrain Co., Americanized to carry out this scheme, accepted this contract from the Post Office Department, it unequivocably stated that such acceptance was strictly conditional upon its ability to secure this subsidy from the Shipping Board, and this is now in process of effectuation.

Think of the absurd position that the Over-Seas Co. placed itself in both of these matters, first, by opposing the application of the East Coast Co. before the Interstate Commerce Commission on the ground that the trade did not justify any more ships and then in reaching into the Treasury for a subsidy and loan for the ships on the ground that the traffic warranted this service. The Government ignores the preposterous and incredible action whereby this company used two Federal bodies as a buffer against each other for opposite ends and failed to acquaint either body with the action taken before the other. The Government proposes to carry out this scheme by issuing an advertisement obviously prepared secretly and in common understanding with the seekers of the subsidy pursuant to secret hearings which had never been made public and in defiance of a statute demanding equal and fair competition. Having extended the hand of a subsidy under this monstrous procedure, the Government now finally makes a loan because of the mail [illegible], although in the meantime the startling facts had been made fully known and there was every occasion for deferring action rather than acting with haste. Certainly it is apparent to all that great pressure must be behind this scheme.

Only ships "actually ordered and under construction for the account of citizens of the United States prior to February 1, 1928," can come within the purview of the merchant marine act of 1928, and the steamship *Seatrain* is disqualified for use as a mail contract unit in the act of 1928 for (1) no contract had been signed for her construction nor was she under construction prior to February 1, 1928; (2) it is now and since the time of her completion owned by a Canadian corporation, namely, the Over-Seas Steamship Co. (Ltd.), and while it is presently operated under the name of a Delaware corporation, such an attempted circumvention can not defeat the strict provisions of the law. The Seatrain Lines (Inc.), has no other bottom with which it can begin this service except by using the steamship *Seatrain*, and while this circumstance is not shown by identifying this ship by name, in the invitation or in the tender, still she remains the only vessel in the world of the type stipulated in the advertisement which can be so made available for commencement of the service within the time prescribed.

I do not believe that either the Post Office Department, the Shipping Board, or the bidder will attempt to deny this assertion and that it is their purpose to vest the ownership of this particular vessel in Seatrain Lines (Inc.), and to place her under American registry. In my mind, this whole transaction is a complete violation of our laws on the matter, is a star-chamber proceeding, designed to raid the Treasury of some $3,000,000, is calculated to run American capital out of the merchant marine, and the odor emanating therefrom is sufficiently obnoxious to invite the serious consideration of this House and appropriate action by such committee or committees as have jurisdiction thereof.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CLANCY].

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Chairman, I rise to warn the House that an amendment will be offered to the Interior Department appropriation bill within a few days, which, if adopted, will paralyze or seriously cripple some of the essential branches of the Government service controlled by the Department of the Interior. It will also be offered to cripple other great departments.

Three days ago, on January 26, a similar amendment was offered from the floor of the House to the agricultural appropriation bill. It was never considered in committee; it was not recommended by the Bureau of the Budget, and never adequately analyzed or discussed.

It was adopted by 34 votes, 8 per cent of the membership of the House. It seriously will cripple the service of the Department of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Agriculture is now making a memorandum to be sent to the Senate and the House showing just how his essential services will be crippled by that amendment. The amendment, which carried by a vote of 34 to 27, was proposed by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS], whom I have asked to be here during this discussion, and who is now here.

It provided that the Department of Agriculture could not pay more than $750 for a motor-propelled vehicle, with minor exceptions, such as the Cabinet member's auto. There were other provisions in the amendment which were very damaging.

The motive of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] was the same worthy motive which actuates every Member of this House, every Member of the Senate, namely, economy. If the amendment had been carefully drafted, it would have corrected an abuse which is not only rampant in the Federal Government but also in city, county, and State governments. That is the abuse of Government-owned automobiles after hours and for use in private pleasure and private business.

One provision of the amendment was that a person in the employ of the Federal Government could not use a Government-owned automobile in going to and from his place of business or from his home to his work, with city dwellers in mind.

We are considering to-day the appropriation bill for the Department of the Interior, which department has charge of many services in the Rocky Mountain region, and in the wide-open spaces on the plains and in the hills, for instance, the Reclamation Service, the Geological Survey, the National Park Service, the Indian Service, the Alaskan service, the Irrigation Service, the General Land Office, highway services, and so forth.

All of those services use automobiles, and the total appropriation bills for those services amount to hundreds of millions of dollars, and losses through restricting amendments might well be enormous.

Now, a Government agent who has to go to his place of business from his cabin in the mountain or from his residence to the project which he is superintending, which may be 50 miles away, under this amendment could not travel to the point where he is needed in a Government-owned vehicle and on Government gasoline. The Roads Bureau of the Department of Agriculture makes its employees travel 300 and 400 miles sometimes.

But the amendment is so broad that while it is aimed at passenger automobiles it names "motor-propelled vehicles," and it does, therefore, include airplanes which are used in the Forestry Service, for instance. It includes boats which are used in the Alaskan service necessarily. Neither an airplane nor some boats can be bought for $750, and these services are destroyed.

The gentleman from Mississippi said that he would offer this amendment to every appropriation bill that came before the House, particularly the Army bill. What a field for dis-

aster there. For instance, if we should get into war in China in the near future, for instance, we could not buy an automobile there which cost more than $750, unless a state of war would throw all of these peace-time regulations into the discard. But we are now in trouble in China and have our services there now, and undoubtedly you can not buy an American automobile for $750 because the freight is added.

Now, it is absolutely true that the lowest-priced automobile of the closed-car type can not be bought or delivered to the coast or the Rocky Mountain region for $750. I am informed of that by experts. Certainly at the place where the automobile is manufactured it may cost less than $750, but when $150 or $200 freight is added, which is added to the cost of the car, and which is an essential element in the cost of the car, then the car costs more than $750. Cars are sold f. o. b. at place of manufacture.

Three hundred million dollars was appropriated by Congress last year for public roads. Thirty million dollars more were appropriated for forest trails and the Park Service. There are some heavy items in bills this year for these services. The man who inspects these works may have to travel from his home many miles to his work, and according to the amendment which was offered by the gentleman from Mississippi that man could not get to the point required in a Government car or by using Government gasoline.

Now, it is very dangerous to fix or limit the cost price of an automobile. When is an automobile a luxury or semiluxury? Do not be unfair in fixing the dividing line. Experts can not do it.

We have heard people say that in the tax bill now being prepared for the House, an automobile which is a luxury or semiluxury should pay a tax, and a passenger car which is not a luxury should not pay a tax. But who can fix that price? Is it $2,000 or $2,500 for taxation purposes? There is no one in the industry who can do it. Also, it is destructive to the manufacturers above the limit, and the tax collected would be too small.

During the war the Government bought $10,000,000 worth of automobiles in one purchase, for war purposes. Did they buy the lowest-priced car? They did not. They bought cars of heavier material after tests by the Bureau of Standards. I may say, to make my point clear, during the war they also bought two types of car which were much heavier in material and construction than some of the lighter cars for certain services, and lighter cars for other purposes. To-day if you should go to Panama or some other Army posts you will find those heavy-material cars in good condition and in operation now, which were bought 15 or 16 years ago. So that it may not be economy to buy the lowest-priced car or the cheapest commodity in any field.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLANCY. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUFF. As a matter of fact, the purchases of cars made by the Government during the war included many heavier and much more expensive cars?

Mr. CLANCY. Oh, yes.

Mr. WOODRUFF. I spent considerable time in the ranks in this country and in France and, as far as I know, I saw no Rolls-Royce cars anywhere in the service.

Mr. CLANCY. Thank you. The Department of Agriculture and other branches of the Government will undoubtedly present testimony that to-day, when there are so many low-priced cars of such great value, as was demonstrated in the recent New York automobile show, it may be advisable to buy a heavier car, which is to be operated over 300 or 400 miles of rough road watching construction.

The ranger or agent in the Rocky Mountain service does not get any too much salary at present and his life is endangered many times. Are we going to give him and his assistants a closed car in cold or rainy weather or are we going to put him in a little open, 2-seated low-priced car? Everybody from the Rocky Mountain region, certainly the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR], the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH], and may I include the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY], who have traveled in those mountains, and even plains regions, know that when the heavy snow falls in the wintertime efforts are made to keep the roads open and when the snow melts in the springtime the roads are washed out. A great part of the expense of maintaining Glacier National Park and Yellowstone Park is in the repair of the roads in the springtime. These parks can not be opened to the public until June when the roads are repaired. Certainly a good serviceable, heavy car is needed to go over those roads when they are torn up with ruts and bumps. In fact, they are almost impassable in the early spring.

In the near future I will present further evidence to show the dangers to economy and the public service hidden in the proposed amendment. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. EVANS].

Mr. EVANS of California. Mr. Chairman, there is in this bill an item of $8,000,000 for progress work on the Boulder Dam project.

Heretofore Congress has appropriated in all $25,000,000 for this work, and when this item has been approved, as we expect it will be approved, it will make a total of $32,000,000 for the Boulder Dam or Colorado River project.

Heretofore when this item in the Interior Department appropriation bill has been under consideration certain gentlemen have been curious to know—and quite legitimately and consistently so—what, if anything, the people of the southern California area or, rather, the Los Angeles metropolitan area, have done toward the approval of this project. That is to say, these gentlemen—and I have particularly in mind the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OLIVER] and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. AYRES]—have quite properly wished to know whether or not the people who will largely benefit by this project have expressed their approval in some binding form. Up to this time we have not been in a position to satisfactorily answer that question further than to say that we felt that when such legislation had been perfected in California as would provide for a vote the people in California would readily and overwhelmingly approve of the Boulder Dam project. This legislation has been enacted creating the metropolitan water district, and an election was held in California last September on the proposition of issuing $220,000,000 in bonds for the payment of the cost of the construction of the aqueduct that will carry the water from the Colorado River to the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Not until that election was held could we assure the Members of the House that the people of southern California were behind this project, although we pledged our good faith to that extent, and others of the California delegation, with myself, have attempted to assure the membership of the House that when the time arrived the Los Angeles metropolitan area would overwhelmingly approve the project. So in September of last year this election was held and the electors of this metropolitan area voted approximately five to one in approval of the Colorado River development project.

The metropolitan water district embraces 13 of the principal cities of southern California, with the city of Los Angeles as a nucleus. That district embraces the cities of Pasadena, Long Beach, Glendale, and 13 cities in all, with a population of 1,700,000, according to the last census. That district has an assessed valuation of two and a half billion dollars, with a bonding capacity of $385,000,000.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EVANS of California. Yes.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. When was the election held on the bond question?

Mr. EVANS of California. On September 29, last.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I will say to the gentleman that I happened to be in the Los Angeles area at Altadena at that time, and having supported the Boulder Dam project, was very happy to see this proposition carried by such a large majority.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. EVANS of California. May I say to the members of the committee, as further assurance of the safety of the investment the Government is making in this project, that within this area, embraced generally within the metropolitan water district, the population has so increased during the past 10 years that of the nine additional Members of Congress from the State of California under the new apportionment law seven will go to this general area. The population of this section of the country has increased to such an alarming extent that within the past 10 years this addition of seven Members of the House has been justified, as shown by the last Federal census.

I have taken this opportunity to place these figures in the RECORD and to assure the gentlemen who have very properly inquired as to the attitude of the people of southern California that they may be satisfied that southern California and this metropolitan area are whole-heartedly behind the Boulder Dam project and are willing to pledge their holdings and their destiny to its success. The work on this dam is proceeding with great dispatch, and I understand the contractors are six months ahead of the schedule.

Mr. MURPHY. Will the gentleman explain to the committee that the water which the great metropolitan area around Los Angeles is arranging for is an additional supply of water to that which it already has, which comes from the Boulder Canyon Dam, and that in addition the All-American Canal is going to transfer water from the Boulder Canyon district into all of southern California south of the Los Angeles country.

Mr. EVANS of California. I am very glad the gentleman saw fit to make that observation, and he has correctly and well stated the situation. The additional water which will come to southern California is an augmentation of our present supply. Some 25 years ago we constructed an aqueduct from the Owens River at a cost of about $33,000,000. That aqueduct carries approximately 400 miner's inches of water and mainly supplies a population of approximately one and a quarter million people. The water that will come from the Colorado River will be used in that area, and the water that will be carried through the all-American canal, which is a part of this great project, will be used largely for irrigation purposes.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EVANS of California. Yes.

Mr. ALLGOOD. It is the purpose of your people to use water that has heretofore destroyed farms and lives in southern California for the preservation of life?

Mr. EVANS of California. Exactly.

Mr. ARENTZ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EVANS of California. I yield to the gentleman from Nevada.

Mr. ARENTZ. Did the gentleman hear the gentleman from Ohio yesterday tell about the falling level of the surface water or underground water in San Joaquin Valley?

Mr. EVANS of California. I did not. I regret that I was not present when the gentleman spoke yesterday.

Mr. ARENTZ. It was a typical description of what is occurring throughout that great basin, reaching from Riverside to Los Angeles. The water table is decreasing every year and this supply that comes from Boulder City will irrigate the surface, and it will do more than that, it will add to this underground supply, and those who are now pumping, instead of being compelled to put their pumps lower and lower and lower, as time goes on, through this supplemental supply will be able to bring their pumps to the level they were 10 or 15 years ago before this dry period began.

Mr. EVANS of California. The gentleman from Nevada is absolutely correct.

Mr. ARENTZ. And they will be pumping at from 50 to 150 feet instead of going down deeper to 300 or 400 feet, which makes it almost impossible to raise lemons and oranges and the higher-priced fruits under such conditions.

Mr. EVANS of California. The gentleman has very correctly stated the situation.

Mr. MURPHY. I am sure the gentleman from California could tell the committee that already the wonderful date industry of southern California is menaced by the shortage of water and the lowering of the water table in and around Indio, where these wonderful dates are now being raised.

Mr. EVANS of California. Yes; and other products as well.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. PATTERSON].

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we have had some interesting speeches here today. I was very much interested in the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH], wherein he pointed out his disappointment that some constructive legislation had not been enacted to increase the purchasing power of our people. It is a very vital question he touched upon and I hope to make some remarks along that line now, and later.

I think a survey of the situation which we face in this country will cause us more and more apprehension as to the final outcome of our great civilization and system which is, in my judgment, when not abused, the finest the world has ever seen.

We stand to-day in the thirty-second year of the twentieth century and find ourselves, as was said by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BECK] a few days ago, "facing one of the greatest crises of history." There is no controversy between the gentleman and me in acknowledging the conditions which we face, but there seems to be a considerable amount of difference of opinion as to how we shall deal with that crisis.

In my judgment, we come to this condition by the special favors granted and practiced permitting concentration of wealth and by protecting special interests under the wings of the Government, and by the authority of the Government to enable them to extort, monopolize, and get the resources of our country into the hands of a few and take advantages of every condition to further perpetuate the inequities in which we find ourselves.

I believe that if any man in this great country will survey the field to-day, he will come to the conclusion that none of these palliative remedies which are suggested will go to the fundamental conditions which we are facing and remedy the evils which confront our country at this time. In fact, in my humble judgment, practically everything that has been proposed are temporary expedients and will only serve in the long run to perpetuate the inequities of the evil conditions in which we find ourselves; and whatever good they will do, if any, will be temporary.

You take all of these big corporations which we have organized or propose to organize under the wing of the Government—I think this alone shows definitely that there is something materially wrong with business and needs to be righted. You hear big business talk about not wanting the Government in business, but to-day the greatest demand is for the Government to come into business by big business on the side of big business and monopoly. We know that through the inequities of a high tariff and the guaranty of dividends to corporations and utilities from time to time governments have been in business on the side of big business. The time has come and it is here now—since the Government is already in business on the side of big business, and big business through the use of this instrument is seeking more and more to strengthen its grasp on the resources of our country and subdue more and more to slavery the masses of our people—the time is here now when the Government should not go into business but should see that every person has a fair and equal opportunity. Under present conditions this is not the case. I hold up to you to-day a condition in this great country which, if it is studied carefully, will make the most conservative wonder where it will end and what will be the final results.

I say to you that if we do not about-face and remedy some of these fundamental conditions, we shall be driving the people of this country toward the saddest plight that could ever be imagined. I feel as I stand here to-day, could that noble group of men who gave to this country the Declaration of

Independence, framed the Constitution, and maintained these great documents by their blood and treasure have foreseen the situation which we face to-day, they would have gone into mourning as did the Ninevites.

Let us glance at what has happened during the past two years. During that time $50,000,000,000 or more of this country's wealth has vanished; and, what is more, the workingman, where our great purchasing power is lodged, has lost $10,000,000,000 annually out of his wages. Small business has lost almost an equal amount. We had during the 12 months ending the 31st of last October 2,343 bank failures, with aggregate deposits of more than $2,000,000,000; and taking the latest monthly reports which I have of commercial failures, by R. G. Dun & Co., as an average throughout the year, there were upward of 27,000 commercial failures during 1931. This, linked up with the condition of agriculture, where the income of the farmer is probably the lowest in purchasing power of any time in history. The farmers of this country face the great tragedy at this time of having less than $7,000,000,000 to be divided among nearly 30,000,000 of farm population for rent and expense and everything.

We were astonished in 1930 when the statistics showed that the farmer had lost one-twelfth of his entire wealth during that year, which meant in 11 more years he would not have one dollar, not even excepting the mortgages they had on their farms. Already there is not a single doubt in my mind but what this loss is more than doubled this year. In all probability the farmer lost during this past year one-fifth or more of his entire wealth. It is easy to see where this will soon lead if these figures are approximately correct, and I have no doubt but that they are; in four years more the farmers of our country on the average will not have a dollar's worth of property. Mr. Speaker, this is serious and will justify far-reaching action to save the situation and not just political talk.

Then there are thousands of our laboring people who have bought homes and are trying to own them, but have had them taken from under them; or their debts are becoming so tremendous or their income so small, or in millions of cases none at all, until it is only a matter of time until they will lose their homes.

In my judgment the destiny of America and one of the fundamental principles of Americanism is that we should build up a system and perpetuate it here to enable our people to own homes and establish the finest civilization the world has ever known. But with this great tragedy enacted to-day, fellow citizens—I say tragedy—yes, this condition we face to-day is alarming. We have those splendid and beautiful farms of the Middle West, through the great States of Iowa and Illinois, and the farms of my own State, and all of the States from east to west, north to south, many of which were bought and debts incurred on them with cheap money, and to-day the farmers of America find themselves in a condition of semiservitude and poverty. What is their condition? That great industry which only a few years ago was worth $80,000,000,000 is now cast into dejection by an increase of mortgage debt on the farm to an unbearable point by loss of near 50 per cent of that former $80,000,000,000 of wealth and by a reduction in his income this year by almost 33⅓ per cent of what it was last year when it was the lowest then that it had been in many years.

Even in face of this the farmers' taxes have increased. Why, in my own State it is said that 10,000 farms were advertised last year for sale to satisfy taxes. I could not vouch for the authenticity of these statistics, but I do know that a great number of farms were advertised. In addition to this, hundreds were taken from the farmers by the Federal land banks and other mortgagors, but still the farmers' great burden of debt has increased from year to year. These conditions would have already crushed the life out of a less heroic people. As I observe and study the farm conditions in my own section of the country and that of the great West and other sections I have visited from time to time in studying this great question, it is remarkable to see the unbroken spirit of these heroic people, how they have kept up faith how they have fought the battles against poverty and distress. Here, in this Capitol to-day, I wish to acknowledge that great debt of gratitude which this country owes to people like these. Once in a while it is brought up that we should build a monument to this one and that one; but for me, if we are going to build any more monuments around this Capitol, I should like to see a monument built to the farmers of America, the wage earner, and the great mass of people who carry on the small businesses and the people engaged in underpaid professions of our country who have kept faith and carried on. These are the people whom I should like to honor, because this class of people are the ones on whom we have always depended and on whom we must depend in the future when this country faces a great crisis. And citizens of America, to-day we face these problems, and I try to speak here as an humble representative of our people, I say we should keep that faith. I call upon you to stand by our fundamental American principles, many of which have long since been relegated, but I say to you to-day that we should rededicate and reconsecrate ourselves to follow the leadership of some man who has a vision and a program and the courage to go to the fundamental causes of these evils and root them out forever.

God help us to-day as we speak here for these people, that we may understand the situation which we face, that we may have the courage to go about and remedy these conditions. I, for one, plant my feet and pledge myself that I shall never vote to perpetuate the evil conditions which exist and afflict our people at this time.

The time has come for the great mass of our people to get together and march in solid phalanx that they may depose those who have brought about this system and restore our Government into the hands of the people. God give us to-day a government after the ideals brought out in the immortal address of Lincoln—" a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The workingman, the farmer, the small business man, and the professional man should march together in this great crusade and enterprise to restore government to the people and solve the great questions which face us. I believe it can be done, and I shall attempt to show to-day and from time to time how I think it can be done.

Of course, I realize that there are some sections of the country where the farming class and the laboring class are not suffering quite as badly as they are in my section. It is not my purpose to pull aside that veil and show you the distressing scenes of the southern cotton farmer. Should it be appropriate to speak on that question here I hope I have earned that right as a toiling southern land renter until I had reached the age of 30. Time and again I have seen those farmers, and I see them this year, as they go through the winter without sufficient clothes to keep them warm. I have seen them time and again with nothing but corn pone and water to eat. I recall scenes like this in my own life. I believe, as I said, the farmers of my State, who know I have suffered and toiled with them in these things, feel that I have earned the right to speak for them, and not only for them but for the laborers, since I have labored many days by the hour since I was 30 years of age and engaged in small business and served in an underpaid profession, and in trying to speak for these people to-day, who are the backbone of our country, I pronounce a solemn warning to you my colleagues and my countrymen that these people in their present condition, and how I hate to say this, can never, never come out from under these conditions which face them until fundamental changes are brought about.

Let me tell you some of the conditions which face our people: The value of the cotton dollar to-day is 37½ cents, based on the 1926 cotton dollar; and based on the 1920 cotton dollar it is only a little more than 16⅔ cents. A great many of our farmers' debts were made back in 1920, and under similar conditions. The wheat dollar to-day is only around 40 cents, based on the 1926 wheat dollar; and based on the 1920 wheat dollar, when lots of the debts in the great Middle West section were made, it is only about 25 cents. As you recall, a great many of these debts were made with the cheap money of 1920—10 or 12 years ago. The corn dollar is worth only a little more.

Cotton, wheat, and corn are our three great farm products. But this is only presenting a part of the picture. Let us look at those who hold the mortgage, and ultimately the Wall Street bankers, sometimes known as international bankers, the ones who loaned the money in 1920 to the farmers. I estimate this money at between 6 and 7 per cent, which I am satisfied is below the average paid by the farmers—I am sure it is in my section of the country. If the borrower was to pay back to-day that $100 which he borrowed in 1920, with interest, it would have the purchasing power of approximately three hundred 1920 dollars—three times what it was when it was loaned to the farmers. Take this and contrast it with the problem the cotton farmer has in getting up this hundred dollars. It gives him only 1 chance in 15. I will show you how that is. It takes the cotton farmer to-day five times as much labor to raise $100 as it did in 1920, it takes the wheat farmer four times, and the corn farmer a little less than that. Take the fact that the holder of the mortgage, if he collects, has the purchasing power equal to $300 at this time; it gives him a 15 to 1 advantage over the cotton farmer, and so on in a smaller degree of the other great farm products. I repeat my warning that our farmers can never come out of the present conditions facing facts like these. You can have all the farm moratoriums you wish, and I have supported the farm moratorium and wished to make it stronger and stronger, but they can not and will not save our farmers until we have removed the fundamental causes.

The laboring men, on the other hand, and the men whom we call the masses of our citizens, are in a similar plight.

The man who bought a home when times were good and is trying to pay for it under conditions as we have now—with the average annual loss of $10,000,000,000 of his wages and facing the fact that the dollar to-day is about two and one-half times the purchasing power of what it was in 1920—is left in a plight where he never can see the light of day.

My fellow colleagues, we must give these conditions serious thought. We live in the greatest country of the world and have the greatest and most valuable resources on earth and as fine, energetic, and ingenious people as the Lord has ever created; and with the great capital wealth we have—and even under depressed conditions we have between seventy and eighty billions of dollars annual income—and yet there are from seven to ten millions of people idle and hungry, between twenty-five and thirty millions of our farming population destitute and only a few short years when the last vestige of their property will be swept away, thousands of our professional people working without pay and facing destitution and want. Something should certainly be done. This, with the fact that thousands of bank failures, tens of thousands of commercial failures, and the great burden of taxation bearing down so heavily on the masses of people, is sweeping their homes from under them. Why, the system which we face in some sections of this country actually discourages home owning, where it should be encouraged.

Then, in contrast with all this poverty, distress, and want, I want you to look on the other side of the picture for a while. It is known that numbers of business institutions and public utilities have made tremendous profits during the past 12 months and during the entire time of the depression, the great mass of our people having what they had swept away. A few favored corporations and public utilities are being protected by governments and they are getting a substantial income on "watered stock" and bogus capital. Why, it is said that time and again these corporations have by a single vote doubled their capitalization and therefore permitted to charge accordingly on the masses of our people. If I recall correctly, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOCH] the other day read into the RECORD where one company had made 400 per cent dividends in 1930, and this in America. To-day they are collecting their tolls and collecting them in advance, and they are protected by some governments in doing this. They are collecting the same dollar, in many instances, they collected in 1929, and are to-day making a profit of almost 45 per cent more than they did then, for the purchasing power of the dollar is 45 per cent more to-day than it was at that time. These things have actually occurred, and a great many of these big giants collect in advance and are protected in doing it. They have all kinds of frivolous charges and various percentages and penalties, and they are protected in doing so.

Fellow colleagues of this Congress, the time has come when we must stand up and speak for the people to save our country. The time has come, in the words of the great Webster, "to perform a solemn lustration," and devote ourselves to the task that is before us. We should stand firm and say privilege must cease, and speak the voices of the masses and strike the shackles from the feet of the laborer, the farmers, and the masses of our people.

These utilities and corporations have sought through propaganda, lobby, and intimidation to control legislators, institutions, and organizations, and mold public opinion, but they do not control me; and for me and mine I shall not follow, but shall speak as best I can for our people.

There are various remedies suggested. One is that we should establish big corporations to build up big business in order that a few drippings may drop down on the masses of people. I dissent from that opinion. Some say we must reduce wages, thereby reducing the income of the masses of our people. My reply to that is that the trouble with this country now is the lack of purchasing power, and in order to save the situation we must increase the purchasing power of our people, more people employed, a better division with the masses of our people of the income from our resources and the ingenuity of our people. Some say the trouble is overproduction. I need not reply to that. I point to the millions of hungry and ill-clad fellow citizens who reach out their hands for the necessities of life. Some suggest that the way out is to increase the tax burdens on the masses. I need only to refer to the present conditions to show the fallacy of that argument. Take the farmers' tax which has increased more than 150 per cent since 1914, which means that the southern cotton farmer to-day, based on the present price of cotton and the purchasing power of the dollar then and now has to put forth five times as much effort to pay his tax as he did in 1914. Five dollars to one now.

These great questions which we are facing can not be solved by laying more burdens in taxes on the masses of our people. These great questions can not be solved by reducing the income of the people, thereby reducing their purchasing power; these great questions can not be solved by giving moratoriums to our farmers as important as that is as a temporary expedient—and I have strongly supported that moratorium for farmers, for it is a great temporary need at this time; nor can these great questions be solved and fundamental evils removed by backing up big business and protecting further through prohibitive tariffs and other restrictions in favor of great corporations and public utilities, and those other giants which are sapping the life blood out of our people and driving them to slavery and peasantry. No; but there are a few things that can be done: There has got to be a system brought about in this country to see that there is a better division of income among the masses of our people and more of the benefits of science and invention must be distributed to the common average citizen, wherever he may work or toil. Here are the fundamentals of prosperity for our country. Another thing, the inequitable system which taxes and discourages the common man from owning a home must be abolished and the burden of taxation must be placed on the great productive wealth of the country; the value of the working man's dollar, in whatever line of work, whether he is on the farm, small business man, factory, or mine, or wherever he may be, must be put on a parity with the dollars of those who hoard the wealth of the world. These great questions must be faced and solved, and I, for one, pledge myself as best I can to help remove these fundamental evils which have grown up, and I shall not vote for any measure which seeks to perpetuate these inequities. The masses of our people should share in the production of science and invention which are

becoming more and more necessities of life, such as light and power and many other of our valuable resources which should belong to our people; and also our modern inventions, which are becoming more and more necessary, must be brought within the reach of all of our people.

The farmer and the workingman for whom I try to speak have the same fundamental right to enjoy these things, if he makes his contribution in toil and citizenship to build up and carry on the work of this country, and the good part about this is it is no disadvantage to anyone, in fact it will restore prosperity to all. This is the challenge of the age; this is the challenge to government. To-day let our minds go back to that great class of people for whom I am trying to speak, 120,000,000 of them. No crisis has ever come in this country but what we have called upon them; and they have given their all, both on the field of battle and in peaceful pursuits, to save the fatherland and build its citizenship, as our pioneers and heroes, in government and in every field of human endeavor.

To-day, if we want to see an example of the purest and finest patriotism that has ever been demonstrated under the shining sun of the Eternal God, go out to some little rickety cottage in the South or to some small farm in some other section of our great country, or the typical small business man's home, or in some mountain home, or to some humble laborer's cabin, or to the daily work of some professional person, or the average American citizen of every legitimate line of endeavor—and there you will find it, throughout the entire length and breadth of our country. They are ready at any time to leave their happiness and contentment; give not only themselves but their sons and daughters to the cause of their country. I recall such an humble home in the South, as I see my aged father and mother send one of their own sons out with the blessing to give his all to his country, and their admonition to him to never dishonor the flag. I know that patriotic fire is alive to-day in the millions of hearts and homes of this land.

Another thing, I believe that this great country, which we have the honor to represent, and this great patriotic group will finally remove the discriminations which exist; and they will do it in an orderly and constitutional way in which they believe. As was said by the great Lincoln, "The better angels of our nature will soon again touch our heartstrings," and we will, as one man, strive for this Government and for what it symbolizes, and we will, in the words of Woodrow Wilson and Abraham Lincoln—

> See that here muster in this great country not the forces of party but the forces of humanity, and we will reconsecrate and rededicate ourselves to the task that is before us and from the honored dead of this great country who have died on the battlefields, who have died as pioneers, who have died in holy causes of sacrifices that we shall again take increased devotion and resolve that they shall not have died in vain.

O farmers of America, O working men and women from every nook and corner of this Republic, all those who toil and love this country, may we to-day be inspired by you and your devotion, and may we plant our feet here and say as those heroic soldiers said, "These evils shall not continue"; and in remedying these things that we shall do it in the spirit of the heroic Andrew Jackson, and John Paul Jones who said, when it seemed that every vestige of hope had been swept away and that he must surrender, "I have just begun to fight."

And when we have done this, we have only imitated the life and sacrifices of those noble people in our Republic, who are the backbone of this country, and in truth have only done our duty as an American as they have done theirs. Mr. Speaker, this is our work and to this cause I try to renew my pledge and devotion daily. This will turn us again into the American way, translate our land, as it were, into the hum of machinery, the turning of the plow, the cheerful song of the working man, who has leisure and culture to enable the people of every line to really live and to enjoy the blessings of this country, a great, free, industrious, happy, and prosperous people with beauty, harmony, and peace reigning throughout our land and all the world. Then, and not until then, will our high destiny be fulfilled and we shall be enabled to hand this glorious heritage down, and not unimpaired but improved and purified to bring the realization of those who have hoped, those who have prayed, and those who have died that the shining luster of our flag, with its celestial colors, shall shine on forever and illuminate the earth and bring in the day visioned by the prophet.

With America's tremendous advantages in every way, her resources, the ingenuity, and industry of her people with wise and good government, hers is a glorious destiny. We must pledge ourselves anew to good government. Then let us aspire to-day, let us act now, not asking how strong the enemy is but only where he can be found.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANKFORD].

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein extracts from letters dealing with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and kindred subjects.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, I asked for this time in order that I might make a further presentation in support of my bill to save for the original owners the farms that have either been sold or are about to be sold by loan-foreclosure proceedings. I am determined to leave nothing undone in my efforts either to pass my bill or get its provisions written into law as a rider on other legislation.

In view of what this Congress has done during December and January just past, there is absolutely no excuse for failure on our part to pass this and other relief measures for the farmers.

Just here let me say I indorse the sentiments expressed yesterday afternoon by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROWNING]. He is making a noble fight for his measure. The provisions of his bill are much along the same line as the provisions contained in the first sections of my bill, but his plan would cost so much more money that I fear we can not get it passed and signed by the President. I worked out early in this session a plan which will do the same good service at from one-fifteenth to one-thirtieth of the cost of my original plan or Mr. BROWNING'S present plan. The same great saving in cash expenditure could be accomplished by the adoption and substitution of my plan in lieu of and for the numerous plans presented by the many House and Senate bills for relief of farmers living on the numerous irrigation and drainage projects throughout our country. Wherein does my plan differ from the others? The explanation is simple.

I seek to set up a governmental agency to purchase the interest coupons or notes, wherever necessary for three years, instead of purchasing outright the entire amount of the indebtedness. If the depression should pass within another year it would only be necessary to handle the item of interest for one year. This would cost only about one-sixteenth as much for one year as it would to purchase the whole indebtedness.

Then again many debtors would agree to extend and carry, themselves, as many farmers as the governmental agency protected. Also many farmers are in position to pay their own interest. It seems to me that relief along this line is imperative, and Congress can never excuse itself if, after helping others, the farmer is now ignored and left to suffer the loss of his entire savings of a lifetime.

No one not in close touch with the farmers of our country can at all realize their suffering. Neither can anyone fully sympathize with them unless he was raised on a farm and has lived with them all of his life and loved them for their real worth. I get letters every day which, it seems to me, would melt the hardest heart of the most cruel of men. Here is one I got this morning:

> BRISTOL, GA., *January 27, 1932.*
>
> Hon. W. C. LANKFORD,
> *Washington, D. C.*
>
> DEAR MR. LANKFORD: I am writing again in regard to my condition. I am on the brink of losing my home for the loan interest of $39 and interest from December 1, 1931, at 8 per cent, and $60

taxes for same year. If I don't get help within the next week, I'll lose it.

I wrote for my husband to be released from hospital if his condition would possibly permit, and the doctor wrote me this week that he had improved materially but needed further hospital treatment, and a discharge was not recommended at this time.

I'm here with no mule or wagon, no money or rations, only potatoes and bread, little jarred fruit, and no one to help me and my two children.

If you can possibly help a poor heartbroken woman in need, do help me save my home. I am praying earnestly for help to carry me through. Please write the company to hold up on me until I get some help, and I'll then pay the interest to the Federal land bank at Columbia, S. C. Please do help me.

Mrs. CYNTHIA SMITH.

This letter is from a good woman in my district, whom I do not remember to have ever seen, but she is suffering a severe punishment because she has placed confidence in an agency set up by Congress to assist rather than persecute such citizens as Cynthia Smith.

This leads me to call the attention of Congress again to the orgy of loan foreclosures that is being carried on with the same relentless ruthlessness since we voted them another $125,000,000 as was waged before this additional appropriation of the peoples' money.

As I predicted, in so far as the farmer is concerned, that $125,000,000 is worse than wasted. Those that are destroying the farmer have been given greater power, the farmer has been weakened, and the awful, greedy farm foreclosure menace continues as one of the darkest pages of our national existence.

I regret to report that, as I predicted, the $125,000,000 voted the Federal land banks was absolutely in behalf of bankers and bondholders and not in the interest of the farmers.

I am still hoping that those in charge of this system will quit their foreclosure program and render a real service to the farmers during this awful time.

Just here let me say that even if the officials of the Federal land-bank system should have a change of heart and stop all foreclosures of loans owned by that system and return all lands taken over and now held by that system, there would still be unprotected, by far, the larger part of the farmers of our country, who owe loans to people, firms, and corporations not in this system.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has general power enabling it to give the very relief sought by me. In fact, it will be remembered I endeavored to amend the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act so as to specifically require that this relief be given to the farmers. Since the sponsors of this bill defeated all my amendments, I am very much afraid no such relief will be given under the general provisions of the act. There is a provision in this act for a specific amount to be turned over to the Secretary of Agriculture for the benefit of the farmers. I am reasonably sure this item will be loaned to the farmers for production purposes only. Then again this amount is too small for the purposes I am seeking to reach and serve.

Thus it is my bill or some similar measure must be passed if all the farmers are to be granted the same relief that has been accorded the big banks, bondholders, and large corporations.

As I have already stated, it is my purpose to try and get a bill passed, using only about one-fifteenth as much money as will be necessary if Congress should set up an agency to take over the entire indebtedness. That is, I would only seek to purchase past due interest coupons, or notes which embarrass the borrower and are about to bring on foreclosure, regardless of whether the farmer lives on a drainage or irrigation project or elsewhere, and regardless of whom he owes.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT. I am very much interested in what the gentleman proposes to do, but I would like to ask him if he has any hope of getting such a bill through?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. My hope is, if we can not get a bill enacted making available and appropriating a large amount, we may be able to pass a bill involving this smaller amount.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman state how many of these bonds there are?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I do not have accurate information about the drainage and irrigation districts, but I am more familiar with the farm-loan situation. Some irrigation districts are seeking a moratorium. There are bills pending seeking relief by purchase of approximately $390,000,000 of drainage bonds. By my bill I seek to take care of the entire farm loan foreclosure situation.

Mr. SNELL. How much money will it take for that?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I do not know just how many loans are distressed so as to need this help. I do know it will only take about one-fifteenth as much money under my bill as it would to purchase outright the entire amount of bonds or loans now outstanding against farm property.

Mr. SNELL. How much would it take to buy the past-due coupons?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. I do not know exactly. This is a matter peculiarly within the knowledge of the lenders and the farmers. There are about $9,000,000,000 of farm indebtedness. One year's interest on this at 6 per cent would be $540,000,000. In order to remedy the present farm-loan foreclosure situation probably one-third of this $540,000,000 would have to be arranged for the present.

Mr. MURPHY. Where does the gentleman think we are going to get the money to pay all these?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. Out of the United States Treasury.

Mr. MURPHY. How does it get into the United States Treasury?

Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia. It gets in the Treasury in the same way that the money gets into the Treasury for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I wish to say I have unbounded faith in the honesty and ability of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY] and know of the splendid, unselfish service, as a member of the powerful House Committee on Appropriations, he is rendering his own district and the whole country.

No Member of Congress is more beloved for his real nobleness, character, and genuine desire to serve the great brotherhood of humanity and its entire membership—the poor and the rich, the low and the high, the humble and the great. Blended in my good friend the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MURPHY] are all those great traits of character and essential qualifications so necessary in the true representative of the people in this legislative body. The gentleman's love of humanity and his keen sense of justice will not let him oppose my measure once he understands its provisions.

Mr. Chairman, it is my sincere expectation that by proper presentation of my bill, I may win the valuable support of not only the gentleman from Ohio but all of his great committee and the entire House.

I fully realize we must not lose sight of the great need of utmost economy. The American people demand it and are entitled to it. We are not expected, though, to make no appropriations whatever, and surely there is no expenditure more fully justified than this one by which I seek to solve the farm-loan foreclosure menace.

To my mind, since the passage of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill, there is not the shadow of justification for opposition to this relief to the farmer as sought by my bill and others. I fear too many of us here are acting in this crisis without sensing the real sentiments of the American people. Much is said about psychological effect, and yet, unless I am much mistaken, we are doing the very things our people do not want and do not need, the psychological effect of which is to make bad conditions worse.

Congress is endeavoring to cure the awful and deadly national malady of too much bureaucratic government, over-centralization of political and financial power, and vicious—even criminal—special privileges to the few to the destruc-

tion of the rights and very lives of the many, by this Congress, making more powerful and destructive each and all of the very forces and national evils which are working the destruction of our people.

In this connection let me read from a letter written by a lawyer living in a Southern State other than Georgia. I read as follows:

I have just read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under date of January 15 what you had to say about the $2,000,000,000 so-called reconstruction bill. Your remarks there on "financing the financiers and attempting to fool the farmers" are absolutely true.

It is so seldom that men in public life ever hear from others that I am taking the time to write you to commend you for the position which you took in connection with this rotten legislation, this fraud on the people, this sale of the Government to special interests under the Hoover program which, taken all in all, and particularly with this $2,000,000,000 corporation in a time of peace, is without doubt the most iniquitous, false, and fraudulent attempt (and looks like it will go over) that has ever been perpetrated upon a free people by special interests, bankers, and capitalists.

Again I quote from the same letter:

Your statement, "It is my candid judgment that this is the greatest steal from the common people for the big bankers ever perpetrated by a legislative body," has summed up the situation in a nutshell. I wish we had an Andrew Jackson or a Grover Cleveland to prevent the entire Treasury Department of the United States and all the other functions of the Government being taken over by these big bankers and other special tariff-protected interests.

Now I quote from a letter written by Mr. George C. Hall, of Topeka, Kans., as follows:

I have just read with much interest your address to the House on Friday, January 15, 1932. It was a remarkable address, and in the interests of the common people.

What would it cost for 1,000, 5,000, and 10,000 lots to have copies of same printed to be used for distribution in and around Topeka. The papers we get here never seem to publish or even mention a lot of this good work being done in Congress by you fellows who are lined up in defense of the common people.

Could you send me a copy of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill with the amendments that were proposed to it and voted down? Would be pleased to get a copy of same.

We have an Independent Voters' League here in the city that is getting vitally interested in politics, and I would like for them to have a copy of your address mentioned above.

I wish you much success in your work, for I have read quite a number of your speeches as printed in the RECORD, and you are doing a noble work, even if the rest of the gang seems to be against your efforts. I am satisfied that if proper publicity could be given to your speeches and efforts in Congress that more people would be elected to Congress to assist you.

Here is an extract from a letter written me by Mr. S. J. Lewis, of North Carolina, as follows:

I would like to congratulate you on the introduction of your farm relief bill. At the present the farmer is in dire need of relief. Tobacco is bringing nothing and cotton bringing less. If you can interest farmers in your plan, I am sure they will back you in putting it over. The farmers in my territory do not know of your bill. I have told several, and they think it would be what is needed. Perhaps there is some way you can get your bill before the farmers so they will understand it.

With all good wishes for the passage of your bill.

And here is part of a letter written me by Mr. L. T. Defur, of Indiana, as follows:

I read in the RECORD your plan for farm relief. That is exactly what will solve the farm problem and end the Nation-wide depression. Congress does not need to look any further for a remedy; it will make the farmer class prosperous, and when they have money to spend all other classes are prosperous.

Congress should at once make your bill a law. Congress should provide more money at once for the Federal land banks to loan to the farmers so that they can take up their short-time loans which they have been forced to obtain, and your plan will assure the payment of these loans just as soon as it can be put into operation. There is no necessity for Congress to hold hearings, have long debates, and otherwise delay recovery from the depression. Your plan will forever end the uncertainties of farm prices; it will insure the farmer a reasonable profit above cost of production, and this profit above cost of production will provide him money to buy things he needs; this buying power of the farmer will insure the laboring man a job at good wages all the time, and again the United States will be prosperous and happy. The prosperity under your bill will be lasting, farmers can be confident they will not lose their farms by mortgage foreclosures, and the laboring people in the cities can be confident that the factory in which they work will not shut down because they can not sell their manufactured goods. What more could a man desire?

I quote further from the same letter, as follows:

Mr. LANKFORD, we need some kind of an amendment to stop Federal land banks foreclosing. Farmers can not pay their installments under the low price they are now receiving. This amendment should change the law so that the farmers can pay the defaulting years at the close of their terms; that is, at the end of the 32 years. We need an amendment or a new law so that farmers who now do not have long-time loans and have been forced to borrow on short-time loans can take up these short-time loans at once, and then when your farm-relief plan becomes a law they can repay their long-time loans. Credit is badly needed so that farmers can work their way out of the depression at once

And last in this connection, but not at all least, here is a quotation from a letter written by a farmer now bent with years, who lives in my beloved Georgia. From a much appreciated letter written me by Mr. E. W. Lancaster, of Telfair County, McRae, Ga., I quote as follows:

I am more than glad to know that you are our present Congressman, as my county, Telfair, was put in your district under the recent redistricting of the State. I was an old cornfield boy, now 78 years old, but I am still battling for the right. I love right, I hate wrong. I was fortunate when your most wonderful speech made in Congress February 27, 1931, fell into my needful hands. I am glad to know that we yet have a few men that are standing up and fighting for the righteous cause. It is my great pleasure to indorse every word of your speech. I can't see where there would be anything that could be added to or taken from it. It is just right; leave it alone and let it work out the problems that are facing us now. There are many who seem to realize and understand this great crisis that is facing us now but are at a loss to know what to do for the best. I believe that the plan that you have outlined in your speech will whip the fight if it can be carried out; so make it be. I am satisfied that I will never have the pleasure of meeting you in person but I want you to understand that I will always be with you in battling for the right. My mind and heart will be present with you though my body be absent.

I hope to hear from you again. With best wishes, both temporal and spiritual, I am yours for prosperity and a clean life.

Mr. Chairman, I now want to advert briefly to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act. Be it remembered that I have made no personal attack on the officials who have been selected to administer the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. I am criticizing Congress for not enacting better legislation, for not only the guidance but the protection of the officials of this corporation.

The bill would have been, oh, so much better if my amendments and others of similar purpose had been adopted making the measure by express terms provide help only for agriculture, for enterprises giving employment to labor, and for purposes of putting money into circulation, and thus overcoming the present financial depression. No other loans would have been authorized and none such would have been sought.

As it is, the officials of this corporation are charged with many unnecessary and very burdensome responsibilities.

Everything which we sought specifically by amendments was finally written into the bill in general terms. For instance, under the general provisions of the bill the present farm-loan foreclosure menace can be promptly and efficiently abated in the specific way set out in my amendment. Also loans can be made to intermediate credit banks and other banks and also to other institutions, so as to not only relieve the particular bank or institution but constitute a direct aid to agriculture or bring about greater employment. Most loans can be so made as to flow as a direct benefit to both the farmer and laborer.

Loans made to banks on paper of the manufacturers or the farmers or the railroads are clearly in this class. Only to-day I received a letter again calling my attention to a serious situation in my district and the turpentine section, where it seems to me this very relief can be granted by a loan to the turpentine or naval stores producers, who have been classed by law as farmers under the Federal Farm Board act, and who employ thousands of laborers, and whose prosperity inures not only to themselves and their employees but to all other farmers and citizens generally of the turpentine-producing pine-tree section.

The letter I have just referred to reads as follows:

BAXLEY, GA., *January 27, 1932.*

Hon. W. C. LANKFORD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LANKFORD: Inclosed I am mailing you newspaper clipping relative to our trying to get intermediate-credit bank of

Columbia to withdraw their naval-stores holdings from the market. As you doubtless know, they advanced our naval-stores cooperative two and one-half million dollars last year, taking as collateral warehouse receipts over naval stores. At present time they have about 50,000 barrels of turpentine and 200,000 barrels of rosin, which even under the extreme low present prices only shows them a loss of around 10 per cent. Our 1931 production will be cut even more, and if you can bring pressure to bear to have these credit-bank holdings withdrawn from the market for at least one year we could hope to get a living wage for this year's crop and the credit bank would work their holdings off at a profit.

For your constituents in south Georgia, the quickest hope of a comeback to-day is in a better price for naval stores. We are operating way below cost of production, exhausting our timber resources with no hope of getting out of the rut as long as the bank at Columbia continues its present policy. Operators are only being able to furnish their labor a little bread and meat; no pay rolls with which to buy shoes and clothing, and it is really a pitiful situation. I only wish I could take you through some of the turpentine camps of this section. I feel sure you would not delay a moment in starting some action to get this remedied by arranging to have the credit banks' holdings withdrawn from the market for the next year.

I want to assure you that the naval-stores operators of your district are very grateful for what you have already done for us in Washington, and I feel sure you will do what you can for us during the present distressful condition.

Yours very truly,

J. E. DYAL.

I certainly hope that a plan can be evolved for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase the indebtedness now owned by the Columbia Intermediate Credit Bank and grant such terms to the naval stores producers as will enable them to carry these turpentine products in such a way as not to break their present market, relieve their present financially depressed condition, and in the end repay every dollar advanced in this connection.

It seems to me here is a great opportunity for the naval stores producers and for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. I hope it may be worked out in a manner helpful and satisfactory to all concerned.

In conclusion, let me say I hope that under the general provisions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation act its directors may render real specific service in this hour of need. The weak points of the bill can be largely, if not totally, overcome by a courageous, impartial, administration of this enormous fund. It is my prayer that this be done.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I ask for the reading of the bill.

The Clerk read the bill to the end of line 4, page 6.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'CONNOR, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 8397, the Department of the Interior appropriation bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

VETERANS' RELIEF

Mr. SANDLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to publish in the RECORD an address by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROWNING] made last night over the radio.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SANDLIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. BROWNING, over the radio last evening:

At its organization it was my privilege to become a member of the Veterans' Committee of the House; I remained a member of same until last term. One of the greatest satisfactions coming to me from my nine years' service in Congress has been derived from the work I was privileged to do on behalf of my disabled comrades when we were formulating or expanding a national policy to govern compensation. And in memory of all that I especially greet the disabled buddies who may do me the honor to listen in this evening.

When the question of compensation to the soldiers of national conflicts is approached there are various elements contributing to the make-up of national judgment. Properly we have in its mixture patriotic fervor, sympathy, gratitude for sacrifices in behalf of our Nation, the precedent of long-established national policy, and the elementary justice of compensating those who have suffered physical handicaps because of their service to our people. So when we deal with the ex-service man we rightfully adopt a broader basis than merely planting ourselves on one single arbitrary standard of action.

The element of patriotism requires that we honor those who have fought our battles; and that, having in mind future crises, we prove to those who stood between us and destruction, our loyalty does not stop at peace. Sympathy and gratitude compel us to abandon the fixed standards of valuation when rewarding a courageous sacrifice for the common good. Precedent and elementary justice obligate us to materially compensate those who held high the flag in the face of our enemies, and because of which their bodies are maimed and broken, or old age has crept upon them to find them in want.

The humanity of our Nation has always demanded liberal treatment of its soldiers. Those who stand in the Halls of Congress and plead the cause of the ex-service men are not demagogues, but they do it in response to the genuine heart throbs of this great country. The people want the Government to be liberal to a fault, if necessary, to accomplish the proper care of them. In my judgment, Congress has done well in its response to that sentiment, as the facts will show.

The great body of ex-service men sanction that statement. In making laws to cover such a large class of citizens, individual hardships and apparent inequalities are certain to occur because of the human impossibility of writing a perfect measure. Then these laws must be administered by human beings, all of whom are prone to err occasionally. Friction in administration is inevitable.

I think it not offensive, but true, to state that in isolated instances claimants to these benefits overestimate their rights and condemn a liberal government unjustly. They, too, are human. And as Robert Burns once said:

"When self the wavering balance shake,
'Tis rarely right adjusted."

We can properly excuse the impatience of some who are honestly mistaken as to their rights under our complicated national system of soldier relief, covering hospitalization, pensions, insurance, and several forms of compensation.

The question may be properly asked, What has our Government done in the past, and what is it now doing for veterans' relief? Let us review this that the people may know whether Congress has executed their mandate.

Relief to veterans is given in several different ways—pensions, disability compensation, adjusted compensation, disability allowance, dependency compensation, insurance, hospitalization, and institutional care. As of November 30 last, 43,045 veterans were receiving hospital treatment at the hands of the Government through the Veterans' Administration; 7,574 of these were tubercular patients, 18,875 had neuropsychiatric diseases, and 16,596 were hospitalized for general medical and surgical conditions. To take care of this load of patients the Veterans' Administration is utilizing 327 different hospitals and soldiers' homes.

In addition to hospital care and treatment the Government provides out-patient care and relief to the veterans of the World War whose disabilities are not such as to require hospitalization. During the year ending November 30 last, 845,688 out-patient treatments were given by the Veterans' Administration and 2,147,152 physical examinations were made for all purposes.

Three hundred and sixteen thousand two hundred and twenty-one veterans are receiving compensation for disabilities caused by or aggravated in the military service during the World War. Compensation is also being paid to dependents of 97,196 veterans whose death occurred in or resulted from their service in the World War. The amount of compensation payments, depending upon the degree of impairment, ranges from $8 per month for a 10 per cent temporary partial disability to $200 per month for a double permanent and total disability. It is interesting to note the general classification of service-connected disabilities by types and their relative percentage: Tubercular ailments, 20 per cent; neuropsychiatric diseases, 21 per cent; general medical and surgical conditions, 59 per cent. The average monthly payment for disability compensation, all types, is $44.28. The number of active awards under this head has increased 133,131 since June, 1923. Forty-two thousand eight hundred and sixty-four veterans are receiving $50 per month under the amendment passed July 2, 1926, directing this payment to all who have had active turberculosis and have reached a stage of complete arrest.

As of May 24, 1928, the act was approved which provides for the retirement of emergency officers of the Army in the recent war who incurred physical disabilities in line of duty during their service. The act provided for retirement on 75 per cent of their pay at discharge all officers who are rated not less than 30 per cent permanently disabled from disabilities resulting directly from war service. Thirteen thousand one hundred and twenty applications have been filed under this law, and 6,914 have been retired with pay.

An amendment to the World War veterans' act was made effective July 3, 1930, authorizing the payment of disability allowance to World War veterans on account of disabilities resulting from other than military or naval service not the result of the veteran's own wilful misconduct, provided he had 90 days or more service. Six hundred nine-two thousand one hundred and sixty-nine applications for this type of benefit have been made, 614,829 of them

have been adjudicated, and 311,729 veterans are being paid under the provisions of this amendment.

Monthly disbursements by the Government for compensation, emergency officers' retirement pay, and disability allowance cases were more than $21,000,000 for the fiscal year 1931. In all, the sum of $2,043,000,000 has been disbursed to World War veterans for these purposes. Pension benefits for veterans of all wars, including the Regular Establishment, are being paid to 255,100 soldiers, 545 nurses, and to the widows and dependents of 193,042 deceased soldiers. The average monthly disbursement for pensions during the last fiscal year was approximately $19,500,000. During the period 1790 to November 30, 1931, the amount of $8,502,175,849 had been disbursed for pensions.

Term insurance is being paid to 13,000 permanently and totally disabled World War veterans and to the beneficiaries of 139,631 deceased veterans. In addition one-sum payments have been made to the beneficiaries of 23,057 deceased veterans.

The benefits provided to World War veterans by the adjusted compensation act have been extended to 3,902,145 veterans or to dependents of deceased veterans. Cash payments and awards on certificates amount to $157,332,736. Loans made by the Government and outstanding on these certificates amount to approximately $1,186,815,000. It is estimated that $75,000,000 is also outstanding on loans made by banks. This brings the total received by the veterans and their dependents because of adjusted-service pay and loans to approximately $1,420,000,000.

The provision for hospital facilities for World War veterans began with the act of March 3, 1919, and Congress has since authorized the expenditure of $113,327,000 for that purpose; $97,450,000 has been appropriated. Every veteran in need of it is entitled to hospitalization so long as a bed is available in any hospital under the charge of the Veterans' Administration.

To sum up, a total of $14,880,463,606 had been disbursed as of November 30, 1931, for the relief of veterans of all wars, their dependents and beneficiaries. There should be charged against this $944,951,803, representing deductions for allotment pay of World War veterans while in service and amounts collected as premiums on the various forms of Government insurance, leaving a net outlay to the Government for soldier relief of $13,935,511,803. And our present fixed obligations approximate $1,000,000,000 a year for this purpose.

In view of these accomplishments I think Congress can justly say that in a large measure it has kept faith with the ex-service men of America. After all, Congress is a cross section of the Nation and reflects the will of its people. The service organizations, such as the American Legion, the Disabled American Veterans, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and others have been diligent and effective in procuring these rights for their buddies; and Congress has heard them in behalf of the disabled and their dependents with sympathy and with good results. And the present Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Gen. Frank T. Hines, in my judgment, has tried to carry out the will of Congress with broad understanding of the complicated task and a big heart in applying the law to individual cases.

These figures are stupendous at first blush, but are not so astounding when we consider that this represents the outlay for every war of our history, a period of 150 years. And we should not forget that included in the beneficiaries to these gratuities are those who faced the redcoats at Lexington and Bunker Hill, crossed the Delaware with Washington, endured the rigors of Valley Forge, and clenched our independence at Yorktown; those who stood against the same country in 1812 and raised Andrew Jackson to deserved fame on the plains of Chalmette; those who redeemed the Southwest from Mexican tyranny; those who stood for union against disunion in the war between the States; those who fought against Spain in the first good samaritan war in history; and those who, when autocracy threatened the earth, threw themselves into the breech to save democracy. Such sacrifices can not be rewarded fully by material aid, but in granting this aid the Nation is making its most effective acknowledgment of the obligations to them.

No set of laws touching so human a subject as the disabled veterans has ever been perfect or entirely smooth and equal in application. From time to time we have tried to effect changes as these inequalities became apparent to us. At this time we are still confronted with needed improvements in several respects, but I desire to discuss briefly the one most needed provision confronting us at the present session of Congress. I refer to the allowance for the widows and orphans of the World War veterans who die from other than service-connected troubles.

A few weeks before the session opened there came into my office at Huntingdon, Tenn., a little woman who was not complaining but just wanted to ask if she could procure aid for herself and her two babies, since she was a widow and living with her aged and destitute parents. She was the only member of the family able to work. Her husband was drawing for a 75 per cent service-connected disability when he was killed in a car wreck. His compensable disability, though incurable and progressive, in no way contributed to or was the proximate cause of his death. It was my painful task to advise her that under no provision of existing law could the Veterans' Administration grant her aid because Congress had not closed up that gap. Had the veteran lived until the incurable malady caused his death, the Government would have gladly paid his compensation while living and a substantial stipend to her and her babies after his demise. These circumstances almost place the Government in the attitude of taking advantage of his misfortune.

This is no isolated case. A great number of these widows and orphans are being left destitute; and I have found it impossible to explain to the average citizen why the Government will not give aid to the widow or orphan child of a soldier. A failure to do so just does not comport with their conception of our duty. I count it the first impelling, sacred obligation of this session to right that glaring defect in the law, and I have every confidence the petition of the widows and orphans, and of the great service organizations for them, will not go unanswered.

Just to-day, we are advised, the Veterans' Committee of the House, under the able leadership of its chairman, Hon. JOHN E. RANKIN, of Mississippi, and composed of some of the ablest men and women in the House, many of them veterans, reported out a bill curing this indefensible defect in the law; and no depression, deficit, or Executive opposition, in my judgment, will defeat its passage. It is said to grant $20 per month to a widow and $6 for each child. In cases where no widow survives, $20 for the first child and $6 for each additional child. This is only a modest allowance and will not result in any staggering demands on the Treasury.

Another provision to grant a small allowance to the parents of men who die from troubles other than service connections is also reported in the bill. This is a new class to be included, never before recognized in any pension scheme, and is, in effect, an old-age pension. I hope a controversy over it will not defeat the relief for widows and orphans, who should come before all other consideration.

As of January 15 the deficit in the United States Treasury stood at $1,500,000,000, and at the close of this fiscal year it is estimated to be over $2,100,000,000. About one half of this is occasioned by the decrease in revenues and the other half to increase in the expenditures of the Government. The serious necessity of balancing our National Budget must be recognized as an elemental requirement. An unbalanced Budget is persuasive against stupendous outlays for advanced payment of obligations to the able-bodied which will, in any event, be paid on or before maturity. In any event, it should wait on the relief to widows and orphans. That we are face to face with a national crisis no informed person will question. A crisis was the reason for the creation of the class known as ex-service men. In that former crisis we gave instead of demanding. To cripple our Government when sorely pressed would be entirely out of keeping with the wonderful spirit that inspired our action in 1917–18, and I am afraid would tend to destroy some of the splendid reverence heretofore held for our service.

The service organizations and the men themselves have been able to procure every benefit they have demanded of Congress, because they have asked nothing to which they were not entitled. We have been blessed with sane and patriotic leadership. We must pursue that course which places country first. And a demand for justice to be done those and their loved ones who paid the greatest price for national honor and world respect does not conflict with the interests of our country. My counsel, if it is worth anything, is against doing anything under these conditions about which there is any controversy as to its merit.

But when my Government, within the scope of its obligations to mankind and its own protectors, deals with the fortunes of its soldiers and their wives and their children, may it truthfully be said that it has never intentionally disappointed a hope or deserted a sorrow of the helpless.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. BLANTON. Reserving the right to object, may I ask whether or not there will be anything taken up on Monday except the appropriation bill?

Mr. RAINEY. The Consent Calendar.

Mr. BLANTON. We will go through the Consent Calendar before we take up the appropriation bill?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

RESIGNATION

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication.

The Clerk read as follows:

JANUARY 29, 1932.

Hon. JOHN N. GARNER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SIR: I hereby resign my office as Representative in the Congress of the United States from the twentieth district of Pennsylvania.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

J. RUSSELL LEECH.

The SPEAKER. The communication will be spread upon the Journal and the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania notified.

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 6660. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Monday, February 1, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Saturday, January 30, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Akron investigation.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

(10 a. m.)

National defense act.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

413. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of bill to amend sections 5 and 7 of the act approved February 28, 1925 (43 Stat. 1080; U. S. C., title 34, secs. 754 and 756) as amended; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

414. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a bill authorizing the President to class as secret or confidential certain material, apparatus, or equipment for military or naval use; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

415. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an item for the Treasury Department in the Budget for the fiscal year 1933 (H. Doc. No. 240); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. GILBERT: Committee on the Library. S. J. Res. 75. A joint resolution authorizing the Joint Committee on the Library to procure an oil portrait of former President Calvin Coolidge; without amendment (Rept. No. 308). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. YON: Committee on Rivers and Harbors. S. 2334. An act to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented; without amendment (Rept. No. 309). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 798. A bill for the relief of Mrs. J. J. Bradshaw; without amendment (Rept. No. 299). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 804. A bill for the relief of May L. Marshall, administratrix of the estate of Jerry A. Litchfield; without amendment (Rept. No. 300). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1230. A bill for the relief of Chase E. Mulinex; with amendment (Rept. No. 301). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1419. A bill for the relief of Daniel S. Schaffer Co. (Inc.); with amendment (Rept. No. 302). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2033. A bill for the relief of Theresa M. Shea; with amendment (Rept. No. 303). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5235. A bill for the relief of Charles C. Bennett; with amendment (Rept. No. 304). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4833. A bill for the relief of Frank Baglione; without amendment (Rept. No. 305). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5256. A bill for the restitution of employees of the post office at Detroit, Mich.; without amendment (Rept. No. 306). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK. Committee on Claims. H. R. 5998. A bill for the relief of Mary Murnane; with amendment (Rept. No. 307). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. TILSON: A bill (H. R. 8624) to authorize the loan of War Department equipment to the Knights of Pythias; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. THOMASON: A bill (H. R. 8625) to provide a salary for the referee in bankruptcy for the Pecos division of the western judicial district of Texas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. NORTON: A bill (H. R. 8626) to extend certain benefits of the Public Health Service to certain seamen, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8627) to amend an act of Congress approved June 18, 1898, entitled "An act to regulate plumbing and gas fitting in the District of Columbia"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MAJOR: A bill (H. R. 8628) to provide annuities for certain former rural letter carriers; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. OVERTON: A bill (H. R. 8629) to authorize the erection of a 250-bed addition to the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Alexandria, La.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8630) providing the rank of major general for any officer of the Regular Army while serving as Governor of the Panama Canal; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GILLEN: A bill (H. R. 8631) to make disability rating schedules of Veterans' Administration available for use of certain organizations in the presentation of claims for compensation or disability allowance; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. MILLIGAN: A bill (H. R. 8632) to amend the act entitled "An act to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended," approved July 3, 1930; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8633) making all adjusted-service certificates available for loans as soon as issued without waiting two years or any part thereof; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BECK (by request): A bill (H. R. 8634) to provide fees to be charged by clerks of the district courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHAFER: A bill (H. R. 8635) to authorize the attendance of the Marine Band at the United Spanish War

Veterans' convention at Milwaukee; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SUTPHIN: A bill (H. R. 8636) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into a contract or contracts for the erection and completion of a plant suitable for the investigations of the Bureau of Mines in New Brunswick, N. J.; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 8637) to authorize the sale, on competitive bids, of unallotted lands on the Lac du Flambeau Indian Reservation, in Wisconsin, not needed for allotment, tribal, or administrative purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HALL of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 8638) for the temporary relief of water users on irrigation projects constructed and operated under the reclamation law; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. BYRNS: A bill (H. R. 8639) to prevent the sale or transportation in interstate and foreign commerce of commonly used poisons resembling in color flour, meal, or other similar ground cereal; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HILL of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8640) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8641) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CABLE: A bill (H. R. 8642) to amend the law relative to citizenship and naturalization of children; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AYRES: A bill (H. R. 8643) granting a pension to Azelle V. Crawford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BARTON: A bill (H. R. 8644) granting a pension to George H. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BEAM: A bill (H. R. 8645) for the relief of James S. Kelly; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BOILEAU: A bill (H. R. 8646) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Jane Bump; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8647) making Charles C. Ames eligible to receive the benefits of the civil service retirement act; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. CARTER of California: A bill (H. R. 8648) to authorize the Secretary of War to grant a right of way to the Alameda Belt Line across the Benton Field Military Reservation, Alameda, Calif.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CELLER: A bill (H. R. 8649) to amend section 597 title 28, United States Code, relative to commissioners' fees; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHAPMAN: A bill (H. R. 8650) for the relief of James Warren; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CORNING: A bill (H. R. 8651) for the relief of James Birney, sr., otherwise known as James Brady; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8652) for the relief of Charles C. Snyder; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CULKIN: A bill (H. R. 8653) granting a pension to Katie Roch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8654) granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Allen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8655) granting a pension to Nancy J. Farrell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GOLDER: A bill (H. R. 8656) for the relief of Bayard Allmond; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAUGEN: A bill (H. R. 8657) granting an increase of pension to Eliza Alby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HILL of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8658) for the relief of Gustaf A. Carlson, Alfred Anderson, Claude H. Siems, Nick F. Helmers, and Rome A. Schaffner, of Spokane, Wash., copartners doing business under the firm name of Siems & Carlson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JENKINS: A bill (H. R. 8659) granting an increase of pension to Mary Harry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KELLY of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8660) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Carrigan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KLEBERG: A bill (H. R. 8661) granting a pension to Ruby May Aubert; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8662) granting a pension to George T. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McLEOD: A bill (H. R. 8663) for the relief of James Leslie Passmore; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 8664) for the relief of William H. Potter; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAY: A bill (H. R. 8665) granting a pension to Leck Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8666) granting an increase of pension to William Sally; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MILLER: A bill (H. R. 8667) for the relief of Bud Ira Burkhart; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mrs. RUTH PRATT: A bill (H. R. 8668) for the relief of Mrs. Joseph Roncoli; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. QUIN: A bill (H. R. 8669) for the relief of George W. Edgerly; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SANDERS of New York: A bill (H. R. 8670) granting an increase of pension to Antoinette Howland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SWANK: A bill (H. R. 8671) granting a pension to Edith M. Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SWING: A bill (H. R. 8672) granting an increase of pension to McLean W. Terry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8673) for the relief of the Yellow Drivurself Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. VINSON of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 8674) granting an increase of pension to Harry C. Lawson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. YATES: A bill (H. R. 8675) granting a pension to Serena E. Rayhill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

999. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petitions of citizens of Westerly, Ashaway, Bradford, Providence, North Scituate, North Providence, Cranston, and East Providence, opposing repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1000. By Mr. ARNOLD: Petition of citizens of St. Francisville, Ill., urging that legislation be enacted to provide a tariff on imported crude oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1001. Also, petition of residents of Bridgeport, Ill., earnestly recommending a tariff on imported crude oil or oil products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1002. Also, petition of many citizens of Bridgeport, Ill., urging legislation providing for a tariff on imported crude oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1003. Also, petition from Bridgeport, Ill., urging a tariff on imported crude oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1004. Also, petition of citizens of Allendale, Ill., urging a tariff on imported crude oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1005. Also, petition of citizens of Bridgeport, Ill., and vicinity, asking for a tariff on imported crude oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1006. By Mr. BLOOM: Petition of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, urging a National Guard appropriation by Congress for the fiscal year 1933 which will permit accomplishment of the 48 armory drills

provided for by law, and the full strength summer camp training heretofore prescribed, with the understanding that the strength of the National Guard will not be increased during the fiscal year 1933; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1007. By Mr. BOHN: Petition of women voters of Charlevoix, favoring the maintenance and support of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1008. By Mr. BLOOM: Petition of Ohio Hotels Association, urging the Congress of the United States and the President of the United States to invoke their legal authority to modify the national prohibition act to permit and legalize the manufacture and sale of wine and beer under proper restrictions, and to take such steps as shall be necessary for a submission to the various States of the Union the matter of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1009. By Mr. BURDICK: Petition of Barrington Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Rhode Island, Helen A. Thomas, secretary, praying that nothing be done to weaken the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1010. By Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa: Petition of the Leo P. McNamara Post, No. 61, American Legion, Iowa Department, of Ida Grove, Iowa, opposing curtailment of Federal appropriations for National Guard armory drills and restricting attendance at summer camps; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1011. By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Petitions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Brookings and Salem, S. Dak., opposing any change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1012. By Mr. CONNERY: Memorial of the Salem Yankee Division, Veterans' Association, Salem, Mass., favoring the full payment of the adjusted-service certificates or bonus; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1013. Also, memorial of Wollaston Post, No. 295, American Legion, of Wollaston, Mass., favoring the immediate payment of adjusted-compensation certificates to World War veterans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1014. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of residents of Schenectady, N. Y., urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and opposing its modification or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1015. By Mr. CULKIN: Petition of Rev. E. Earle Eaton and sundry citizens of Munnsville, Madison County, N. Y., asking that Congress support the prohibition law and its enforcement and vote down any measures looking to modification or resubmission to a referendum of the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1016. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Pittsburgh, Pa., through its rivers and harbors committee, protesting against the passage of proposed legislation known as Senate bill 1963, which amounts to an unjust tax on river transportation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1017. Also, petition of the Admiral Schley Naval Squadron, No. 16, United Spanish War Veterans, Department of New York, favoring Senate bill 2263, sponsored by Senator BROOKHART, providing veterans, wives of deceased veterans, and wives of disabled veterans permanent status before the Civil Service Commission; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1018. By Mr. DELANEY: Petition of Falcon Citizen Military Training Camps Club, 188–190 Grand Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., protesting against the abolishment of the citizens' military training camps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1019. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of the Lake Charles (La.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, opposing any measure looking toward modification or resubmission to the States or repealing of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1020. By Mr. DRANE: Petition of citizens of Umatilla, Lake County, Fla., protesting against any measure looking toward modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1021. By Mr. GIBSON: Petition of Mrs. A. H. Webb and certain other voters of the city of Montpelier, Vt., relative to world disarmament; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1022. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of the citizens of the eighth district of Oklahoma, protesting against the proposed 10 per cent tax on theater admissions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1023. By Mr. HILL of Washington: Petition of Mrs. L. E. Ogden and 41 other residents of Colville, Wash., opposing repeal, resubmission, or modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1024. Also, petition of congregation of the Evangelical Church of Harrington, Wash., opposing repeal, resubmission, or modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1025. Also, petition of Elton F. Spicer and 83 other residents of Colville, Wash., opposing repeal, resubmission, or modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1026. Also, petition adopted by Vera Women's Missionary Society of Veradale, Wash., opposing repeal, resubmission, or modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1027. By Mr. JENKINS: Petition signed by several hundred citizens of Jackson County, Ohio, urging that Members of Congress use their influence and cast their vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure tending to repeal or modify it; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1028. Also, petition signed by 34 citizens of Jackson County, Ohio, urging that Members of Congress use their influence and cast their vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure tending to repeal or modify it; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1029. By Mr. KERR: Petition of North Carolina Highway Commission, regarding Federal highway appropriations; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1030. By Mr. KVALE: Petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Willmar, Minn., indorsing Senate bill 1197; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1031. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Alexandria, Minn., urging enforcement of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1032. Also, petition of 225 residents of Cottonwood, Minn., urging the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1033. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hancock, Minn., urging enforcement of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1034. Also, resolution adopted by 34 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Glenwood, Minn., against repeal or resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1035. Also petition of Minnesota section of the Society of American Foresters, urging enactment of the Leavitt bill, H. R. 4608; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1036. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Elizabeth M. Jones and 48 others, of Reserve, and Mrs. W. H. Newby and 65 others, of Tonganoxie, Kans., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and opposing any measure of modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1037. By Mr. LINDSAY: Petition of the Railroad Cooperative Building & Loan Association, New York City, favoring the passage of the home loan bill; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1038. Also, petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Pittsburgh, Pa., opposing the passage of Senate bill 1963; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1039. By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of Erlanger-Ford Theater Corporation, Baltimore, Md., protesting additional taxation on theater admissions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1040. Also, petition of A. Jacobs & Sons, Baltimore, Md., protesting against the manufacture of uniforms by the Government; to the Committee on Labor.

1041. Also, petition of the Cooperating Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meetings of Friends, Baltimore, Md., protesting against expenditures for naval construction; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

1042. Also, petition of National Woman's Party, Baltimore, Md., indorsing amendment to the United States Constitution pertaining to equal rights; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1043. Also, petition of the Druid Hill Permanent Building & Saving Association and the Cromwell Building Association, Baltimore, Md., urging adoption of amendments to the home loan discount bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1044. Also, petition of Fleet Reserve Association, Baltimore, Md., protesting against the passage of House bills 7012 and 409; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

1045. Also, petition of J. Edward Adkins, jr., Esq.; Company G, Fifth Infantry, Maryland National Guard; Roscoe Z. G. Cross, M. D.; and Edward J. Heng, all of Baltimore, Md., protesting against the reduction of National Guard drills; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1046. Also, petition of Washington Board of Trade, Washington, D. C., urging passage of Senate bill 2933 and House bill 7363; to the Committee on Roads.

1047. Also, petition of Mary Swain and Margaret Handley, of Baltimore, Md., urging enactment of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1048. Also, petition of the Lambert Automobile Co., the Zell Motor Car Co., and the C. H. Reeves & Co. (Inc.), Baltimore, and the Calvert Motor Co., Prince Frederick, all of the State of Maryland, opposing excise tax on automobiles, accessories, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1049. Also, petition of Federal Employees Union, No. 178, Edgewood, Md., recommending favorable action on House bill 2427; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1050. Also, petition of Andrew N. Smith, urging passage of Senate bill 2263; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

1051. By Mr. McCORMACK: Resolution that Suffolk Voiture, No. 543, 40–8, go on record as being in favor of paying the adjusted-compensation certificates in full; the same to be paid by the United States Treasury, issuing a United States Government service certificate which will be negotiable at time of issuance and redeemable by the Treasury at the expiration date; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1052. By Mr. McKEOWN: Petition of James T. Jackson and other citizens of Seminole, Okla., protesting the placing of a tax on admissions to small and medium-priced theaters; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1053. By Mr. MONTAGUE: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Chester, Va., favoring the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against any measure looking toward its modification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1054. By Mr. O'CONNOR: Memorial in favor of the pardon of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1055. Also, resolutions of the National Guard Association of the State of New York, favoring the erection of a memorial to the World War National Guard at Washington; to the Committee on the Library.

1056. By Mr. PERSON: Resolution of the Board of Commerce, Pontiac, Mich., favoring the discontinuance of all governmental activities which are not absolutely essential; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1057. Also, resolution of A. J. Babcock Camp, No. 20, United Spanish War Veterans, Flint, Mich., indorsing House bill 7230, providing for uniform pensions for widows and children of deceased veterans of all wars; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1058. By Mr. PRATT: Petition of 61 residents of New Paltz, Ulster County, N. Y., urging maintenance of the prohibition law and opposing modification, repeal, or resubmission to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1059. By Mr. RAMSEYER: Petition of members of the faculty and student body of John Fletcher College, University Park, Iowa, protesting against any change in the prohibition amendment or the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1060. Also, petition of members of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Keswick, Iowa, protesting against any change in the prohibition amendment or the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1061. Also, petition of members of the Methodist Episcopal Ladies Aid Society of Keswick, Iowa, protesting against any change in the prohibition amendment or the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1062. By Mr. REED of New York: Petition of residents of Chautauqua County, N. Y., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1603. By Mr. ROBINSON: Petition of the mine workers of Iowa and members of the local union No. 422, United Mine Workers of America, Opal L. Pike, secretary, 714 Southeast Thirteenth Street, Des Moines, Iowa, and signed by Roy Seals, recording secretary; C. A. Smith, president; and Opal L. Pike, secretary, urging Congress to give serious thought and earnest consideration to any measure or bill that will bring about the stabilization of the coal industry and conserve the interests of both worker and investor; to the Committee on Labor.

1064. Also, resolution of members of General Hasbrouck Camp, No. 14, Department of Iowa, United Spanish War Veterans, Marshalltown, Iowa, signed by the committee, C. C. Richter, J. F. McKeon, and Guy J. Winslow, urging the passage by Congress of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1065. Also, petition of Ralph E. Lesser, commander, and L. F. Maar, adjutant, representing King-Marson Chapter, No. 11, of Disabled American Veterans of the World War, of Black Hawk County, Iowa, favoring immediate cash payment in full of adjusted-service certificates, with all interest charges on loans refunded to holders; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1066. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of the American Felt Co., New York City, opposing an increased tax on automobiles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1067. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of F. D. Goud and many other citizens of Van Buren, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1068. Also, petition of G. A. Hoar and many other citizens of New Limerick, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1069. Also, petition of J. Beaulieu and many other citizens of Soldier Pond, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1070. By Mr. STALKER: Petition of residents of Ithaca, N. Y., relative to tax on motor vehicles, tires, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1071. Also, petition of residents of Wellsburg and Breesport, N. Y., relative to enforcement of eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1072. Also, petition of residents of Owego, N. Y., relative to enforcement of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1073. Also, petition of E. M. Hoffman Camp, relative to House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1074. Also, petition of residents of Newark Valley, N. Y., relative to enforcement of eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1075. By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: Petition of Grace Methodist Episcopal Church and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Punxsutawney, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to the States and favoring adequate appropriations for law enforcement and education in law observance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1076. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Indiana, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to the States and favoring adequate appropriations for law enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1077. By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: Petition of St. Louis Woman's Christian Temperance Union, opposing a national referendum on prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1078. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of the Seventh Day Adventist Church of Asbury Park, N. J., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1079. By Mr. SWING: Petition of residents of San Bernardino County, Calif., in behalf of House bill 3605, private bill before Committee on Claims, for the relief of Alvah Holmes Mitchell; to the Committee on Claims.

1080. Also, petition of citizens of the State of California in behalf of House bill 3605, private bill before Committee on Claims, for the relief of Alvah Holmes Mitchell; to the Committee on Claims.

1081. By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: Petition of New Haven Sunday school, Fleming, Colo., protesting against the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to the States for action; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1082. By Mr. TREADWAY: Petition of Clara G. Cutting and other citizens of Lee, Mass., in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1083. By Mr. WEST: Petition signed by Lucy E. Simpson and 31 other members of the Frances Willard Chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1084. By Mr. WOLFENDEN: Petition of Dilworthtown Woman's Christian Temperance Union, West Chester, Pa., opposing repeal, submission, or modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1085. By Mr. YATES: Petition of Mrs. H. M. Walker, Mrs. J. A. Decker, J. A. Decker, H. C. Farley, and other citizens of Assumption, Ill., urging support of the eighteenth amendment and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1086. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the house of representatives, Columbia, S. C., memorializing the Congress of the United States to call upon the President to designate a day on which the people of this Nation shall meet in their respective places of worship to ask the Supreme Being for divine guidance through these perilous times; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1932

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, to whom all sons of men are dear; preserve us all from disregarding the laws of life to our confusion, that, being allied and responsive to Thine infinite purpose, we may use Thy means of grace and instruction to the advancement of Thy glory, the safety, honor, and welfare of Thy people. Bless in abundant measure the President of these United States and all others in authority, that, relying wholly on Thy guidance, they may be endued with the spirit of wisdom from on high. Abate the edge of want and dire distress by the enrichment of our world with smiling plenty and fair prosperous days, and remove all strife and discord from the nations of the world.

O God of love, O king of peace,
Make wars throughout the world to cease;
The wrath of sinful man restrain,
Give peace, O God, give peace again.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Tuesday, January 26, 1932, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the future reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF A BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries: who also announced that on January 28, 1932, the President approved and signed the act (S. 573) granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across Clarks Fork River, near Ione, Pend Oreille County, in the State of Washington.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 251) making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 261) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, and they were signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 6660. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Cutting	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Bankhead	Dale	Kendrick	Schall
Barbour	Davis	Keyes	Sheppard
Barkley	Dickinson	King	Shipstead
Bingham	Dill	La Follette	Smith
Black	Fess	Lewis	Smoot
Blaine	Fletcher	Logan	Stephens
Borah	Frazier	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	George	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glass	McNary	Townsend
Broussard	Glenn	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Tydings
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hatfield	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hayden	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Hebert	Pittman	White
Costigan	Hull	Reed	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.



NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONFIRMATIONS

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, inasmuch as the presence of a quorum has just been announced, I desire to ask the attention of the Senate to a matter of some importance.

On Thursday, the last day the Senate was in session, there was a confirmation of three appointees to serve on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation board. It is believed that there is necessity for the board to function immediately. I therefore ask unanimous consent, as in executive session, that the Secretary be directed to notify the President of the confirmation of the nominations to which I have referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary is authorized to notify the President of the confirmation of the nominations.

DIVERSION OF WATER FROM THE NIAGARA RIVER (S. DOC. NO. 10)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the chairman of the Federal Power Commission, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 147 (agreed to January 28, 1932), a certified copy of the opinion and order of the commission relative to the application of the city of Lockport, N. Y., for a preliminary permit for the use of water to be diverted from the Niagara River, which with the accompanying paper was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

REPORT OF THE GEORGETOWN GAS LIGHT CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the vice president of the Georgetown Gas Light Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, a detailed statement of the business of that company, together with a list of its stockholders, for the year ended December 31, 1931, which, with the accompanying statement, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORT OF THE WASHINGTON GAS LIGHT CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the vice president of the Washington Gas Light Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, a detailed statement of the business of that company, together with a list of its stockholders, for the year ended December 31, 1931, which, with the accompanying statement, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORTS OF THE CHESAPEAKE & POTOMAC TELEPHONE CO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate two letters from the president of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, reports, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as follows:

A report of the company for the year ended December 31, 1931, containing the actual figures to be substituted for the report heretofore submitted; and

A report showing the comparative general balance sheet of the company for the year ended December 31, 1931.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of Wisconsin, favoring the restoration to the States of control of the liquor traffic within their borders, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. (See joint resolution printed in full when presented to-day by Mr. BLAINE.)

He also laid before the Senate the petition of Fortson-Thygesen Camp, No. 2, United Spanish War Veterans, of Seattle, Wash., praying for the passage of House bill 7230, providing for pensions to widows, children, and dependent parents of certain war veterans, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also laid before the Senate the petition of the Wisconsin State Council of Carpenters, of Kenosha, Wis., praying for the passage of House bill 4743, amending the vocational educational act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Capital City Chapter of the Girard College Alumni, of Washington, D. C., favoring the enactment of legislation providing for the issuance of commemorative stamps in honor of Stephen Girard, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Pittsburgh, Pa., protesting against the passage of Senate bill 1963, providing for the control of certain waterways by the Shipping Board, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the International Relations and World Peace Section of the College of Women's Club of Pasadena, and the Pacific Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Los Angeles, Calif., favoring the ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by a mass meeting of citizens at Detroit, Mich., favoring revision of the treaty of Versailles, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram from the president of the Chinese Students Club, Ohio State University, of Columbus, Ohio, praying for American intervention in the present Sino-Japanese crisis, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Sacramento (Calif.) Region Citizens Council and the Reno (Nev.) Chamber of Commerce, favoring the changing of the name of the dirigible *ZRS–5* to "Palo Alto," which were referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution of the board of aldermen of Chelsea, Mass., protesting against the proposed tax on automobiles, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the National Employees' Pension Association, Chapter No. 252, of Clinton, Iowa, favoring a system of retirement pay for railroad employees, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from Joaquin D. Yordan, of San Juan, P. R., dealing with the political conditions in Porto Rico, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Filipino Club of Washington, D. C. (Inc.), favoring the granting of immediate independence to the Philippine Islands, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

Mr. JONES presented resolutions adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Vancouver, and the Martha Chapter of the Millwood Presbyterian Church, in the State of Washington, remonstrating against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FLETCHER presented petitions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Orange City, and of sundry citizens of Eustis, in the State of Florida, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NEELY presented a memorial of the Central Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Miss Katherine Hornish, secretary, of Wheeling, W. Va., remonstrating against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MORRISON presented resolutions adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church South and the Workers' Council, both of Forest City, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lumberton, all in the State of North Carolina, protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. WALSH of Montana presented a resolution adopted at a victory day dinner under the auspices of the Woman's

Christian Temperance Union of Bozeman, Mont., protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. WAGNER presented resolutions adopted by the New York State Bar Association at its annual meeting in New York City, favoring the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. BROOKHART presented a petition of sundry citizens of Huxley, Iowa, and vicinity, praying for a reduction in the salaries of Federal officials and employees and the elimination of useless functions, boards, and bureaus of the Government, which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

Mr. CAPPER presented a resolution adopted by the Norton (Kans.) Chamber of Commerce, favoring the Federal regulation of motor trucks and other transportation instrumentalities which compete with the railroads, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented petitions numerously signed by sundry citizens of Alden and vicinity, Broughton, Eureka, Climax, Severy, Greensburg, Hanston, Hazleton, Hiawatha, Hill City, Medicine Lodge, Ness City, Osborne, Reserve, Sterling, Tonganoxie, and members of the Graduation Club of Ness City, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by local chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Alden, Atchison, Broughton, Hazleton, McCracken, Nashville, and Osborne; the Methodist Episcopal Church of Belle Plaine; the Sunday school of the United Presbyterian Church of Emporia; the congregation of the Methodist Church of Madison; the Methodist Church of Michigan Valley; the Church of Christ and the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Ness City; the Sunday school of the Mennonite Church of Ransom; the Christian Church of Selkirk; the Sunday school of the Methodist Church of Weir; and the J. O. C. Sunday school class meeting at Wellington, all in the State of Kansas, favoring the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented two petitions of Charles Forney, of Norfolk, Va., praying for the enactment of legislation to create a national protective commission for holders of foreign securities, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Buffalo and Rochester, N. Y., praying for reductions in governmental expenditures, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Federal-Postal Employees' Association (Inc.), of Denver, Colo., protesting against any reduction in the salaries of Federal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Schenectady and Rochester, and the Falcon Citizens' Military Training Camps Club, of Brooklyn, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against any curtailment of appropriations for the citizens' military training camps, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a communication from John W. Slacer, of Buffalo, N. Y., together with copies of affidavits relative to alleged perjury by Fred A. Bradley, collector of customs of the port of Buffalo, N. Y., before a subcommittee of the Committee on Finance, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Olean and Ithaca, N. Y., remonstrating against the proposed tax on automobiles, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of the Rexford Woman's Club, of Rexford, N. Y., favoring world disarmament, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry women's organizations of Buffalo and Erie County, N. Y., praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols and also for world armament reduction, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Penn Yan, N. Y., remonstrating against the maintenance of military training camps and military education in colleges and high schools, and also favoring the ratification of the World Court protocols, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Holy Name Society of St. Gerard's Church, of Buffalo, N. Y., protesting against the passage of legislation to create a Federal department of education, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented the petition of Admiral Schley Naval Squadron, No. 16, Department of New York, United Spanish War Veterans, favoring the passage of Senate bill 2263, providing a permanent civil-service status for veterans and wives of veterans employed in the Census Bureau, which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

He also presented a resolution adopted by General Stephen Moffitt Camp, No. 94, United Spanish War Veterans, of Plattsburg, N. Y., favoring the passage of House bill 7230, granting uniform pensions to widows, children, and dependent parents of certain war veterans, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a resolution of the National Employees Pension Association, Chapter No. 252, of Clinton, Iowa, favoring a system of retirement pay for railroad employees, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Union Springs and Camden, N. Y., remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, and also any other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented memorials of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Geneseo, Cortland, Ward, and Rochester, in the State of New York, remonstrating against a proposed referendum on the national prohibition amendment of the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions and letters and papers in the nature of petitions numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BLAINE presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution memorializing Congress to pass one of the bills introduced by Wisconsin Members to restore to the States control over the liquor traffic within their borders

Whereas the platform on which Governor La Follette and the majority of the members of both houses of this legislature were elected favored amendment of the Volstead Act to restore to the States control over the liquor traffic within their borders; and

Whereas bills in conformity with this platform pledge have been introduced by Senator BLAINE and several of the Members of the Wisconsin delegation in the House of Representatives; and

Whereas these bills provide that any State may, within the limits of the Constitution of the United States, define the terms "liquor" and "intoxicating liquors" differently from the one-half per cent definition which occurs in the Volstead Act, such State definition to be controlling within its territorial boundaries; and

Whereas this appears to be the most practical, as it is a constitutional method, for securing prompt relief from the evils which have developed under the Volstead Act and accords with the State rights principle: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That this legislature commends the Members of Congress from Wisconsin who in conformity with the progressive Republican State platform

have introduced these bills to restore to the States control over the liquor traffic within their borders and urges the Congress of the United States to promptly enact one of these measures into law; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to both Houses of the Congress of the United States and to each Wisconsin Member thereof.

HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
CHAS. B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

REMONETIZATION OF SILVER

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I send to the desk a memorial and ask that it may be read by the clerk.

There being no objection, the memorial was read and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your memorialist, the Bimetallic Association, a nonprofit corporation, all of whose officers and members are citizens of the United States, respectfully represents and petitions as follows:

Whereas the single gold standard has been the basis of our national finance since 1873, and upon gold and gold credit all our issues of paper money and our commercial credit have been founded; and

Whereas the stock of gold available for money in the whole world is $10,500,000,000, of which the United States holds approximately 40 per cent; and

Whereas the issuance of gold credits upon this insufficient foundation of gold reached such reckless heights in 1929 that the overweighted superstructure collapsed and the financial world was wrecked, and with the inevitable contraction, the industrial world was plunged into catastrophes; and

Whereas the governments of the world and the international financiers are still taking and giving their counsel from gold monometallism despite the tragic fact that the economic catastrophe, largely due to reckless greed, has in a little more than two years caused more human woe and loss of life and property than the world suffered during the four years of the World War; and

Whereas there are in the world available for money 8,000,000,000 ounces of silver, upon the purchasing power of which the vast majority of mankind is depending; and

Whereas it seems evident that the only restoration of world prosperity and the only maintenance of the people of the world is by a recovery of work and wages for the people, and work and wages can only come in general to mankind if there shall be recovery of the power of consumption. And this recovery can be effectuated in the immediate present only by a restoration of silver to its usefulness as money:

Now, therefore, your memorialist, the Bimetallic Association, urges that the Congress of the United States shall speedily enact the Wheeler bill for the free coinage of silver as well as gold, and that the Congress, immediately and before such passage, urge the President of the United States to notify the leading governments of the world of the pending of such legislation, inviting them to enter at once upon an international conference, so that other nations may adjust their affairs in contemplation of the purpose of the United States to enact the Wheeler bill into law in order to preserve the world from utter bankruptcy.

Respectfully submitted.

[SEAL.]

BIMETALLIC ASSOCIATION.
By FRANK J. CANNON, *President.*
ROBERT C. LANE, *Vice President.*
CAROLINE EVANS, *Secretary.*

DENVER, COLO., *January 25, 1932.*

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I likewise send to the desk and ask that the clerk read a letter from William M. Franklin, commissioner of the Oklahoma Securities Commission.

There being no objection, the letter was read and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

OKLAHOMA SECURITIES COMMISSION,
STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
Oklahoma City, January 30, 1932.

Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The money volume of this Nation has been privately contracted, and the Federal Reserve Board put in force policies which caused $1,500,000,000 to be withdrawn from circulation and canceled, and as a result money is enhancing in value and other property is depreciating in value. Those who are in debt have become bankrupt or have to pay their debts with dollars that have a greater value than when the debts were contracted.

Daniel Voorhees said that the act which demonetized silver "passed Congress with the silent tread of a cat." Bonds were made payable in gold. Property depreciated in value, and stagnation was the result. Bryan saw that our basic money volume should be increased, and he declared for the remonetization of silver. The money power spent many millions of dollars to defeat him. Soon thereafter gold was discovered in Alaska, and within two years the basic money volume of this Nation was more than doubled. Bryan's contention was proven, and several years later a New York City banker admitted he was right.

There would be immediate relief and frozen assets would be released if silver was remonetized on the basis of 16 to 1.

You and others are to be commended for vision to see one remedy that should be applied and the courage to demand economic justice.

Yours very truly,

WM. M. FRANKLIN.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I have here a resolution adopted at the State convention of the Farm Bureau of the State of Nevada. It is very brief and deals with the same subject as do the papers presented by the Senator from Montana, but in a little different way. I ask that the resolution may be read.

There being no objection, the resolution was read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

Silver resolution in support of Senate resolution requesting the President to call an international conference

Whereas the drastic decline in the value of silver the past three years has not only resulted in great industrial depression in Nevada by closing our mines, thus depriving us lucrative home markets for our products, but also has, by decreasing the purchasing power of half the population of the world, greatly contributed to the severity of the national and world-wide agricultural depression: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates assembled at this thirteenth annual convention of the Nevada State Farm Bureau, earnestly commend and heartily indorse the efforts of our delegation in Congress, under the leadership of our senior Senator, Hon. KEY PITTMAN, to secure an international conference having for its object the stabilization and increase in value of silver as a money metal; be it further

Resolved, We urge the officers and directors of the American Farm Bureau Federation, through their legislative officers in Washington, to lend all possible support to the plan for calling said international silver conference, due to its value in increasing the market for American farm and livestock products, both at home and abroad.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I present a telegram from the chairman of the Florida State Legislative Board, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and lie on the table.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILDWOOD, FLA., *January 31, 1932.*

Hon. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
United States Senator, United States Capitol,
Washington, D. C.:

Your support of the La Follette-Costigan bill appropriating $375,000,000 for the relief of unemployment will be greatly appreciated by members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. The State and local relief agency for unemployment are unable to meet the situation, which is becoming more serious every day.

S. A. HOLLIHAN,
Chairman Florida State Legislative Board,
Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

PROPOSED TAX ON ELECTRIC ENERGY

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. Mr. President, I present a telegram from Mr. James F. McCarthy, manager of the Hecla Mining Co., and vice president of the Sullivan Mining Co., Wallace, Idaho, protesting against the proposed tax on each kilowatt-hour generated, and ask that the telegram be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and referred to the Committee on Finance.

There being no objection, the telegram was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WALLACE, IDAHO, *January 26, 1932.*

Senator JOHN THOMAS,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Have been advised that plans of Ways and Means Committee contemplate tax of 5 mills on each kilowatt-hour generated. This seems to us an extraordinary tax, and in our judgment would be fatal to success of Sullivan Mining Co.'s zinc plant, the only one of its kind in Idaho. It would mean 125 per cent increase in power cost. In 1929, the last year of full operation, our power bill was $315,829 and under this proposal it would be $710,615, an increase of $394,786. Proposed tax will also add to burdens of mining operations which are now operating under prices lower than

have prevailed for many years. Many mining operations are suspended entirely, others are operating with an actual operating loss. This proposal will add 80 per cent to present power costs for Hecla mine and would in 1929 when we were working full time add $84,000 to operating costs that year. It seems to me that if effects of this proposal are understood it will be abandoned. Am sending copy of this wire to all four Idaho Representatives.

JAMES F. MCCARTHY,
Manager Hecla Mining Co.,
Vice President Sullivan Mining Co.

PROPOSED TARIFF ON PETROLEUM

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I present a resolution adopted by the Massachusetts Farm Bureau Federation on January 25, 1932, relative to a proposed tariff on petroleum and its products, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Finance.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

First. That the Massachusetts Farm Bureau is opposed to a tariff on petroleum and its products.

Second. That our officers are hereby instructed to communicate this resolution to the Massachusetts Senators and Congressmen.

REDUCTION OF COMPENSATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. COPELAND presented resolutions adopted by the Federal Postal Employees Association, of Denver, Colo., protesting against any reduction in the compensation of Federal employees, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolution

Whereas prior to the period of the World War it was generally recognized that the compensation of Federal employees as a class was much lower than that paid for comparable employment outside the Government service; and

Whereas the general increases in compensation of Federal employees as a class—obtained only after much difficulty—did not maintain the pace nor proportion of the greatly increased cost of living to them during the recent war and reconstruction periods, and in fact their compensation as a class never did attain a comparable peak to that generally reached by the rank and file of employees throughout the Nation; and

Whereas the present rates of compensation through the Federal service, generally speaking, do not even now measure up in fair proportion to the required qualifications, duties, and responsibilities recognized as necessary in the proper functioning of the various Federal offices and institutions, many of which demand work of a highly specialized nature; and

Whereas at the present time various proposals are being advocated in Congress for the reduction in compensation of Federal employees which would not only prove a hardship on them and their dependents by lessening their purchasing power but would likewise deprive the communities in which they reside of much-needed revenue: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this organization, with its membership of over 40,000, located in all the States and possessions of the United States, does hereby emphatically protest any reduction in the compensation of Federal employees; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the chairmen and members of House Committee on Expenditures and to those of the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations in the present session of Congress.

FEDERAL POSTAL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION,
PETER N. HODGINS, *President.*
A. H. MAAGE, *Secretary.*
H. VAN HUMMELL, *General Manager.*

PROPOSED FEDERAL HOME-LOAN DISCOUNT BANKS

Mr. WAGNER presented a report of the committee on banking and currency of the Merchants' Association of New York City, opposing the creation of the proposed system of Federal home-loan discount banks, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

JANUARY 13, 1932.

To the BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

GENTLEMEN: There are pending in Congress the Luce bill (H. R. 5090) and Senate bill No. 35, introduced by Mr. WATSON, of Indiana, which have been before your committee for consideration. These identical measures were introduced for the purpose of creating a system of 12 Federal home-loan discount banks, one to be located in cities to be determined in each Federal land bank district.

The chief function of these proposed home-loan banks would be to discount loans of member institutions secured by their respective stock in discount banks plus mortgage collateral consisting of first-mortgage liens on real estate on which are located dwellings for not more than two families. Mortgages to be acceptable as security would be required to have at the time of presentation a maturity of 20 years or less, and unpaid principal of $15,000 or less.

While in hearty sympathy with the efforts of the national administration to enact legislation designed to aid in improving current conditions, and while it has acted in approval of the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation recommended by the administration, your committee can not escape the conclusion that the establishment of Federal home-loan discount banks would in effect put the Government in the small-loan business, with consequent dangers to the Nation's economic system.

The proposed legislation provides that the home-loan system shall have a minimum capital of $150,000,000 and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to subscribe to the stock of the discount banks up to a total of $150,000,000 in such amounts as, in his judgment and that of the board of supervision of the system, might be necessary after allowance for the stock subscribed by member institutions.

In this connection your committee sees in the measures before it unlimited opportunity for Congress to increase at any time the amount of Government subscriptions to the stock of the system and, therefore, the danger of the use of more and more Federal funds, with no limit in sight, for a purpose which it believes is of questionable value to our economic system.

Your committee, therefore, concludes that the proposed legislation is unsound and recommends that the Merchants' Association oppose its enactment.

Respectfully submitted.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
PERCY H. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

MEMORIAL TO WORLD WAR NATIONAL GUARD AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. WAGNER presented a resolution adopted by the National Guard Association of the State of New York, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas, The National Guard of the United States that served in the World War has no memorial erected to its memory at Washington, D. C., or in any other place in the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention of the National Guard Association of the State of New York go on record as favoring the erection of such a memorial to the World War National Guard of the United States at Washington, D. C., and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the secretary of the United States National Guard Association for action at their next convention.

WILLIAM J. MANGINE,
Major, N. Y. N. G., Secretary.

PROPOSED RESUBMISSION OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, I submit a letter from Mrs. John M. Welch, of Chattanooga, president of the State Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tennessee, inclosing a resolution passed by the regional conference of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union at Chattanooga, Tenn., representing 250 people, protesting against a resubmission of the eighteenth amendment, and ask unanimous consent that the letter and resolution be printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TENNESSEE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Senator MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Inclosed is copy of resolutions passed at the Sixth Regional Woman's Christian Temperance Union Conference, held here last week.

Would appreciate their printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Yours truly,

MRS. JOHN M. WELCH,
State President Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

To the UNITED STATES SENATE:

Whereas the eighteenth amendment was adopted by the orderly processes of Government and has been sustained by no less than 48 decisions of the United States Supreme Court; and

Whereas its opponents are now asking Congress to resubmit the question of prohibition through a repeal amendment to be ratified by State conventions called for that purpose; and

Whereas we have no reason to believe that those opponents who have not counseled obedience to the eighteenth amendment and its enforcement act and those who have openly advocated disobedience and disregard of the same, which is selective anarchy, would change their attitude and accept the vote of the majority of States should the repeal amendment fail of ratification; and

Whereas we are confident that resubmission would not take prohibition out of politics but would intensify it as a State issue: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures, and that we ask our Congressman from this district and our United States Senators to vote against such a resolution and to vote for adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance.

Adopted by the regional conference, W. C. T. U., representing 250 people, January 21, 1932, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mr. BROUSSARD presented resolutions adopted by the Lake Charles (La.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Attention of Hon. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, Washington, D. C.)

A movement for the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment would greatly augment the present agitation; would cause a great expense to the people; would hinder enforcement of the law; and no matter what the outcome, would not result in any cessation of the hostility of the enemies of prohibition. Prohibition is entitled to a fair chance.

Resolved, That we are opposed to resubmission of national prohibition to the States by a resolution to submit a repeal amendment either to State conventions or to State legislatures for ratification.

Resolved, That we request our Congressmen to vote "No" on any resubmission resolution that may be presented to Congress.

The foregoing resolutions were adopted at the regular meeting of the Lake Charles (La.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, held January 11, 1932, at the Christian Church in Lake Charles, La., and the undersigned were authorized to so attest.

MRS. J. O. DAVIS,
President.
MRS. E. F. CHAVCOME,
Corresponding Secretary.

Number of members, 60.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred two letters on the prohibition question.

There being no objection, the letters were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WYOMING WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
Casper, Wyo., January 22, 1932.

ROBERT D. CAREY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we, the members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Casper, Wyo., numbering 134 members, petition that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, submission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MRS. SARAH E. BAILEY,
President.
MRS. SARA BERRY,
Recording Secretary.

CLEARMONT, WYO., *January 19, 1932.*

Senator ROBERT D. CAREY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: By a unanimous vote at their regular meeting on January 16, the Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist Community Church of Clearmont requested us, as their officers, to write you as follows:

"In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this communication be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD."

Respectfully,

MARGARET K. ANDERSON,
Secretary.
GRACE B. MORROW.
President.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask leave to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary certain letters, telegrams, and a petition from the Mother's Club of Huntington, W. Va., and resolutions adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Rowlesburg, W. Va., Fairview, W. Va., Kanawha County, W. Va., the woman's Bible class of the Presbyterian Church of Charleston, W. Va., the Bible class of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Rowlesburg, W. Va., the executive committee of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ohio County, W. Va., all in opposition to a referendum by all the States on the eighteenth amendment or the resubmission of it to State conventions or State legislatures to confirm their previous ratification.

There being no objection, the matter was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., *January 17, 1932.*

H. D. HATFIELD,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

Central Woman's Christian Temperance Union adopted the following resolution asking your support of same. That we are opposed to any referendum, resolution, or weakening of the present prohibition law, and we ask to have this resolution printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MRS. J. F. DURETTE,
President.
MRS. MABEL NEWCOMB,
Secretary.

FAIRMONT, W. VA., *January 11, 1932.*

Senator H. D. HATFIELD,
Washington, D. C.:

We are opposed to Congress passing a resubmission resolution of the eighteenth amendment. We urge maintenance and enforcement of same and ask that this petition be printed in the RECORD.

FAIRVIEW WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.
REV. GORDON WITHERS.
REV. J. A. WRIGHT.
WALTER LOUGH.
WORLEY POWELL.
ALFRED KNISELY.
GAY BASNETT.
WALTER TOOTHMAN.

RICHWOOD, W. VA., *January 20, 1932.*

Senator H. D. HATFIELD,
Washington, D. C.:

In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition we, the undersigned, urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

D. E. DEAN,
Superintendent of Schools.
J. I. FINLINSON,
Banker.
MILLARD HINKLE,
Merchant.
W. V. JARRETT,
Doctor of Dental Surgery.
T. W. AYRES,
Attorney.
STERLING GROVES.
J. J. DOTSON.
C. DONEE COOK,
Editor.

WHEELING, W. VA., *January 15, 1932.*

Hon. W. D. HATFIELD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned members of the executive committee of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ohio County, representing over 200 women, are depending on you to use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MRS. JOHN W. BICKETT.
MRS. R. J. BAGGS.
MRS. WESLEY R. BAUMBERGER.
MRS. MARGARET SCOTT.
MRS. L. D. COLE.
MRS. M. E. HILLYER.
MRS. CHARLES F. FOLMAR.
MRS. A. W. CROWTHER.

KANAWHA COUNTY WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION,
St. Albans, W. Va., January 20, 1932.

Senator H. D. HATFIELD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Kanawha County Woman's Christian Temperance Union wish to thank you for your loyalty to our cause; we appreciate it; but we still want to go on record with you and trusting to your loyalty in future never to consent to a referendum the wets are trying to put over.

Please have this resolution printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thanking you, we remain, sincerely,

MRS. I. E. JOHNSON,
President Kanawha County W. C. T. U.
MRS. J. A. WATSON,
Corresponding Secretary.

CHARLESTON, W. VA.

Senator H. D. HATFIELD,
United States Senator from West Virginia,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On Sunday, January 10, 1931, with all members voting in the affirmative, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas the opponents of prohibition are engaged in an effort to have the prohibition question resubmitted to the States, and since there is no constitutional provision for such procedure, we, the woman's Bible class of the Kanawha Presbyterian Church, of Charleston, W. Va., request your vote and influence for the maintenance and enforcement of our national prohibition law and against any measure providing for its modification, resubmission, or repeal.

We also ask that this action be recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Respectfully,

ANNA DETTMAR, *President.*
ELIZABETH L. SURBER, *Secretary.*

ROWLESBURG, W. VA., *January 13, 1932.*

Senator HENRY D. HATFIELD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The men's Bible class of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Rowlesburg, W. Va., appeals to you to use your vote and influence against Congress passing a resolution for a national referendum on prohibition. Such action would open the way for repeal.

We depend on you to let Congress know West Virginia wants no change in the eighteenth amendment or the Volstead Act.

We respectfully request that this communication be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Yours very truly,

W. J. GRAVES, *President.*
ARTHUR J. FUNK, *Secretary.*
A. A. PICKERING, *Teacher.*

ROWLESBURG, W. VA., *January 21, 1932.*

Senator H. D. HATFIELD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith a resolution, which I most respectfully ask be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The friends of the eighteenth amendment are grateful to you for the support you have always given it. We want you to know we are as appreciative of favors as we are free to ask for them.

Yours very truly,

CORA CHENEY,
Secretary Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

To the United States Senate:

Whereas the eighteenth amendment was adopted by the orderly processes of government and has been sustained by no less than 48 decisions of the United States Supreme Court; and

Whereas its opponents are now asking Congress to resubmit the question of prohibition through a repeal amendmept to be ratified by State conventions called for that purpose; and

Whereas we have no reason to believe that those opponents who have not counseled obedience to the eighteenth amendment and its enforcement act and those who have openly advocated disobedience and disregard of the same, which is selective anarchy, would change their attitude and accept the vote of the majority of States should the repeal amendment fail of ratification; and

Whereas we are confident that resubmission would not take prohibition out of politics, but would intensify it as a State issue: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment, to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures, and that we ask our Congressman from this district and our United States Senators to vote against such a resolution and to vote for adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance.

Adopted by Rowlesburg Woman's Christian Temperance Union, representing 60 people.

ROWLESBURG, W. VA., *January 21, 1932.*

WHEELING, W. VA., *January 27, 1932.*

Senator H. D. HATFIELD: In view of the fact that you are always willing to loyally support the cause of temperance, it is needless to ask you to continue in the good work. But at the request of Central Woman's Christian Temperance Union ladies, 45 strong, I am asking you to have this petition printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Sincerely,

(Miss) KATHERINE HORNISH, *Secretary.*

To Hon. H. D. HATFIELD, *United States Senator:*

In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we, the undersigned, urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in the support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mrs. W. H. NEWSOME (and others).

This petition signed by the members present at a regular meeting of the Huntington Mothers' Club January 19, 1932.

THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

Mr. BROOKHART presented excerpts from addresses on the prohibition question by Dr. Richard C. Cabot and Mrs. William Tilton, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT THE DOCTOR KNOWS ABOUT ALCOHOL

(Excerpts from an address by Dr. Richard C. Cabot at the Lynn conference March 12, 1931)

At the evening meeting of the Lynn conference Richard C. Cabot, M. D., spoke as follows:

"I have six points to make about the harm done by alcoholism and the corresponding benefits of prohibition, even when it is as badly enforced as it is now. These points concern chiefly that portion of the people (about 87 per cent) who do not pay an income tax. Some of them also concern the other 13 per cent.

"First. Alcohol is always a narcotic, never a stimulant, and therefore has none of the uses ordinarily attributed to it, such as supporting the heart or bringing people out of fainting fits. The supposed value of alcohol in medicine has been exploded long ago. In our best hospitals—such as the Massachusetts General—it is almost obsolete.

"Second. Although it is bad for health, the use of alcohol is still worse for the pocketbook, especially for the 87 per cent portion of the population that doesn't pay any income tax. The loss of the wages which are drunk up, instead of being put into the maintenance of the family, injures the health of the wife and especially of the children, whose proper nutrition and physical care depends upon what the breadwinner earns.

"Third. It produces in a certain percentage of those who take it a fatal disease of the liver—cirrhosis. The amount of this disease has markedly declined since prohibition, even under such poor enforcement as we now have.

"Fourth. Alcoholic insanity has likewise been diminished under prohibition and is increased by alcohol.

"Fifth. Infectious diseases, such as pneumonia, have a mortality of 30 to 40 per cent in those who do not take alcohol, and 70 to 90 per cent in those who do. The body's resistance of other infectious disease is likewise diminished by the taking of alcohol.

"Sixth. Probably more serious than any of these effects of alcoholism is the number of automobile accidents due to the clumsiness and recklessness of those ordinarily called "drunken drivers," although their drunkenness has only reached the stage which makes them careless and unskilled and may have been produced by only one or two cocktails. The person has no idea he is drunk and would not be recognized as such under ordinary conditions. There is no safety for children on our highroads until all those who drive automobiles can be prevented from taking a drink within six hours of the time when they go on the streets to drive.

"Of course, there is no possibility of this except under prohibition. It should be emphasized that these automobile accidents are due to the moderate, what is ordinarily called temperate, use of alcohol in amounts that would not disturb a man's speech or power to walk. It is noticeable in no way until it comes to the handling of such a machine as an automobile, which demands quick and accurate cooperation of eye and hand, the accurate coordination which is upset even by a moderate and temperate use of alcohol. Temperance is thus more dangerous than excessive drinking as a cause of automobile accidents. The excessive drinker doesn't usually try to drive when he is drunk. There is no hope, therefore, of decreasing automobile accidents by working for temperance. Only abstinence can make us safe."

THE WOODEN HORSE—TEN POINTS AGAINST RESUBMISSION OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Being excerpts from the speech of Mrs. William Tilton, chairman Woman's National Committee for Education Against Alcohol, given at the banquet of the Anti-Saloon League of America at the Hotel Mayflower, January 19, 1932.

Mrs. Tilton said:

"Let us press home to our people over radio, in press, at meetings the following points as to why we do not favor a repeal amendment described by Mrs. Clement L. Shaver as "Alias Resubmission, Alias Referendum."

"PRESS HOME

"First. That resubmission is a wooden horse, an enemy program. It comes from Greeks bearing gifts. Once let it in and we shall find that the saloons, not friends, hop out of it.

"Second. That the framers of the Constitution never intended that a constitutional amendment should be used merely as a means of 'passing the buck' to the people; far otherwise. They viewed a change in the Constitution so weighty that it was not to be passed by a majority but only by a two-thirds vote. To use a constitutional amendment as a means of evading a controversial question is a debased use of the amending process. Press this home.

"Third. The Constitution of the United States does not provide for referendums. Congress has never submitted a referendum upon any question in all our history. If one were submitted it would be only a straw vote without any legal binding force. The American people are vitally interested in many other economic and moral questions. To get a legal referendum on any of them would require an amendment to the Constitution itself. It

is unfair and un-American to single out prohibition for a referendum, and that illegal, and nobody is so much interested in preventing referendums on other questions as the rich wets themselves.

"Fourth. That no Congressman should vote for a repeal amendment until there is attached to it a carefully worked out substitute reasonably certain to secure a greater temperance than the greater temperance already secured by prohibition. Never give in that prohibition has not secured this greater temperance which Government control in Canada has failed to secure; which beer and wine experiments have never secured; which revision, which would mean liquor pandemonium in every election, holds out no hope of securing. As for home rule, this certainly means the old conditions back. Press home that until something better than these 'liquor antiques' are found no Congressman should vote to send out a repeal amendment.

"Fifth. That State option but no saloon is a contradiction in terms, for if the States are to decide, who is to guarantee that they will not decide for the saloon or its equivalent? Can anyone doubt that New York and Chicago under home rule will reline their streets and highways with saloons?

"Sixth. That in the saloon age, to which home rule would certainly return us, for big cities always vote 2 to 1 for saloons, it was drunkenness more than drinking that we fought. In this motor age we fight drinking quite as much as drunkenness. Press home that with 25,000,000 school children daily using our highways, home rule bids fair to mean a slaughter of the innocents unparalleled in history, for which the parents of this Nation ought not, must not, and will not stand.

"Seventh. That this call to resubmit prohibition to the States in order to get prohibition out of politics is futile. No question was ever got out of politics by evasion. Press home that no license begun in the thirties of the nineteenth century, has gradually widened until by 1920, 33 States had voted themselves dry, and 46 States had ratified national prohibition. Lord Bryce noted in 1896 that politics in America was liquor. In short, press home that you can't get the liquor question out of politics. You can only drive it to the borders of the 48 States, and thence back to Congress again.

"Eighth. That the cry in the North for repeal planks as a means of getting prohibition out of politics comes from big interests, who apparently reason that prohibition, by breaking up party alignments in the North, has broken up their power to send their representatives to Washington and thus to control Congress to their financial ends. I tell them that the East was slipping and the West and South were coming politically and that prohibition repeal will not restore their lost control of Congress, but these eastern bankers shake their heads. They honestly seem to believe if only they can repeal prohibition, they and public utilities can rule supreme in the United States Senate. It is a false hope.

"Ninth. That a vote for a wet is a vote to denude the South and West of the control of Congress they have to-day and to put the power back into the hands of a few bankers and business men up North.

"Tenth. That if the South gives in, puts patronage before principle, we shall have to go all over the fight again.

"These are my 10 points to press home in this resubmission fight, the immediate fight which faces us. Press them home over radio said by leaders, for people listen to leaders, in the press, at meetings, and in resolutions."

THE TARIFF AND THE MILLING INDUSTRY

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, the flour mills of the State of Montana have developed a very extensive business in the Orient, which during recent years has dwindled away until it is now entirely insignificant. I am this morning in receipt of a letter upon that subject, which I ask may be read at the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be read, as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *January 27, 1932.*

HON. THOMAS J. WALSH,
United States Senator of Montana, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: May we respectfully submit for your consideration the following fact and pray your assistance in rectifying a great wrong that has been done to the milling industry of this country?

Our export business until a short time ago represented half of our milling capacity but now it has been almost totally lost because of the tariffs set up in foreign countries to combat the high tariffs of this country.

We therefore contend that tariff adjustments and reductions should be made immediately and drastically, for to attempt a gradual reduction would mean delay, and delay would mean that the product of competing countries would become so firmly intrenched that the business will be irrevocably lost to the mills of the United States of America, thus doing untold injury to a business which has been created at a great cost of time, effort, and money.

Hoping you can consistently espouse the cause of the United States mills and that we may receive your assurances of cooperation, we remain,

Yours truly,

STANARD TILTON MILLING CO.,
D. M. ROTHCHILD,
Export Manager.

REDUCTION OF GOVERNMENT SALARIES

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, Senate bill 3116, introduced some days ago by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], proposes to reduce the compensation and salaries of employees and officials of the Federal Government. It was referred to the Committee on Appropriations. That committee does not desire to shirk any duty or responsibility, but it is primarily an appropriating committee and not a legislative committee.

I have looked up the matter as well as I could, and I think this bill should be referred to the Committee on Civil Service, which, as I understand, has heretofore dealt with matters of this kind. So I move that the Committee on Appropriations may be discharged from the further consideration of Senate bill 3116, and that it be referred to the Civil Service Committee.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, before I introduced the bill referred to by the Senator from Washington, I made some investigation and was somewhat in doubt myself as to what committee the bill should be referred. I found that in the legislative appropriation bill approved March 4, 1925, the matter of increasing salaries was dealt with by the Appropriations Committee. I find in the appropriation bill which was passed at that time this provision:

SEC. 4. That section 4 of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act, approved April 26, 1907, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"That on and after March 4, 1925, the compensation of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Vice President of the United States, and the heads of the executive departments who are members of the President's Cabinet shall be at the rate of $15,000 per annum, and the compensation of Senators, Representatives in Congress, Delegates from Territories, Resident Commissioner from Porto Rico, and Resident Commissioners from the Philippine Islands shall be at the rate of $10,000 per annum each."

So I assumed, Mr. President, as the Appropriations Committee had been dealing with the subject matter, that that was the proper committee to which the bill in this instance should be referred.

I am not particular as to the committee which shall consider the bill. I simply want it considered. I know that the Senator from Washington is not desirous of shirking responsibility, and I am willing to take the judgment of the Chair as to the committee to which the bill should be referred. It is more important that action be had than the committee taking the action.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The recollection of the Chair is that the legislation to which the Senator from Idaho refers was, in the first instance, dealt with by a committee other than the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. JONES. I think that is correct.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. But the Chair can not change a reference of a measure without the consent of the Senate.

Mr. JONES. Further I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that the provision to which the Senator has read refers not to the general employees of the Government, as Senate bill 3116 does, but to particular classes.

The Senator from Idaho has introduced two other bills, one of which relates to the mileage of Senators and Representatives and the other peculiarly to the compensation of Senators and Representatives. I have not reached a conclusion as yet as to what committee I think those two bills should go; I expect to do that by to-morrow morning; but the bill now under discussion deals with practically all the employees of the Government, civil-service employees and others.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho has the floor.

Mr. REED. Will the Senator from Idaho yield for a question?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. REED. Can the Senator tell us whether his bill would reduce the salaries of the Army and Navy?

Mr. BORAH. It would.

Mr. REED. Then before it is finally acted upon I think it should be referred to the appropriate Military Committees.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the meantime the Senator from Idaho has the floor, and the question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Washington that the Committee on Appropriations be discharged from the further consideration of Senate bill 3116 and that it be referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I was just about to suggest that, as to some provisions of the bill at least, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments might be vested with jurisdiction. It appears to be a bill reducing all salaries, with certain limitations. I make that suggestion for whatever it may be regarded as worth by the Senator from Idaho and the Senator from Washington.

Mr. BORAH. It is true that the bill to which the Senator from Washington refers is a general bill, reducing all salaries and compensation of Federal employees and officials. However, there are two other bills which deal exclusively with legislative salaries and also a bill dealing exclusively with mileage. I presume that the other bills also ought to be referred to a legislative committee, because, certainly, if the bill now under discussion involves a legislative matter, so do the others.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I point out the fact that it is necessary for one standing committee of the Senate to consider this bill, if it is to be acted upon, for the reason that any other policy might result in confusion. Suppose that those provisions which relate to the Army are referred to the Military Affairs Committee, those which relate to the Navy are referred to the Naval Affairs Committee, those which relate to employees of the executive departments are referred to the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, and those which relate to legislative salaries are referred to any committee that will take jurisdiction, we would have a multiple standard of decision by the committees. The theory of the bill is that consideration should be given to a reduction of all salaries and I apprehend that neither the author of the bill nor any other Senator would wish to see discriminatory action taken.

Mr. BORAH. Certainly not.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The justification for the bill rests in economies which may appear necessary. If the jurisdiction is divided up as has been proposed here this morning, we will find this result: At least some of the committees will report against reductions as to the part of which they have jurisdiction. Some of the committees likely will report favorably; and thus the purpose of the proposed legislation will be thwarted.

This bill raises a question which ought to be considered as a whole.

Mr. BORAH. I feel that way about it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It is a question whether or not, in an effort to balance the budget and restore or sustain the credit of the Government, one step in that direction shall be taken by cutting down the expenses for which we are most directly responsible. That is a question which, as the session progresses, I think will receive more consideration.

I feel entirely content to have the Committee on Appropriations exercise jurisdiction, as one of the great committees of this body which may coordinate the various questions that underlie this proposal for legislation. I do not know of any other standing committee in the Senate that could do that quite so well as the Appropriations Committee. I believe that this matter should be given more serious consideration than it appears to be receiving.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, what about the Finance Committee?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. It might go to the Finance Committee. I do not know how the members of the Finance Committee would feel about it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think it would be more appropriate to go to the Finance Committee.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I think that may be a good suggestion.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BORAH. I do.

Mr. NORRIS. It is quite evident that there is not a single standing committee of the Senate that has jurisdiction of all the officials that would be affected if these bills were passed. That often occurs in our legislation here, so that we must select some committee which, from its various workings and its jurisdiction, in the judgment of the Senate, has a good working knowledge of the subject matter under discussion.

The Appropriations Committee, as a general proposition, perhaps would not have jurisdiction of these matters; but the Appropriations Committee, having to deal with appropriations which ultimately will be directly affected by this legislation, has a better opportunity, it seems to me, to take a complete view of the entire salary proposition, running all through the Federal Government, as I understand this bill does.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. NORRIS. In just a moment I will yield, if I may. That being true, of course the Senate has a right to direct any committee—and that includes the Appropriations Committee—to take up this matter and consider it, and make a report to the Senate.

I suggest to the Senator from Idaho that he resist the motion made by the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Taking everything into consideration, it seems to me that the Appropriations Committee is the appropriate committee to handle this subject.

If the Senator from Idaho will permit, I shall be glad now to yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. BORAH. Certainly.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I was just going to suggest that the Appropriations Committee now, under the rules, as Senators know, has subcommittees to deal with War Department matters, naval matters, and matters relating to all the other departments that are affected by appropriations handled by that committee. It seems to me the Appropriations Committee is in a better position, through its various subcommittees especially, to deal with this matter than any other standing committee we have, unless we turn the matter over to the Finance Committee.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, naturally, as I had the matter referred to the Appropriations Committee in the first place, having made the investigation, I should be glad to have it remain there; but I am particularly anxious that it be sent to some committee which seems to be able to deal with the matter as a whole. I do not think it will be necessary—I hope it will not be found necessary by the Senate—to subdivide the matter and send part of it to the Naval Affairs Committee and part of it to the Military Affairs Committee and part of it to some other committee, because, in my opinion, that would be another way of indefinitely delaying its consideration. We ought to be able to send it to some committee which would be able to deal with it as a whole, and it seems to me that either the Appropriations Committee or the Finance Committee would be able to deal with it as a whole.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas and Mr. SMOOT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BORAH. I yield first to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, it has been suggested that either the Appropriations Committee or the Finance Committee might properly be vested with jurisdiction—the Appropriations Committee for the reasons that have already been given, the Finance Committee for the reason that this is primarily a revenue bill. In a sense it is

a revenue bill, and the Finance Committee has jurisdiction of that subject; and I know the Senator from Utah is anxious to maintain its jurisdiction.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, we might make an exception with regard to this bill under the peculiar circumstances which confront us and the great reluctance of committees to take charge of this measure and have the Senate deal with it as a whole without reference to any committee.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. JONES. I have just been informed by the clerk of the committee that the proposition the Senator read a moment ago was first referred in the Sixty-eighth Congress to the Judiciary Committee, and then substantially the same bill was also referred to the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee had its hearings and reported on the bill, and its report was then referred to the Appropriations Committee, and an amendment embodying the language which the Senator read was inserted on the floor; but the Finance Committee acted upon the matter first.

Mr. BORAH. There was not so much reluctance to take jurisdiction of that bill, because it was a measure to increase salaries.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator that the Civil Service Committee in the past has had jurisdiction of legislation of this character as to increases of salary, as to the grades, and where they should fall; and increases in compensation have been passed upon by that committee.

It does seem to me that the Finance Committee have all they can possibly do. I do not see how we are possibly going to attend to the amount of work that is before that committee now. We shall have to hold almost daily hearings in order to get through; and I ask the Senate not to put this work upon the Finance Committee, because if they do it will be an impossibility to make the report. Therefore, I think the bill ought to be referred to some other committee.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, certainly the committee to which the Senator refers has not had jurisdiction of the salaries of the Members of Congress.

Mr. SMOOT. They have had jurisdiction as to the classification.

Mr. BORAH. Oh, yes; but we are not classified.

Mr. SMOOT. But the classification law was passed through that committee, and that law provides the compensation of the various grades in all of the departments of our Government; and that is where the bill ought to go.

Mr. BORAH. That committee had nothing to do with the question of salaries of Members of Congress. It never has had, and I trust it may never have.

Mr. SMOOT. No; not as to Members of Congress.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. BORAH. I do.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think the Senator's bill is going to require a good deal of work. I desire to call his attention to the fact that we have about 10 or 12 of these great appropriation bills coming before us, and from a long experience I think all the time of the Appropriations Committee is going to be taken up in considering the bills that necessarily must come to us. There is not any way around it. It seems to me the Senator's bill would probably get a better consideration and a fairer consideration at the hands of the Finance Committee.

That is just the way the matter strikes me, because the Senator knows that the Appropriations Committee is a hard-worked committee.

Mr. BORAH. Yes; I realize that.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BROOKHART. I wish to inquire if the classified service is included in this bill in any way.

Mr. BORAH. I can not say as to that. It does not relate to any salaries below $5,000.

Mr. BROOKHART. I think the bill ought to go to the Civil Service Committee.

Mr. BORAH. In my judgment, the Civil Service Committee has no jurisdiction whatever of it, and should not have. It is not a subject about which the Civil Service is concerned.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, what is the motion now?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The motion is that of the Senator from Washington, to refer the bill——

Mr. JONES. I moved to refer it to the Civil Service Committee because that committee has heretofore dealt with many matters of this character. Of course, this bill covers not only civil-service employees but others. There are many different committees that have jurisdiction of some parts of this bill, of course; but I thought the wisest course was to refer the whole matter to the Civil Service Committee. I appreciate the fact that there are matters in it of which several different committees have jurisdiction.

Mr. BORAH. Will not the Senator confine his motion to asking for the discharge of his own committee? Then we will see to what committee the matter shall be referred.

Mr. JONES. I shall be very glad to do that, but that is the only reason for the motion. As I say, I do not want to shirk any responsibility; but, as everybody knows, the Committee on Appropriations can not take up all these legislative matters and deal with them in a legislative way, as they ought to be dealt with, because our time is taken up on the actual appropriations. I should like to have our committee relieved from the consideration of this bill, and then I shall be glad to have it go wherever it may go.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. BORAH. I do.

Mr. COUZENS. I move to amend the motion made by the Senator from Washington so as to discharge the Committee on Appropriations and have the bill referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. GLASS. Did I understand the chairman of the Finance Committee to say that it would be impossible for his committee to report on this bill?

Mr. SMOOT. From the amount of work we have and the calendar we have, I will say to the Senator that it would be some time before we could even take it up.

Mr. GLASS. But the Senator said, as I understood him, that it would be impossible for his committee to report on the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. That is my opinion at this time.

Mr. GLASS. That being so, is not that the committee to which the Senate evidently wants to refer the bill—a committee that would find it impossible to make a report?

Mr. SMOOT. That is what I say.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, we will dispose later of the question of whether or not they will report. There is a well-known method by which to get a report.

In this connection I wish to insert a news item in this morning's papers. It seems to me appropriate:

CHICAGO, January 31 (A. P.).—The unionized forces on United States railways to-day accepted a 10 per cent wage reduction for the year beginning February 1, making an unprecedented decision in the expressed hope of stimulating the revival of business.

Negotiations that started January 15 ended this afternoon as the representatives of nearly 2,000,000 rail workers agreed to the

proposal of the employers and the representatives of more than 200 railroads promised an earnest and sympathetic effort to maintain and increase employment.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President——

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. WATSON. I think we ought to be guided by the situation that confronts us. It is literally impossible, without work that none of us contemplates, for the Finance Committee to report on this measure. We might just as well refer it to the Interstate Commerce Committee right now, because coming on here in a few days is the tax measure for our committee to take up and consider; and in the meantime there are many other matters before us that are of pressing interest, from which we can not escape. Five of the members of the Finance Committee now are members of the Pensions Committee, having to do with all soldier and pension matters that will come before the Senate. They can not give any time or attention to this subject.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If the Chair may be permitted an observation, this discussion is all out of order, the pending order of business being the presentation of petitions and memorials. If the Senator from Washington changes his motion merely to discharge his committee from the further consideration of this bill, the bill then will go to the calendar. Meantime, the Senate can determine whether it wishes to refer the bill to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, or the Civil Service Committee, or a select committee.

Mr. BORAH. Does the Chair hold that the amendment of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS] is out of order?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment of the Senator from Michigan is clearly out of order, because the only amendment that can be made to a motion to refer is to add instructions.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, if I may, I will modify my motion and simply move to discharge the Committee on Appropriations from the further consideration of this bill.

Mr. BORAH. I ask that that motion go over until tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The motion will go over under the rule.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with an amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 12. An act to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to pay certain claims against the District of Columbia (Rept. No. 147); and

S. 2498. An act to authorize the transfer of jurisdiction over public land in the District of Columbia (Rept. No. 148).

Mr. FESS, from the Committee on the Library, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 47) for the improvement of Chevy Chase Circle with a fountain and appropriate landscape treatment, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 149) thereon.

Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 2915) authorizing A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Big Sandy River at or near where it enters into the Ohio River, and between the cities of Kenova, W. Va., and Catlettsburg, Ky., reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 150) thereon.

Mr. NYE, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the bill (S. 3111) validating certain applications for and entries of public lands, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 151) thereon.

Mr. WALSH of Montana, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the bill (S. 1040) authorizing the issuance to Margaret McCreanor of a patent for certain lands, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 152) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 279) to excuse certain persons from residence upon homestead lands during 1929, 1930, and 1931 in the drought-stricken areas, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 153) thereon.

Mr. FRAZIER, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6663) to reserve certain land on the public domain in Utah for addition to the Skull Valley Indian Reservation, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 154) thereon.

Mr. ASHURST, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 1436. An act for the relief of the Copper Ridge Mining Co. (Rept. No. 155); and

S. 1438. An act to authorize the sale of land on the Camp McDowell Indian Reservation to the city of Phoenix, Ariz., for use in connection with its water-supply development, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 156).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JONES:

A bill (S. 3378) providing for Saturday half holidays for employees in the Canal Zone; to the Committee on Civil Service.

A bill (S. 3379) for the protection and regulation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 3380) authorizing a survey for a breakwater from Sekiu Point at the west end of Clallam Bay, Wash.; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 3381) extending the term of Patent No. 1175254 granted to Ralph Alexander Gailey (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Patents.

A bill (S. 3382) for the relief of W. A. Blankenship; and

A bill (S. 3383) for the relief of the Pacific Atlantic Lumber Corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3384) granting a pension to Isaac Newton Pollard (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3385) granting an increase of pension to Susie M. Gilbert; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 3386) for the relief of Nellie Francis; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MORRISON:

A bill (S. 3387) for the relief of Walter Thomas Foreman (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3388) extending the benefits of the emergency officers' retirement act to James Erling Walker (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOSES:

A bill (S. 3389) granting an increase of pension to Lucia M. Bartlett (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAREY:

A bill (S. 3390) relating to the disposition of certain revenues derived from the operation of the power plant on the Shoshone project, Wyoming; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

A bill (S. 3391) for the relief of William T. J. Ryan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DILL:

A bill (S. 3392) for the relief of Henry L. Wood; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3393) to preserve from commercial logging certain lands in the Snoqualmie National Forest, Wash.; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

A bill (S. 3394) for the relief of Paul J. Sisk; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3395) to provide funds for cooperation with the school district at Nespelem, Wash., in the construction of a public-school building to be available to Indian children of the Colville Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 3396) granting a pension to Minnie H. Goddard; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3397) for the relief of Walter Gray; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HATFIELD:

A bill (S. 3398) granting an increase of pension to Rebecca A. Lewis (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3399) granting a pension to Eliza Ellis; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3400) to amend an act of Congress approved June 18, 1898, entitled "An act to regulate plumbing and gas fitting in the District of Columbia"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3401) to restore homestead rights in certain cases; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. WALCOTT:

A bill (S. 3402) to revise the boundary of the Mount McKinley National Park, in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. BROUSSARD:

A bill (S. 3403) for the relief of Ralph Edward Bertheaud; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3404) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital at or near the city of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. McGILL:

A bill (S. 3405) for the relief of Raymond Ambrose Nichols; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FRAZIER (by request):

A bill (S. 3406) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cancel restricted fee patents and issue trust patents in lieu thereof and to authorize deeds by natural guardians of Indian minors;

A bill (S. 3407) to authorize the sale, on competitive bids, of unallotted lands on the Lac du Flambeau Indian Reservation, in Wisconsin, not needed for allotment, tribal, or administrative purposes;

A bill (S. 3408) to authorize natural guardians, or Indian Service superintendents, to execute deeds conveying the interests of minor Indians where title to trust or restricted lands must pass by approved deed; and

A bill (S. 3409) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain unused Indian cemetery reserves on the Wichita Indian Reservation, in Oklahoma, to provide funds for purchase of other suitable burial sites for the Wichita Indians and affiliated bands; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. NYE:

A bill (S. 3410) to authorize the construction of an administration building at the United States Veterans' Hospital, Fargo, N. Dak., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

A bill (S. 3411) to authorize the purchase of certain lands by the United States from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3412) for the relief of L. M. Crawford; and

A bill (S. 3413) for the relief of Russell & Tucker and certain other citizens of the States of Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3414) to provide a salary for the referee in bankruptcy for the Pecos division of the western judicial district of Texas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 3415) to authorize retirement promotion of officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, in recognition of service in World War, Spanish-American War, Philippine insurrection, and Boxer rebellion; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3416) for the relief of Jacob G. Ackerman; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3417) granting a pension to Elia Rodde; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GLASS:

A bill (S. 3418) to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States or the district courts of the United States to hear, adjudicate, and enter judgment on the claim of William W. McElrath against the United States for compensation for the use or manufacture of an invention of William W. McElrath covered by letters patent issued by the Patent Office of the United States, October 21, 1919, and the reissue thereof on the 19th day of February, 1924; and for his contribution to the art to which said invention and letters patent relate; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 3419) to provide for the erection at Weiser Park, near Womelsdorf, Berks County, Pa., of a memorial to commemorate the services of Col. Conrad Weiser (1696–1760), Indian interpreter, colonial patriot, and friend of George Washington; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 3420) granting a pension to Clara Hummel (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMAS of Idaho:

A bill (S. 3421) providing for the diversion of proceeds from hunting and fishing permits within Indian reservations, to be expended under the direction of the tribal council for the benefit of the Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Idaho and Mr. CAREY:

A bill (S. 3422) for the temporary relief of water users on irrigation projects constructed and operated under the reclamation law; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. DALE:

A bill (S. 3423) granting a pension to Nellie M. Reynolds (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3424) granting an increase of pension to Edla J. Forbes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY (for Mr. SHORTRIDGE):

A bill (S. 3425) granting a pension to Jerry C. Young; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3426) for the relief of the Mack Copper Corporation; and

A bill (S. 3427) for the relief of Jacob Meyers; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3428) for the relief of William H. Wagoner; and

A bill (S. 3429) authorizing the appointment of Ben H. Griffin as a warrant officer, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3430) for the relief of W. A. Belard; and

A bill (S. 3431) for the relief of Albert J. Fern; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

A bill (S. 3432) for the relief of Clifton Norwood; and

A bill (S. 3433) to authorize the appointment of Technical Sergt. James J. Parks as a warrant officer, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FESS:

A bill (S. 3434) granting an increase of pension to Mollie E. Hayes (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3435) granting an increase of pension to Frances L. Roush (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

PROPOSED REPEAL OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask to have read at length.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 90) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States repealing the eighteenth amendment thereto was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when

ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution.

"ARTICLE —

"The eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed."

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, rarely in the history of government have hope and realization been so far apart as in the unhappy experiment with prohibition. It was intended to abolish the saloon; it has created the more dangerous speak-easy. It was intended to destroy the liquor traffic; it has only transferred that traffic into the hands of the lawless for their especial enrichment. It was intended to develop a nation of abstainers; it has brought up a generation without knowledge of temperance. It was intended to impose upon our people a single national standard; it has succeeded in breaking down every local standard.

I can not make it too plain that it is not liquor which concerns us. We are concerned with the sanctity of the Constitution which is daily desecrated. We are concerned with the majesty of the law, which is flagrantly defied. We are concerned for the supremacy of government, which is openly challenged. We are concerned for the very civilization we have cultivated if we continue to widen the breach between the citizen and his government. It is for these reasons and none others that I urge the abandonment of the policy of the eighteenth amendment.

The eighteenth amendment is an open invitation to rebellion. Under its régime the supremacy of the law has been challenged and defeated. The eighteenth amendment has thrown our whole constitutional system out of balance and our governmental machine out of gear. How much longer must we endure its demoralizing influence upon our Government and our people?

We now know that prohibition was a mistake. We know that the attempt to enforce it has been a failure. Let us be honest with ourselves and admit the failure. Let us be pragmatic enough not to persist in the failure. Guided by the mirage of nation-wide abstinence we drifted. Let us have the courage to abandon the course we had pursued and resume our progress in a more helpful direction.

And what shall that be? Certainly not the old days before prohibition; certainly not back to the saloon which has been abolished; but forward to the ideal of temperance, to the rule of self-discipline, to the revival of local government, to the restoration of the dignity of the law and the supremacy of the Constitution.

I move that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The motion was agreed to.

AMENDMENT TO TREASURY AND POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. COPELAND submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the Treasury and Post Office Departments appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and ordered to be printed, as follows:

At the proper place insert the following:

"That hereafter permits for the importation or manufacture for nonbeverage purposes of spirituous liquors of a particular kind or quality may be issued upon a finding by the Commissioner of Industrial Alcohol that the supply of any such kind or quality of liquors in distilleries or bonded warehouses in the United States is insufficient to meet the current need therefor for all nonbeverage uses."

PROPOSED FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANKS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. TYDINGS submitted four amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2959) to create Federal home loan banks, to provide for the supervision thereof, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT—AMENDMENTS

Mr. BLACK submitted an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. WAGNER submitted 15 amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

THE MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address made by Edward P. Farley, of New York.

I also ask to have printed in the RECORD an address made by Edward F. Luckenbach, owner of the Luckenbach Steamship Co.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF EDWARD P. FARLEY, OF NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN STEAMSHIP CO., BEFORE THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MERCHANT MARINE, HELD IN WASHIGTON, D. C., ON JANUARY 28, 1932

I have been asked to suggest a remedy for the present chaotic state in the intercoastal trade. My suggestion is Government regulation of rates and practices—regulation which has as its objective the maintenance of regular and dependable services and the stabilization of transportation charges on a reasonable basis, protected from fraud either through misclassification, false weight, false measurement, or other such device or means.

The intercoastal trade, as it presently exists, really dates from 1920, and it demonstrates that no carrier, however efficient, can earn a fair return on its investment until unfair practices have been eliminated and reasonable rates established with some degree of permanency. Experience also shows that voluntary cooperation through conference provides only temporary relief, because the conference may be abandoned or its regulations secretly or openly disregarded. Furthermore, nonconference members are almost certain to enter the trade at the first sign of profitable rates. An admitted chaos calls for a remedy. Half measures will only aggravate the situation. The effective means of establishing stable conditions in the trade and maintaining fair and reasonable rates on a permanent basis is through Government regulation.

It is of interest to know that the only large industries not suffering from rate or price cutting to-day are those which are regulated: Railroads, public utilities, pipe lines, telephone, telegraph, etc. I doubt if anyone would advocate the railroads or utilities making their own rates, or the removal of restrictions on our national banks.

The Shipping Board is responsible for the supervision of the millions of dollars being appropriated by Congress to build up the American merchant marine, but they have not the power to protect this investment from unfair competition which is tearing it down at a much faster rate than it is being built up.

There can be no real reason to fear Government regulation, as no Government body that may be appointed can, under the fifth amendment to the Constitution, as the United States Supreme Court has repeatedly held, fix rates or impose other conditions which will prevent the carriers from earning a fair return on the investment. No other remedy but Government regulation can bring order out of the present chaos and profits out of present losses. With the police power of the United States Government behind reasonable trade conditions and fair rates, efficient service, properly financed and managed, is bound to earn its reward.

ADDRESS OF EDGAR F. LUCKENBACH, OWNER OF THE LUCKENBACH STEAMSHIP CO., MADE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., ON JANUARY 27, 1932, BEFORE THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MERCHANT MARINE

You have suggested to me that I say a few words with reference to the intercoastal trade.

Due to the pitiless publicity to which the intercoastal trade has been subjected since February 13, 1931, and to the many points of dispute that have arisen between the operators during the ruthless rate war that has been taking place it is very difficult to discuss this impartially, but this I will attempt to do.

To an experienced audience as this it is a waste of words to outline the nature of the trade or delineate the fundamental principles, but permit me to invite your attention to the fact that from a rate-making standpoint the intercoastal trade is to a large extent a railroad business by water, and as such the rate conditions involved, not only in relation to the public but also among the steamship lines therein engaged, are fundamentally different from offshore routes.

When the intercoastal business was revived in 1920 the steamer lines faced a competitive rate structure that permitted very attractive returns to the water carriers. At that time there were comparatively few steamers in the intercoastal trade, but as the returns to be had in the foreign trade decreased, more and more vessels were diverted to the intercoastal route.

From the very first there was an attempt by the operators engaged in the trade to maintain stability of rates, but as new vessels under varying managements sought this field it was done

on the basis that has characterised most attempts to break into an established route, in other words, cut rates by the new operators. This led the railroads to reduce the transcontinental rates, and while it is true that all the efforts of the railroads to meet the situation have not been successful, nevertheless the average per ton for all carriers has steadily declined.

There have been several conferences and two disastrous rate wars in this field. There have been attempts to control the rate structure by committees of the whole, by elective rate committees, by small executive rate committees, and finally by a 1-man operation. All of these structures have collapsed and to-day we are facing a situation where there is a trade that has sufficient cargo to offer remuneration, which, if not fully compensatory, is at least better than can be had by vessels in almost any other route in the world, but the operators in this route by reason of their varying basic structures find it impossible to compose their difficulties. In this respect the intercoastal trade is passing through a period not unlike that which characterized the railroads many years ago when there was competition of the most violent character, when railroads were merchandising their own products, and when the struggle for advantages at times led to personal clashes and physical violence. I am happy to say that so far we have been spared the last.

The intercoastal trade was originally served by those whose interests were strictly that of transportation of cargo. Subsequently organizations of vast resources either diverted steamers which they already owned, or else acquired steamers so that the industrial organizations could control the transportation as well as merchandising of their products. Concurrent with carrying their own products, of which there was not sufficient to fill the steamers, these interests solicited trade from other merchants, and there have been many charges not only that their own merchandise did not reflect the general rate prevailing, but that the outside cargo taken for "sweetening" was being taken at rates that represented an actual loss. I do not believe that all of these charges against the industrial carriers are correct, but it is impossible for any logically minded person to believe that they are entirely without foundation. There is an old adage that "where there is smoke there is fire," and it applies in this case as well as in every other.

Since 1920 there have been vessels entered into the intercoastal trade that have made very favorable mail contracts involving millions of dollars, and while it is very true that technically these mail contracts do not apply between intercoastal ports, nevertheless a dollar is a dollar, and the receipt of this additional compensation as a favor from the United States Government undoubtedly enables those lines to maintain a stronger fighting position, and which the records indicate some of them have not failed to utilize. Incidentally, another advantage had by these mail subsidized passenger boats is priority of passage through the Panama Canal, which priority works to disadvantage of the cargo vessels.

It should be our duty here to consider the effect of these various factors not only on one individual line or group of interests but its effect upon the steamship business in its entirety, and in its relationship to the public.

In recent discussions as to the wisdom of some of the proposed legislation, is it not astounding that those most violently opposed to it are the lines who have industrial affiliations and who are in receipt of the greatest benefactions in the way of United States mail subsidies, although in the latter class there is one notable exception, but that particular line is in receipt of the smallest remuneration under the mail contract plan.

Now, gentlemen, the facts that I have brought out are correct, and what deduction is there that can be drawn? Is there anyone who will say that the lines among themselves have not unsuccessfully tried every known voluntary means to keep the trade in order? Is it to the interest of the public that steamship lines should fail?

There have been failures and reorganizations in the intercoastal trade, but has there ever been any failure or reorganization involving any line with industrial affiliations? What is the answer? What is the remedy? What was the answer for the railroads? Is there any railroad man that would wish for a return of former conditions? Does anyone pretend to say that former railroad conditions would benefit the country as a whole?

Voluntary control having failed, and failed most miserably, there is no remedy but in involuntary control. I am not so inexperienced as to say that involuntary control does not have its disadvantages, but it is the only thing that will benefit most people and to the greatest good of all. It is the only thing that will continue to insure merchants that they can sell merchandise in competition with others, and inasmuch as our Nation is primarily an industrial nation, it is to the interest of all that the utmost opportunity be afforded to all on an equal basis.

At discussions held in other places we have had pointed out to us the horrors of bureaucracy and have been told how it would stifle our business. In part answer to this permit me to point out to you that I operate vessels in the intercoastal trade from the Gulf of Mexico as well as from the North Atlantic. Our Gulf services are in part under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and this jurisdiction was assumed voluntarily. I admit that when I agreed to action that would place my Gulf service under partial jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission I did it with a certain amount of fear, but the results have been beyond my fondest expectations. In the Gulf service we have joint rates with the railroads involving important tonnage, and it is a matter of record that in face of the most violent rate war that has ever characterized the intercoastal services from the Atlantic that the intercoastal rates from the Gulf have remained astonishingly stable, the joint rates with the railroads being absolutely unaffected. In the previous rate war of 1923 the Gulf services were not in any part under the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Gulf rates immediately went to the same level as the Atlantic rate-war basis. If this is one of the horrors of Government control, I pray you give me more of it.

If anyone should rise to state that all of the benefits we are enjoying in the Gulf are not due entirely to the benefits of our through rates, might I also point out to you that neither are we faced with the industrial carrier problem in the Gulf, and while it is true that one line enjoys a mail contract, nevertheless those mail contract vessels are by agreement practically eliminated from the intercoastal trade at all major ports.

The above is a brief but correct résumé, and I am willing to leave determination of the answer to any impartial body.

My opinion is Government regulation.

THE BANKING SYSTEM

Mr. KEAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article appearing in the New York Herald Tribune on January 29, 1932.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, January 29, 1932]

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW—THE GLASS BILL

By Walter Lippmann

It does not require any particular knowledge of technical banking to see that the Glass bill should be regarded as a collection of proposals to be studied by experts rather than as measures for practical consideration at this session of Congress. The bill is 61 pages long. It is probably no exaggeration to say that there is not a single Member of either House who is now equipped to debate it.

All past experiences show that it takes not weeks but years to prepare and formulate important reforms in the banking structure. It took about 25 years after the expiration of the charter of the second Bank of the United States and after the panic of 1837 to establish the national banking system. It took six years after the panic of 1907 to create the Federal reserve system. This does not mean that nothing should be begun now. But it does mean that it is fantastic to suppose that a considered reform of the banking laws can be had in the midst of a banking crisis.

It would be a waste of time for Congress to set about enacting long-range reforms at a moment like this, and if Congress is well advised, it will create some kind of commission representing both Houses and both parties, together with a few competent outsiders, and will give it funds and authority to study our whole banking system, national and State, to make a searching examination of the administration of the Federal reserve system since the war; to report on the lessons that can be learned from countries like Canada and England, where bank failures are virtually unknown; and will instruct the commission to offer, a year or two hence, a thoroughgoing scheme of reform.

A better banking system can not be improvised during the distractions of a banking crisis and on the eve of a presidential election.

Even the layman who reads the Glass bill can see readily that it was prepared in a mood of righteous indignation rather than of cool and far-seeing financial statesmanship. It is essentially a stinging indictment of the frenzied finance of the inflation. It strikes at the great abuses of that period, at the overexpansion of credit, and the wild speculation in securities. The purpose of the bill, which is to force a radical contraction of credit, would have been just the right thing to emphasize in 1927, 1928, and 1929. Had Senator GLASS been able then to make the country see the things which his bill now embodies he would have performed an incalculable service. In those mad years the deflationary policy of this bill would have represented the highest kind of foresight.

But since 1929 the orderly deflation, which should have been undertaken two years earlier, has in a wild and disorderly fashion occurred. There is no need at this moment to pass laws compelling the banks to deflate the security markets. They have and are deflating them, and the spiral of deflation has become as vicious as the inflation that preceded it. In 1927–1929 fiscal statesmanship would have meant stopping the expansion of credit and the rise in security prices; in 1932 the exact reverse is needed—it is the duty of fiscal statesmanship to stop the contraction of credit and the fall in prices.

The Glass bill in its general tendencies—I do not presume to have an opinion about its technical devices—seems to be derived from a study of what happened up to 1929. It appears to ignore what has happened since. Thus, if by some unlucky miracle the bill were made law to-day, it would, in order to correct evils which the great deflation has already dealt with, intensify the very evils with which we are struggling; that is to say, it would contract credit still further, deflate prices still more, rock the banks, slow up production, and aggravate unemployment. The Glass bill not only proposes to lock the barn door after the horse has been stolen but to burn down the barn and shoot the horse.

Yet the motives which have inspired Senator GLASS are entitled to the highest respect. What has happened is that he has brooded over the perversion of a banking system which he did so much to create and administer. He is grimly determined not to let such outrages occur again. The indictment of the inflationary period, which his bill implies, is fundamentally true. He has overlooked

the fact that the evils he condemns have brought on their own retribution, and his mind, fixed upon the mistakes of the past, seems not to have focused at all upon the dangers of the present.

As a political matter, once it understands the extreme deflationary character of the bill Congress will certainly not pass it now. If there is one thing Congress does not want it is a further contraction of credit and a still further fall of prices. Nevertheless, because of his distinguished record, the exceptional rectitude of his mind, the depth of his conviction, his absolute fearlessness, and the terror which his sharp tongue inspires, Senator GLASS has just about overawed everybody in Congress when it comes to matters pertaining to banking and currency. As a consequence there is a real danger that Congress may not dare to do more than table his bill. Yet it is almost certainly necessary in this emergency that Congress should promptly give the Federal reserve system not less power to create credit but more power.

For it seems to be the most instructed opinion of those most closely in touch with the actual situation that what is needed now is to relax the restrictions on the Federal reserve banks. It will be hard to obtain Senator GLASS's consent to that, for he is bent on doing just the opposite. Yet there seems to be little doubt that we are in a credit and currency crisis which, unless the downward spiral is to be allowed to run itself out, can be checked only by the drastic action of the Federal reserve system and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. If that is to be done, the country must have the courage to give its banking agencies the full powers which they alone, among the great central banks of the world, do not now have.

THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a portion of a statement delivered before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives by Mr. Wirt Franklin, of Tulsa, Okla., president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. WIRT FRANKLIN, TULSA, OKLA., PRESIDENT OF THE INDEPENDENT PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I appear here as president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, a national association having branches in all of the oil-producing States. I might add that all of the oil and gas associations in the United States, in every State, including the American Petroleum Institute, have taken action on this oil matter, on the question of imports and the equalizing of prices of foreign oil with the domestic product through the imposition of a tax or duty, and that the other gas and oil associations in the United States have made the Independent Petroleum Association the instrumentality through which they speak on this question.

I might add that in the American Petroleum Institute the vote on this question was divided as between those who were importing oil and those who were not—that was the division.

All of the domestic industry has suffered the cumulative effect in the last three years of the continuous curtailment of production, with the curtailment of the price also, and it has suffered to so great an extent that the domestic industry is unanimous on this question. I might also add that all of the business, professional, agricultural, and banking interests of the oil-producing States are likewise one on this matter.

Now, I understand that at this time the committee is not considering this question from the standpoint of a tariff, but as a revenue measure; so I will try, as nearly as I can, to adhere to that viewpoint.

I want to bring before you, at the outset, the figures on imports of oil and refined products for the year 1930. I have taken the year 1930 for two reasons. In the first place, the figures for the year 1931 are not complete, authentic, from the Bureau of Mines. The figures which I will give you are Government figures; 1930 also is representative; it is more nearly a normal year. The imports were not as high as they have been, nor as low as they were in 1931, but that is an average year and based on the latest obtainable figures giving the annual statistical situation.

But before I give you these figures I would like to call your attention to the Tariff Commission's report made at the instance of Congress, the first one being made under the terms of the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill of 1930. Both of those reports show that more than 70 per cent of the crude-oil imports and over 90 per cent of the refined-oil imports have their origin in the Maracaibo Basin in Venezuela. Therefore, in my remarks I propose to ignore all other sources of imports except Rumania and Russia, which I shall touch upon later.

The first report which came out about a year ago showed that there was a difference in cost of production between Maracaibo Basin oil delivered at Atlantic ports and mid-continent oil delivered at Atlantic ports of $1.19 a barrel, which more than sustained the contention which we made to Congress two years ago when the tariff bill was under consideration. The latest report shows that difference in cost to be $1.03 a barrel. I take it that that difference was found because of cheaper development costs in the great east Texas fields, which are near tidewater, and where the cost of drilling large wells approximates $20,000 per well. That is on crude.

Their report shows further that mid-continent oil costs $1.90 a barrel delivered at Atlantic ports—that includes Gulf coast oil as well as mid-continent—and that the cost of refining that oil by the methods then in use in the Atlantic coast refineries is 73 cents a barrel. That is a total of $2.63. They find that the value of the products obtained from that oil is $2.74, leaving 11 cents a barrel profit on the mid-continent and Gulf coast oil, 5.78 per cent based upon the cost of the oil delivered.

On the other hand, that report shows that the cost of Maracaibo Basin oil, delivered in the tankers of the owners of the oil, at the Gulf and Atlantic ports is 87 cents a barrel—and in that cost of transportation there is a nice profit, and that the cost of refining that oil is 30 cents a barrel, or $1.17, whereas the value of the products derived is $1.71, leaving a profit, on the 87-cent oil imported from the Maracaibo Basin, of 54 cents a barrel, or 62 per cent based on cost.

Now, those are the facts in that 300-page mimeograph report, and, boiled down, that is about all that there is in the report, so far as it bears on profits from refining, except that there was some mention in that report of the fact that a considerable portion of the cost of the mid-continent oil delivered at Atlantic coast refineries was contained in the transportation charges of the pipe lines.

I would like to call your attention to the fact, and I wish this to be fixed in your minds, that the same interests who are importing oil and destroying the oil industry in the United States own the pipe lines and receive that transportation charge.

Now, there was imported into the United States in 1930, crude oil, 62,129,419 barrels, or 2,609,435,598 gallons. As a revenue measure I suggest a tax on that oil of 2 cents a gallon which would bring in $52,188,711.96.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask how many gallons there are in a barrel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Forty-two.

There were imported in that year, fuel and gas oil, 26,080,383 barrels, or 1,095,375,986 gallons. I would also suggest a tax on that of 2 cents a gallon, which would bring in $21,907,519.72.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that on?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Gas and fuel oil. I will later explain why I think the tax on gas and fuel oil should be the same as it is on crude.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Will you name the last figure again?

Mr. FRANKLIN. The gallons?

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Both.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Barrels, 26,080,383; gallons, 1,095,375,986.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Thank you.

Mr. FRANKLIN. There was imported in 1930 gasoline to the amount of 16,926,800 barrels, or 710,925,600 gallons, and I would like to stress at this point that that represents an increase of more than 100 per cent in the imports of gasoline over the preceding year from refineries which have been constructed by the Shell Co., a subsidiary of the Royal Dutch Shell, on the island of Curacao, and by the Pan American subsidiary of the Standard of Indiana on the island of Aruba. I would propose that this gasoline imported be taxed 4 cents a gallon, which would bring in a revenue of $28,437,024.

Now, the lubricating oil imports are very small, consisting of only 24,782 barrels, or 948,567 gallons, which I suggest be taxed 4 cents per gallon, or a cent a quart, which would bring in a revenue of $37,943.04.

I might mention at this point—and you gentlemen know it just as well as I do—that there has not been any fluctuation in the price of lubricating oil at the filling stations in 20 years. When oil is 10 cents a barrel the price is 25 or 30 cents a quart, and for the higher grades 35 or 40 cents, and when oil was $3.50 a barrel in the Midcontinent district it was the same price.

Mr. HAWLEY. That is lubricating oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Lubricating oil.

I would also call your attention at this point to the fact that there has been little relation in normal years between the price of gasoline to the consumer and the price of crude oil. I do not wish to take the time to go into too much detail on this, but the Federal Trade Commission made a report some years ago at the instance of Congress in which they made a finding to that effect. I can not give you the reference from memory, but I can furnish it to you later, if need be.

Now, gentlemen, the oil industry in the United States has done everything possible to put its own house in order. Our principal oil States, California, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, have passed conservation laws clothing the regulatory powers, the same bodies that regulate the railroads in those States, with authority to control the production of oil, to prevent waste, and to promote conservation. The State of Oklahoma was the first State to pass such laws, back in 1915, and they have enforced those laws and the producers of oil, large and small alike, have cooperated with the hope of bringing stabilization to the oil industry and bringing back to those States their normal business situation, having commenced more than two and a half years ago to cut down production.

I will say that that effort has succeeded beyond the fondest hopes of those who promoted it, that is, succeeded in curtailing production. I have contended since the Colorado Springs conference in June, 1929, that to curtail domestic production would not be of any efficacy whatever so long as there was no control of the imports of oil because as we curtailed our own production the imports would take up the slack and keep us in a demoralized state. That prediction, made two and a half years ago, has been fulfilled much more violently than I ever anticipated.

Now, to get down to what the petroleum industry in the United States has done to save itself. In 1930, we curtailed production in the United States 109,000,000 barrels below the figures of 1929. Grasp the enormity of these figures, because it is a marvelous

accomplishment of an industry to save itself; and during the time we curtailed production, there were 105,000,000 barrels of imported oil and refined products brought in, that nullified our every effort.

To say that there is an overproduction of oil in the United States is not true. There is no overproduction, and there has been no overproduction in 13 years. That is a propaganda that is put out by those importing oil in order to lay the blame on the industry in the United States, and some men in high official life have allowed themselves to be used for this propaganda.

As further illustrating that there was not overproduction in 1930, it required the withdrawal from stocks of over 23,000,000 barrels of oil to supply the demand in the United States in addition to imports.

What have we done in 1931, the year just closed? Again the domestic industry curtailed its production more than 48,000,000 barrels as compared with 1930, more than 48,000,000 barrels in addition to the previous curtailment, or 157,000,000 barrels less than 1929, and it was necessary to take out of storage to supply the demand for oil in the United States more than 45,000,000 barrels, or nearly 200,000 barrels a day throughout the year.

Is that overproduction? Doesn't that give the lie to this campaign, this propaganda about overproduction being responsible for the ills of the industry? Gentlemen, it is not overproduction; it is oversupply occasioned by imports that come in here duty free, that pay not one dollar to any subdivision of the Government of the United States or of the States, while the domestic oil industry is the most heavily taxed industry in the country.

Let me call your attention to the fact that we pay taxes from the time the oil reaches the surface of the ground, that every State that produces oil has appropriated this industry from which to raise its revenues to support State governments, schools, and roads, that at the top of the ground, when the oil comes up, we pay to the State 3 per cent of the value of the oil, whether we are making a profit or not. We may lose from 50 to 75 cents a barrel in producing the oil, but still the State gets 3 per cent of its value at the top of the ground.

Then you know, gentlemen, that every State has a gasoline tax——

Mr. HAWLEY. Is that 3 per cent or 3 cents?

Mr. FRANKLIN. It is 3 per cent on crude oil produced.

Now, every State has a gasoline tax, and this tax has been increasing. As long as it was applied to building good roads there was little kick from the oil industry, but since now it is used in many places for other purposes there must be an end brought to this taxation, because the tax now in some States, under the abnormal conditions of the past year, is 200 per cent of the wholesale cost of the gasoline.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the highest State tax?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Seven cents a gallon, in Tennessee and Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. It is 5½ cents, I think, in my State.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I want to call your attention to the fact that a 5-cent gasoline tax is equivalent to a dollar a barrel on crude oil.

Now, of course, the importers will, where imported gasoline is handled through legitimate dealers, pay the gasoline tax, but that is the only tax that they pay, while we pay in this country the gross production tax and ad valorem tax on all our property in the oil country, except the casing and the material that is in the well itself; that is not taxed, because the gross-production tax covers that in Oklahoma. In Texas, however, there is an ad valorem tax on everything. Then we pay a State income tax, and a Federal income tax when we make any profit; we have not made any in three years. Then we pay a capital-stock tax, and a corporation-license tax, and if they want to raise any money for the relief of distress, as was done in Oklahoma at the last session of the legislature, they just put on an extra tax in the emergency and take it from the oil industry.

Now, gentlemen, I want to ask you, is it fair to tax out of existence the domestic oil industry and make us compete under those conditions with foreign oil that comes in here absolutely free and which is the cause of the destruction of the American petroleum industry, and I will say to you that the independent branch of the oil industry can not exist for another year unless relief is obtained. Every prediction which I made two years ago about this matter has come true tenfold. There is hardly an independent oil company which is not now in the hands of its bankers. Whereas a tariff or tax on foreign products has in the past in some instances been used to create monopolies, the reverse is true in this industry. Through imports, what is taking place? The complete destruction of the American petroleum industry and the destruction of its values, while at the same time those importing the oil make an exorbitant profit through imports from the consumers in the United States. It is a two-edged sword.

Just in that connection I want to call your attention to this—and, as I said, this is the reverse of the ordinary effect of a tax on foreign imports. In this case, instead of a monopoly being created by the tax, a monopoly is in process of formation through the instrumentality of this oil entering into this country duty free and destroying the domestic industry; and here is an admission of it in the Wall Street Journal. Let me read to you a few extracts from that:

"December 19. Gulf uses cash to buy bargains; Mellon official says dividend omitted to permit more purchases; holds time propitious."

Those are the headlines, and in the body it says:

"The Gulf Oil Corporation of Pennsylvania is using its cash to buy up oil properties at attractive prices. This explanation of the omission of the quarterly dividend of 37½ cents on December 11 has been given by an official of the company. He said that while the omission was a difficult step to take, it will prove to have been the most desirable policy for stockholders from a long-range viewpoint."

Then I will skip a little.

"It now is shown that Gulf is not merely completing the expansion started for the past year; it is taking advantage of temporary demoralization of the oil industry to acquire distressed properties, which will be shown to be of considerable value after the era of overproduction shall have been eradicated."

Now, gentlemen, we who were in the business knew that that was taking place, but we never had expected that a high official of one of the principal importing companies would admit it in print. These four companies that import 82 per cent of the oil are lying in wait until the distress becomes so great that they can buy up at sheriff-sale prices the independent companies in the United States at 5 and 10 cents on the dollar, and what then will you have for your consumer that I have heard so much about since I have advocated a tariff on oil? They said it would increase the price to the consumer. Let me call your attention to the fact that in the countries outside of the United States, where there is no independent petroleum industry and free competition, the price of gasoline to-day is more than double what it is in the United States.

In Bogota, the capital of Colombia, and I got this information day before yesterday from the Department of Commerce, the price of gasoline is 38 cents a gallon at the filling station, with an 8-cent tax, or 30 cents net, which is more than double the price after you deduct the tax in this country; that is where a high-grade oil is produced and refined, right in the shadow of the oil fields. Why? Because there is a monopoly there, and when the independent branch of the industry is destroyed in the United States, you will have a reestablishment of a monopoly here, and in six months they can make up all their losses, now being sustained, at our expense and pay for all the other properties that they will buy up at sheriff sale prices.

Now, this is not idle talk, gentlemen. It is fact. If any of you do not believe it, communicate with the officers of the big oil banks throughout the midcontinent field, and they will confirm every word I have said. I know. I have been led right up to the point and asked to sign over my properties for nothing myself, if you will pardon a personal reference.

This can be further illustrated by giving you the profits that these importing companies have made during the last five years. Have they suffered from this oil depression? Not a one of them has. The dividends of the Standard Oil group from 1912 to 1930, inclusive, were $4,019,929,872. For the last five years they have increased steadily, right through the period of depression, when a considerable portion of the industry was going into bankruptcy, and there have been thousands of them that have been closed out because this help has been so long delayed. To give the dividends of the Standard group only in round figures, in 1926 it was $200,000,000; in 1927, $213,000,000; in 1928, $218,000,000; in 1929, $269,000,000; and in 1930, $286,000,000—the biggest dividends in all history, right during this period of distress.

The pipe-line companies paid in dividends, according to the Bureau of Statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as follows:

The Gulf Pipe Line, of Oklahoma, paid in 1930, 400 per cent dividends; the Humble, 40 per cent dividends; Shell, 54.1 per cent; the Magnolia, 40 per cent dividends; Oklahoma Pipe Line, 30 per cent; the Stanolind, which is the Standard Oil of Indiana—that is, the parent company of the Pan American, which has a big refinery down off the coast of Venezuela, and is one of the principal importers of refined products, 61.54 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. Who owns the Humble and the Magnolia?

Mr. FRANKLIN. The Humble and the Oklahoma Pipe Line are owned by the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey; the Magnolia is owned by the Standard Oil Co. of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You referred to the four pipe-line companies; what are the companies that own the pipe lines?

Mr. FRANKLIN. This Standard group, the Gulf, and the Shell own practically all the pipe lines in the United States, and I have given you the profits that they have made off the oil industry during this period of distress.

The CHAIRMAN. All of those companies except the Shell are American companies, are they not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes. Of course, you gentlemen know that the Shell is a subsidiary of the Royal Dutch Shell, which is owned by English and Dutch capital, and which through its affiliation with the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., is partially controlled by the British Government, and you also are probably aware that the British Government does not permit an American citizen to produce oil under the British flag.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know that.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I want to go back and refer to the situation in Oklahoma. Oklahoma has taken the brunt of this curtailment program, principally because it had the laws under which action could be taken and we did not have to wait for sessions of the legislatures to pass new laws.

The production of Oklahoma when this curtailment started in August, 1929, was 735,000 barrels a day, for which there was a ready market for every barrel at $1.45 a barrel, for the average grade, 36 gravity. Last week the production of the State of Oklahoma, through this curtailment program, was 410,000 barrels, and the price of oil has gone down steadily, while we were stabilizing the

oil industry, from $1.45 a barrel until last July when it reached the lowest point in all history of from 10 to 22 cents a barrel, 36 gravity being 18 cents a barrel, and that price was only raised, gentlemen, through the instrumentality of martial law declared by the Governors of Oklahoma and Texas and the shutting in of the flush fields because it was ruining the State, ruining every interest in the State, as destructive as an invading army, and they were fully justified in protecting the interests of their States by this method, although they have been criticized severely in some quarters where people did not know the devastation that was taking place.

Is that stabilization of an industry through curtailment? Certainly the results do not show that. They show, on the other hand, that imported oil is being used to destroy the American petroleum industry, with the hope of buying it up and getting it into the hands of the same importing interests.

Gentlemen, will you, representing the Government of the United States, permit that condition until the havoc has been completed, or will you equalize conditions so that the petroleum industry in the United States may live and offer some competition and offer the public some hope of fair prices for petroleum products in the future—and at the same time raise a revenue of $102,000,000 in the process?

Now, that reminds me that I have omitted one thing that I should have told you before, as to why I say 2 cents a gallon on crude oil and fuel oil alike. That will not keep this oil out, but it will tend to equalize the prices. The Tariff Commission has reported the difference in cost to be $1.19 in one report, and $1.03 in another report. They can still import that oil if a tax of 2 cents a gallon is put on crude, and they will continue to import it, and it will bring that revenue, and I want to explain now why I suggest the same tax for fuel oil as I do for crude. I have an eminent authority to sustain me in that. The reason that that tax should be the same is because, under modern methods of refining, through the cracking process which has been perfected and which is the image of perfection, practically as much gasoline can be obtained from a barrel of fuel oil as from a barrel of crude.

To-day, under the modern methods of refining, a barrel of oil is a barrel of oil, regardless of its gravity where these cracking facilities exist, and this cracking process in all of the refineries up and down the Atlantic seaboard has been perfected in the last five years until now they can almost get 100 per cent of gasoline out of their oil when they want to crack it to its ultimate. Of course, it is not done in all cases, because they want to get other products out of it. Then, the refineries of the Dutch Shell Co. and of the Pan American off the coast of Venezuela are the most up-to-date refineries in the world. When the Tariff Commission made its report, it gathered figures for the years 1927 to 1930 and took the average, so that those figures do not represent what is going on to-day in those refineries. They can obtain from that oil a very much greater percentage of gasoline than those figures show, and they are obtaining it under their present methods of refining down there. So, while their figures are great enough to justify everything that I have said, these companies are getting a greater percentage of gasoline out of that oil than the figures of the Tariff Commission show.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CRISP. I ask that the gentleman's time be extended 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Thank you.

Mr. HAWLEY. May I ask the gentleman a question at this point?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. HAWLEY. There are two products that are imported which you have not mentioned. One is "tops and other unfinished distillates," of which 39,987 barrels were imported in 1931 at a price of practically $6 a barrel, and illuminating oil (including kerosene), of which 11,477 barrels were imported in 1931 at practically $6 a barrel.

Would you tax those also at the rates that you have suggested?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I omitted kerosene purposely, because it is the poor man's light and fuel, and it is of a negligible quantity. Care should be taken to prevent shipment of other products as kerosene.

Mr. HAWLEY. What about tops and other unfinished distillates?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is really gasoline and should be taxed at rate of 4 cents per gallon.

Mr. HAWLEY. That would be included in your suggestion?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question here, not to be taken out of his time?

I will have to plead ignorance, but will you tell me exactly the difference between crude and fuel oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. There is just this difference between crude and fuel oil. The crude oil is the oil as it comes from the well. The grade varies from a very low gravity up as high, in some instances, as 60 gravity, which is almost the gravity of gasoline.

Fuel oil is the residuum after the distillation process has taken place and the gasoline and lighter products have been taken from the oil by straight distillation. After that the oil may be put through cracking stills and a very much larger percentage of gasoline taken by this process from fuel oil. In some refineries they only skim the oil—that is, take off the cream, the gasoline, kerosene, and naphtha, and throw the remainder of it into fuel oil. The residuum thus obtained may be used by other refiners, may be purchased and put through other crackers and another source of gasoline obtained.

Now, on my proposition that a barrel of oil is a barrel of oil I want to offer you the testimony of the most eminent authority in the world on that subject, no less a personage than Mr. Walter C. Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. In speaking before the Federal Oil Conservation Board on February 10 and 11, 1926, Mr. Teagle used this language——

Mr. TREADWAY (interposing). Have you answered my question or is this also in answer to my question?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I thought I had completed it.

Mr. TREADWAY. But let me understand you before you proceed. Would a novice describe it in this way, that fuel oil has been once processed?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. It is the first process from the crude?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes. The lighter constituents of oil, gasoline, kerosene, and naphtha have been removed by distillation, leaving the residuum, which is commonly termed fuel oil or gas oil. There are several grades of that, you know, depending on how hot you heat it and how long you allow the vapors to come off. You can have a low-grade fuel oil or a high-grade fuel oil, depending upon the purpose for which you desire to use it. The higher gravities are used in domestic oil burners and the lower gravities for bunker oil and for oil on locomotives and under boilers. There is a number of different specifications for fuel oil, just the same as for gasoline and kerosene.

Mr. TREADWAY. I thank you.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Now——

Mr. CHINDBLOM. In that connection may I add this question: Crude oil may be used for fuel purposes, may it not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Oh, yes; where the gasoline content is not very great. It is too dangerous. It can not be used if the gasoline content is great, because it would create explosions, and gasoline explosions are almost as terrific as nitroglycerine.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Take the Venezuelan oil; may that be used as fuel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Not directly; it has to have the gasoline removed to make it safe.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Is there any other crude oil that can be so used?

Mr. FRANKLIN. There are some small quantities in different places where the gasoline content by straight distillation methods is practically nil. We have one in Carter County, Okla., the Wheeler field, where the oil may be used in locomotives as it comes from the ground. It is a comparatively small field, and is owned by the Santa Fe Railroad, being operated for that purpose.

Mr. MCCORMACK. How much crude oil is imported?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I gave the figures a while ago; a little over 62,000,000 barrels.

Mr. MCCORMACK. How much fuel oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Something over 26,000,000 barrels.

Getting back to this question that a barrel of oil is a barrel of oil, I wish to quote from Mr. Teagle's testimony. I have given the reference. He says:

"The average man fails to realize that true conservation of a raw material is its economic use."

In which I agree with him 100 per cent, as contradistinguished from this false idea of conservation which has been the source of much propaganda for the last six or seven years, having for its purpose the retention in the ground of the oil reserves of the United States for some future-imagined national emergency, which has been used simply as a cloak by the importers to take the American market away from the domestic oil industry, and the American market is 70 per cent of the market of the world.

There is nothing to that contention, gentlemen, because the oil reserves of the United States are ample, as eminent authorities have recently proved, the latest of which is Mr. Ralph Arnold in his book on the oil resources of the United States and its possessions. Our oil country has scarcely been prospected. That great area east of the Rocky Mountains, extending from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, is all prospective oil territory, and will in time, if Congress will protect the American market from foreign domination, produce untold wealth for the people that live there and for the citizens of this country.

Going back to Mr. Teagle again, he says:

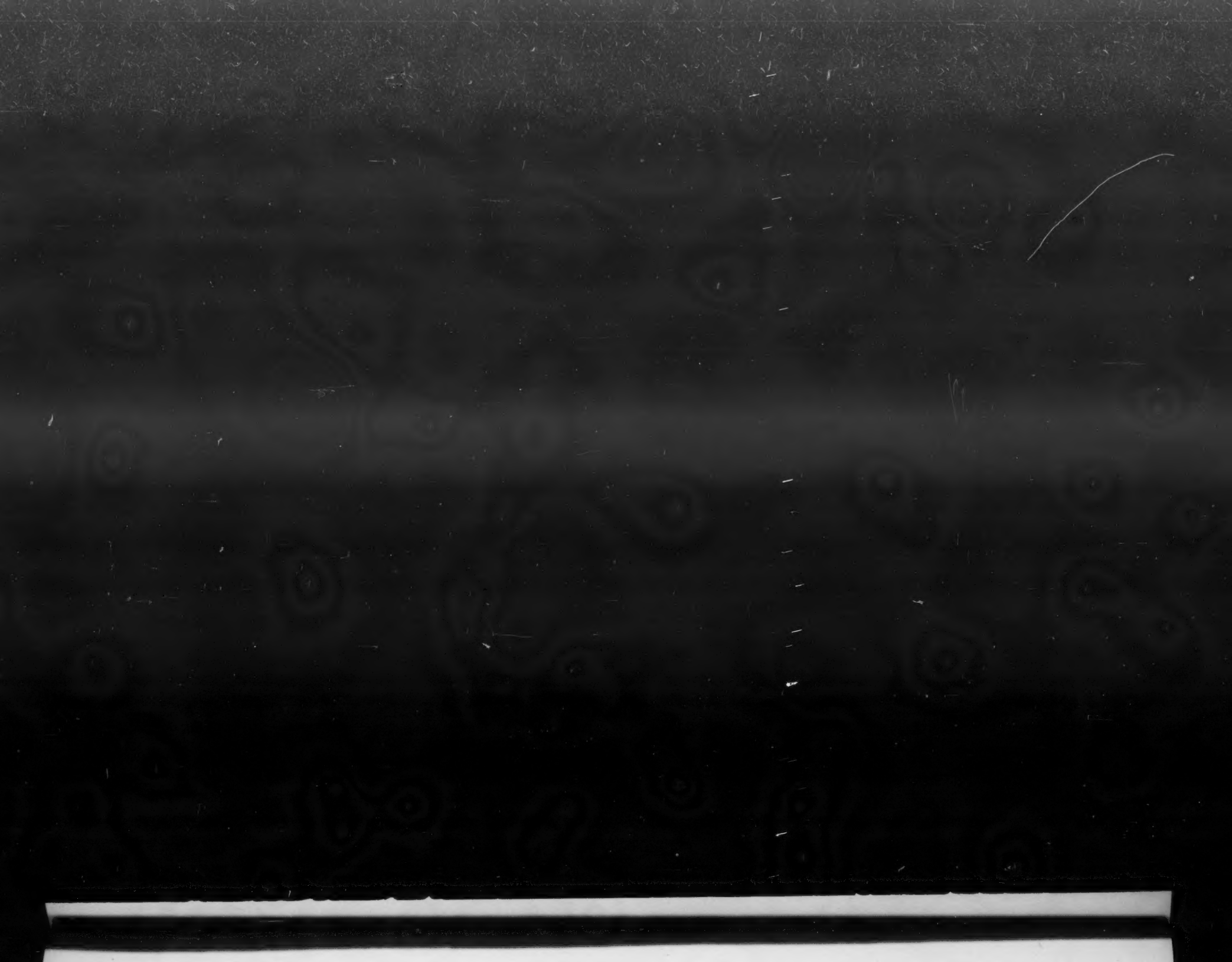
"Every grade of crude produced is now a potential source of gasoline. What was formerly a by-product fuel oil can now be converted into gasoline. The effect of this is the same as though we had found a new raw material from which gasoline could be manufactured. Another source of supply has been created, with a lower cost to-day for the raw material."

I won't read further; that illustrates what I am talking about, and I am quoting a very eminent authority.

Mr. RAGON. What are the relative retail prices, Mr. Franklin, of crude and fuel oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, in normal times the difference between the price of crude and fuel oil is about 15 or 20 cents a barrel. The conditions in the last year have been very abnormal, and should not be considered as being a criterion by which to go on the prices of oil and its products, because during most of last year, although the consumption of gasoline increased last year as compared with the year before, and it is the only industry in which consumption is greater except in the manufacture of cigarettes, the price of gasoline at the refineries in the United States was, throughout the year, in wholesale quantities, below the cost of production, due to the necessity for competing with those cheap imports that I have described.

Now, I have omitted one serious menace to the domestic oil industry, and this is a menace as well to the Standard, Shell, and Gulf group as it is to ourselves, and they are very much exercised over it and, I understand, are taking means, have already started



means, to get an embargo. They want an embargo on Russian oil under the antidumping provision, these big fellows do, because Russia and Rumania have interfered with their playhouse in the United States, but I think just this plain tax all the way through equalizing the thing for them as well as for us would probably be the better method.

Now, in this connection, in the last year, gentlemen, this new menace has appeared in the shape of imports of gasoline from Rumania and Russia. Only a few weeks ago a cargo of 2,700,000 gallons of gasoline, shipped from Rumania, but which, it is reported, had its origin in Russia or from the Black Sea, was landed at Montreal and taken up the St. Lawrence River. Its ultimate destination was Detroit, where the records show it was brought and the declared valuation given as 2.87 cents a gallon—that was the declared valuation—that the importer put on it. I do not see how it is possible, but that was the declared valuation.

Then, on December 1, a second cargo of that gasoline was landed at Baltimore, and is being transported to the same consignee, at Detroit, the Sunnyside Oil Co., in tank cars from Baltimore.

Here is an advertisement of the Sunnyside Oil Co., in the Detroit Evening Times, and there were 15 advertisements of this kind on 15 different days, full-page ads, and some of them showed the picture of the vessel that brought it in. I have it here somewhere, but that is really immaterial. This ad says:

"Thursday and Friday we will give away 25,000 gallons of imported Zip, a premium motor fuel. We will sell it 6 gallons for a dollar, and will give you another gallon as a present. Try it for 20 miles, and if it is not the equal of any domestic gasoline, drive back to the station and we will drain your tank and refund your money. We have bought it at a price to enable us to sell it 5 cents below the domestic market."

The Sunnyside Oil Co. has contracted for 15,000,000 gallons of this gasoline, enough to furnish its filling stations, some 35 or 40 filling stations in that vicinity, for a year, and if that is not stopped by some means it will keep the market demoralized for at least a year from the contract which they already have, and they are paying for that gasoline in sterling, and made the contract just two days before England went off the gold standard, so that they have bought it on the basis of 66 cents on a dollar, even on the basis of the low price under their contract.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. What is the date of that?

Mr. FRANKLIN. December 9, 1931. They are still advertising the same way.

Gentlemen, the Gulf Oil Co. has very bitterly opposed any tax on imported oil. In that connection I want to refer you to a memorial to Congress, dated April 21, 1909, when practically all of the oil companies outside of the Standard group petitioned Congress for a tariff on oil to protect the American industry from imports then coming in from Mexico. The signatures of practically every company and individual in the business at that time appeared on this petition, and it is more radical and lurid in its allegations concerning the monopolies of the Standard Oil Co. than any independent of the present day has ever mentioned, and we find, among the signatures to it that of George S. Davison, Beaumont, Tex., representing the Gypsy Oil Co., independent producer in Oklahoma; J. M. Guffey Petroleum Co., independent producer in Texas; Gulf Refining Co. of Louisiana, an independent in Louisiana; Gulf Pipe Line Co.; Gulf Refining Co. of Texas, independent refiner—and those are the companies now controlled by the same people to-day as then, and it is apparent that before the Gulf Oil Co. acquired its concessions in Venezuela it was very much in favor of taxing foreign oil.

Mr. SANDERS. Who owns the Gulf Oil Co.?

Mr. FRANKLIN. The Mellon family controls it.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chindblom.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. It has been argued that oil from Venezuela has properties which make it more suitable by quality and by quantity of production for fuel purposes than the oil of the midcontinental field. My recollection is something has been said about the base, about an asphaltic base or paraffin and matters of that kind.

Do you propose to discuss that question, or is it seriously involved?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I would not say that the Venezuelan oil is better than the domestic oil.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I said for fuel purposes.

Mr. FRANKLIN. For fuel purposes? Oh, no; it is no better for fuel purposes. That is another myth that was put out by the importing companies. They sought to show—and I am glad you mentioned that—that if there was a duty on oil or a tax on imported fuel oil, the people using fuel oil in this country could not obtain supplies.

There are adequate supplies of fuel oil in the United States in the Gulf coastal area where the big refineries down there have their residuum, and in California there are enormous stocks of fuel oil. There are 130,000,000 barrels of fuel oil in storage to-day in the United States.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. How much gasoline is in storage to-day?

Mr. FRANKLIN. At the present time there are about 43,000,000 barrels of gasoline in storage.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. We were told last spring, I think, that there were then about 300,000,000 barrels of gasoline in storage.

Mr. FRANKLIN. The highest stock in gasoline in all history was only 55,000,000 barrels.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Franklin is presenting a very able argument to the committee, and as he is to be the only witness, I ask that he be permitted to conclude his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that will be done.

Mr. WATSON. When this topic was considered some time ago, there was a good deal of emphasis put upon those wells that only produced one or two barrels a day.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I intended to get to that.

Mr. WATSON. Very well.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I will discuss that right now.

Gentlemen, this has been brought to your attention before, as Mr. Watson has said, and it is one of the most important factors in this whole situation, and especially is it important to the Eastern States which produce oil—New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

In the United States there are approximately 300,000 wells which produce an average of a barrel and a half a day each by pumping, some of which are in Pennsylvania, 40 years old; but in the aggregate those wells produce 500,000 barrels a day, day in and day out. As a matter of fact, those wells are the backbone of the petroleum industry in the United States; but because of the low prices for the product during the last three years, thousands of those wells have been abandoned and plugged and lost forever.

Now, let me visualize what that means. On these leases from one to three families live. The head of the family is the pumper who takes care of these wells and operates them. The machinery is already established there; it has been bought and paid for. The investment in those wells runs into billions of dollars, and the labor employed is enormous. They pump every day, and they must be pumped every day, because practically all of them make some salt water, and if the salt water is not pumped off every day it destroys the wells. They can not be pumped forever at a loss, and they have been pumped at a loss now for three years, their owners hoping that some time the industry would be stabilized and they would be again able to operate those wells at a small profit.

Now, back of those 300,000 wells, the petroleum engineers estimate that there are anywhere from two to four billion barrels of reserves which would be produced over the next 30 or 35 years by the steady process of pumping these wells, giving employment to thousands of men supporting thousands of families on these leases, and if the wells are abandoned, as they must be eventually unless this condition is remedied, we have lost forever all that employment for these American citizens, and we have lost those reserves of from two to four billion barrels of oil, because after being abandoned you could never afford to drill new wells for that sized wells and equip them with pumps, power engines, etc., and operate them.

So that is a very important factor of conservation. To save those wells for the people of the United States is conservation in its highest sense—in its true sense. That is real conservation, and it is a supply of oil on which the safety of the Nation may some time depend.

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vinson.

Mr. VINSON. If those wells are not plugged and produce salt water, or if they are plugged improperly, what effect would the salt water have upon the oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. If they are not plugged properly, or not operated and the water taken off, of course the water travels across from one well to the other and drowns out the whole pool. That is the effect.

I said something about those wells being important to the Nation. This other kind of conservation would leave this Nation in the position of relying upon foreign oil in South America for its national defense, while shutting down the industry here and throwing out of employment over 800,000 men. There are 300,000 men out of employment in the industry at the present time. As I say, that would make us rely for our safety upon foreign oil and upon the safety of our ocean lanes. Any first-class naval power under those conditions which would cut off our ocean lanes to transportation between the United States and those foreign countries would throw us completely at their mercy. The only safety in the United States, from the standpoint of oil, is at all times to have here a dependable source of supply, within the United States, with the skilled workmen to produce it, and a known supply, not a supply somewhere out in the prairies that has never yet been discovered or developed. The safety of the Nation depends at all times on keeping it developed and having development in process, so that these men are engaged in the industry. That other idea of conservation, which would dismiss all of these men from employment, put them into other lines of employment, and have us rely upon unknown reserves, undiscovered and undeveloped, is the height of folly and the most dangerous policy for the safety of the Nation that could be imagined.

Now, I want to address myself to another very important feature of this matter. Gentlemen, the oil-producing States west of the Mississippi which are chiefly dependent upon the oil industry for their very life have no other industry, practically no manufacturing except that which pertains to oil-well supplies and allied and kindred lines, in a large measure. Out there our manufacturing interests are very small; our chief reliance is on the oil

industry. Those States cover one-third of the area of the United States, and have a population of over 22,000,000 people, and directly or indirectly those 22,000,000 people are dependent upon the oil industry.

Mr. TREADWAY. List them, please.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, and California. The biggest income in all of those States, particularly California, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, is from oil.

The purchasing power of our people is nil, and——

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crisp.

Mr. CRISP. Is the value of the oil produced in Texas more than the value of the Texas cotton crop?

Mr. FRANKLIN. It is more than the value of the Texas cotton crop, and that is the biggest cotton State in the United States.

Mr. CRISP. I did not know that.

Mr. FRANKLIN. The cumulative effect of this curtailment of production, together with the cutting of our price from $1.45 down to as low as 18 cents, now up to 77 cents, over the last three years is that our purchasing power is gone. We buy our products—these 22,000,000 people buy their manufacturing and industrial supplies from the eastern section of the country. The oil depression commenced more than a year prior to the general depression, and had no small part in bringing about the general depression, just as if you will allow this industry to return to normal it can lead the way out of the depression, reemploy the 300,000 men out of work and which are now charges upon society in the oil-producing States, and restore that purchasing power so that, in turn, when they begin to buy, the factories back here will get to work and they will reemploy more labor.

Let me visualize this thing to you as it affects Oklahoma, because Oklahoma is in the center of this thing. Last year the price of our oil averaged 60 cents a barrel for the year. In the 10 years preceding the average price of mid-continent oil was $1.60 a barrel. It went a dollar a barrel below the 10-year average, or more than $200,000,000 in the year. Every day that goes by in the mid-continent field, there is a loss of $1,500,000.

Those are not exaggerations; those are the actual figures.

Mr. RAINEY. What is the average cost of a barrel of oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. The Tariff Commission finds that the average cost at the mouth of the well in the United States is $1.09 a barrel, and I might say in this connection that I have said to these gentlemen from the Association of Manufacturers from Massachusetts that they are standing in their own light. They have opposed any protection for the oil industry while fattening on protection ever since—you might say, in the words of Blackstone, "The memory of man runneth not to the contrary." But, aside from the inconsistency of that attitude—and I am not appealing to that inconsistency—I am appealing to their own self-interest, because for every dollar they are saving on fuel oil that they burn under their boilers in their factories, the products of which factories these 22,000,000 people buy, they are losing at least $10 in trade and commerce, and you can have no restoration to normal conditions in the United States as long as the great oil industry, the third largest industry in the United States, is prostrate on its back and these 22,000,000 people are prostrate with it. That is elementary. The mere statement of the fact is enough to prove it, because it exists, and there is not a manufacturer nor a wholesaler in the United States to-day but what has felt it, and if he will look up his own record and see the dwindling purchases from 1926 down to 1931 from those oil-producing States he will know that that is the trouble. I have had those figures checked by the Oklahoma Chamber of Commerce, and our purchases fell from a high point in 1926 to almost nothing, and I had them looked up with particular reference to Massachusetts, and those figures were forwarded by the State Chamber of Commerce of Oklahoma to the State Chamber of Commerce of Massachusetts.

Mr. TREADWAY. You say you sent them——

Mr. FRANKLIN. The figures were sent by the State chamber last year, and they showed an alarming condition of decline in purchases.

Mr. TREADWAY. Did you receive any reply from Massachusetts?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I did not send that.

Mr. TREADWAY. Did the Oklahoma chamber receive any reply?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes. I think Mr. Estes, of the Oklahoma chamber, had considerable correspondence about that.

Mr. TREADWAY. Were the figures recognized by Massachusetts as correct?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Oh, yes; they are recognized as correct.

Mr. TREADWAY. They were checked there?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MCCORMACK. When was oil selling at $1.45 a barrel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. In August, 1929, the price was $1.45 for 36 gravity, and it remained at that price until, I think, some time in January, 1930, when the decline started.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Was that the peak?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; that was not the peak for all time. Back in 1920, right after the war, oil of all grades was $3.50 a barrel throughout the United States.

Mr. MCCORMACK. I am talking about within the past five or six years.

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is the peak in the last three years.

Mr. MCCORMACK. What do you think that your domestic oil ought to sell for, in order to make a profit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. It ought to bring at least $1.50 a barrel. There is no profit in the industry unless it does bring $1.50 a barrel.

Mr. MCCORMACK. So, then, the peak price of $1.45 a barrel was not high enough?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That was the average. Some grades brought as high as $1.65 and others as low as $1.35. The price out there at the present time is based upon the gravity of the oil, 36 gravity is the average grade.

Mr. MCCORMACK. What is the consumption annually in the United States?

Mr. FRANKLIN. It runs almost a billion barrels a year.

Mr. MCCORMACK. What is the amount that is imported—100,000,000 barrels?

Mr. FRANKLIN. A little over 100,000,000 barrels.

Now, I should like to say this at this point, because I always want to be fair with all interests, that the importers reduced their imports 21 per cent in 1931 as compared with 1930 upon the insistent demand of the Secretary of Commerce at the instance of a committee representing the regulatory commissions of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas and the Independent Petroleum Association out there, which was undertaking such a burden of curtailment; and while I admit that that helped some, it is not enough to compare with the curtailment which we have suffered. The Oklahoma City field is more than 3 years old, and for more than 2 years it has not been allowed to produce over 2 per cent of its production. Since I left Oklahoma to come here and present this matter to Congress, the takings from the Oklahoma City field by these pipe lines have been reduced from 180,000 barrels a day to less than 100,000 barrels a day, and that is where I am chiefly interested, in the Oklahoma City field.

Mr. MCCORMACK. If the 2-cent tax were put in, it would be reflected in the price, generally?

Mr. FRANKLIN. It should reflect itself.

Mr. MCCORMACK. It would mean a 2-cent increase to the consumer, would it not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No. I am glad you called by attention to that.

Mr. MCCORMACK. The thought in my mind is that if you make a 2-cent increase and it affected 100,000,000 barrels, are you not likely to affect the other remaining 900,000,000 barrels of oil which would be passed on to the consumer?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Except that the figures show that over a long period of years there has been very little relation between the price of gasoline at the filling station and the price of crude oil at the well. It bears somewhat a similar resemblance to the price of a loaf of bread in its relation to the price of a bushel of wheat.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Franklin, right there——

Mr. FRANKLIN (continuing). I can give you the figures on that, if you want, and in normal years—last year was not a normal year, but in 1926 we had a normal condition in the oil industry. Thirty-six gravity crude brought $2.04 a barrel. At that time, by the refining methods then in use, recovery of gasoline was 38 per cent, and the price of gasoline at the filling station in 1926 without the tax was 18.3 cents a gallon, on an average, in 50 cities throughout the United States, one or more cities in every State.

In 1929 the price of crude oil had declined to $1.20 a barrel, or a drop of 84 cents a barrel in crude oil. The refining methods had been improved by the installation of more cracking processes until the average recovery of gasoline in the United States had increased to 44 per cent. The last year I will leave out of it, when it was 49 per cent—but the price of gasoline in 1929, in the same 50 cities, was 18.39 cents per gallon, without the tax. The drop of 84 cents a barrel in the price of crude, with an increase of 6 per cent in the recovery of gasoline from the crude, brought about an increase in price of 0.09 cent a gallon.

That illustrates what I am talking about. As I said, it is very similar to the situation involving the price of a loaf of bread, which is about the same whether wheat is 25 cents a bushel or $1 a bushel.

Mr. CRISP. May I ask you one question, Mr. Franklin?

If your tariff, or excise, were levied—because I do not think we are going to take up any proposition of a tariff—what would be the effect, in your judgment, on the price of gasoline to the consumers of the Nation?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I do not believe that it would have any effect. The competition within the United States in gasoline and gasoline marketing, if you will keep alive the independent refiners and distributors throughout the United States, will take care of itself, but, if you allow them to be destroyed, you will be establishing here a monopoly, and the only way you can judge what a monopoly will do in the United States is by what is doing elsewhere.

As I have just illustrated, the price of gasoline to the consumer was not decreased when there was a drop of 84 cents a barrel in the price of crude oil, and you gentlemen know that as to lubricating oil the price at the filling station has been constant for 15 or 20 years, whether crude oil was 10 cents a barrel or $3.50 a barrel.

The CHAIRMAN. When crude oil was 18 cents a barrel, what was the price of gasoline then as compared with those rather abnormal times when crude oil was $3 a barrel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Without the tax, the price of gasoline was about 15 cents a gallon when crude oil was 18 cents a barrel, and——

The CHAIRMAN. What was it when it was $3 a barrel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. About 18 cents a gallon. I am giving you these figures from memory. I can get that for you.

The CHAIRMAN. I was going to ask you, before you concluded your remarks, to discuss at some length the question you have already discussed, as to what effect this would have upon the price of gasoline to the consumer. I understood you to say that in 1926, when crude oil was $2.04 a barrel, the price of gasoline was 18 cents, and 1931, when it dropped down to $1.20, an 84-cent drop in the price of crude oil, there was a rise in the price of gasoline of over one-third of a cent?

Mr. FRANKLIN. 0.09 cent.

The CHAIRMAN. From 18 cents to 18.39.

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; the raise was from 18.30 to 18.39, but the chief point there is that the recovery of gasoline had increased from 38 to 44 per cent in the interim.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I am making is that gasoline was bringing less when crude oil was selling for over $2 per barrel than when it dropped to $1.20.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish that you would go into that rather fully in your remarks, as I believe that that question is going to be asked pretty often on the floor of the House.

Mr. TREADWAY. In that same connection, what possible change in price would there be as regards fuel oil? You have touched on the gasoline part. Now, will you do the same as regards fuel oil? I understand that you are asking for a tax of 4 cents on fuel oil, or is that in the 2-cent bracket?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; a tax of 2 cents a gallon on fuel oil is what I said, and I gave my reasons as to why the tax on fuel oil and crude oil should be the same.

Mr. TREADWAY. That is, 2 cents?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Assuming that that 2-cent tax is placed, as you recommend, what, in your opinion, will be the effect on the price to the consumer, say in New England or in Massachusetts? You have been using Massachusetts for purposes of illustration.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I think the wholesale price will be increased.

Mr. TREADWAY. To what extent?

Mr. FRANKLIN. The wholesale price would probably be increased 2 cents per gallon.

Mr. TREADWAY. The consumer will pay most of that tax?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I could not say, because I have understood that you are now paying 8 cents a gallon for domestic purposes in Massachusetts, and you are paying about twice as much as you ought to; so there is plenty of slack in your prices, as it is, without this tax.

Mr. TREADWAY. That is, you consider that the domestic people are not in our market at the present time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No.

Mr. TREADWAY. Your statistics show that?

Mr. FRANKLIN. We are not in that market to any appreciable extent, but we could be in it; the oil can be obtained.

Mr. TREADWAY. That is what we are getting at, Mr. Franklin. I would like to have you follow that a little more, if you will, because you have said that the industries of New England are suffering because you people, you oil people, have not the purchasing power for our manufactured products. Of course, if our manufactured products are going into that territory, you expect to have a certain part of it, at least, paid for by the use of your oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Certainly.

Mr. TREADWAY. That is your expectation, is it not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Therefore, you would expect to get into the market with the domestic oil which you now say—I am talking about fuel oil, and I want your views on the fuel end of it. You say now on our New England markets the importers are supplying us at an exorbitant profit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Now, with this tax of 2 cents a gallon on fuel oil, how will you come into that market, and what will be the effect on our consumers?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I said on domestic burner consumers it should have no effect at all, because these plants are run in a way that this tax would be absorbed out of the excessive profits that are now being made on domestic users.

Now, on some of your contracts where large consumers are burning oil under boilers, I admit that the price would be higher to those consumers, or your large factories where it is used under boilers.

Mr. TREADWAY. Well, would it extend beyond the time of the contracts to which you are referring; are those long contracts?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I am not able to answer the question as to the length of the contracts; but the price, of course, would be higher on those big contracts, where oil is burned under boilers. If there is a tax of 2 cents a gallon on it, the price will be higher after the tax than it was before. I am not disputing that, but what I do say is that it is a fact that these same companies, these same manufacturers, will reap many times in profits what they would lose on fuel oil by reestablishing prosperity and keep this wealth in the United States instead of sending it to foreign countries.

Oil creates wealth out of the ground in enormous quantities; it takes nothing from anybody; it is a new source of wealth, and it will enrich this Nation if you do not allow it to be destroyed by the selfish interests of the four companies which seek to dominate it.

I see that I have omitted to discuss one other important feature, and if you gentlemen will bear with me—I know I have taken a lot of time, but there is another very important feature to this whole discussion. One of the principal industries in this country is the coal industry, and the statistics show that this fuel oil from Venezuela is displacing coal used here, throwing out of employment somewhere between fifty and one hundred thousand miners; that the railroads which formerly carried that coal are losing that freight, and last year it amounted to over $51,000,000. Now, what effect has that had on the people generally? The railroads come right back and say, "We have lost the revenue and we must have an increase in freight rates on everybody else to make up that loss," to make up that $51,000,000, this income which the railroads formerly made in the handling of the tonnage of coal, which has been displaced by the foreign oil.

Gentlemen, the ramifications of this imported oil reach into every nook and cranny of the Republic, and into every class of citizens, into every industry; and if you allow it to continue there can be no recovery from this present economic depression that we are in, no complete recovery unless this industry, the third largest industry in the United States, may be enabled to live and come back to a normal condition.

Mr. TREADWAY. May I interrupt you just once more? In answer to Mr. MCCORMACK'S question, I understood you to say that the importations were about one-tenth of the consumption.

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is true.

Mr. TREADWAY. Are you arguing that, with one-tenth of the consumption not being of domestic production—that you are destroying all of the earning power in this country and we can not get back to normal?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I most certainly am. I say that one-tenth oversupply of any commodity will destroy the price of the whole. I go further and say that 2 per cent oversupply in it will destroy the price and economic stability of the entire production; and I think everybody in the room will recognize that and admit that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The question of supply, does that regulate the price of the oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. I wanted to get the argument you were making.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Thank you.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Franklin, so far as I have understood, your argument has been for a tax on imported oil; and the members of the committee have said that a tariff probably would not or could not be considered at this time. Would you want a tax put on all the crude oil, all the fuel oil, and all the gasoline, whether produced in the United States or elsewhere?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Absolutely not. I thought I pointed out—I intended to point out clearly and emphatically that the domestic oil industry, Mr. Chindblom, is now the most heavily taxed industry in the United States.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. So I understood.

Mr. FRANKLIN. So that a tax upon foreign oil in the amount I have stated would only tend to equalize the situation, and would bring somewhat over $100,000,000 in revenue to the Government from a source which is not taxed at all at the present time.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. As a matter of fact, you are asking for a tax in the nature of a tariff? It would be, in effect, a tariff on an imported article, would it not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. As to whether it would be a tax on an imported article depends upon how you levy it. Personally, I do not care how the tax is levied, whether it is a tariff or a revenue measure or what not.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I am not expressing any opposition, whether you call it a tax or a tariff, but have you any method—have you any suggestion as to how it might be levied as a tax without, in effect, coming under the tariff system?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, it seems to me that it is immaterial which way it is done, just so it is done, and this revenue raised at a time when it is needed, and the oil industry of the United States put in a condition to live and to meet the competition of foreign oil. It is immaterial to me how it is accomplished, just so it is done.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I was wondering whether you had in mind some plan.

Mr. FRANKLIN. After this oil reaches here, it certainly is subject to taxation.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I was wondering whether you had in mind some plan for the collection of this tax, not at the ports of entry, but subsequent to the arrival of the oil in this country; so that it can be, in some way, classified as a revenue measure, rather than as a tariff measure.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, I take it that you gentlemen on the committee have had such vast experience with the levying of taxes that you will know how to handle it much better than I would, and that the tax could be levied on the oil after it has been landed on our shores and has become a product situated in the United States.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question. First, however, I want to offer for the record some information I just obtained from the Tariff Commission on the imports of the petroleum products for 1931; and then ask the gentleman this question: In the case of imported oil that is refined and reexported, could you drawback on it?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; I think that should be done. I think that should be done in the interests of the American labor and capi-

tal in this country; when the oil is imported for refining and reexportation, there should be no tax on it.

Mr. HAWLEY. Do you know what the proportion of the oil imported is refined and reexported?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; I do not.

Mr. HAWLEY. What would you do with the paraffin and paraffin wax, of which 37,838,435 pounds, valued at $1,371,455, was imported in 1931?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, I had overlooked that; but a tax on it of 1 cent a pound would not be out of the way.

Mr. HAWLEY. I offer this for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

Imports of petroleum, etc., 1931

	Quantity	Value
Petroleum, crude.....barrels of 42 gallons...	47,249,655	$39,220,520
Petroleum, refined (including fuel oil and popped petroleum).....barrels of 42 gallons...	24,998,016	16,215,281
Gasoline, naphtha, and other finished light products..do.....	13,621,355	35,069,009
Tops and other unfinished distillates.....do.....	39,987	231,923
Illuminating oil (kerosene, etc.).....do.....	11,477	69,043
Lubricating (including paraffin) oil.....do.....	91,000	564,035
Paraffin and paraffin wax.....pounds...	37,838,435	1,371,455

Mr. HADLEY. The cost differential which you originally stated, I believe, as between the production here and Venezuela was about $1.19, and one estimate of $1.03——

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. HADLEY. That is a tariff measure, of course?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. HADLEY. The tax which you suggested on crude oil, fuel oil, of 2 cents a gallon, converting it into terms of barrels, the tax is 84 cents?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. HADLEY. So that, assuming that $1.03 is all of the differential as between the domestic product and the Venezuelan product, the spread between what you suggest and the actual cost would be the difference between 84 cents and $1.03 a barrel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; that is correct. I might add, so that I need not be misunderstood—and I do not want to appear in any particular as misrepresenting the Tariff Commission's report—the Tariff Commission's report reads that the value of the Maracaibo Basin oil is not as great as the domestic oil, although, from the figures which I have already given you, a profit is realized of 11 cents a barrel on domestic oil and 54 cents a barrel on the imported oil; but if you refine that Maracaibo oil by the method of refining in use in 1930 in the refineries that are off the coast of Venezuela, that oil would be less valuable for refining purposes than the domestic oil. However, a while ago I explained that by the new methods of refining now in use through cracking, a barrel of oil is a barrel of oil, and they may obtain from it, if they so desire, practically as much gasoline as they would from the domestic crude.

Mr. HADLEY. Assuming that you are here and that we are discussing this from the viewpoint of the tariff, which we are not, you would be asking at least $1 a barrel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. If we are talking about tariff, I would ask for at least $1 a barrel.

Mr. HADLEY. It would be necessary to have $1 a barrel, on the statement of facts which you have submitted here—certainly $1 a barrel to afford a competitive rate.

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is right.

Mr. HADLEY. A competitive tariff?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; but since this is a revenue matter, I would think a tax of $1 a barrel, or more, might have the effect of lessening imports and would not be a revenue measure.

Mr. HADLEY. I think you expressed an opinion that, under the situation as exists, if this tax is levied on the basis as suggested, it would be effective?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I think it would.

Mr. HADLEY. Because you think the importation would continue to the extent you have shown?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I see no reason why the importation would not continue, under those conditions.

Mr. HADLEY. There are about three factors here involved: One is the Treasury, and the other is the industry, and the third is the public, and they have all been discussed. You think it would be effective, as far as the Treasury is concerned, and I would like to have you develop a little more fully the effect upon the industry of this country. I think you are here primarily, and we are here, seeking to raise revenue, and also seeking to do justice to the industries involved. You have expressed the viewpoint that, with this rate, the effect would be to somewhat stabilize prices. I think that is about the way you stated it.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. HADLEY. Now, is it your view that that would afford sufficient stabilization, from the standpoint of the industry, that it would put it on the highway to a return to prosperity? Do you think that would be adequate to save the industry, for the time being, in the absence of an actual competitive, or, as I would say, protective tariff rate?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; I think it would result in a very marked improvement in the domestic oil industry. I have shown you that the curtailment of the production from the figure of 2,975,000 barrels daily to the figure of 2,100,000 barrels daily has not brought stabilization, because we have not put the other link in the chain, which is necessary, the shutting out of foreign oil, or equalization of prices by an adequate tariff or tax on foreign oil.

Mr. HADLEY. What you are asking here, or what you are doing here, is invoking a remedy, a temporary remedy, which you believe will be very helpful to a great domestic industry, and the permanent remedy which would flow through the means of the tariff?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is exactly it. Now, may I have one other word?

Mr. RAINEY. Right in this connection, I would like to hear you on this point: Would a tariff at $1 a barrel stimulate the production in this country to such an extent that the tariff would defeat its object?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No, sir; and for this reason: As I explained at the beginning, we now have, in the four principal oil-producing States, State control of the production through regulatory bodies, and under the orders of our corporation commission in Oklahoma and other bodies in other States, we are permitted to produce only enough oil to supply the current demands. We have done our part to settle this matter, but it has been futile and of no effect, because of the imports. Now, I want to point out here that the department of——

Mr. RAGON. Let me ask you, right in that connection, so the committee may know this curtailment is brought about; is it altogether the institution of the States, or is it the Federal Government?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; it is brought about through the instigation of the oil operators themselves, or some of them, who filed petitions with the regulatory bodies, on which they hold hearings to ascertain the market demand, the amount of oil that is necessary to produce to fill that demand; and in order to bring about order in the situation, the governors of the oil-producing States appointed what is known as the oil States advisory committee, to consult and recommend to the different States the allocation of markets for oil in those States.

Mr. RAGON. It is a regulatory body established by the State?

Mr. FRANKLIN. But on the petition of the operators, those orders are made.

Mr. RAGON. But the different States coordinate, do they not, in this work?

Mr. FRAKLIN. Well, they did not very well at first, but the coordination is improving and becoming more and more regular and fair as between the different States. Of course, there is always a tendency in some States to want to hog the market to the exclusion of the other States, but it is about controlled now through the instrumentality of the recommendations of the oil States advisory committee. They are not official bodies, but they are appointed by the governors of the oil-producing States, so they can get together and make recommendations, which the regulatory bodies may or may not follow, as they see fit.

Mr. RAGON. There is more uniformity in it now than there has been in the past?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. RAINEY. Are the regulatory bodies enforcing their orders?

Mr. FRANKLIN. They have been enforced without exception in the State of Oklahoma. There is a case now pending in the Federal court in Texas seeking to enjoin the governor and the railroad commission from enforcing it down there; and in order to keep control of the situation the governor has maintained martial law in effect in the east Texas field.

Now, there is also a case appealed from Oklahoma, pending in the Supreme Court, although the Federal court of Oklahoma sustained the Oklahoma law and sustained the orders of the corporation commission, and that case is pending in the Supreme Court.

Mr. RAINEY. How do they enforce the law?

Mr. DICKINSON. You have stated, Mr. Franklin, that Great Britain's products—its citizens engaged in the oil industry—I would like to know whether the Gulf oils are shipped into Great Britain territory; and if so, whether they are taxed?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Whether they are taxed?

Mr. DICKINSON. Yes.

Mr. FRANKLIN. There is a tariff in Great Britain at the present time of 16 cents a gallon on gasoline. Every nation of Europe has put on a high tariff on gasoline and oil. My recollection is that crude oil entering Great Britain's trade to-day pays a tariff of $5.21 a barrel.

Mr. DICKINSON. Does this Gulf oil find a market only in the United States?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; they have some export business also, although I am not prepared to testify specifically——

Mr. DICKINSON. But Great Britain and the other countries, so far as your knowledge goes—there is a tariff on Gulf oil shipped into that territory?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; all nations of Europe have a tariff, both on gasoline and crude oil.

The CHAIRMAN. Nearly all of those nations have their tariff impositions for the purpose of revenue, instead of protection, do they not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the production of oil in most of those countries?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, the production of oil in Europe is very small. There is some production in Scotland from shale, the mining of shale, but it is so expensive that they can not compete with

well oil. There is some production in Germany, a little in Italy, a very small amount in France, and some in Austria; but the Rumanian and Russian fields are the principal European fields.

The CHAIRMAN. The small amount of oil produced in those countries, in comparison with the amount that the United States produces—the conclusion would be that the tax on it would be revenue?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; the amount indicates that they are taxing it for revenue.

Now, there is one other feature that I have not called your attention to, and it is this: From the Trend of Employment and Labor Turnover from the Department of Labor, November, 1931, which will be found on page 30, there is given the employment status of the crude-petroleum producers in the United States. It shows that, in January, 1930, the employment stood at 92.7 per cent, the pay-roll total at 94 per cent; and that by November, 1931, there had been a decline in employment to 57.6 per cent, and pay roll to 52 per cent, or approximately 40 per cent reduction in the employment, and a great reduction in the amount of pay rolls, which reflects the condition of the domestic industry and its inability to employ the men or to pay the wages of those who are employed.

Mr. CANFIELD. Are there any oil wells being drilled at the present time in the United States?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Only in one district. There is practically no development going on, except in the east Texas field. That field has over 3,800 wells already completed. That is the largest field ever discovered in the history of the oil industry, being some 40 miles long and at its widest point 8 miles wide; and still containing many leases on which no wells have been drilled yet.

Now, if the owners of those leases do not drill wells, under the present conditions, those who have already drilled wells would draw the oil out from under their property and they would not receive any of it, if they would remain idle too long. There has been a great effort to reduce drilling activities in the east Texas field. That field is now more than 75 per cent owned by these major groups.

Mr. CANFIELD. So there is no drilling being carried on any place in the country, only what is being done to protect their own properties?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is all.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. There was some talk a moment ago about $1 a barrel tariff on oil. If I understood that correctly, I think you said a crude-oil barrel contains 42 gallons, and you suggest a 2-cent tax per gallon, and that would amount to 84 cents a barrel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is correct; yes. Now, if I were asking for a tariff, I would be asking for $1 a barrel. I thought that a 2-cent tax would keep this within the provisions of the revenue bill and would produce revenue. It would produce some revenue at $1 a barrel, but it might have a tendency to stop the imports; but the 2-cent tax, in my opinion, will allow the imports to come along just the same as before but will give us in the United States a better opportunity to compete with the imported oil.

Mr. LEWIS. Has the domestic consumption of oil fallen since 1929; if so, about how much, Mr. Franklin?

Mr. FRANKLIN. The consumption of gasoline——

Mr. LEWIS. No; of oil—the original oil.

Mr. FRANLIN. You mean of the oil——

Mr. LEWIS. Crude oil.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, from the current production——

Mr. LEWIS. Yes.

Mr. FRANKLIN. The current production, the utilization of the current production has very materially fallen, but the oil taken out of storage has supplied its place, so that the refinery runs have not been reduced a very great amount since 1929. In fact, the consumption of gasoline has increased every year, but in 1931 the increase was smaller than in previous years.

Mr. LEWIS. So far, then, as consumption is concerned, the domestic consumption in the United States of oil, or its products, have not declined since 1929?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is true.

Mr. VINSON. I understand you to say that the Federal Trade Commission reported on the relation in the price of oil and the price of gasoline——

Mr. FRANKLIN. In the report some years ago, made at the instance and directions of Congress, they were instructed, my recollection is, to inquire into the whole oil industry and to report, among other things, on that feature of the relation between the price of gasoline to the consumer, and the price of the crude oil to the producer at the well.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, another question: You gave some interesting figures earlier in your testimony as to the dividends running into $200,000,000 that are being paid, I think, perhaps, by the refiners in the East?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That was the Standard Oil group of companies. That was according to the information put out by Dow, Jones & Co., of New York.

Mr. LEWIS. Now, Mr. Franklin, can you state, from your knowledge of the industry, whether the actual and real investments back of those dividends can be ascertained by the Government with reasonable accuracy?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; you can that most of the capital invested back of it, starting years ago—there was a very small amount of original capital put into these companies, and some of the increase in capitalization has come from earnings and from stock dividends.

Mr. LEWIS. Do you have any present impression of the investment back of the $200,000,000 dividends, the original investment, or what would be used for the present property values?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I have not those figures with me, but I can obtain them if you would like to have them.

Mr. LEWIS. In the case of a refinery, it would consist of buildings and grounds and machinery, would it not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. And pipe lines?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; the refineries and cracking stills are quite expensive to install.

Mr. LEWIS. You made a very impressive statement for the investor in your address this morning; and as an investor, I was very sympathetic, indeed. However, I have a little apartment building up home which represents the savings of a lifetime, and it is half empty now, and it is not paying taxes and upkeep. Do you know any way by which I could call in a witch doctor and get helped?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; but I would feel that any general improvement in the economic conditions of the United States will not only help everybody—would not only help industry, but would help you as well as everybody else, on your investment. When the industry——

Mr. LEWIS. Tax me and give it to somebody else and have it finally help me; is that your idea?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, my idea is that when the third largest industry of the United States is flat on its back, and which employs in its different branches over 2,000,000 people, and when the welfare of those sections of the country, covering one-third of it, is chiefly dependent on that industry, that there can be no recovery to normal conditions and no prosperity in that part of the United States, there can be no return to normal prosperity any place in the United States as long as that industry is demoralized and subject to destruction.

Mr. LEWIS. Is your industry any worse off than agriculture, coal mining, manufacturing in many of its branches, or railroading, at this time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I would say to you, in answer to that question, that it is worse off than any of them; and that the condition of the others is largely caused because a year before the depression started in the others this industry was going downhill, and it was unable to purchase the millions of dollars' worth of machinery and equipment from the eastern manufacturing concerns, from the steel mills, pipe and casing, and steel derricks—that when those purchases stopped, then the railroads ceased to get the freight; when the men employed in these different mills and manufacturing plants ceased to have that work to do for the oil industry; that when the wages were either cut, or the employment of men was cut—that that whole situation has tended to bring the stagnation and demoralization upon the industrial interests of the whole country, and not alone on the oil industry, on the oil-producing States.

Mr. LEWIS. Could not the same statement be made with equal fervor about all of the other industries suffering from the depression?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; and at any time when we see an opportunity to assist any of them to return to normal conditions, whether it is oil, coal, steel, or anything else, we ought to do it.

Mr. RAGON. The fundamental difference between your industry and the apartment-house industry that he speaks of, is that your condition is largely brought about through another group of oil men that is here in the United States?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; of course, that goes without saying.

Mr. RAGON. Now, if I understand your size up of the whole situation, here is one group of oil men in the United States that never has been in the dire distress that you are in, that made money and declared big dividends.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. RAGON. Here is another branch of the oil men, the independent oil men, that did not, any of them, that I ever heard of, and I am pretty familiar with that industry—I do not know of an independent man that made 1 cent or declared a dividend. If I am wrong in that, you can correct me.

Mr. FRANKLIN. None of the independent companies I ever knew of have declared any dividends during the last year.

Mr. RAGON. And your contention is that the condition is not due to the general depression of the country in its entirety, but is due largely to the activities of this other bunch of capitalists in the United States engaged in the oil business?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is proved, almost conclusively, by the fact that the consumption of gasoline increased last year, as compared with the preceding year, and there should have been prosperity in the oil industry in the United States if it had not been for these imports.

Mr. RAGON. Now, my friend's apartment house condition is not due to some other apartment house right across the street cutting him all to pieces; nor is the agricultural condition due to any class of farmers fighting another class of farmers. Yours is due entirely to conditions existing in the oil industry?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is it.

Mr. RAGON. Within itself?

Mr. FRANKLIN. And due to the four principal companies bringing this oil in, resulting in the destruction of the domestic industry.

Mr. RAGON. Now, on that line, are these four companies—are they generally known as people that go out and explore for fields, or develop new fields here in this country?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; they do not. As a general rule they wait for the little independent to go out into the unknown and find the oil, and then they buy it from him, after he gets it, sometimes by methods which, if engaged in in other lines of industry, would entitle the offender to a term in the penitentiary.

Mr. RAGON. The development of recent oil fields in this country——

Mr. FRANKLIN. I ought to explain that statement. Say an oil field is discovered out 20 or 30 miles from any pipe lines by some small operator or a group of operators, and they have no market for that oil unless they can get a pipe line in there. If the new field, the new discovery, turns out to be a field of enormous capacity, and therefore very valuable and a big producer, time after time in the history of the oil companies one of these same companies build into that field, and will cut the price of oil after the development gets under way, after there is extensive drilling on the leases—after the discoverers have gone to the banks and borrowed a lot of money to carry on that work, the pipe lines will build in there and start taking the oil, at the then market price; and after a while they begin cutting the price down until these little fellows that are in the field are not able to pay their expenses; and then, at that stage of the game, this sellout goes on, and the properties are acquired by the interests owning the pipe lines.

That is a matter of common knowledge in the oil industry; it started in Pennsylvania and it has moved west with the industry, and it has been practiced throughout the United States. It is just a question of whether they can hold on long enough to get by.

Of course, that is aggravated at the present time, under the present conditions, by the imported oil. The ability to do that sort of thing as shown by this Wall Street Journal article, is brought about in a large degree by the imported oil, destroying the domestic industry; and making it impossible for the producers and refiners in the Midcontinent field to pay their bills, necessitating foreclosures and sheriff's sales, the beneficiaries under which are the same companies that own the pipe lines, and are engaged in importing oil.

Mr. LEWIS. Just one other question, Mr. Chairman: I am assuming that you know all of these figures, but if you do not you may say so.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I know some of them.

Mr. LEWIS. I believe from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000 barrels of oil represent the importations into the United States?

Mr. FRANKLIN. In 1930 the crude and the refined and fuel totaled a little more than 105,000,000 barrels. It is estimated that this year, the year 1931, it will approximate 85,000,000 barrels, a greater percentage of the total being refined products than in the previous years.

Mr. LEWIS. Now, do you know the equivalent in our exports? Tracing back the various refining products to the raw basis, the crude basis, do you know the equivalent of our exports?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I think, Mr. Lewis, I have——

Mr. LEWIS. Do not the exports exceed the imports somewhat?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; the exports have in the past exceeded the imports.

Mr. LEWIS. Stated in terms of barrels of crude oil?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; in terms of barrels and also in value.

Mr. LEWIS. Now, then, you have stated——

Mr. FRANKLIN. May I explain that?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes.

Mr. FRANKLIN. That has been true throughout the history of the oil industry in the United States, that our exports have always exceeded our imports. In fact, we were exporting enormous quantities of oil before we imported any, due to the fact that the petroleum industry was developed first in the United States and the oil was first utilized to any great extent in this country.

Now, our export market has dwindled steadily for the last three years; and it is admitted by the sales manager of the Standard Oil of New Jersey—and I have the authority here, where I can read it, over his name, if it is necessary—that we are doomed to lose our export market; in fact, as illustrated there, our total exports in 1930 were 145,870,000 barrels, of a value of $494,243,000; and in 1931, the export totals were 116,477,000 barrels, of the value of $270,445,000; a shrinkage of 20.2 per cent in exports, in barrels, in one year, and a shrinkage of 45.3 per cent in value.

That came about largely through the fact that our export companies had to meet the competition of Russia and Rumania in the markets of Europe, and throughout the world, as a matter of fact; and the oil produced in the United States, with our high scale of labor. We paid our drillers $16 to $18 a day, and our tool dressers $14 to $16 a day, our derrick men get $7.50, our drill crew, the rest of the drill crew on a rotary, get $6 a day, and common labor from $4.50 to $5.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Franklin, you must be conscious of the fact that you went far beyond the purview of my question. You have had a fine opportunity to address the committee this morning——

Mr. FRANKLIN. I wanted to explain about these exports.

Mr. LEWIS. Well, I know, but you are going into another subject now.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, that is a subject that I intended to cover, if I had had time, but I do not want to impose on the good nature of the committee at all.

Mr. LEWIS. The committee members do not wish to make speeches of that kind. Now, then, Mr. Chairman, these other questions.

This proposal is being made with the idea that we get some $80,000,000 or $100,000,000 revenue from it, is it not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. All right; whereas, if there is 100,000,000 barrels of oil coming in at 84 cents a barrel, that would be $84,000,000; but if the refineries use that oil to manufacture products for export, you, yourself, have admitted that they ought to receive a drawback, and that would be 99 per cent of $84,000,000 in drawbacks, would it not? In other words, they take 99 per cent back of the tariff that they have paid. How would the Government get any revenue out of that proposition?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, you are assuming, of course, that all of the oil imported would be reexported.

Mr. LEWIS. I am certainly assuming that, because if that oil——

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, a great many of these exports that come into the totals go from the Gulf coast—that is, Texas oil and not imported oil—and the principal imports to this country are gasoline, a valuable part of it from the refineries off of the coast of Venezuela, which go right into the market up and down the Atlantic seaboard.

Mr. LEWIS. That is a distinct matter. I am not addressing myself to that, but to the crude oil, with reference to these other refineries that use oil from the cheaper markets. Can you not agree that that would serve the purpose and they would get drawbacks of what they had paid in tariffs, less 1 per cent under the law?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; that is true; if you assume they are going to reexport all of the oil they import.

Mr. LEWIS. If our exports exceeded our imports, is not that likely to be true?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, it is not, because our exports are of a different character, largely, than the products of the refineries. For instance, a large part and a valuable part of our exports is lubricating oil made from Pennsylvania oil right here in the Eastern States—Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Mr. LEWIS. Which ought to be taken out of the export figures, for the purpose of this discussion?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; they are in the export figures and furnish a very profitable part of the business of Pennsylvania and West Virginia oil business.

Mr. LEWIS. Now, do you have an idea—you may very well not have an idea—in comparing the imports of crude oil with the equivalent exports, what could be derived from the imported crude oil, as to what our exports would be?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; I do not believe I could give you that offhand. Our export companies have, to a large degree, their own controlled outlets in the markets of Europe, but they are losing those rapidly, as I have shown by the figures, and admit, themselves, it is only a question of time until the export market is lost completely to those competing interests, due to the fact of our inability to compete with them in price; and, therefore, there is the question in the United States petroleum industry as to whether we will not only lose our export market but our domestic trade as well to foreign oil. That is the question.

Mr. LEWIS. Then you would not want to make the field more difficult for our exporting manufacturers?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; I have no desire to make it more difficult for them.

Mr. LEWIS. That is all.

Mr. FRANKLIN. May I add one more thing to the export situation? The largest factor in our export is from the Pacific coast to the Orient, and there are no imports whatever to the Pacific coast.

Mr. LEWIS. The export figures would have to be analyzed and segregated to bring out the sense of our discussion correctly?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. CANFIELD. When did the serious decline in the oil industry first manifest itself?

Mr. FRANKLIN. It started in the fall of—the price started downward in the fall of 1926.

Mr. CANFIELD. I understood you, in your testimony a few moments ago, to state that the oil industry was the first big industry which experienced or suffered from the depression.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. CANFIELD. As I recall, agriculture had a very serious decline prior to that. Now, we have adopted certain emergency measures, first the protective tariff law and then created the Federal Farm Board, with the hope and expectation and assurance that the general legislation—that is, these different forms of legislation—would relieve agriculture and restore it to its former position. Yet we have had a signal failure and the condition of agriculture is more serious to-day than it was before. What assurance can you give, if we adopt the legislation that you suggest or urge, that we would not have a similar experience?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I think the real relief of agriculture has not been as great as was expected, which is due to the serious condition of all of the other industries; and I might add, for the oil-producing States, Oklahoma as an example, and that is no less true of Kansas and Texas and California and the other States,

that a large percentage of our land owned by farmers was under lease to the oil companies, and those leases bring a return to farmers of $1 an acre rental until they were drilled; and in many instances farmers were made wealthy through royalties, as one-eighth of all of the oil produced goes to the farmer or the landowner, as the case may be, and have played no small part in building up the agricultural communities in the oil-producing States. The income to the farmers under normal conditions in Oklahoma from rentals alone will run at least $15,000,000 annually.

Mr. CANFIELD. I understood you to take the position that the serious situation of the depression in the oil industry was reflected or largely caused by the depression?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. CANFIELD. Why could not we say with equal insistence that the first depression in agriculture was the cause of the depression in the oil industry. We seem to have, or you seem to have, it right reversed. Because the depression in agriculture came first?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No doubt the serious impairment of any large industry will affect seriously all other industries. That is the point I am making exactly.

Mr. CANFIELD. Then, in carrying out to some extent your argument, we should first rehabilitate agriculture, and come on down in the order in which these different industries were depressed?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I think if anything can be done for the relief of agriculture it should be done. I know that Congress has made every earnest effort to do that, and due largely to the depressed condition of the other industries, an effort that is not successful in the measure in which it was hoped.

And the measure that I am talking about right now will do as much to relieve the farmers in the oil-producing States as anything you could well imagine.

Mr. CANFIELD. Let us hope so. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ESLICK. Mr. Franklin, as I understand your proposition here, it is purely a revenue-raising measure?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; and these figures——

Mr. ESLICK. The 2 cents a gallon on the different classifications of oil that you discuss——

Mr. FRANKLIN. I suggested 4 cents a gallon on gasoline and refined products.

Mr. ESLICK. But I mean the crude oil in this.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. ESLICK. In the raw state?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. ESLICK. Now, your proposition has absolutely nothing to do with the exports or the drawbacks, has it?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; not as I suggested it. Some member asked me if I would object to refunding the tax on the oil imported for manufacture and reexported, and I would not.

Mr. HAWLEY. I did not ask you whether or not you objected; I asked whether that was your suggestion.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Pardon me. I believe that was the way it was. I have always agreed that, speaking of this question in relation to the tariff on oil, that there should be no tax on the oil imported—no tariff on the oil imported for manufacture and reexported. Of course, from the standpoint of revenue, that might not be the best way to handle it.

Mr. ESLICK. But this is intended to put a tax on oil for revenue?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; from the standpoint of a tax for revenue; perhaps that would not be the way to handle it.

Mr. LEWIS. Are you speaking on some particular bill before the committee?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; I have no bill; not on revenue. We have some bills that I think have been referred to the committee on tariffs, on oil, but I have not been speaking to those specifically this morning.

Mr. Chairman, there has been prepared by the Independent Petroleum Association a brief containing valuable information and arguments prepared for submission at a later date in support of a tariff on oil. At the time this brief was prepared it was not anticipated that a hearing would be had in this matter from the standpoint of revenue only. Since the brief so prepared covers this subject as well from a standpoint of revenue as from a standpoint of a tariff on oil, I ask permission to have this brief made a part of the record.

There has also been perpared a brief in support of a duty on petroleum and its products by the National Coal Association covering this matter so far as the imports of cheap fuel oil have affected the coal business. I would like also to have the brief of the National Coal Association made a part of the record, as I believe it will be of great assistance to the committee in consideration of this subject.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I thank you very much for your courteous hearing.

PROPOSED INVESTIGATION OF CAUSES OF DEPRESSION

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, on December 21 last there was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate the concurrent resolution Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 5. I inquire of the chairman of that committee whether the committee is prepared to report on that resolution this morning?

Mr. TOWNSEND. The committee is not prepared to report this morning.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Then I move that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be excused from the further consideration of that resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Montana moves that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be discharged from the further consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 5.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I think there ought to be an understanding of the status of that particular resolution. The resolution came to the committee many days ago, but it was not taken up for consideration until recently, when the Senator from Montana came before the committee and explained it.

Two or three days before the Senator came before our committee the rule pertaining to reference of that sort of a resolution had been amended so as to require that all resolutions carrying anything of a substantive character should go to the appropriate standing committee first. When the Senator's resolution came to our committee the rule was read, and I thought the committee had ordered the resolution reported with a suggestion that it go to the Committee on Banking and Currency. It was my understanding that it was to go to the Committee on Banking and Currency from our committee.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, the chairman did not so understand, and did not report the concurrent resolution.

Mr. FESS. That is why there was no report.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, it was some 10 days ago that I appeared before the committee with respect to this matter, after having sought out a number of the members of the committee, asking them to take action with respect to it. It is a matter of no consequence to me whether the committee reported that the resolution should go to the Committee on Banking and Currency or not. I want to have some action on it. That is all I am asking for.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

Mr. BORAH. What is the concurrent resolution?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I would like to know that, too.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I am not conversant with the situation, and I ask that the motion go over under the rule.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It will go over under the rule.

GEORGE OTIS SMITH AND POWER RATES

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I have been handed a copy of the Wheeling Intelligencer of January 30, 1932, by the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. HATFIELD], and my attention has been called to an editorial entitled "George Otis Smith and Power Rates." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE OTIS SMITH AND POWER RATES

One of the most vigorously opposed of all President Hoover's appointments was that of Dr. George Otis Smith to the Federal Power Commission. Within 24 hours of his confirmation by the Senate, it will be recalled, that body, acting upon later information, sought to rescind its action. The resulting contest over the Senate's right to do this still is in progress.

It has been charged by those opposing Doctor Smith's appointment that his sympathies lie with the power interests rather than with the consumers of power.

A recent address delivered in New York by the Power Commission chairman will confirm a great many of the doctor's opponent's in this belief. In advising the American Society of Civil Engineers to devote more time and attention to "education" of the public in the costs involved in the power industry, Doctor Smith is quoted as having made this astounding assertion:

"Too often the generating cost is popularly regarded as the principal cost and the expense of transporting the current to the consumer as simply an overhead, in the accounting as well as in the literal sense. As a matter of fact, even if the current were generated without cost the price to the consumer could not be radically lowered, as he would expect."

In other words, Doctor Smith tells the power industry it should "educate" the public to believe that current costs can not be brought down no matter how low the production cost.

It would be interesting to note the reaction of a West Virginia power company should it be seriously urged before the Public Service Commission that the cost of production need not be given much weight in the fixing of a rate schedule. It will be equally interesting to await Doctor Smith's application of this same principle enunciated by him in the next case before the Federal Commission.

Of course, the suggestion that distribution is the big item of expense, with production cost playing a trivial part, is absurd and never was put forward in a rate case, even in the days when transmission was nothing like as efficient as it is to-day. Advancement of it now by the chairman of the Federal Power Commission can only strengthen the belief of many people that he is not qualified for the position he occupies.

INVESTIGATION OF ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I have a concurrent resolution to offer, but before I offer it I would like to inquire of the Chair whether the rule regarding the reference of resolutions to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate has been changed. Must the concurrent resolution I am about to offer go to the Committee to Audit and Control before it goes to the regular standing committee having jurisdiction?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. An amendment was adopted to the rule at this session of the Congress requiring that automatically resolutions which take money from the contingent fund shall be referred to the committee having jurisdiction of the subject matter and then to the Committee to Audit and Control.

Mr. NORRIS. That is my understanding. I thought from what the Chair said a few moments ago that I was wrong, and that the resolution would go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate first.

I submit a concurrent resolution providing for an investigation of the activities of the Federal Farm Board. I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That action would be taken under the rule, anyway, and the order will be entered.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 11) was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a joint committee is hereby created, to be known as the Joint Committee of Congress to Investigate the Activities of the Federal Farm Board, created by the agricultural marketing act approved June 15, 1929. Said committee shall consist of six members to be selected as follows: Three members of said committee shall be selected by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate and three members shall be selected by the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives. Said committee shall elect its own chairman from its own membership and shall select a clerk. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of said committee shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointments. Said committee shall have the same powers as the standing committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives and, in addition thereto, all the powers, responsibilities, and duties hereinafter provided. The life of said committee shall terminate at the end of the Seventy-second Congress.

Said committee is authorized and directed to make a thorough and complete investigation of the activities and operations of the said Federal Farm Board, and as a part of such investigation said committee shall likewise make a complete investigation of all exchanges or other organizations in the continental United States dealing in any of the commodities over which the said Federal Farm Board, by said act, is given any jurisdiction or control. Said committee shall ascertain the relationship, if any, between such exchanges and the operations of said board.

The said committee shall likewise make a complete investigation of the interstate and foreign marketing of such agricultural commodities, whether by individuals, firms, or corporations, doing business for private profit, or by cooperative associations, which have borrowed money from the Federal Farm Board or are in any way connected with the operations of said Federal Farm Board. The committee shall also investigate and report as to the earnings, bonuses, salaries, and commissions paid by any or all of such private and cooperative organizations.

The said committee shall likewise, in addition to the general investigation, specifically inquire into the organization and operations of any stabilization corporations and the organization and operations of any other corporations or subsidiaries organized by said Federal Farm Board. It shall ascertain whether, in the organization of any corporation by said board, such corporation was advisable or necessary for the purpose of carrying out the intent and objects of the said agricultural marketing act. It shall also ascertain whether the said Federal Farm Board has in any way, directly or indirectly, in any unfair or illegal method, injured any existing cooperative organizations by the organization of competitive organizations for the purpose of carrying out the objects of said agricultural marketing act, and whether the said Federal Farm Board, in its activities under said act, has been, within the meaning and intent of said act, unjust or unfair to any existing cooperative organization, and whether said board has been guilty of any practices which tend to injure the operation or the activities of any existing cooperative organization.

The committee shall also ascertain whether, in the buying and selling of any of the products dealt in by said board by virtue of said act, its activities were advisable or necessary; or whether the trading in buying, selling, and storing of grain, cotton, and other products carried on in accordance with said act were advisable or necessary.

The committee shall also ascertain what, if any, losses or benefits have been or will probably be sustained by any of the activities of said board or any other corporation organized by it under said act.

The committee shall likewise ascertain whether any of the exchanges or boards of trade or other organizations privately owned and privately controlled dealing in any of the products mentioned in said act have in any way interfered with or hampered, wrongfully or unjustly, the activities of said board in carrying out the provisions of said act.

The committee shall also investigate the salaries paid to all of the officers, officials, and employees of said board and of the subsidiary corporations and stabilization corporations organized by said board and of all cooperative associations and other organizations doing business with said board.

The committee shall also ascertain whether, in any of the activities or operations of said board or of any of its subsidiaries, any partisan political or other unfair influence has interfered with or controlled the appointment or selection of officials of said board or any of said corporations or associations.

The said committee, after making the investigation herein outlined, shall report to the Senate and the House of Representatives what legislation, if any, should be enacted in the premises.

Said committee is hereby authorized in the performance of its duties to sit at such times and places, either in the District of Columbia or elsewhere, as it deems necessary or proper. It is specifically authorized to require the production of books, papers, and documents; and to employ counsel, experts, clerical, and other assistants; and to employ stenographers, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per 100 words.

Said committee is hereby specifically authorized to act through any subcommittee authorized to be appointed by said committee or by the chairman thereof. The chairman of said committee, or any member of said committee, or the chairman or any member of any subcommittee appointed hereunder, may administer oaths to witnesses and sign subpœnas for witnesses; and every person duly summoned before said committee or any subcommittee thereof who refuses or fails to obey the process of said committee or subcommittee or who appears and refuses to answer questions pertinent to said investigation shall be punished as prescribed by law.

The expenses of said investigation, not exceeding in the aggregate $100,000, shall be paid from the contingent funds of the Senate and the House of Representatives in equal proportions upon vouchers authorized by the committee or any subcommittee and signed by the chairman of the committee or the chairman of any subcommittee.

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HEARINGS ON SALE OF FOREIGN SECURITIES

Mr. SMOOT submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 155), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That, in accordance with paragraph 3 of section 2 of the printing act approved March 1, 1907, the Committee on Finance of the Senate be, and is hereby, empowered to have printed 2,000 additional copies of the hearings held before the committee during the current session on Sale of Foreign Bonds or Securities in the United States, part 2.

EFFECT OF DEPRECIATION OF FOREIGN CURRENCY VALUES

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution which I ask to have read and then referred to the Committee on Finance.

The resolution (S. Res. 156) was read and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Resolved, That the United States Tariff Commission is directed to make a thorough investigation of the effect of the depreciation in value of foreign currencies since the enactment of the

tariff act of 1930 upon the importation into, and exportation from, the United States of all of the more important commodities, and the effect of such depreciation on the general trend of international trade in the same period, taking into consideration in both cases the increase in purchasing power of all gold-standard currencies and the general decrease in commodity prices in the United States and elsewhere, and to report to the Senate as soon as practicable the results of such investigation; and be it further

Resolved, That said commission be directed to compute and report to the Senate as soon as practicable the ad valorem equivalents of specific duties imposed by said tariff act as of the date of passage of said act and as of January 1, 1932.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FAR EAST

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 157), which was read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be requested to advise the Senate and the country, from time to time, upon the developments in the Far East, wherein American citizens, their safety and rights are involved.

ISABELLE FREEMAN BELL

Mr. SMITH submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 158), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the appropriation for miscellaneous items, contingent fund of the Senate, fiscal year 1931, to Isabelle Freeman Bell, widow of Samuel A. Bell, late a skilled laborer of the Senate under supervision of the Sergeant at Arms, a sum equal to one year's compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

CAPITAL STOCK OF FEDERAL LAND BANKS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a joint resolution from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 261) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks was read the first time by its title and the second time at length and was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $125,000,000, to remain available until expended, to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the act entitled "An act to amend the Federal farm loan act, as amended, to provide for additional capital for Federal land banks, and for other purposes," approved January 23, 1932: *Provided*, That any proceeds of repayments on account of stock so issued shall be credited to this appropriation and be available for the purpose of paying for other stock thereafter issued pursuant to such act.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, from the Committee on Appropriations I am authorized and directed to report favorably House Joint Resolution 261, making appropriations to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks, and to ask for its immediate consideration. It is to carry out legislation we passed just a few days ago.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Washington asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the joint resolution just reported by him from the Committee on Appropriations. Is there objection?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. How much does the joint resolution carry?

Mr. JONES. One hundred and twenty-five million dollars.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NATIONAL BANKING LEGISLATION

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I would like for a moment to engage the attention of my colleagues of the Senate to make a statement in which every Member of the Senate should be interested.

On Friday of last week two gentlemen came to my office and, addressing me as chairman of the subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee having in charge certain banking legislation, made the modest request that we cease work on the banking bill for a period of three weeks in order to give them an opportunity to study the measure, which they confessed they did not then understand. However, they appeared to have gotten a complete understanding of the bill on the same day, because apparently they went from my office to the Western Union Telegraph office and sent wires all over the country urging opposition to the bank bill. I read an extract from a letter received yesterday from one of the outstanding national bankers in Virginia. He says:

I would like to register my disapproval of telegrams which seem to be going all over Virginia to-day emanating from New York through what is called the interim committee of the American Bankers' Association, setting forth that they have decided to oppose the Glass bank bill in the Senate, and requesting the secretary of the Virginia Bankers' Association to wire the member banks in this State to wire you to the same effect, or at least asking for a delay.

As I see the matter, such propaganda does not represent mature opinions or thought on the Glass bill, and, I would think, should have about the weight of a feather in so far as being representative of public opinion in this State.

I have read the bill in the papers, and read more than one analysis of it, and I want to say to you that in my opinion it is, next to the original Federal reserve act itself, the most important piece of bank legislation of value to the people that has come up to Congress since the original act was passed. I regard its regulatory and constructive features as importantly valuable and most necessary in protecting the depositing public of the Nation, as well as the banks themselves, and I want to send you my most sincere congratulations and expressions of appreciation of what I know has been exceedingly hard work which is highly constructive.

Incidentally, I may remark that I have here a letter from a former president of the American Bankers' Association congratulating the subcommittee on the careful way in which it appears to have prepared a constructive banking measure.

But, Mr. President, the point is that this sort of propaganda takes us back to the time of the passage of the original Federal reserve act. Here are people who confessedly have not read the provisions of the bill and who do not understand the measure, wiring all over the country suggesting that the banking associations of the respective States wire to their Senators in opposition to a bill the precise meaning of which they do not yet comprehend. I simply want to put my colleagues on notice that this is a mere repetition of what happened 18 years ago so that they may attach proper importance to such concerted propaganda.

Mr. President, in this connection and in order that Members of the Senate who are not members of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate may get the true import of the bill, which is now before the full committee on Banking and Currency, I ask to have printed in the RECORD immediately following my remarks a recent analysis of the bill in the New York Herald Tribune by Benjamin Haggott Beckhart, associate professor for banking at Columbia University, New York City, which appears to me to be a reasonably fair statement of the case. I ask that this may be done for the information of those Senators who may not have had a full opportunity to examine the measure critically.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit A.)

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I have received a number of telegrams indicating a desire to have time in regard to the bill. I do not know whether they came as a result of this propaganda or not, but I suppose all Senators have received similar telegrams. May I ask the Senator from Virginia what is the status of the bill with reference to hearings or what time will likely be taken up in the hearings?

Mr. GLASS. I may state to the Senator that the bill is responsive, in spirit and in text, to a resolution unanimously adopted by the Senate directing an inquiry into the

National and Federal reserve banking systems of the country. Obedient to that resolution, a subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency was appointed, and, proceeding after the same fashion that we followed with the Federal reserve bank bill 18 years ago, we had extensive and searching hearings. We brought to Washington many experienced bankers, economists, and researchers, hearing all of them on all phases of the banking business, which we were instructed by the Senate resolution to investigate. Officials of the Federal reserve system and governors of some of the more important Federal reserve banks were likewise heard. Pursuant to the information obtained as a result of these hearings, the bill was prepared in conjunction with the committee's expert technician, aided by the Senate's Legislative Drafting Bureau. The work covered a period of seven months. The bill was discussed by the subcommittee in every detail.

The status of the bill now is that it has been unanimously reported by the subcommittee to the general Committee on Banking and Currency and has been made a continuous order. The general committee has been halted in consideration of the bill by the expressed desire of some public officials, notably those connected with the Federal Reserve Board here in Washington and with the Federal reserve bank in New York, to have an opportunity to suggest certain modifications of its terms. We are now having these conferences and hope to be able to take up the bill with the general Banking and Currency Committee in the course of the next week or 10 days.

Mr. BORAH. As I understand it, the hearings have been closed, except the conferences to which the Senator now refers?

Mr. GLASS. Yes.

EXHIBIT A

[From the New York Herald Tribune, January 24, 1932]

CREDIT FOR SPECULATORS RESTRICTED BY GLASS BILL CHANGES IN RESERVE ACT—FEDERAL OPEN-MARKET COMMITTEE SET UP TO GOVERN DEALINGS IN SECURITIES AND BANK ACCEPTANCES—THRIFT ACCOUNTS SAFEGUARDED—NEGOTIATIONS BY DISTRICT BANKS WITH FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS FORBIDDEN

By Benjamin Haggott Beckhart, associate professor of banking, Columbia University

Banking legislation in the United States usually has been brought about by maladministration of the banking and monetary systems. The national bank act was designed to rid the country of "red dog" and "wildcat" bank notes. The Federal reserve act was intended to rid the country of monetary panics, to provide for an elastic credit and currency system and a safe and more efficient banking system. The reserve funds of the country were to be divorced from speculative use on Wall Street.

The record of the last few years affords ample and tragic proof that the aims of the framers of the act have not been realized. The sucking of a vast volume of credit into brokers' loan use during the bull market, the apparent inability of the Federal reserve system to check the growth in speculative credit, abuses of various and sundry sorts which have developed in the banking system provided the basis for the present measure. Had the American banking system been ably and conservatively managed, there would have been no reason for the Glass bill. Lacking those traditions of conservatism charcteristic of the British banker, the United States is forced to substitute elaborate banking codes which usually require emendation after each débâcle.

The provisions of the Glass bill may be divided into six main divisions. These have to do with changes proposed in the administrative framework of the Federal reserve system; with changes in member bank reserve requirements and in the credit base; proposals for the establishment of a Federal liquidating corporation; proposals for the control of speculative credit; provisions respecting branch, chain, and group banking, and provisions which are intended to strengthen the national banking act.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

The Secretary of the Treasury is removed from membership on the Federal Reserve Board. The ex parte interest which he, as the heaviest borrower in the money market, has shown in Federal reserve credit policies is held to justify this change. On more than one occasion Senator GLASS has said that the influence of the Secretary of the Treasury has been pernicious. Temporary necessities of the Treasury Department at times have been allowed to influence Federal reserve credit policies, though experience has shown that Treasury influence in the long run has been of detriment not only to the entire credit system but to the Treasury Department as well.

With the Secretary off the board it is felt that the influence of his department, usually in the direction of "cheap money" policies, will be lessened. The Comptroller of the Currency is retained as a member, inasmuch as he has general supervisory control over national banks, which, ipso facto, must be members of the Federal revenue system.

The provision is reinserted in the bill which requires that at least two members of the Federal Reserve Board be men of tested banking experience. This follows the language of the original Federal reserve act.

The most important administrative change is that establishing a Federal open-market committee. In effect the sections of the bill providing for this committee simply give legal recognition to the open-market policy conference, which was established in March, 1930, and which superseded the old open-market investment committee. The Federal open-market committee is to consist of the governor of the Federal Reserve Board as chairman and one representative from each of the reserve districts. The committee is to meet four times a year in Washington and to have charge, subject to the approval of the Federal Reserve Board, of the formulation of policies respecting the purchase and sale of United States securities and acceptances by the Federal reserve banks and respecting any and all relationship and transactions entered into by any Federal reserve bank with any foreign bank or banker.

The time, character, and volume of purchases and sales in the open market are to be governed with the view of accommodating commerce and business and with regard to their bearing upon the general credit situation of the country. Full reports of all conferences held with foreign banks and bankers, together with all understandings and agreements effected, are to be filed with the Federal Reserve Board in writing and signed by all representatives of the Federal reserve system participating in such meetings.

Along with the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Advisory Council, the Federal open-market committee thus becomes the third directorate established by the act. Meetings of the Federal reserve agents and of the governors have been held periodically, and these have proved of real value in bringing about an interchange of ideas regarding internal operating methods and policies.

In the early days of the system the governors of the Federal reserve banks went so far as to organize themselves into a governors' council, which, in the opinion of Gov. W. P. G. Harding, threatened the power of the Federal Reserve Board and was abandoned at his insistence. Experience has demonstrated the need for a committee composed of representatives of the different Federal reserve banks. This is recognized by the establishment of the Federal open-market committee.

Through giving this committee control over open-market operations and all foreign negotiations, the power which the Federal Reserve Bank of New York has exercised on occasion in these matters will be lessened. It was this "usurpation" of power which elicited bitter criticism by Doctor Miller of the Federal Reserve Board before congressional committees.

CHANGES IN MEMBER BANK RESERVE PROVISIONS AND THE CREDIT BASE

It will be recalled that the deposits of member banks at the present time are classified into two types—demand and time. Demand deposits are those payable upon demand or upon a notice of 29 days or less. Time deposits are those payable upon a notice of 30 days or more. Against the former member banks now maintain reserves of 7, 10, and 13 per cent, depending upon whether the member bank is located in a country town, a reserve city, or a central reserve city. Against the latter a reserve of 3 per cent in all cases. The establishment of a lower reserve requirement against time deposits has acted as an inducement for banks to shift slow demand accounts into this category.

Shifting of deposits from the one category into the other would have been rendered the more difficult if the reserve act had provided for a segregation of the assets behind time accounts and had set a maximum on the amount of time deposits which might be accepted from any one depositor. The absence of these provisions rendered easy shifting of the type described. That such shifting has taken place and that time deposits do not represent in their entirety bona fide savings are recognized in the recent report on reserves issued by the Federal Reserve Board.

As a corrective the Glass bill proposes to introduce a third classification of deposit liabilities, to be known as thrift accounts. These are to be subject to not less than 60 days' notice, are not to be subject to check, and are not to exceed in amount $5,000 in the case of any one depositor. When the provisions of the bill come into full effect member banks are to maintain against time deposits the reserves now required to be maintained against demand deposits and are to maintain against thrift accounts a reserve of 5 per cent. Ample time is allowed member banks to increase their reserves to the required percentages.

A segregation of assets against both time and thrift accounts is required, on which these deposits have a first lien in event of the failure of the bank. This should act as an effective barrier in the shifting of the deposits from the one classification to the other in order to take advantage of the lower reserve requirements and also should give the savings depositor greater protection in the case of bank insolvencies and the type of protection which he has not enjoyed up to now.

Related to changes in member bank reserve requirements is the provision requiring the Federal Reserve Board, within two years from the passage of the bill, to prepare and put into effect a complete reclassification of reserve and central reserve cities. The

present classification which has not been changed materially since the passage of the Federal reserve act, is admittedly defective.

There are a number of provisions in the bill which have to do with what is known as the credit base; i. e., with paper eligible for discount and purchase by the Federal reserve banks. The most important of these is that which would permit any Federal reserve bank, with the unanimous consent of the Federal Reserve Board, to make advances to groups of member banks upon their joint and several demand promissory notes. At least 10 member banks must guarantee such promissory notes, and the deposits of these banks must not be less in amount than 10 per cent of the deposit liabilities of all member banks in the district.

A minimum rate of interest of 6 per cent is to be charged by the Federal reserve bank upon such advances, in event they are for a period of 90 days or less. For longer maturities the rate of interest increases progressively with the maturity of the loan. These notes, which are in effect clearing-house loan certificates, may not be used as a basis for the issue of Federal reserve notes. This provision would permit member banks to obtain Federal reserve credit on a basis other than eligible paper. The need would have to be real, inasmuch as the notes would have to be indorsed by other member banks and would be subject to penalty rates. Danger of credit inflation from this source would be practically nonexistent. Banks would use this provision, not for purposes of credit expansion but to meet an emergency situation.

While the above provision tends to enlarge the credit base, the safeguards thrown about the provision are such that probably little abuse will result and much good may be accomplished by way of relieving critical situations.

In the direction of narrowing the credit base is the provision that the Federal reserve banks must charge a discriminatory rate on the 15-day advances made to member banks on their promissory notes secured by eligible paper or by United States Government obligations. The rate charged is to be at least 1 per cent higher than the rediscount rate then in force at the reserve bank. This follows the practice of European central banks in charging a discriminatory rate on the so-called Lombard loans. Further, if a member bank getting such accommodation increases its collateral security loans, the advance becomes immediately due and payable, and the member bank is rendered ineligible as a borrower on 15-day paper.

Member bank promissory notes secured by Government obligations are not to serve as heretofore, as security for Federal reserve note issue. Bankers' acceptances made under revolving or renewal credits likewise are eliminated. The fact that member bank promissory notes secured by Government obligations have served as security for Federal reserve notes have been tantamount to a coinage of the public debt into circulating currency. These Federal reserve notes so secured are not different in substance from the old bond-secured national-bank notes. It was for elimination of these and for the correction of the evils associated with the bond-secured bank notes that the Federal reserve act was enacted.

Closely allied to the provisions respecting member bank reserve balances and the credit base are those which restrict transactions in Federal funds. Transfers and sales of member balances are to be permitted only with the authorization of the Federal Reserve Board, and then only if the charge imposed is not less than the rate of discount charged on 90-day paper by the Federal reserve bank in the district of the selling bank. The Federal Reserve Board is authorized to suspend all dealings in Federal funds.

PROVISIONS FOR A FEDERAL LIQUIDATING CORPORATION

The tying up of deposits is one of the most disastrous consequences of bank insolvencies. Whether the depositor receives 50, 75, or even 90 cents on the dollar is perhaps of less importance than the fact that the purchasing power of the community has been immobilized. It is to correct this situation that the Glass bill provides for the establishment of a Federal liquidating corporation with the Comptroller of the Currency as president of the corporation.

Two types of stock are to be issued—class A and class B. Class A stock is to be held only by member banks, and class B stock by the reserve banks. Class A stock is to be entitled to dividends, but is not to possess the voting power. The Federal reserve banks are to subscribe for class B stock to an amount equal to one-fourth of the surplus of each reserve bank, and each member bank is to subscribe for an amount equal to one-half of 1 per cent of its total outstanding time and demand deposits. Only a part of the stock subscriptions are to be paid in immediately, the balance subject to call. Whenever any national bank shall be placed in the hands of a receiver, it shall be the duty of the Comptroller of the Currency to appoint a valuation committee, which is to include the receiver, a member of the board of directors of the failed bank, and a third selected by these two members.

CONTROL OVER SPECULATIVE CREDIT

As stated at the beginning of the article, one of the reasons prompting the introduction of the Glass bill was the desire to check the use of commercial bank credit and Federal reserve bank credit for investment and speculation use. The bill proposes to approximate this goal through the enactment of a number of provisions:

Each Federal reserve bank is to keep itself informed of the loan and investment practices of its member banks and of the uses made by them of the credit facilities of the Federal reserve system. Such use of Federal reserve credit may not include the making or carrying of loans covering speculative or investment operations other than those concerned with obligations of the United States. The Federal Reserve Board is given the right to suspend any member bank found guilty of a misuse of Federal reserve credit.

Then there is the provision mentioned above, that a member bank, borrowing upon its 15-day promissory note from the Federal reserve bank, may not increase its collateral security loans during the life of such advances.

The Federal Reserve Board is given the right to fix from time to time the percentage of individual bank capital and surplus which may be represented by all loans secured by collateral and extended by member banks within the reserve district. It shall be the duty of the Federal Reserve Board in establishing such percentages to prevent the undue use of bank credit for the speculative carrying of securities.

To eliminate loans for the account of "others" and to strengthen the measure adopted by the New York Clearing House Association member banks are prohibited from acting as the medium or agent in the placing of time or demand loans secured by collateral or otherwise. Furthermore, no member bank is to extend advances to or discount paper for any corporation or individual who shall have outstanding time or demand loans secured by collateral in favor of any investment banker, broker, member of any stock exchange, or dealer in securities.

As additional precautionary measures in the elimination of loans for the account of "others," corporations engaged in State commerce are prohibited from making time or demand loans to brokers and are prohibited from depositing their funds with any banking firm other than those incorporated under Federal law or under the laws of one of the several States.

PROVISIONS RESPECTING BRANCH, CHAIN, AND GROUP BANKING

National banks are given much wider powers with respect to the establishment of branches than those conferred by the McFadden Act of 1927. Those with a capital of $1,000,000 as a base may establish branches within the limits of the State in which such bank is situated, if similar powers are possessed by State banks.

Bank holding companies are brought under control. The method followed for this purpose is to deny the voting right at shareholders' meetings to corporations, associations, or partnerships which shall own more than 10 per cent of the stock of a national bank unless such holding company has secured a voting permit from the Comptroller of the Currency. The comptroller may grant such permit only if (1) the bank holding company permits itself to be examined; (2) renders periodic reports of condition; (3) sets aside a certain proportion of its assets to safeguard the double liability on the stock it holds, and (4) agrees not to enter directly or indirectly in the investment banking field.

In case the voting permit has been revoked by the Comptroller of the Currency, no national bank, whose stock is owned by the holding company, shall pay dividends to such corporation, association, or partnership. It is further provided that no bank, which is a member of a chain or group system, may vote for the class A or class B directors of a reserve bank.

PROVISIONS STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL BANKING ACT

To insure a sufficient net worth it is provided that the capital, surplus, and undivided profits of a national banking association may not be less than 15 per cent of average deposit liabilities for the preceding year. National banks are not permitted to pay interest on checking accounts, and the rate of interest payable on time and thrift accounts is limited. National banks may exact on loans and discounts a rate of interest allowed by the laws of the State in which the national bank is located or a rate of interest 1 per cent above the rediscount rate prevailing at the reserve bank of the district, whichever is the larger sum. In event no rate is fixed by State law, national banks may charge a rate not exceeding 7 per cent, or 1 per cent above the rediscount rate, whichever is the greater.

SUMMARY

The Glass bill, if enacted, will go far toward strengthening and raising banking standards in the United States. While its provisions will assist the efforts of the Federal reserve authorities in controlling the use of credit, it must not be regarded as a substitute for good bank management. Banking judgment and discretion may not be legislated, but a framework of law may be enacted, which sets certain bounds, within which banking activities are confined. These legislative limits would not have been required if the banking community, through the postwar period, had exercised due conservatism and restraint.

GOVERNMENT RETRENCHMENT AND TAXATION

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a speech made by the Hon. PAT HARRISON, senior Senator from Mississippi, over the radio a few days ago, on the subject of Government Retrenchment and Taxation. I think no more live subject is now before the Congress of the United States. We must see to it that every possible economy is put into effect. We must balance our budget. We are appropriating too much money, and we must cut down the appropriations. The Senator from Mississippi made a splendid argument along this line in the address to which I have just referred.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, leave is granted.

ADDRESS OF HON. PAT HARRISON, OF MISSISSIPPI, JANUARY 30, 1932

A balanced budget is necessary to the strength of a government. Two and one-half years ago we believed the decline in Government receipts was merely temporary, and whatever the deficit might be, it could be met through the issuance of additional Government bonds. Especially was that true in view of the fact that Government receipts over the last decade had created enormous surpluses which had been applied to the retirement of the national debt. This process had been invoked to such an extent that we were some six years ahead in our debt retirement program. Men in high places, from the President down, repeatedly stated that the condition was only temporary. It was said at first that the depression would last only a few weeks, then it lengthened into months, until now it has wended its dreary and devastating way through two and one-half years, the situation becoming more complex with each passing day, and still remaining of doubtful promise.

These unusual and almost unprecedented conditions now present an entirely new situation and demand of the Congress and the Government a new prescription. The Government's fiscal structure is out of gear. Last year the Federal Government faced a deficit of $903,000,000. This year the Government expenditures over receipts present a deficit of $2,123,000,000, and the estimated deficit for next year is $1,416,000,000.

It is impossible, therefore, for the Government to bridge the widening gulf between receipts and disbursements by bond issues alone. Already the deplorable situation has affected the value of American securities—not only have some of our gilt-edge Government bonds declined far below par, but interest rates have steadily increased. An unbalanced budget saps the Government in high interest charges, and the repercussions are felt in increased taxes and economic deralgnment. It is in these circumstances that the thought of American statesmanship must be directed toward rigid economies and requisite taxes in order that a well-ordered and thoroughly balanced budget may be obtained.

It should be refreshing to you and to the American people that the present Congress, only a few weeks old, has realized, without respect to party affiliation, the importance of the fiscal program and is now turning its effort toward that end.

In the consideration of these questions at this time it is well that we direct our thoughts to some facts of recent history. We all appreciate that increased populations call for enlarged agencies and greater expenditures. It is interesting to know that in one of the Washington weekly papers of October, 1800, an item appeared to the effect that the Federal Government had that day moved from Philadelphia to Washington, and that the force of employees consisted of 54 persons, and that all documents were brought in five small and seven large boxes. To-day we have in the administration of the Government 10 major departments, 134 subsidiary bureaus, and 35 independent establishments, with suggestions of new establishments and other agencies being constantly pressed upon us. We have ceased to function upon the sure and broad principles established by our illustrious fathers and have become the regulator of every industry and the moderator of the morals of all the people. We have created bureaus and made laws to govern everything and everybody. The Government has even undertaken to tell and show the American people what the effect of the utilization of calcium is in spinach, how to prepare lamb as they would like it, how to bring up Bobby, how to use the metric system in nutrition, what suits the small boy should wear, what kind of rompers should be worn by children, how to conduct public dance halls, and how to care for and manage our children.

The Government through its many ramifications has adopted so many rules and regulations for the conduct and deportment of the American citizen and American business that no one ever knows when he is free from the iron penalties of Government exactions.

Time will not permit me to detail to you many of the ludicrous functions of the Government which cause leaks in the Treasury reservoir and increase tax exactions upon the American people. But they are numerous and are found in most of the bureaus of the Government departments. It is because of these many unnecessary functions which have been assumed by the Federal Government that our expenditures have so amazingly increased within the last decade, amounting last year to over $4,000,000,000.

As far back as 1800 the American people protested against increased Federal expenditures. So insistent were the demands of those engaged in agriculture in the South and the settlers west of the Appalachians for a retrenchment in Federal expenditures, which had risen $5,000,000 in the last 10 years previous to 1800, that Mr. Jefferson suggested a plank in the platform of his party and upon which he ran for President in the campaign of that year, which read: "A rigorously frugal administration of the Government and resistance to all measures looking to a multiplication of offices and salaries."

In this day and time how refreshing it is to read such a pledge for Government administration. It is a platform promise that could very properly be adopted by both of the great political parties this year, and if adhered to would redound greatly to the welfare of the whole country.

In the discussion of this subject permit me to compare governmental expenditures as contained in the Budget of 1924 with the Budget estimate for the fiscal year 1933. I make this comparison because of recent recommendations by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Congress that in the raising of taxes the revenue law of 1924 should in large part be applied. I make it because in the application of the 1924 revenue law surtaxes in the highest bracket were 40 per cent, while in the present law they are 20 per cent. In the 1924 law corporation taxes were 12½ per cent, while in the present law they are 12 per cent. In the 1924 law there were taxes imposed upon automobiles, admissions, transfers of property, as well as stocks, and innumerable other items. If the 1924 revenue law is to be accepted as a basis for increasing taxes, it might be interesting to consider the 1924 Budget recommendations for reducing Government expenditures.

The 1924 Budget carried $382,520 for salaries in the office of the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture. In the Budget's recommendations for the coming fiscal year this item is $821,000. The Budget in 1924 called for $2,426,600 for the Bureau of Plant Industry. That bureau now seeks $5,404,000. In 1924 the Budget requested $1,900,000 for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. We are now asked to appropriate $4,968,000. For the support in 1924 of the Indian schools the Budget called for $4,300,000. The appropriation now desired is $10,469,000. In 1924 the Budget's figure for the National Park Service amounted to $1,632,000. The appropriation now sought is $9,277,000. In 1924 the Budget recommended $3,002,000 for the Bureau of Immigration. That bureau now seeks $10,707,000. In 1924, for yards and docks alone, Navy Department, we were asked for $5,075,000. The amount now desired is $12,860,000. For the compensation of clerks and employees at first and second class post offices in 1924 the amount of $117,000,000 was recommended. We are now asked to appropriate $183,000,000. For rural delivery and city delivery service in 1924 the Budget requested $167,000,000. There is now sought $234,000,000. In the Treasury Department, for the operation and maintenance of public buildings in 1924, the Budget called for $9,051,000. We are now asked to appropriate $16,797,000. In the War Department, for barracks and quarters, we were asked to appropriate $3,116,000 in 1924. The amount now recommended is $14,736,000.

In this connection permit me to impress upon you the significant increase in the number of Government employees. In the Department of Commerce alone there has been an increase since 1913 from 6,788 employees to 23,680 at the present time. In the Post Office Department since 1922 there has been an increase of 34,000 employees. In 1913 there were 420,000 Civil Service employees. To-day there are 616,000. This does not include the several hundred thousand Government employees who are being sustained by Federal appropriations for public works throughout the country and in many other Government agencies outside the Civil Service.

Thirty years ago the cost of the Government was $500,000,000. To-day we expend seven times that amount. In 1900 the per capita cost imposed upon every American citizen was $9.25. To-day the Federal cost alone to every citizen amounts to $40 per year. If the State, county, and city taxes are imposed in addition to the Federal tax, the per capita tax to-day imposed upon every individual approaches $90 per year. It is inconceivable that a government, the population of which has increased only 100 per cent in four decades and the national wealth of which has increased only 450 per cent, would increase taxation 1,000 per cent.

Little wonder in these unwelcomed days of confused economic thought, distress, bankruptcy, and heavy hearts that the American people are protesting against the modern orgy of Government extravagance and are pleading for Government economies and retrenchment.

If the Congress can reduce Federal appropriations from the Budget estimate by $300,000,000 this year—and it can and must be done—then the Congress will be able to forego the imposition in increased taxes to that extent. It is a most difficult task to dissolve bureaus when once established; to dismiss employees when once attached to the Federal pay roll. Nothing but an iron determination upon the part of those who direct the affairs of the Government can effect these reforms. The head of every department and every bureau is jealous of his standing and influence. The larger the force, the stronger position he occupies in the Government complexion. The heads of these bureaus are too often vying with each other in increasing rather than reducing their forces. Conditions, in my opinion, demand a change in Government policy.

No Government office should be created merely to give employment to some one. Every rational readjustment, whether through curtailment or salary reduction, should be applied to promote saving and economy in Government expenditures to meet the new and changed conditions.

The Congress has been engaged in considering and enacting legislation providing added capitalization to Federal land banks and $2,000,000,000 in the formation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to meet the present emergencies. These laws are constructive in character, and it is hoped will spur the economic factors throughout the country to renewed confidence and business readjustment.

But in these times of doubt, dejection, suspicion, and confusion, nothing will so clarify the situation, strengthen our Government's position among the people of the world and restore confidence to

our own people, as will the prompt balancing of the Nation's budget. It is fundamental and all-important to the Nation's stability and progress. Speaking to you who are far removed from the scenes which are being enacted daily in Washington, let me send you a word of cheer. Already the Congress, in the three appropriation bills reported out of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, has applied the ax of retrenchment and has cut from the recommendations of the Budget more than $30,000,000. It is the declared policy of my party associates, both in the House and in the Senate, to cut every appropriation to the bone without affecting the efficiency of the Government. This seems to be the sentiment of the Congress, and if the present policy is continued, a tremendous saving will be effected for the American taxpayer when the present Congress will have adjourned.

With that word of cheer I would sound a note of warning, and that is those of us who are here making the fight for the frugal administration of the Government and resisting measures at this time which call for tremendous expenditures, need the sympathetic approval of the American people. In considering the question of providing increased taxes to balance the Budget we are confronted with group after group, voicing opposition to the plan of imposing taxes upon their industry.

It is impossible for the Congress either to raise taxes, to balance the Budget, or to reduce expenditures in order to lessen the amount of increased taxes, without the support and cooperation of the American people. Practically every industry upon which increased taxes are threatened has appeared through its representatives in opposition to the tax program. The automobile interests oppose the tax on automobiles, the movie interests the tax on admissions, the banks the tax on checks and drafts, and the tobacco interests the tax on tobacco. They much prefer that taxes be raised through some other method or be placed on some other industry. This is not said in particular criticism of these interests. The same is true of every interest. No one wants to be taxed. They prefer taxing the other fellow.

People interested in appropriations for certain purposes pursue similar policies and employ their influence against reducing the particular appropriation in which they are interested. They desire Government retrenchment; they want us to seek economies; they desire the Budget balanced; but it is preferable to them that some other appropriation be reduced rather than the items in which they are particularly interested. Members of Congress are appealed to either to vote against the imposition of a particular tax or against reducing a particular appropriation. There is no one in Congress who desires to increase these taxes. We appreciate that it is a most inopportune time to place heavier burdens upon the already stooped shoulders of the American people. We would have every industry and every person in this country, whether their particular industry is threatened with increased taxes or their particular item is being considered for a reduction in appropriation, bury in this great emergency and at this tragic time in the country's history their own peculiar interest for the common good of the whole country. We would have our action accepted in a broad and unselfish viewpoint under the inspiration of Government retrenchment and the balancing of the Budget.

The policy we have adopted, and which those who believe as I do are attempting to carry out, namely, providing increased taxes and reducing appropriations to balance the Budget, will tread on many toes. We will affect many people and many industries, but it is in such times as these that courage and statesmanship must be applied and a policy adopted as will work the least injury to the many and the greatest good to the whole country.

Distasteful as it is, we are determined to meet the situation, to accept the responsibility, and to carry on. If through this Congress we can conduct ourselves in fact and in spirit as suggested in Mr. Jefferson's philosophy and the plank upon which he ran for President in 1800—"A rigorously frugal administration of the Government and resistance to all measures looking to a multiplication of offices and salaries"—we will point the surest way to the restoration of American securities to their full value, a return of confidence to the American people, and a revival to American business.

SURVEY OF COLUMBIA RIVER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be stated.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Con. Res. 10) submitted by Mr. STEIWER on January 10, 1932, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War is hereby requested to make immediately available to the public and to the press the report of the survey of the Columbia River prepared by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors in pursuance of the authority contained in the rivers and harbors act of January 1, 1927.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. STEIWER] is detained before the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors. In his absence, I ask that the concurrent resolution may go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The concurrent resolution will go over.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HALE obtained the floor.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. HALE. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Cutting	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Bankhead	Dale	Kendrick	Schall
Barbour	Davis	Keyes	Sheppard
Barkley	Dickinson	King	Shipstead
Bingham	Dill	La Follette	Smith
Black	Fess	Lewis	Smoot
Blaine	Fletcher	Logan	Stephens
Borah	Frazier	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	George	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glass	McNary	Townsend
Broussard	Glenn	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Tydings
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hatfield	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hayden	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Hebert	Pittman	White
Costigan	Hull	Reed	

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FESS in the chair). Eighty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

NAVAL CONSTRUCTION TO TREATY STRENGTH

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, shortly after the convening of Congress in December, I introduced in the Senate, Senate bill 51, authorizing the building up of the United States Navy to the strength permitted by the Washington and London naval treaties. Hearings have been held on the bill and the bill is still before the Naval Affairs Committee awaiting action. I think at this time it is fitting to set forth to the Senate the existing conditions of the United States Navy and its relative standing in reference to the other great naval powers of the world.

Mr. President, in all controversies that have come up in this body during my service as a Senator over questions having to do with the Navy of the United States, political affiliations have been laid aside, and Senators have uniformly, I think, taken their stand on one side or the other in such controversies regardless of the party to which they belonged. That such will continue to be their practice in regard to this important branch of the national defense is my profound hope, and that, I believe, of all members of the Committee on Naval Affairs, of which I am chairman.

It will be a sorry day for the Navy of the United States when questions involving the national defense of the country become the subject of political controversy. Politics have no part in the national defense.

Unlike the Army, which has a powerful and intelligent support throughout the country through the National Guard, the Reserve Officers' Association, and the associations of veterans of the Spanish-American War and the World War, which, while they admit naval officers and men, are largely made up of men who have served in our armies and whose interest is principally in the Army, the Navy has to depend for its support mainly on its fine record of achievement in past wars, the tremendous factor that it has proved in winning those wars, and the general feeling in the country that an adequate navy must be kept up in order to protect our interests and our nationals at home and abroad, and, above all, to keep us from becoming involved in war.

The fact that it has not a large, well-informed body of supporters to speak for it in most of the States of the Union

makes it a peculiarly vulnerable object of attack by the organizations which do not favor a strong national defense, and though such organizations take an occasional shot at the Army the main objective of their attack is almost always the Navy.

Not during my service in the Senate, which covers a period of nearly 15 years, has the Navy of the United States found itself in a more unfortunate and dangerous predicament than that which confronts it at the present time. At precisely the time when the obsolescence of our ships demands a peak load of new construction a period of depression hitherto unparalleled in the history of our country comes along and the call of the economist, seconded and abetted by the call of the pacifist, is for a grand reduction instead of an increase in naval expenditures.

Mr. President, we do not keep up our naval forces because we like the military glitter of armaments. We maintain our Navy so as to support our foreign policies, to protect our commerce and our citizens, to guard our possessions at home and abroad, to insure ourselves against attack, and to maintain our neutrality when other nations are at war.

If we do not need a navy for these purposes, there is little reason for us to spend the great sums of money that we annually do spend to keep up a navy. If, on the other hand, we do need a navy for these purposes—and I think all world experience shows that a rich commercial nation like our own must keep up its naval strength if it is to survive—our Navy must be kept up to the requisite strength necessary to fulfill the purpose for which it exists.

A navy that has more than this requisite strength is not needed.

A navy that has less does not meet the purposes for which it exists.

In these times of financial depression we should cut to the bone all expenditures in the Army and Navy that are not necessary to maintain the efficiency of the two military services, but beyond that we can not afford to go.

The annual expenditures of this country for its Army and Navy, when pruned down to the lowest limits of safety, should, to my mind, be regarded as fixed charges of the Government; and, whether in times of prosperity or in times of depression, those fixed charges should be provided for as necessary expenditures to maintain the Government.

The very life of the Nation may depend upon the efficiency of the two military services, and, granting that the maintenance cost has been cut to the bone, there can be no possible excuse for not making the necessary appropriations. That this fact is realized by the other great powers of the world, and notably by the four great naval powers, is conclusively shown when we realize that all four powers in the years of financial depression, which, unlike ourselves, they have been facing since the close of the World War, in however desperate straights they have found themselves have yet kept up their national defense. Every one of these four powers, since the going into effect of the Washington treaty, in 1922, has materially strengthened its naval armament so far as relates to the United States.

This country alone, Mr. President, has sought by its pacifistic example of not building up its Navy to induce the other world powers to keep down their armaments, and a very sorry result our example has brought about.

To allow our Navy for purposes of economy to fall below the proper strength at which it should be maintained is obviously not an economy, but a gamble on the chances that no call will be made for the use of our full naval strength. It may be likened, as has often been said, to the case of a man, who, to save an immediate expenditure of money, neglects to keep up his fire insurance or his life insurance. The Navy insures not only our property and our lives but our very existence as a nation.

At the three naval conferences on the limitation of armaments that have been held—the Washington conference, the Geneva conference, and the London conference—the American demands, based on the judgment of our leading statesmen and naval experts, have crystallized into a demand for a navy equal to that of any other one naval power in the world, by which is meant the navy of Great Britain, and a ratio of substantially 5 to 3 with the navy of Japan. France and Italy, the other two great naval powers, have been allowed by the Washington treaty a lower ratio in capital ships than that of Japan; but as they are still far behind the ratios allowed them in capital ships, and as they are not limited by treaty in other classes of ships, their present naval strength and their building programs do not materially affect the existing naval situation so far as we are concerned, except indirectly.

The degree of naval strength necessary for us to maintain depends, therefore, upon the degree of naval strength maintained by Great Britain and Japan; and that, Mr. President, is precisely what we are not maintaining.

Nothing in present world conditions indicates that war is no longer a possibility to be guarded against, and that, therefore, our national needs for protection are not as imperative as they were at the time of the Washington conference. The other great powers recognize their own needs and prepare to meet them. We alone neglect to do so, and, in the case of the Navy, depend upon the written word, while they depend upon ships. Just at present the written word is selling at a price considerably below par.

There are in this country many well-meaning, but, to my mind, misguided citizens, who in their hatred of war and the evils that go with it oppose all steps for actual preparedness against war. They have been led to believe that armaments necessarily lead to war. They ignore completely the principle that "the strong man armed keepeth his goods in peace," and, against proof positive to the contrary, they believe that the world is looking to the United States to set a great example of relinquishment of armed strength, which the rest of the world will follow.

As a matter of fact, the rest of the world, or at least the four great naval powers, have very clearly demonstrated that they have no intention of following any such example on our part, and, realizing their own immediate needs, are somewhat "fed up" on the advice which we so freely give them to cut down their military programs.

There are pacifists in all countries, but in this country alone of the five great naval powers has their influence become a real menace to the national defense of the country.

China is perhaps the best illustration of a pacifist nation that can be found. Lacking a strong central government with a strong armed force back of it, and with practically no navy to protect her from foreign incursion, she is constantly subjected to internal dissension and is a promising lure to outside attack.

Under the terms of the Constitution it is the duty of Congress to provide and maintain the Navy of the United States, and it is our duty to see that an adequate Navy is maintained.

Not until recent years, with the inauguration of the conferences on limitation of armament, has this provision of the Constitution been practically set aside.

The treaty agreements entered into by the President at the Washington and London conferences, and ratified by the Senate, take away from our coordinate body, the House of Representatives, the right to determine in conjunction with the Senate the size of our Navy. The Senate alone, when acting on the ratification of a treaty, agrees to the limitation provided; and the House of Representatives, which under the Constitution is equally responsible with the Senate, has no opportunity to register its approval or disapproval of the agreement reached.

I am not sufficiently learned in constitutional law to be able to give an opinion of any value as to the legality of the action we have been taking, and I understand that there are decisions which hold that such treaty limitations are legal

and constitutional; but very certainly we are getting away from the ideas of the fathers that Congress, and Congress alone, except for the veto power of the President, should provide for and maintain our Navy.

I have had prepared in the Naval Affairs Committee certain tables made up from the official data which is regularly furnished by the Navy Department to the committee.

These tables have been checked by the Navy Department, and the Secretary of the Navy has testified in the hearings before the committee that they are substantially accurate. I ask that they be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

STATISTICS ON PRINCIPAL NAVIES OF THE WORLD

Summary of vessels on December 31, 1931

IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY

Type	Built						Building		Appropriated for		Grand total	
	Under age		Over age		Total							
	Number	Tons	Number	Tons	Number	Tons	Number	Tons	Number	Tons	Number	Tons
Capital ships	15	455,400			15	455,400					15	455,400
Aircraft carriers	3	77,500			3	77,500	1	13,800			4	91,300
Cruisers:												
Category A	8	72,900	1	7,350	9	80,250	7	70,000	3	30,000	[1]19	180,250
Category B	10	70,500			10	70,500					10	70,500
Destroyers	69	81,450	186	190,620	255	272,070	5	[2]7,500	6	[2]9,000	266	288,570
Submarines	65	58,220	16	8,030	81	66,250	3	3,800			84	70,050
Total	170	815,970	203	206,000	373	1,021,970	16	95,100	9	[2]39,000	398	1,156,070

IN THE NAVY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Capital ships	18	555,050			18	555,050					18	555,050
Aircraft carriers	6	115,350			6	115,350					6	115,350
Cruisers:												
Category A	19	183,686			19	183,686					19	183,686
Category B	30	139,140	6	23,445	36	162,585	4	28,000	3	10,000	43	200,585
Destroyers	33	42,211	127	133,170	160	175,381	14	19,290	9	12,375	183	207,046
Submarines	48	49,919	11	6,610	59	56,529	6	5,825	3	[2]2,850	68	65,204
Total	154	1,085,356	144	163,225	298	1,248,581	24	53,115	15	34,225	337	1,335,921

IN THE JAPANESE NAVY

Capital ships	10	298,400			10	298,400					10	298,400
Aircraft carriers	3	61,270			3	61,270	1	7,600			4	68,870
Cruisers:												
Category A	8	68,400	2	15,720	10	84,120	4	40,000			14	124,120
Category B	17	81,455	3	11,920	20	93,375	1	8,500	3	25,500	24	127,375
Destroyers	79	95,685	18	16,000	97	111,685	7	11,578	11	15,158	115	138,421
Submarines	67	70,973			67	70,973	5	8,269	8	10,300	80	89,542
Total	184	676,183	23	43,640	207	719,823	18	75,947	22	50,958	247	846,782

IN THE FRENCH NAVY

Capital ships	6	133,134	3	52,791	9	185,925			1	[3]23,333	10	209,258
Aircraft carriers	1	22,146			1	22,146					1	22,146
Cruisers:												
Category A	5	50,000	5	54,424	10	104,424	2	20,000			12	124,424
Category B	6	38,280	4	20,361	10	58,641	1	5,886	2	14,000	13	78,527
Destroyers	44	75,486	35	25,719	79	101,205	13	32,501	1	1,500	93	135,201
Submarines	57	53,751	22	14,850	79	68,601	31	29,282			110	97,875
Total	119	372,797	69	168,145	188	540,942	47	87,669	4	38,833	239	667,431

IN THE ITALIAN NAVY

Capital ships	4	86,532			4	86,532					4	86,532
Aircraft carriers												
Cruisers:												
Category A	4	40,000	4	33,642	8	73,642	3	30,000			11	103,642
Category B	4	19,584	7	22,386	11	41,970	4	21,502			15	63,472
Destroyers	47	53,786	29	22,947	76	76,733	10	12,593			86	89,327
Submarines	30	25,537	16	5,321	46	30,858	29	21,902			75	52,760
Total	89	225,439	56	84,296	145	309,735	46	85,997			191	395,733

[1] In addition 5 of 10,000 tons each, authorized; but by the terms of the London treaty may not be built as 8-inch cruisers.
[2] Estimated.
[3] The 1931-32 program provided money for the plans of a capital ship of about 23,000 tons.

TABLE I.—*Ships laid down and completed since the Washington treaty (February, 1922) and ships now building or appropriated for*

Type	United States		Great Britain		Japan		France		Italy	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
Capital ships			2	67,400			[2]1			
Aircraft carriers	[1]1	13,800	(3)		[4]1	7,600	1	22,146		
Cruisers A	18	172,900	15	144,260	12	108,400	7	70,000	7	70,000
Cruisers B			7	47,000	8	52,475	8	52,902	8	41,086
Destroyers	11	16,500	45	61,441	63	89,016	57	108,685	40	51,656
Submarines	6	11,970	27	34,814	42	59,871	78	76,913	54	44,651
Total	36	215,170	96	354,915	126	317,362	152	329,646	109	207,393

TABLE IA.—*Summary*

Country	Number of ships	Tonnage
United States	36	215,170
Great Britain	96	354,915
Japan	126	317,362
France	152	329,646
Italy	109	207,393

[1]$1,500,000 has been appropriated for plans for this vessel, but her construction has not yet been started.
[2]Does not include the Lexington and Saratoga, as their keels were laid down prior to 1922.
[3]Does not include the Courageous and Glorious, as their keels were laid down prior to 1922.
[4]Does not include the Kaga and Akagi, as their keels were laid down prior to 1922.

TABLE II.—*Vessels under age on December 31, 1936 [by the terms of the Washington and London treaties], provided ships now building and appropriated for are completed, and provided no additional ships are authorized and built*

Type	United States			Great Britain			Japan			France		Italy	
	Number	Per cent of allowance	Tonnage	Number	Per cent of allowance	Tonnage	Number	Per cent of allowance	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
Capital ships	8		[1]251,600	4		[2]138,650	5		[3]154,750				
Aircraft carriers	3	59	79,800	6	85	115,350	4	85	68,870	1	22,146		
Cruisers A	16	85	152,900	15	100	[4]144,260	12	100	108,400	7	70,000	7	70,000
Cruisers B	10	49	70,500	14	45	85,980	18	100	[4]103,895	8	52,902	8	41,086
Destroyers	11	11	16,500	47	43	64,401	70	91	96,291	57	108,685	46	57,555
Submarines	20	51	27,070	33	78	41,209	47	100	[5]63,972	80	77,550	54	44,651
Total	68		598,370	119		589,850	156		596,178	153	331,283	115	213,292

[1]Approximately 9,000 tons will be added to this figure when the Mississippi, New Mexico, and Idaho are modernized.
[2]This figure does not include additional tonnage that will be added when Barham is bulged.
[3]This figure does not include additional tonnage that will be added when Japanese capital ships are modernized.
[4]This figure does not include the Frobisher and Effingham, which may be scrapped during 1936 but do not become over age until 1940 and 1941.
[5]Article 20 (b) of the London treaty provides that Japan may replace the Tama during 1936, although she does not become over age until 1937.
[6]Article 20 (d) of the London treaty provides that Japan may anticipate replacements during the term of the treaty by laying down not more than 19,200 tons of submarine tonnage, of which not more than 12,000 tons shall be completed by Dec. 31, 1936.

TABLE IIA.—*Summary*

Country	Number of ships	Tonnage	Excluding battleships
United States	68	598,370	346,770
Great Britain	119	589,850	450,200
Japan	156	596,178	441,423
France	153	331,283	331,283
Italy	115	213,292	213,292

TABLE IIB.—*Ratios excluding capital ships*

United States	10.0
Great Britain	13.0
Japan	12.7
France	9.6
Italy	6.1

TABLE III.—*Comparative ratios*

Assumptions	Date	United States	Great Britain	Japan
Total vessels built and building	Jan. 1, 1922	10	6.6	4.5
Total vessels not over age built and building	Dec. 31, 1931	10	11.6	7.9
Total vessels not over age built, building, and appropriated for	Dec. 31, 1936	10	9.9	10.0

TABLE IIIA

	Great Britain	Japan
Per cent increase over the United States from 1922 to 1931	35	75
Per cent increase over the United States from 1922 to 1936	15	122

TABLE IV.—*Additional program necessary to build up to treaty strength by December 31, 1936*

Type	United States		Great Britain		Japan	
	Approximate number	Tons	Approximate number	Tons	Approximate number	Tons
Capital ships						
Aircraft carriers	3	85,200	1	19,650	1	12,130
Cruisers A		(1)				
Cruisers B	7	73,000	10 to 15	[2]105,220		
Destroyers	85	133,500	57	85,699	6	9,209
Submarines	23	25,630	11	11,491		
Total	118	287,330	79 to 84	223,060	7	21,339

[1]Excludes 3 ten-thousand-ton cruisers that may not be completed until 1936, 1937, and 1938.
[2]Article 20 (a) of the London Treaty provides that only 91,000 tons may be completed prior to December 31, 1936.

TABLE IVA.—*Summary*

Country	Approximate number of ships	Total tonnage
United States	118	287,330
Great Britain	79 to 84	223,000
Japan	7	21,339



TABLE V.—*Treaty allowances*

	United States	Great Britain	Japan	France	Italy
	Tons	*Tons*	*Tons*	*Tons*	*Tons*
Capital ships	[1] [2] 525,000	[1] [2] 525,000	[1] [2] 315,000	[4] 175,000	[4] 175,000
Aircraft carriers	135,000	135,000	81,000	60,000	60,000
Cruisers A	[3] 180,000	146,800	108,400	[5]	[5]
Cruisers B	[6] 143,500	192,200	100,450	[5]	[5]
Destroyers	150,000	150,000	105,500	[5]	[5]
Submarines	52,700	52,700	52,700	[5]	[5]
Total	1,186,200	1,201,700	763,050		

[1] 15 vessels.
[2] Replacement allowances.
[3] 9 vessels.
[4] France and Italy are not limited as to number of vessels, but are limited in tonnage to 175,000 tons.
[5] France and Italy did not ratify the London treaty fixing allowances in these categories.
[6] 15,500 tons may be added to this amount if the United States elects to have only fifteen 8-inch gun cruisers instead of eighteen 8-inch gun cruisers.
[7] Thirty thousand tons may not be completed until 1936, 1937, and 1938.

TABLE VI.—*Program necessary for the United States to attain equality with Great Britain [in each category in which the United States is deficient] provided Great Britain completes her present program*

Type	Approximate number	Tonnage
Capital ships		
Aircraft carriers	2 to 3	35,550
Cruisers A		
Cruisers B	2	15,480
Destroyers	31	47,901
Submarines	12 to 13	14,139
Total	47 to 49	113,070

TABLE VIA.—*Program necessary for the United States to attain actual equality with Japan [in each category in which the United States is deficient] provided Japan completes her present program*

Type	Approximate number	Tonnage
Capital ships		
Aircraft carriers		
Cruisers A		
Cruisers B	4	33,395
Destroyers	53	79,791
Submarines	23	25,630
Total	80	138,816

TABLE VIB.—*Program necessary for the United States to maintain the ratio with Japan allowed by the Washington and London treaties [provided Japan completes her present program]*

Type	Approximate number	Tonnage
Capital ships		
Aircraft carriers	2	34,750
Cruisers A		[1]
Cruisers B	7	73,000
Destroyers	80	120,000
Submarines	23	25,630
Total	112	253,380

[1] Excludes 3 ten thousand ton cruisers that may not be completed until 1936, 1937, and 1938.

TABLE VIC.—*Summary*

	Approximate number of ships	Tons
Program necessary to:		
Build up to treaty strength	118	287,330
To attain equality with Great Britain in the categories in which the United States is deficient	47 to 49	113,070
To attain equality with Japan in the categories in which the United States is deficient	80	138,816
Maintain ratio with Japan in the categories in which the United States is deficient	112	253,380

FINANCIAL DATA

TABLE VII.—*Estimated cost to replace treaty navy*

Type	Tonnage allowed by treaty	Estimated cost per standard ton (bare ship)	Total estimated replacement cost	Effective life in years	Average expenditures required each year over a 20-year period
Capital ships	525,000	$1,058	$555,450,000	20	$27,772,500
Aircraft carriers	135,000	1,280	172,800,000	20	8,640,000
Cruisers A	180,000	1,477	265,860,000	20	13,293,000
Cruisers B	143,500	1,526	218,981,000	20	10,949,050
Destroyers	150,000	2,523	378,450,000	16	23,653,125
Submarines	52,700	2,953	155,623,100	13	11,971,000
Total			1,747,164,100		96,278,675
Less 15 capital ships					27,772,500
Average expenditures required each year					68,506,175

TABLE VIII.—*Estimated expenditures to build up to treaty strength by December 31, 1936*

Type	Total allowance	Not "overage" on Dec. 31, 1936	Shortage	Replacement cost per ton standard	Total replacement cost
Capital ships	525,000	[1]			
Aircraft carriers	135,000	79,800	55,200	$1,280	$70,656,000
Cruisers A	180,000				
Cruisers B	143,500	70,500	73,000	1,526	111,398,000
Destroyers	150,000	16,500	133,500	2,523	336,820,500
Submarines	52,700	27,070	25,630	2,953	75,685,390
Total	1,186,200		287,330		594,559,890
Three 8-inch cruisers A of 10,000 tons each					81,000,000
Estimated expenditures to complete ships already appropriated for[2]					[3] 119,764,000
Grand total					765,323,890

[1] By treaty, none.
[2] Total expenditures except airplanes.
[3] Includes 11 destroyers.

TABLE IX.—*Appropriations and expenditures under "Increase of the Navy"*

Fiscal year ending June—	Appropriations	Expenditures
1932	$38,550,000	[1] $53,000,000
1931	40,965,000	37,944,000
1930	48,920,000	49,872,000
1929	48,400,000	46,760,000
1928	39,165,000	36,935,000
1927	33,275,000	27,430,000
1926	11,444,000	25,250,000
1925	47,950,000	34,022,000
1924	54,097,000	41,697,000
1923	7,500,000	46,682,000
Total	379,266,000	399,592,000
Yearly average	37,926,600	39,959,200

[1] Estimated.

NOTE.—Budget estimates for fiscal year 1933 are: Appropriations, $37,400,000; expenditures, $67,000,000.

TABLE X

Estimated expenditures required to—

1. Build up to Great Britain in categories in which the United States is deficient	$349,971,170
2. Build up to Japan in categories in which the United States is deficient	447,722,853
3. Maintain ratio with Japan allowed by Washington and London treaties	654,087,390
4. Build up to treaty strength by Dec. 31, 1936	765,323,890

TABLE XI

Estimated yearly expenditures required under "Increase of the Navy" to—

1. Replace the combatant ships on the Navy list on Dec. 31, 1931, and which are not in excess of treaty allowances	$87,422,997
2. Replace the combatant ships allowed by the Washington and London naval treaties	96,278,675

TABLE XII.—*Estimated yearly expenditures required under "Increase of the Navy" over a 20-year period to replace the combatant ships as they become overage under terms of the treaties*

Estimated yearly expenditures required to—	Column I Includes capital ships	Column II Excludes capital ships	Column III Average yearly expenditures over 10-year period, 1923–1932	Column IV Underexpended during 10-year period, 1923–1932 (Col. I minus Col. III)	Column V Estimated expenditures required during 10-year period, 1933–1942 (Col. I plus Col. IV)	Column VI Underexpended during first 10-year period, excluding capital ships (Col. II minus Col. III)	Column VII Expenditures required during second 10-year period, capital ships excluded (Col. II plus Col. VI)
1. Replace the combatant ships allowed by the Washington and London treaties	$96, 278, 675	$68, 506, 175	$39, 960, 000	$56, 318, 675	$152, 597, 350	$28, 546, 175	$97, 052, 350
2. Replace the combatant ships on the Navy list on Dec. 31, 1931, and which are not in excess of treaty allowances	87, 423, 000	59, 650, 000	39, 960, 000	47, 463, 000	134, 886, 000	19, 690, 000	79, 340, 000

ADDENDA

The following diagrams, prepared in the Navy Department and presented by the Secretary of the Navy at the hearings before the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate, give comparative naval costs of the United States and other naval powers.

As explained by the Secretary, though there are differences in the periods upon which these calculations are based, the latest complete reliable data have been used, and it is believed that the ratios would vary but slightly if it were possible to reduce the various factors to a common-date denominator.

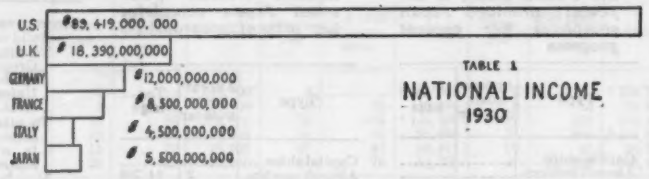


TABLE 1
NATIONAL INCOME
1930

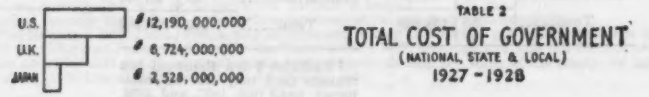


TABLE 2
TOTAL COST OF GOVERNMENT
(NATIONAL, STATE & LOCAL)
1927 - 1928

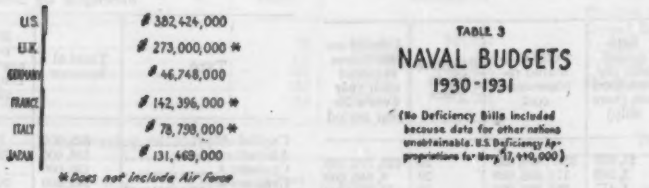


TABLE 3
NAVAL BUDGETS
1930-1931
(No Deficiency Bills included because data for other nations unobtainable. U.S. Deficiency Appropriations for Navy, $17,440,000)

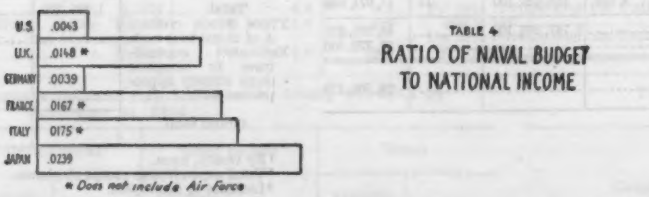


TABLE 4
RATIO OF NAVAL BUDGET
TO NATIONAL INCOME

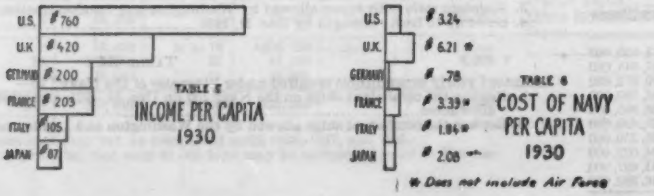


TABLE 5
INCOME PER CAPITA
1930

TABLE 6
COST OF NAVY
PER CAPITA
1930

Mr. HALE. These tables show the relative strength of the navies of the various nations in 1922, their present strength, their building programs, and their probable strength in ships "not overage" on December 31, 1936, provided no additional programs are undertaken. Ships building and appropriated for include only those that are actually in process of construction and those that have been appropriated for, but do not include those that have been merely authorized. They also contain other financial and statistical data. Certain salient points stand out.

The tables show that our Navy is fast becoming a navy of obsolete ships; that is to say, our Navy is largely composed of ships that are held by the general consensus of opinion of the naval experts and the civilian delegates to the Washington and London conferences to be no longer modern ships. We have on the Navy list at the present time 373 vessels of a tonnage of 1,021,790 tons; but of the 373 vessels only 170 are underage, and within a short time nearly two-thirds of the 170 become overage. In the destroyer category every destroyer now in existence will have become overage by the end of the year 1934; and in the submarine category all but 20 will have become overage before the end of 1936. In this category the need for replacement is particularly pressing, in that in view of the extreme hazards of the submarine service overage vessels, according to practically all naval opinion, may not be safely used to make up a deficiency in modern vessels.

The existing available naval strength of the United States, leaving out all ships under construction or appropriated for, that of Great Britain, and that of Japan are substantially as follows:

In battleships, while we have 15 in existence, 3 of these battleships are undergoing modernization and will not be available for more than a year's time. Great Britain has 18, 1 of which at least is about to be modernized and will probably not be available at the present time. Of the 10 Japanese battleships, under the rotation plan by which she operates her navy all are available within 15 days' time. In battleships, therefore, our respective available units would be: The United States, 12; Great Britain, 17; and Japan, 10.

In aircraft carriers we have 3, of a tonnage of 77,500 tons; Great Britain has 6, of a tonnage of 115,350 tons; and Japan has 3, of a tonnage of 61,270 tons.

In cruisers of subcategory A we have 8 of a tonnage of 72,900 tons and the old cruiser *Rochester;* Great Britain has 19 of a tonnage of 183,686 tons, including the 4 of the *Hawkins* class. Japan has 8 of a tonnage of 68,400 tons and 2 of a type similar to our *Rochester*.

In cruisers of subcategory B, 6-inch guns and under, we have 10 of a tonnage of 70,500 tons; Great Britain has 30 of a tonnage of 139,140 tons in under-age vessels and 6 of a tonnage of 23,445 tons of over-age vessels. Japan has 17 cruisers of a tonnage of 81,445 tons in under-age vessels and 3 of a tonnage of 11,920 tons in over-age vessels.

In destroyers, we have 69 of a tonnage of 81,450 tons in under-age vessels and 186 of a tonnage of 190,620 tons in over-age vessels. Seventy-four of these over-age vessels have already been put on the disposal list, and 44 more are in such a state of repair that they would in all probability not be available for use until extensive repairs could be made, leaving substantially 140 destroyers on which we could count in time of emergency. All of our destroyers were laid down under pre-war plans, and none of them are to be compared with the modern destroyers that we find in large numbers in the navies of Great Britain and Japan.

Great Britain has 33 under-age destroyers of a tonnage of 42,211 tons, 22 of which are of postwar construction, and 127 of a tonnage of 133,170 tons are over-age destroyers, many of which are in the same used-up condition as are our own.

Japan has 79 under-age vessels of a tonnage of 95,685 tons, all but 34 of which destroyers are modern vessels of postwar construction, and 18 of 16,000 tons of over-age vessels.

In submarines we have 65 under-age vessels of a tonnage of 58,220 tons and 16 over-age submarines of a tonnage of 8,030 tons. As I have already said, the hazardous service of these vessels practically precludes the use of over-age submarines. Great Britain has 48 of 49,919 tons under-age and 11 of 6,610 tons over-age. Japan has 67 submarines of a tonnage of 70,973 tons under-age and none over-age.

From these figures it is evident that at the present time in available ships our Navy is inferior to the British Navy in capital ships, aircraft carriers, and both cruiser categories. In destroyers we have a substantial superiority in tonnage and ship units, but this superiority is to a great extent offset by the fact that Great Britain has many destroyers of postwar construction, while we have none.

In the submarine category we have a superiority in tonnage, but again in postwar construction Great Britain has six times the number of postwar submarines that we have.

As far as Japan is concerned, in present available capital ships we have a superiority of only two battleships. In aircraft carriers we have the same number of units, but our tonnage is about 15,000 tons greater than Japan's, and we are therefore able to carry a somewhat larger air force on our carriers than she can carry on her carriers.

In cruisers of subcategory A, the 8-inch-gun cruiser, we are equal in numbers and substantially equal in tonnage. In cruisers of subcategory B, cruisers with 6-inch guns and under, Japan is superior to us both in numbers and in tonnage.

In destroyers, as with Great Britain, we have a considerable superiority in numbers and tonnage, but Japan's preponderance in modern vessels is even more marked than in the case of the British.

In submarines Japan has more vessels and a greater tonnage than we have, and again a very great preponderance of modern submarines.

In available ships, therefore, as far as Japan is concerned, while we have a considerable superiority in tonnage, due to the large number of overage vessels on the Navy list, in actual combat strength we have little superiority and are very nearly on an even footing.

As a result of not going ahead with replacement construction and not adding to our Navy in categories in which we have been lacking, we find ourselves with a Navy that, unless we biuld new ships, will consist, at the expiration of the London treaty in 1936, of but 68 modern ships instead of the 196 to which we are entitled under the treaty. In battleships and cruisers of subcategory A alone—the 8-inch-gun cruisers—shall we be up to our treaty strength. In aircraft carriers we shall have but two-thirds of our treaty allowance. In 6-inch-gun cruisers we shall have approximately one-half of our treaty strength. In destroyers we shall have but 11 of the 96 allowed us, and in submarines less than one-half of our treaty allowance. A thoroughly miserable showing for a supposedly modern navy.

The proportion of overage ships to modern ships in our Navy at the present time is far greater than in the navies of Great Britain, Japan, France, or Italy, and especially is this true of the Japanese Navy. Japan has 207 ships on her navy list, of which only 23 are over-age.

It is true, as President Hoover stated in his message to Congress at the opening of the present session, that at the present time we have in process of construction more tonnage than any of the four other great naval powers, but when one takes into consideration the fact that including this new building tonnage we have laid down or appropriated for but 36 combatant vessels since the Washington conference, while in the same time Great Britain has laid down or appropriated for 96 combatant vessels, Japan 126, France 152, and Italy 109, we can not point to our present building program with much pride. Furthermore, 6 of the 36 vessels referred to are the destroyers which Congress appropriated for last year, but for some reason the President has not seen fit to go ahead with their construction. Three more are the three 8-inch-gun cruisers which, under the terms of the London treaty, may not be laid down until 1934, 1935, and 1936, though a small amount of money has already been spent on starting their plans under a past appropriation by the Congress.

These facts dispose for all time of the claim made by many people in this country that if the United States does not build ships, the other naval powers of the world will follow our example, and, in their turn, will not build. Instead of following our example, all of the other four nations have materially strengthened their navies since the time of the Washington conference.

At the expiration of the London treaty in 1936, if we build no further ships, this existing proportion will have increased to the extent that only one-third of the ships

allowed us under the treaty will be modern, under-age ships. Great Britain at that time, under her present building program, will have substantially six out of every ten of her ships of modern construction; and Japan, with her present building program carried out, will have all but seven of the 163 ships in her treaty quota modern, under-age ships.

To build up in modern ships to the treaty terms by the end of the year 1936 we shall have to build 118 ships, Great Britain approximately 80 ships, and Japan only 7 ships.

At the time of the Washington conference, with the great 1916 building program well on its way toward completion, we were coming to a position of preeminence in naval armament, a position that on the completion of all ships building in the three countries would have placed us on a ratio of 10 for ourselves to 8.6 for Great Britain, and 4.5 for Japan.

The completion of our capital ships then building would have given us a capital ship force more powerful in all probability than the combined capital ship forces of the rest of the world then building or planned for. That position of preeminence we gave up at the Washington conference and agreed to a basis of equality with Great Britain and a ratio of 5 to 3 with Japan in capital ships and carriers.

The Washington ratio we still maintain in respect to capital ships; though, as I have said, three of our battleships which are undergoing modernization are not immediately available, but in other types of ships we have been so far outbuilt by both Great Britain and Japan at the present time our ratio in under-age ships of all kinds is 10 for ourselves to 11.6 for Great Britain and 7.9 for Japan.

If we build no further ships before December 31, 1936, than those already authorized, and Great Britain and Japan carry out the programs which they have already authorized and appropriated for, our relative position in regard to Japan will become so much worse that she will be on a parity with us in under-age tonnage of modern ships, but in actual ships she will have more than twice the number that we shall have.

Our ratio with Great Britain, on the contrary, will have improved by the end of 1936. Her ratio will drop from 11.6 in 1931 to 9.9 in 1936, or practically the same as our own. This drop is due to the fact that we shall have at that time 8 capital ships still under age, under the 20-year age limit provided by the Washington treaty, while she will have but 4, and the 113,000 additional tons of capital ships that we shall have in 1936 will bring us up to substantial tonnage parity with her, though she will have, as I have said before, 119 under-age ships to our 68.

The tables show that to build up to equality with Great Britain by the end of 1936 and to retain the present capital-ship force, whose age of replacement has already been extend to 1936 and may or may not be later extended, we shall have to build from 47 to 49 ships of 113,000 tons. To come up merely to equality with Japan in categories of ships in which we are and shall be deficient, if we do no further building before the end of 1936, we shall have to build 80 ships of a tonnage of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and odd tons, and to reach the ratio with Japan allowed by the Washington and London treaties we shall have to build 112 ships of two hundred and fifty-three thousand and odd tons.

These figures contemplate the carrying out of the present building programs authorized and appropriated for by the three countries.

From these figures it is quite evident that the country that has made the greatest strides in naval armament is not Great Britain but Japan. Japan has taken a legitimate advantage under the terms of the treaties of the laxity of her neighbors, and the next difficulty that we shall have to face will without doubt be a demand on her part for parity with Great Britain and the United States.

The fact that she will have nearly all of her quota of ships actually built or building at the expiration of the London treaty will give considerable force to her demands, and if we continue our policy of nonbuilding we shall be in a very poor position to dispute those demands.

A navy equal to our own in the Pacific opens up many interesting problems for the future, and is not at all in conformance with our declared needs at the time of the Washington and London conferences, and no one can truthfully say that conditions in the East, with the dove of peace in temporary hibernation on the China coast, warrant any lessening of those needs.

A treaty navy would allow us substantially 196 combatant ships. With the exception of the battleships and subcategory A cruisers, the limitations of the treaty are based on tonnage figures entirely.

These one hundred and ninety-six and odd ships would cost to build or to replace $1,747,000,000.

Based on the provisions of the London treaty covering the age limit of combatant ships, the entire complement of a fleet becomes over-age in from 13 to 20 years from the date that the ships were completed. That is to say, every 20 years under the terms of the London treaty a navy must renew itself or, at its option—if it is to keep up the tonnage allowance of the treaty—continue along with the use of obsolete or over-age ships. Such over-age or obsolete ships, with the improvements that are constantly being made in war vessels, even though kept up in a state of good repair, are not in any way to be compared to vessels of more modern construction. They are far more expensive, as far as economy is concerned, to maintain and repair, and aside from their weaker combatant value in the long run it is probably cheaper to replace them when they become over-age.

I have said that under the over-age provisions of the London treaty a navy should replace itself in 20 years. During that period the destroyers and submarines would become over-age, the former in 16 years and the latter in 13 years. This would mean that vessels of these types would have to be twice replaced in the 20-year period.

The annual cost of replacement of a treaty navy on a 20-year basis, including the double replacement of some of the destroyers and submarines, would be in round numbers $96,000,000. The annual cost of replacement of our present Navy, allowing in the destroyer and submarine categories, where we have a great surplus of old vessels, the tonnage limits of the London treaty, would be $87,000,000. Both the figures for the treaty navy and the present Navy include the replacements for the battleships, but, as under the terms of the Washington and London treaties, the battleships are not to be replaced until after the year 1936, their replacement costs may be cut off for the present, leaving sixty-eight and fifty-nine millions for annual replacement, respectively.

The tables show that during the 10 years from 1922 to the end of the fiscal year 1932 we shall have spent $399,592,000 for new naval construction of combatant vessels of the Navy. This amount spread over a period of 10 years up to July of next year gives us an average for the 10 years of $39,959,000 for new construction of combatant ships of the Navy.

Provided a navy is to be replaced within a period of years, the cutting down of appropriations for such replacements during any one year or any number of years does not permanently save the appropriation. It simply means that in the ensuing years of the program the difference has to be made up. If a navy costs a billion dollars to replace and the life of that navy is 20 years, and if instead of spending $500,000,000 during the first 10 years only $200,000,000 are spent, it follows that during the last 10 years $800,000,000 must be spent to complete the program.

In other words, if we have to spend an average of $59,000,000 a year for 20 years to replace our present Navy and during the last 10 years have spent only an average of $39,000,000 a year, during the next 10 years we must add an average of twenty millions a year to the fifty-nine millions of the 20-year average, making seventy-nine millions a year for the next 10 years that must be spent merely to replace the ships other than capital ships of our present Navy.

The Budget estimates for next year call for expenditures under "Increase of the Navy" of but $57,000,000, which is not as much as the normal yearly expenditure required to keep up our present Navy and does not take into account the

twenty million average annual deficiency in expenditures during the past 10 years.

What we have been attempting to do for the past 10 years is to run a plant whose normal depreciation is about 6 per cent a year on a depreciation basis of 4 per cent a year, and the results are what would be expected in any manufacturing plant. It can not be done. The machinery deteriorates and the plant wears out. That is precisely what is happening to our Navy.

To build up and to keep up the replacements of a treaty navy for the next 20 years will require an annual average yearly expenditure of only $9,000,000 more than to keep during the same time the replacements of our present incomplete Navy under the limitation in categories of the London treaty. The only new ships that we shall have to add that are not replacements of existing ships are two aircraft carriers and seven 6-inch-gun cruisers.

I am aware that the figures which I have given are somewhat tedious, and that they are merely approximate figures based on the Navy Department's estimates of the cost of construction per ton of the different categories of ships, but they certainly indicate so that "he who runs may read" that we have not taken since the date of the Washington treaty, and are not now taking, any adequate steps to keep up even the Navy that we now have.

Neither should we lose sight of the fact that while we have been letting our Navy deteriorate all of the other naval powers have built their navies up. Far less able than ourselves to finance naval-building programs they yet have built. With them the financial straits that they were in did not deter them from at all costs building up their navies. No call for economy has kept them back. At whatever sacrifice to themselves in other needed expenditures they have kept up their naval strength.

Mr. President, it is an expensive matter to keep up an adequate navy, but it is a far more expensive matter if the time should come when that navy is imperatively needed and the navy can not respond. We must not forget that toward the end of the World War we were spending in one month sums of money nearly equal to the total cost of building an entirely new navy of the full strength of the London treaty.

Included in the tables I have put into the RECORD is a diagram presented by the Secretary of the Navy to the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate giving the comparative naval costs of the United States and other naval powers. From these figures it will be seen that the cost per capita of maintaining our Navy is a little less than one-half of 1 per cent of the average per capita income of our people. The cost to Great Britain is about 1½ per cent; to France, 1½ per cent; to Italy, 1.75 per cent; and to Japan, 2.39 per cent. As a matter of fact, our percentage is but very little more than that of Germany, which is not generally reckoned, since the Versailles treaty, as one of the great naval powers of the world.

Should any nation party to the Washington or the London treaty find itself involved in war all limitations under the treaties would be off, and such nation would develop its navy to the maximum extent needed by it in such a war. The treaty limitations do nothing but establish a peace-time footing for the naval powers and are in fact nothing but a preliminary start given the several nations. The degree of the start given any nation determines to a great extent its invulnerability against attack. Not to take advantage, at least relatively, of the degree of this invulnerability accorded us by the other powers is a hazardous experiment in the uncertain times which now face the world.

In the last analysis, if we are ever forced into a war, every step that we shall have taken to prepare ourselves for war will be of the utmost value to expedite its successful conclusion. Every ship in the Navy, obsolete or modern, will, if the exigencies of the war demand it, be used, and it is for us to determine whether we will send out our men in modern effective fighting ships or in obsolete ships that have little chance against a properly equipped enemy. Warships do not spring up overnight. For many months the naval force that we can put into a war will be the force that we have at the commencement of the war, plus any ships then building that may come into commission. It will take many weary months of waiting, even under forced war-time construction, before the initial force can in any way be augmented.

Under the Budget system, as every Senator knows, and as few outside of Congress seem to understand, no appropriations may be made for any project until that project has received legislative sanction, except by unanimous consent. Neither can the Bureau of the Budget recommend to the Congress any appropriations until the Congress has first authorized the project.

What Senate bill 51 does is to give legislative sanction to the project of building up the United States Navy to the limits allowed it under the Washington treaty of 1922 and the London treaty of 1930. Should this bill become a law, the Bureau of the Budget every summer when it makes up its recommendations for the next convening Congress may lawfully, under the authorization in the bill, recommend to Congress, after recommendations from the Navy Department, an orderly building program for the ensuing year for its consideration. We shall not find ourselves when Congress meets next December as we find ourselves this year, due to the failure of the construction bill last winter, with no recommendation from the Bureau of the Budget or the Navy Department, since the Navy Department can not act without the sanction of the bureau for any new building program whatever for the Navy.

With this bill enacted, and without further legislation, the Bureau of the Budget will be in a position to recommend a proper naval building program for the coming years, all of which will be of the greatest assistance to the Navy in allotting over the years a building program which will permit the necessary building up of its ships over a period of years without running into a peak-load year, the inevitable result of sporadic and piecemeal legislation.

There is nothing in the bill that would in any way force the laying down of all of the ships permitted us under the treaty allowance, either by the end of the year 1936 or at any specified future date. Like the amended 1916 building program, which called for the building of more than 140 ships, the last of which have not yet been laid down, it may or may not be used to its fullest extent, depending upon the amount of new construction laid down by the other powers. If they do not feel that they need keep their navies up to their treaty allowance, neither need we. If they are willing to abandon their existing programs, we can meet them halfway.

Mr. President, I do believe that it is imperatively necessary to build our Navy up to the ratios provided by the London treaty, and the American people and the United States Senate were led to believe that such would be the result of the ratification of the London treaty. Instead of catching up with the other powers we are falling farther and farther behind every day, and that brings us to the direct effect of the passage of this bill on the disarmament conference at Geneva.

Many people in this country are beginning to look with skepticism upon the conferences for limitation of armaments which are constantly being held. I think the sentiment of the American people is without doubt in favor of limitation of armament that will not jeopardize our position in the world, provided our own naval needs are looked after at these conferences, and provided that any reductions in naval armaments that are brought about shall be relative. But if our people get the idea that to bring about the success of any such conference we alone must agree to the sacrifice of some part of our national security, they will not much longer stand for having their delegates take part in such conferences. Neither do I believe that they will much longer stand for the pacifist policy of limiting armament in every way possible by international agreement and then neglecting to follow the example of the other powers in building up to the allowances permitted them under the treaties.

In this country I am sorry to say that the people who have made the strongest calls for the holding of disarmament conferences have been the very ones to discourage the building up of our Navy in accordance with what other powers are doing.

If we are going to take part in disarmament conferences, we must be very certain that our delegates make the same fight for our interests that the delegates of other countries make for theirs and that they do not yield an iota of our American needs for the purpose of making a nominal success of the conference.

At the Washington conference we gave up naval predominance and the security which it brings for the sake of bringing about an agreement for parity with Great Britain in capital ships and carriers and a ratio of 5 to 3 with Japan.

At the time of the Washington conference Japan asked for a higher ratio and finally accepted the ratio of 5 to 3 upon the specific agreement that the powers should not further fortify any of their holdings in the Pacific within a certain area.

At the London conference we gave up a predominance which we were fast reaching in 8-inch-gun cruisers, a type of ship which is particularly suited to our needs, and at the same time, while still bound by our agreement not to fortify our bases in the Pacific, permitted Japan a material increase in her ratio.

Our experts at the time of the Washington conference held the view that on a ratio of 5 to 3 we could meet Japan on barely even terms in eastern waters. I have never heard it claimed that we could do so were she given a higher ratio. However, to insure the success of the conference, it was necessary to grant Japan the increase, and it was granted.

What sacrifices we will be called upon to make to bring about any agreement at the Geneva conference I hesitate to contemplate.

It may be claimed that the Congress is responsible for the present situation in which we find ourselves. The Congress has had a very difficult situation to face. Most of the ships calling for present replacement are in the destroyer and submarine categories. During the World War, owing to the German policy of destroying, through submarine attack, merchant ships of all nations that were carrying supplies to the Allies, at the suggestion of the British Government and to meet the submarine menace, we built a large number of destroyers. Not until last year did a sufficient number of these destroyers become over-age to reduce us below the limits of the London treaty in under-age vessels.

In the submarine category as a legacy from the World War we have had and still have more than the 52,700 tons permitted us under the London treaty in under-age vessels.

In view of our great surplusage in these categories, the necessity of laying down new vessels to take the place of those that would become obsolete has not impressed the Congress as perhaps it should have done.

Most of our efforts to build up the Navy have been turned toward building up in the cruiser and aircraft-carrier categories, in which we were almost entirely lacking in modern units.

It is very true that the Navy Department has had the coming obsolescence of these ships in mind for a considerable period of time and has sought to have the Congress approve a building program, but with the constant probability of future disarmament conferences before us and the hope that at these future conferences naval armament would be so cut down that many of the necessary replacements would eventually become unnecessary, the Congress has not, as I think it should have done, gone ahead and authorized a comprehensive building program to bring our Navy in modern ships up to our requirements.

With the other naval powers the probability of a future disarmament conference acts as a spur to further building on their part. With this country the exact opposite prevails, and the future conference is used as an excuse for delaying construction.

If this bill does not become a law and no further legislation is enacted authorizing naval construction before the Geneva conference takes action, I fear that our delegates will find themselves in a very pitiful position at the conference. After urgently insisting that our naval needs require a navy second to none in the world, we shall have demonstrated the hollowness of our claim by our failure to take advantage of the right that we had won in any way, shape, or fashion, when we had the opportunity to do so and our demands for the ratio terms in the future since based on no apparent needs may well be disregarded. Our influence at the conference will be greatly lessened and the best card that we hold in our hands to bring about further naval disarmament, the avowed policy that if other nations insist on building up their armaments we will do likewise, is thrown into the discard.

I firmly believe that the passage of this bill, with its notification to the world that building on their part means inevitable building on our part, will do more to bring about a further reduction in naval armament than any other possible action that this Congress can take.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes. The motion is debatable, and I desire to be recognized for the purpose of discussing the motion.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McNARY. Have we reached the call of the calendar?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We have passed the hour of 2 o'clock.

Mr. McNARY. I have no objection to the motion made by the able Senator from Wisconsin. I think he should have an opportunity to discuss his motion; but does not the Senator think we should have a quorum call?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am willing to yield for that purpose.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Jones	Robinson, Ark.
Austin	Cutting	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Bankhead	Dale	Kendrick	Schall
Barbour	Davis	Keyes	Sheppard
Barkley	Dickinson	King	Shipstead
Bingham	Dill	La Follette	Smith
Black	Fess	Lewis	Smoot
Blaine	Fletcher	Logan	Stephens
Borah	Frazier	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	George	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glass	McNary	Townsend
Broussard	Glenn	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Morrison	Tydings
Bulow	Gore	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hastings	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hatfield	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hayden	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Hebert	Pittman	White
Costigan	Hull	Reed	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-seven Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield if the matter the Senator from Alabama has in mind will not lead to debate.

Mr. BLACK. I wonder if the Senator would object to my offering at this time and having read at the desk an amendment in the way of a substitute?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I have no objection to the Senator offering the amendment, but I should like to proceed with my argument without having it interrupted by the reading.

Mr. BLACK. It is very short, but I will not ask to have it read, in view of the Senator's statement. However, I send to the desk the amendment in the nature of a substitute which I propose to offer to Senate bill 3045.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment in the nature of a substitute proposed by the Senator from Alabama will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE addressed the Senate in support of his motion, and before concluding yielded the floor for the day. His speech is published entire in the RECORD of February 2.

SENATOR FROM ARKANSAS

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I present the certificate of election of Mrs. HATTIE W. CARAWAY, who was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Arkansas as a Senator from that State. Mrs. CARAWAY is present and ready to take the oath.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The certificate will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

STATE OF ARKANSAS,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Little Rock.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 12th day of January, 1932, Mrs. HATTIE W. CARAWAY was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Arkansas a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the unexpired term of T. H. Caraway.

Witness: His excellency our governor, Harvey Parnell, and our seal hereto affixed at Little Rock, the 30th day of January, A. D. 1932.

[SEAL.] HARVEY PARNELL, *Governor.*

By the governor:

ED F. MCDONALD, *Secretary of State.*

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The credentials will be placed on file. The Senator elect will advance to the desk and take the oath.

Mrs. CARAWAY, escorted by Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to her by the President pro tempore.

FEED AND SEED LOANS FOR DROUGHT AND STORM STRICKEN AREAS

Mr. McNARY obtained the floor.

Mr. NORBECK. Mr. President——

Mr. McNARY. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. NORBECK. From the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry I report an original joint resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the joint resolution be reported for the information of the Senate.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 91) to make available certain appropriations for advances or loans to farmers in the drought and/or storm stricken areas of the United States for the purchase of feed for livestock and seed, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of Agriculture be, and he is hereby, authorized to make advances or loans in 1932 to farmers who suffered crop failures in 1931, where he shall find that an emergency need for such assistance exists, for the purchase of feed for livestock, and for the collection of moneys due the United States on account of such loans, from the unexpended balances of the appropriations for the relief of farmers in the drought and/or storm stricken areas of the United States contained in Public Resolution No. 114, approved January 15, 1931 (46 Stat. 1039), and the Interior Department appropriation act, approved February 14, 1931 (46 Stat. 1160). All such advances or loans shall be made upon such terms and conditions and subject to such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe.

SEC. 2. Any person who shall knowingly make any material false representation for the purpose of obtaining an advance or loan, or in assisting in obtaining such advance or loan, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from South Dakota to make a brief explanation regarding the joint resolution and to state whether it calls for an additional appropriation.

Mr. NORBECK. It does not call for an additional appropriation, and I do not think it grants any additional authority. Livestock feed loans were made last fall in the drought-stricken areas. There is a section in the Northwest where the farmers did not feel they needed relief of this kind any more, but a very severe winter, coming on unexpectedly, is endangering thousands of cattle and horses. The money is available; the joint resolution has been drafted by the Department of Agriculture, and Congressman CHRISTOPHERSON has a similar resolution pending in the House. It has been reported unanimously by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. It merely grants the consent of Congress to go ahead and make loans as heretofore to the extent that may be necessary. Really, I think there is authority anyway to do what the joint resolution proposes; but inasmuch as Congress is in session, it was thought advisable to pass the joint resolution. As I have said, it merely grants the department authority to make such loans and removes any question about them.

Mr. KING. I should like to ask the Senator from what fund are the loans to be made?

Mr. NORBECK. They are to be made from the fund that was appropriated last year especially for relief in Southern States. That fund was not all used; there is plenty of money remaining in the fund for the purpose intended to be served; it is not a dole; it is not a gift. The loans made last fall were made on good security. They were made to enable some farmers to buy feed, and this measure proposes a continuation of the same thing.

Mr. KING. How much does the Senator expect that this joint resolution will take from that fund?

Mr. NORBECK. If I could tell what kind of winter we will have during the next two months, I could inform the Senator a great deal better as to that.

Mr. KING. I thought the Senator might give us some idea as to the amount involved when we are expected to give our support to the measure.

Mr. NORBECK. I think anywhere from $1,000,000 to $2,000,000, possibly more, out of the $12,000,000 now on hand.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, as the Senator from South Dakota has indicated, the loans under the joint resolution are to be made from the unexpended balance that is now available. There is some doubt in the mind of the Secretary of Agriculture as to whether under the original act he has the authority to meet the emergency that now exists in the States to which the Senator from South Dakota has referred.

The committee this morning unanimously agreed that the joint resolution, if passed in this form, would give the Secretary of Agriculture the right to use the unexpended balance out of that fund.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, it is limited, however, to advances to farmers who suffered crop failures in 1931.

Mr. NORBECK. Yes; in the drought-stricken districts where they have run short of feed, and where feed must be shipped in. The banks are closed, and the farmers can not borrow money with which to procure feed.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator if the $12,000,000 fund referred to includes the portion of the loan of last year which was set apart or segregated for the purpose of increasing the capitalization of existing livestock credit and other agricultural credit associations?

Mr. NORBECK. No; it will not interfere in any way with that.

Mr. GEORGE. This appropriation does not include——

Mr. NORBECK. It is not an appropriation; it is an authorization to continue loaning out of a certain appropriation made last year.

Mr. GEORGE. The appropriation that the Senator proposes to continue does not include the portion of the appropriation of 1931 which was segregated for the purpose of

creating credit agencies, agricultural corporations, or livestock corporations?

Mr. NORBECK. No; not at all.

Mr. GEORGE. I wanted to have that made clear.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I was engaged when this measure was read. Is it confined to any particular section of the country?

Mr. NORBECK. No; but to the people who suffered crop failure last year.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, another inquiry. The reason why I am propounding this inquiry is that a few days ago I received a letter from one of the States in the West to the effect that a sheep owner was compelled to go into an adjoining State and pay $40 a ton for hay to save his sheep from starvation. Being unable to furnish adequate security, it is quite likely that the sheep will starve to death or be sold under the hammer for an inconsiderable sum. Would this money be available to that individual and others in a like situation so that they could borrow money for the purpose of saving their sheep from starvation?

Mr. NORBECK. If we have the joint resolution passed first, and he can meet the requirements as to security established by the Secretary of the Treasury, it will be available. Unfortunately, there are people who have not any security to give and can not borrow any money.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I do not intend to obstruct the passage of the joint resolution, but the language "who suffered crop failures in 1931" may involve some difficulty of interpretation and application.

Mr. NORBECK. I should be willing to change that to "suffered from drought" or "due to drought," if the Senator prefers that language.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I am merely suggesting the difficulty to the Senator. I do not know how the Secretary would interpret that language. He could interpret it liberally, and perhaps no difficulty would arise; but assuming that very few farmers suffered complete crop failures, it might, if narrowly construed, operate against the purposes which the Senators have in mind.

Mr. NORBECK. It is not very broad.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. May the Chair suggest that if unanimous consent is granted, the joint resolution will immediately be open to amendment and then the criticism of the Senator can be considered?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Of course, we all understand that, Mr. President. I am merely making the suggestion for the benefit of the Senator in charge of the joint resolution.

Mr. NORBECK. Considering that we have to get it through the House also, I think I would rather take a chance on having it narrow than having it broad.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was read, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate several messages from the President of the United States submitting nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SMOOT, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of Ira M. Ornburn, of Connecticut, to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 16, 1933.

He also reported favorably, from the same committee, the nomination of Robert Lincoln O'Brien, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 16, 1936.

He also reported favorably, from the same committee, the nomination of Andrew Wiedenmann, of Rochester, N. Y., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 8, with headquarters at Rochester, N. Y.

Mr. HASTINGS, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Matthew M. Joyce, of Minnesota, to be United States district judge, district of Minnesota.

He also reported favorably, from the same committee, the nomination of Joseph C. Shaffer, of Virginia, to be United States attorney, western district of Virginia.

Mr. AUSTIN, from the same committee, reported favorably the nomination of Hugh D. McLellan, of Massachusetts, to be United States district judge, district of Massachusetts.

He also reported favorably, from the same committee, the nomination of John H. Grogan, of Michigan, to be United States marshal, eastern district of Michigan.

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. BLAINE, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Gunnar H. Nordbye, of Minnesota, to be United States district judge, district of Minnesota.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be placed on the calendar. Are there further reports of the committees? There being none, the calendar is in order.

TREATIES

Executive KK (Seventieth Congress, second session), a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929, was announced as first in order.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I am advised by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations that it is the desire of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] that the treaties may go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The treaties will be passed over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Frank Evans, of Utah, to be a member of the Federal Farm Board for the unexpired term of six years from June 15, 1930.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, on another occasion I requested that the nominations for the Federal Farm Board might go over pending the opportunity of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK] to read the record. He has promised to do so this week; and I therefore ask that for the present they go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be passed over.

POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. McNARY. I ask that the nominations of postmasters on the calendar be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and all nominations of postmasters on the calendar are confirmed en bloc.

That completes the calendar.

The Senate resumed legislative session.

RECESS

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Tuesday, February 2, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 1, 1932

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER (UNCLASSIFIED), VICE CONSUL OF CAREER, AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Holmes C. Smith, of Virginia, to be a Foreign Service officer, unclassified, a vice consul of career, and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America.

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Wilson McCarthy, of Utah, to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932.

COAST GUARD

Lieut. Robert C. Sarratt to be a lieutenant commander in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from September 15, 1931.

APPOINTMENT IN THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS OF THE ARMY

GENERAL OFFICER

To be brigadier general, Reserves

Brig. Gen. Arthur William Desmond, Massachusetts National Guard, from January 29, 1932.

APPOINTMENT, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

TO CAVALRY

Second Lieut. Joseph Farrell Haskell, Infantry, with rank from June 12, 1930, effective June 12, 1932.

PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

To be captain

First Lieut. Donald Gardner Stitt, Air Corps, from January 22, 1932.

To be first lieutenant

Second Lieut. Thomas Edward Pickett Barbour, Infantry, from January 22, 1932.

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

William V. Dodd to be postmaster at Carbon Hill, Ala., in place of W. V. Dodd. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Thelma Slone to be postmaster at Cedar Bluff, Ala., in place of Thelma Slone. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Violet A. Yeend to be postmaster at Chickasaw, Ala., in place of V. A. Yeend. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Aulsie M. Fincher to be postmaster at Eclectic, Ala., in place of J. M. Edwards, deceased.

Anna H. Nagele to be postmaster at Elberta, Ala., in place of A. H. Nagele. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Luke Bates to be postmaster at Rogersville, Ala., in place of Luke Bates. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Elmer L. Klick to be postmaster at Sheffield, Ala., in place of E. L. Klick. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Minnie L. Garrett to be postmaster at Uriah, Ala., in place of M. L. Garrett. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Emma Rippetoe to be postmaster at Vredenburgh, Ala., in place of Emma Rippetoe. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Samuel H. Gwin to be postmaster at Whatley, Ala. Office became presidential July 1, 1931.

ARKANSAS

Claus R. Burnham to be postmaster at Delight, Ark., in place of E. C. Widener, deceased.

Larkin A. McLin to be postmaster at Harrisburg, Ark., in place of L. A. McLin. Incumbent's commission expired January 23, 1932.

James L. McKamey to be postmaster at Imboden, Ark., in place of O. H. McKamey, removed.

Jessie Garner to be postmaster at Kingsland, Ark., in place of Jessie Garner. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Urelle O. Thomasson to be postmaster at Leachville, Ark., in place of C. W. Swihart, deceased.

Elmer A. Murphy to be postmaster at Lepanto, Ark., in place of E. A. Murphy. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

James F. Rieves to be postmaster at Marion, Ark., in place of J. F. Rieves, resigned.

Burnard O. Phelps to be postmaster at Okolona, Ark., in place of B. O. Phelps. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Ernest N. Goldman to be postmaster at Peach Orchard, Ark., in place of E. N. Goldman. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

Leah W. Harkey to be postmaster at Plainview, Ark., in place of L. W. Harkey. Incumbent's commission expired January 23, 1932.

William J. Vick to be postmaster at Prescott, Ark., in place of W. J. Vick. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

William H. Hogg to be postmaster at Stephens, Ark., in place of W. H. Hogg. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

CALIFORNIA

Clifford M. Barnes to be postmaster at Big Creek, Calif., in place of C. M. Barnes. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Robert E. Thomas to be postmaster at Clovis, Calif., in place of R. E. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Maude D. Cunningham to be postmaster at Goleta, Calif., in place of M. D. Cunningham. Incumbent's commission expires February 16, 1932.

Charles E. VanDerOef to be postmaster at Hawthorne, Calif., in place of C. E. VanDerOef. Incumbent's commission expired February 10, 1931.

Donald I. Castile to be postmaster at Le Grand, Calif., in place of D. I. Castile. Incumbent's commission expired December 21, 1930.

Jerome B. Frisbee to be postmaster at Lindsay, Calif., in place of J. B. Frisbee. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Joseph A. Wilson to be postmaster at Manteca, Calif., in place of J. A. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expires February 16, 1932.

Ambrose E. Daneri to be postmaster at Merced, Calif., in place of A. E. Daneri. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Algera M. Rumsey to be postmaster at Saugus, Calif., in place of A. M. Rumsey. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Ruby Vinten to be postmaster at Terminal Island, Calif., in place of Ruby Vinten. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

John J. Blaney to be postmaster at Weaverville, Calif., in place of J. J. Blaney. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Alfred T. Taylor to be postmaster at Westwood, Calif., in place of A. T. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

COLORADO

May I. Wood to be postmaster at Crawford, Colo., in place of M. I. Wood. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Eben H. Bebee to be postmaster at Cripple Creek, Colo., in place of E. H. Bebee. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Newell R. Usher to be postmaster at Florence, Colo., in place of N. R. Usher. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1931.

Charles D. Hathaway to be postmaster at Hugo, Colo., in place of C. D. Hathaway. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Zina N. Cleveland to be postmaster at Julesburg, Colo., in place of Z. N. Cleveland. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

CONNECTICUT

Alfred A. Barrett to be postmaster at Berlin, Conn., in place of A. A. Barrett. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1930.

Clifford B. Reed to be postmaster at Collinsville, Conn., in place of C. B. Reed. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

William B. Simon to be postmaster at New Canaan, Conn., in place of W. B. Simon. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Minnie Rosenblatt to be postmaster at Newington, Conn., in place of Minnie Rosenblatt. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Walter B. Palmer to be postmaster at Old Greenwich, Conn., in place of W. B. Palmer. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Albert E. Wellman to be postmaster at Torrington, Conn., in place of A. E. Wellman. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

DELAWARE

Benjamin F. Simmons to be postmaster at Dover, Del., in place of B. F. Simmons. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

William H. Morris to be postmaster at Greenwood, Del., in place of W. H. Morris. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Howard Schweitzer to be postmaster at Hartly, Del., in place of Howard Schweitzer. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

William M. Mooney to be postmaster at Washington, D. C., in place of W. M. Mooney. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

FLORIDA

Nina K. Berkstresser to be postmaster at Hawthorn, Fla., in place of N. K. Berkstresser. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Robert E. Murphy to be postmaster at High Springs, Fla., in place of W. M. Downing, removed.

Mary E. Johnson to be postmaster at Lake Butler, Fla., in place of M. E. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

Eugene D. Rosenberger to be postmaster at Micanopy, Fla., in place of E. D. Rosenberger. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Frank H. Logan to be postmaster at Ocala, Fla., in place of A. L. Lucas. Incumbent's commission expired December 21, 1930.

William E. Burch to be postmaster at Palmetto, Fla., in place of W. E. Burch. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Lena M. Powers to be postmaster at Wabasso, Fla., in place of L. M. Powers. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

GEORGIA

Paul L. Smith to be postmaster at Athens, Ga., in place of P. L. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1930.

Jonathan B. Brewton to be postmaster at Claxton, Ga., in place of S. T. Brewton. Incumbent's commission expired May 7, 1930.

Charles L. Adair to be postmaster at Comer, Ga., in place of C. L. Adair. Incumbent's commission expired February 14, 1931.

John L. Callaway to be postmaster at Covington, Ga., in place of J. L. Callaway. Incumbent's commission expired February 17, 1931.

Irene W. Field to be postmaster at Monroe, Ga., in place of I. W. Field. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Seaborn H. Coker to be postmaster at Sycamore, Ga., in place of Lelia Morgan. Incumbent's commission expired February 10, 1929.

Jett M. Potts to be postmaster at West Point, Ga., in place of J. M. Potts. Incumbent's commission expired June 7, 1930.

HAWAII

John I. Silva to be postmaster at Eleele, Hawaii, in place of J. I. Silva. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Manuel J. Carvalho to be postmaster at Makaweli, Hawaii, in place of M. J. Carvalho. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

IDAHO

Elsie H. Welker to be postmaster at Cambridge, Idaho, in place of E. H. Welker. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

George W. Prout to be postmaster at Council, Idaho, in place of G. W. Prout. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Mabel P. Wetherell to be postmaster at Post Falls, Idaho, in place of M. P. Wetherell. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

ILLINOIS

Esther V. Wheeler to be postmaster at Ashmore, Ill., in place of E. V. Wheeler. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Fred W. Pitney to be postmaster at Augusta, Ill., in place of F. W. Pitney. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Guilford M. Humphrey to be postmaster at Beardstown, Ill., in place of G. M. Humphrey. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Lewis A. Roberts to be postmaster at Blandinsville, Ill., in place of L. A. Roberts. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Thomas R. Pearce to be postmaster at Chillicothe, Ill., in place of T. R. Pearce. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Harry M. Bennett to be postmaster at Clayton, Ill., in place of H. E. Veach, resigned.

Thomas F. Wharrie to be postmaster at Coal City, Ill., in place of T. F. Wharrie. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Robert L. Endicott to be postmaster at Crossville, Ill., in place of R. L. Endicott. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Carroll C. Porter to be postmaster at Dahlgren, Ill., in place of C. C. Porter. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

William E. Mickle to be postmaster at Emden, Ill., in place of W. E. Mickle. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Perry Westerfield to be postmaster at Frankfort Heights, Ill., in place of Perry Westerfield. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Bennett F. Henderson to be postmaster at Georgetown, Ill., in place of B. F. Henderson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles O. Selfridge to be postmaster at Good Hope, Ill., in place of C. O. Selfridge. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John R. Hanlon to be postmaster at Grant Park, Ill., in place of J. R. Hanlon. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Silas H. Rich to be postmaster at Gridley, Ill., in place of S. H. Rich. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John E. Nelson to be postmaster at Hamburg, Ill., in place of J. E. Nelson. Incumbent's commission expired February 17, 1931.

Olive Whitworth to be postmaster at Harvel, Ill., in place of Olive Whitworth. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Ina R. Stout to be postmaster at Hopedale, Ill., in place of I. R. Stout. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Alice P. Bradley to be postmaster at Illiopolis, Ill., in place of R. S. Knox. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

Grace McKee to be postmaster at Kirkland, Ill., in place of F. A. Griggs, deceased.

Joseph V. Campeggio to be postmaster at Ladd, Ill., in place of J. V. Campeggio. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

William T. Bedford to be postmaster at La Salle, Ill., in place of W. T. Bedford. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Elizabeth K. Welch to be postmaster at Lexington, Ill., in place of E. K. Welch. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

William P. Volz to be postmaster at Lockport, Ill., in place of W. P. Volz. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Mayme F. Brooke to be postmaster at Matteson, Ill., in place of M. F. Brooke. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

George T. Schuler to be postmaster at Mounds, Ill., in place of G. T. Schuler. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Marion F. Stewart to be postmaster at Moweaqua, Ill., in place of M. F. Stewart. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Frank H. Creswick to be postmaster at Mulberry Grove, Ill., in place of F. H. Creswick. Incumbent's commission expired January 12, 1932.

Hugh F. Britt to be postmaster at Olmsted, Ill., in place of H. F. Britt. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Robert R. Banta to be postmaster at Oquawka, Ill., in place of R. R. Banta. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Frank Wooley to be postmaster at Oswego, Ill., in place of L. R. Inman, deceased.

David R. Bennett to be postmaster at Panama, Ill., in place of D. R. Bennett. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Charles B. Switzer to be postmaster at Piper City, Ill., in place of C. B. Switzer. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John S. Burnett to be postmaster at Pittsburg, Ill., in place of J. S. Burnett. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Reuben D. Coffin to be postmaster at Pleasant Plains, Ill., in place of R. D. Coffin. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Homer H. Cravens to be postmaster at Plymouth, Ill., in place of H. H. Cravens. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Benjamin F. Bosley to be postmaster at Ransom, Ill., in place of B. F. Bosley. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

William J. Parsons to be postmaster at Silvis, Ill., in place of W. J. Parsons. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles E. McPheeters to be postmaster at Sullivan, Ill., in place of C. E. McPheeters. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John P. Mathis to be postmaster at Vienna, Ill., in place of J. P. Mathis. Incumbent's commission expires February 14, 1932.

Ernst W. Loehr to be postmaster at Waterloo, Ill., in place of E. W. Loehr. Incumbent's commission expired January 12, 1932.

Ralph K. Crawford to be postmaster at West Point, Ill., in place of R. K. Crawford. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Arthur P. Welborn to be postmaster at Woodlawn, Ill., in place of A. P. Welborn. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

INDIANA

Samuel Ratcliff to be postmaster at Bainbridge, Ind., in place of Samuel Ratcliff. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Fred Austin to be postmaster at Birdseye, Ind., in place of Fred Austin. Incumbent's commission expired January 28, 1931.

Roy J. Lingeman to be postmaster at Brownsburg, Ind., in place of R. J. Lingeman. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Walter R. O'Neal to be postmaster at Carlisle, Ind., in place of W. R. O'Neal. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

Elizabeth Hatfield to be postmaster at Centerville, Ind., in place of Elizabeth Hatfield. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

James Adams to be postmaster at Chrisney, Ind., in place of McKinley Ayer, removed.

Finley Franklin to be postmaster at Clayton, Ind., in place of Finley Franklin. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Jessie H. Medcalf to be postmaster at Dale, Ind., in place of M. L. Medcalf. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1929.

Frank B. Hadley to be postmaster at Danville, Ind., in place of A. J. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired February 10, 1931.

Elvin R. Long to be postmaster at Denver, Ind., in place of E. R. Long. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Walter J. Daunhauer to be postmaster at Ferdinand, Ind., in place of W. J. Daunhauer. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

George F. Freeman to be postmaster at Franklin, Ind., in place of G. F. Freeman. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Charles W. Wood to be postmaster at Jasonville, Ind., in place of B. H. Sink, resigned.

Dora B. Henderson to be postmaster at Lakeville, Ind., in place of D. B. Henderson. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Katherine M. Schwindler to be postmaster at Linden, Ind., in place of K. M. Schwindler. Incumbent's commission expires February 14, 1932.

John F. Trimble to be postmaster at Morristown, Ind., in place of J. F. Trimble. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Leslie P. Nelson to be postmaster at Newport, Ind., in place of L. P. Nelson. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Almeda B. Lochard to be postmaster at North Madison, Ind., in place of A. B. Lochard. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Edmond M. Wright to be postmaster at North Salem, Ind., in place of E. M. Wright. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

James H. Cockrum to be postmaster at Oakland City, Ind., in place of U. G. Butcher. Incumbent's commission expired April 3, 1930.

Gerry E. Long to be postmaster at Porter, Ind., in place of G. E. Long. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

James E. Turner to be postmaster at Roann, Ind., in place of J. E. Turner. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles E. Noble to be postmaster at Rolling Prairie, Ind., in place of C. E. Noble. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

George A. White to be postmaster at Union Mills, Ind., in place of G. A. White. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Orville C. Bowen to be postmaster at Upland, Ind., in place of O. C. Bowen. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

IOWA

Herbert B. Arnold to be postmaster at Blakesburg, Iowa, in place of H. B. Arnold. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1931.

Sigvart T. Kittlesby to be postmaster at Calmar, Iowa, in place of S. T. Kittlesby. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Sue G. Cross to be postmaster at Chelsea, Iowa, in place of S. G. Cross. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Freddie Baldwin to be postmaster at Chester, Iowa, in place of Freddie Baldwin. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

George F. Mitchell to be postmaster at Coin, Iowa, in place of G. F. Mitchell. Incumbent's commission expires February 16, 1932.

Wilbur C. Patterson to be postmaster at Cresco, Iowa, in place of W. C. Patterson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Wilbur F. Busby to be postmaster at Creston, Iowa, in place of W. F. Busby. Incumbent's commission expires February 20, 1932.

William Linnevold to be postmaster at Decorah, Iowa, in place of William Linnevold. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Madge H. Fell to be postmaster at Fremont, Iowa, in place of M. H. Fell. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Edwin S. Watts to be postmaster at Harvey, Iowa, in place of E. S. Watts. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Arthur F. Ogren to be postmaster at Kingsley, Iowa, in place of A. F. Ogren. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Thomas A. Sanders to be postmaster at Malcom, Iowa, in place of T. A. Sanders. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Arthur E. Granger to be postmaster at Marion, Iowa, in place of A. E. Granger. Incumbent's commission expired February 2, 1932.

James F. Albert to be postmaster at Moravia, Iowa, in place of J. F. Albert. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John M. Garrett to be postmaster at Moulton, Iowa, in place of J. M. Garrett. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Herbert E. Hadley to be postmaster at Nevada, Iowa, in place of H. E. Hadley. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Keith Gray to be postmaster at Postville, Iowa, in place of Keith Gray. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lucie A. Lloyd to be postmaster at Remsen, Iowa, in place of L. A. Lloyd. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Nellie Hyde to be postmaster at Rowan, Iowa, in place of Nellie Hyde. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

George M. Wright to be postmaster at Russell, Iowa, in place of G. M. Wright. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Chester C. Yelland to be postmaster at Sheffield, Iowa, in place of C. C. Yelland. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Willis W. Overholser to be postmaster at Sibley, Iowa, in place of W. W. Overholser. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Mary J. Morse to be postmaster at Steamboat Rock, Iowa, in place of M. J. Morse. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Gabriel Pederson to be postmaster at Waterville, Iowa, in place of Gabriel Pederson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Carl F. Grawe to be postmaster at Waverly, Iowa, in place of C. F. Grawe. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

KANSAS

Frank B. Myers to be postmaster at Americus, Kans., in place of F. B. Myers. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Maurice W. Markham to be postmaster at Baldwin City, Kans., in place of M. W. Markham. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Mattie L. Binkley to be postmaster at Brewster, Kans., in place of M. L. Binkley. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Arthur B. Fowler to be postmaster at Brookville, Kans., in place of A. B. Fowler. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Harry B. Gailey to be postmaster at Cambridge, Kans., in place of H. B. Gailey. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

George G. Griffin to be postmaster at Clearwater, Kans., in place of G. G. Griffin. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Harvey E. Yenser to be postmaster at Delphos, Kans., in place of H. E. Yenser. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Nelson Crawford to be postmaster at Dodge City, Kans., in place of Nelson Crawford. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Carl E. Meyer to be postmaster at Enterprise, Kans., in place of C. E. Meyer. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

John M. Erp to be postmaster at Grainfield, Kans., in place of J. M. Erp. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Robert R. Carson to be postmaster at Hamilton, Kans., in place of R. R. Carson. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Lewis S. Newell to be postmaster at Harveyville, Kans., in place of L. S. Newell. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Lewis B. Blachly to be postmaster at Haven, Kans., in place of L. B. Blachly. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Walter A. Carlile to be postmaster at Jamestown, Kans., in place of W. A. Carlile. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Earl M. Boland to be postmaster at Leon, Kans., in place of E. M. Boland. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Joseph C. Wolf to be postmaster at Macksville, Kans., in place of J. C. Wolf. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Harvey P. McFadden to be postmaster at Natoma, Kans., in place of H. P. McFadden. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Charles C. Andrews to be postmaster at Norcatur, Kans., in place of C. C. Andrews. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Rosa M. Harmon to be postmaster at Oil Hill, Kans., in place of R. M. Harmon. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Wayne E. Burnette to be postmaster at Parsons, Kans., in place of J. M. Kersey. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1931.

Earl R. Given to be postmaster at Randall, Kans., in place of E. R. Given. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Gilbert W. Budge to be postmaster at St. John, Kans., in place of G. W. Budge. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

David R. Price to be postmaster at Williamsburg, Kans., in place of D. R. Price. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Clarence O. Masterson to be postmaster at Wilmore, Kans., in place of C. O. Masterson. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Zella M. Swope to be postmaster at Zenda, Kans., in place of Z. M. Swope. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

KENTUCKY

James W. Felkins to be postmaster at Albany, Ky., in place of J. W. Felkins. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Aaron E. Younger to be postmaster at Columbus, Ky., in place of R. M. Holt, resigned.

Henry W. Bishop to be postmaster at Falmouth, Ky., in place of H. W. Bishop. Incumbent's commission expires February 14, 1932.

Richard S. Hinton to be postmaster at Flemingsburg, Ky., in place of C. A. Glascock. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

Ransome B. Martin to be postmaster at Hartford, Ky., in place of R. B. Martin. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

Vee O. Chandler to be postmaster at Marion, Ky., in place of V. O. Chandler. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

William H. Knox to be postmaster at Mount Sterling, Ky., in place of S. S. Pinney. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

John B. Hutcheson to be postmaster at Owenton, Ky., in place of of J. B. Hutcheson. Incumbent's commission expired January 12, 1932.

Wayne Williams to be postmaster at Owingsville, Ky., in place of L. A. McCoy, resigned.

Chris L. Tartar to be postmaster at Somerset, Ky., in place of C. L. Tartar. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Bettie K. Wyatt to be postmaster at Valley Station, Ky., in place of B. K. Wyatt. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

LOUISIANA

T. Lucien Ducrest to be postmaster at Broussard, La., in place of T. L. Ducrest. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Roger F. Baudry to be postmaster at Garyville, La., in place of R. F. Baudry. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Louis Hebert to be postmaster at White Castle, La., in place of Louis Hebert. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

MAINE

Wade P. Clifton to be postmaster at Greenville Junction, Me., in place of W. P. Clifton. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

Dwight P. Macartney to be postmaster at Oakland, Me., in place of D. P. Macartney. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Edith L. Newcomb to be postmaster at Scarboro, Me. Office became presidential July 1, 1930.

Lysle W. Folsom to be postmaster at Springvale, Me., in place of L. W. Folsom. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Marjorie Gatcomb to be postmaster at Vanceboro, Me., in place of Marjorie Gatcomb. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Edward C. Bridges to be postmaster at York Village, Me., in place of E. C. Bridges. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

MARYLAND

Stella B. Johnson to be postmaster at Fort Hoyle, Md., in place of S. B. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expires February 29, 1932.

Luther Bennett to be postmaster at Goldsboro, Md., in place of Luther Bennett. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Harry M. Jones to be postmaster at Leonardtown, Md., in place of C. W. Foxwell, resigned.

Guy M. Coale to be postmaster at Upper Marlboro, Md., in place of G. M. Coale. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lafayette Ruark to be postmaster at Westover, Md., in place of Lafayette Ruark. Incumbent's commission expires February 29, 1932.

Addie D. Rayne to be postmaster at Willards, Md., in place of A. D. Rayne. Incumbent's commission expires February 29, 1932.

MASSACHUSETTS

Frederick H. Green to be postmaster at Ashburnham, Mass., in place of F. H. Green. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Hazel M. Cairns to be postmaster at Bernardston, Mass., in place of H. E. Cairns, deceased.

John J. Downey to be postmaster at Blackstone, Mass., in place of J. J. Downey. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Lewis R. Holden to be postmaster at Bondsville, Mass., in place of L. R. Holden. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Thomas Carroll to be postmaster at Bridgewater, Mass., in place of Thomas Carroll. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Carl H. Carlson to be postmaster at Franklin, Mass., in place of C. H. Carlson. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

J. Francis Megley to be postmaster at Holbrook, Mass., in place of J. F. Megley. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Albert F. Newell to be postmaster at Holden, Mass., in place of A. F. Newell. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Carroll L. Bessom to be postmaster at Mansfield, Mass., in place of C. L. Bessom. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Edna L. Young to be postmaster at Middleton, Mass., in place of L. S. Croxford, resigned.

William H. Anderson to be postmaster at Monson, Mass., in place of W. H. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired January 12, 1932.

Karl F. Koch to be postmaster at Montague City, Mass., in place of K. F. Koch. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Alice K. Briggs to be postmaster at North Easton, Mass., in place of A. K. Briggs. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Wilfred J. Tancrell to be postmaster at North Uxbridge, Mass., in place of W. J. Tancrell. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Mark A Putnam to be postmaster at Rutland, Mass., in place of M. A. Putnam. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Edward L. Chapin to be postmaster at Southbridge, Mass., in place of E. L. Chapin. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Harry S. Tripp to be postmaster at Spencer, Mass., in place of H. S. Tripp. Incumbent's commission expired January 12, 1932.

Susan F. Twiss to be postmaster at Three Rivers, Mass., in place of S. F. Twiss. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Alexander Wylie to be postmaster at Webster, Mass., in place of Alexander Wylie. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

MICHIGAN

Arthur R. Ebert to be postmaster at Arcadia, Mich., in place of A. R. Ebert. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

William Bowers to be postmaster at Central Lake, Mich., in place of William Bowers. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Clarence B. Meggison to be postmaster at Charlevoix, Mich., in place of G. W. Weaver. Incumbent's commission expired January 7, 1931.

Floyd Andrews to be postmaster at Clarkston, Mich., in place of Floyd Andrews. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Frank E. Richards to be postmaster at Clarksville, Mich., in place of F. E. Richards. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Wilbert L. Nelson to be postmaster at Daggett, Mich., in place of W. L. Nelson. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

William A. Stroebel to be postmaster at East Jordan, Mich., in place of W. A. Stroebel. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Stanislaus M. Keenan to be postmaster at Eloise, Mich., in place of S. M. Keenan. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Adrian J. Van Wert to be postmaster at Essexville, Mich., in place of A. J. Van Wert. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Clara Woodruff to be postmaster at Freeland, Mich., in place of Clara Woodruff. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Byron D. Denison to be postmaster at Galien, Mich., in place of B. D. Denison. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Benjamin Rankens to be postmaster at Hamilton, Mich., in place of Benjamin Rankens. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

W. DeMont Wright to be postmaster at Harbor Springs, Mich., in place of W. D. Wright. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Earl E. Secor to be postmaster at Imlay City, Mich., in place of E. E. Secor. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Floyd J. Gibbs to be postmaster at Ithaca, Mich., in place of F. J. Gibbs. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Orville Dennis to be postmaster at Lake City, Mich., in place of Orville Dennis. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

John A. Gries to be postmaster at Laurium, Mich., in place of J. A. Gries. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Mac W. Thomas to be postmaster at Lawrence, Mich., in place of M. W. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Frederick R. Gibson to be postmaster at Lawton, Mich., in place of F. R. Gibson. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Edna B. Sargent to be postmaster at Levering, Mich., in place of E. B. Sargent. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Nettie B. Goheen to be postmaster at Lincoln, Mich., in place of N. B. Goheen. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Fay Elser to be postmaster at Litchfield, Mich., in place of Fay Elser. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Tena I. Barrett to be postmaster at Mackinaw, Mich., in place of O. F. Gowans. Incumbent's commission expired February 16, 1931.

Frank G. Leeson to be postmaster at Manchester, Mich., in place of F. G. Leeson. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Mark L. Osgood to be postmaster at Monroe, Mich., in place of M. L. Osgood. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

William A. Keeler to be postmaster at North Branch, Mich., in place of W. A. Keeler. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Dee J. Wilson to be postmaster at Orchard Lake, Mich., in place of D. J. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Albert Steinen to be postmaster at Painesdale, Mich., in place of Albert Steinen. Incumbent's commission expired February 11, 1929.

William C. Mosier to be postmaster at Paw Paw, Mich., in place of W. C. Mosier. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

William C. Miller to be postmaster at Pinckney, Mich., in place of W. C. Miller. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Edward W. Huff to be postmaster at Rock, Mich., in place of E. W. Huff. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Fred H. Buckberry to be postmaster at Romulus, Mich., in place of F. H. Buckberry. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Gordon R. Whitney to be postmaster at Rose City, Mich., in place of G. R. Whitney. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Ernest E. Vibert to be postmaster at Saginaw, Mich., in place of H. S. Gay, resigned.

Hannibal A. Hopkins to be postmaster at St. Clair, Mich., in place of H. A. Hopkins. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Gertrude Moffatt to be postmaster at Sandusky, Mich., in place of Gertrude Moffatt. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Edwin D. Greenhoe to be postmaster at Sheridan, Mich., in place of E. D. Greenhoe. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Nora Covert to be postmaster at Springport, Mich., in place of Nora Covert. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Martin C. Musolf to be postmaster at Tawas City, Mich., in place of M. C. Musolf. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Alexander M. MacKay to be postmaster at West Branch, Mich., in place of A. M. MacKay. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Floyd P. Fox to be postmaster at Williamsburg, Mich., in place of F. P. Fox. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Arthur E. Baisley to be postmaster at Wyandotte, Mich., in place of A. E. Baisley. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

MINNESOTA

George E. Anderson to be postmaster at Austin, Minn., in place of G. E. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expires March 1, 1932.

Edwin A. Rolloff to be postmaster at Balaton, Minn., in place of E. A. Rolloff. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1930.

Prudence M. Crosbie to be postmaster at Brewster, Minn., in place of P. M. Crosbie. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Cora E. Cook to be postmaster at Chandler, Minn., in place of C. E. Cook. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lewis F. Hodgson to be postmaster at Donnelly, Minn., in place of L. F. Hodgson. Incumbent's commission expired January 21, 1930.

Halsey C. Baldwin to be postmaster at Edgerton, Minn., in place of H. C. Baldwin. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Albert W. Johnson to be postmaster at Fulda, Minn., in place of A. W. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lottie A. Samuelson to be postmaster at Grasston, Minn., in place of L. A. Samuelson. Incumbent's commission expired February 17, 1931.

Isaac C. Stensrud to be postmaster at Hartland, Minn., in place of I. C. Stensrud. Incumbent's commission expired March 18, 1930.

Charles E. Cater, jr., to be postmaster at Herman, Minn., in place of C. E. Cater, jr. Incumbent's commission expired December 18, 1929.

Thomas J. Godfrey to be postmaster at Hibbing, Minn., in place of T. J. Godfrey. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

John M. Johnson to be postmaster at Hills, Minn., in place of J. M. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Olive C. Hall to be postmaster at Hollandale, Minn., in place of O. C. Hall. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Hazel W. Brown to be postmaster at La Crescent, Minn., in place of K. C. McCaffrey, resigned.

John Briffett to be postmaster at Lake Benton, Minn., in place of John Briffett. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

William P. Marston, jr., to be postmaster at Lake Crystal, Minn., in place of W. P. Marston, jr. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

James H. Smullen to be postmaster at Le Center, Minn., in place of J. H. Smullen. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Walter J. Westensee to be postmaster at Lewisville, Minn., in place of W. J. Westensee. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John J. Ruff to be postmaster at Long Lake, Minn., in place of J. J. Ruff. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

August O. Lysen to be postmaster at Lowry, Minn., in place of A. O. Lysen. Incumbent's commission expired March 18, 1930.

Torstein M. Teigum to be postmaster at Madelia, Minn., in place of T. M. Teigum. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Isaac I. Bargen to be postmaster at Mountain Lake, Minn., in place of I. I. Bargen. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lewis B. Krook to be postmaster at New Ulm, Minn., in place of L. B. Krook. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Edwin H. Vollmer to be postmaster at Northfield, Minn., in place of E. H. Vollmer. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Frederick F. Arndt to be postmaster at Prior Lake, Minn., in place of F. F. Arndt. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Norman Hanson to be postmaster at Renville, Minn., in place of Norman Hanson. Incumbent's commission expired February 9, 1931.

Myrtle E. Carlson to be postmaster at Rose Creek, Minn., in place of L. E. Cronan, deceased.

Arthur C. Omholt to be postmaster at Sacred Heart, Minn., in place of A. C. Omholt. Incumbent's commission expired February 9, 1931.

Clayton A. Larsen to be postmaster at St. James, Minn., in place of C. A. Larsen. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Henry W. Fingarson to be postmaster at Walnut Grove, Minn., in place of H. W. Fingarson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John N. Ross to be postmaster at Westbrook, Minn., in place of J. N. Ross. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Dwight M. Backman to be postmaster at Whalan, Minn., in place of D. M. Backman. Incumbent's commission expired March 1, 1931.

Pearl C. Heigl to be postmaster at Winsted, Minn., in place of P. C. Heigl. Incumbent's commission expired December 18, 1929.

MISSISSIPPI

James K. Baker to be postmaster at Aberdeen, Miss., in place of P. C. Lewis, removed.

Nettie E. Shelby to be postmaster at Beulah, Miss., in place of N. E. Shelby. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1930.

William W. Shook to be postmaster at Belmont, Miss., in place of B. A. Hallmark. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1930.

Isaac J. Morris to be postmaster at Coahoma, Miss., in place of I. J. Morris. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Everett H. Badger to be postmaster at Columbus, Miss., in place of N. D. Robinson, removed.

Thomas Burns to be postmaster at Edgewater Park, Miss. Office become presidential July 1, 1931.

Cecil W. Tinnin to be postmaster at Isola, Miss., in place of C. W. Tinnin. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1930.

James S. Niles to be postmaster at Kosciusko, Miss., in place of J. S. Niles. Incumbent's commission expired February 4, 1931.

Charles M. Jaco to be postmaster at Winona, Miss., in place of R. M. C. Hosford, removed.

MISSOURI

John L. Esser to be postmaster at Boonville, Mo., in place of J. L. Esser. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Joe D. Scott to be postmaster at Bunceton, Mo., in place of J. D. Scott. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

John T. Garner to be postmaster at Carrollton, Mo., in place of J. T. Garner. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1930.

Edward J. Schmidt to be postmaster at Centralia, Mo., in place of E. J. Schmidt. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Anna B. Thomas to be postmaster at Corder, Mo., in place of A. B. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Homer Beaty to be postmaster at Drexel, Mo., in place of Homer Beaty. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Ralph E. Johnson to be postmaster at Elmer, Mo., in place of R. E. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Mandana A. Schriefer to be postmaster at Fornfelt, Mo., in place of M. A. Schriefer. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Thomas A. Scott to be postmaster at Greenfield, Mo., in place of T. A. Scott. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Harley C. Shively to be postmaster at Hamilton, Mo., in place of H. C. Shively. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

George Scott to be postmaster at Higginsville, Mo., in place of George Scott. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Raymond F. Gasche to be postmaster at Hillsboro, Mo., in place of R. F. Gasche. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Jennette M. Boisseau to be postmaster at Holden, Mo., in place of J. M. Boisseau. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

William E. Duff to be postmaster at Houston, Mo., in place of W. E. Duff. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

John W. Rissler to be postmaster at Houstonia, Mo., in place of J. W. Rissler. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Myrtle V. Duncan to be postmaster at Iberia, Mo., in place of M. V. Duncan. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Ray C. Waddill to be postmaster at Kirkville, Mo., in place of R. C. Waddill. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

John A. Richmond to be postmaster at La Belle, Mo., in place of J. A. Richmond. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

William T. Robinson to be postmaster at La Plata, Mo., in place of W. T. Robinson. Incumbent's commission expires February 24, 1932.

William O. Landrum to be postmaster at Mountain View, Mo., in place of J. F. Burrell, deceased.

Leslie R. Millsap to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, Mo., in place of L. R. Millsap. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Charles E. Curtice to be postmaster at Neosho, Mo., in place of C. E. Curtice. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Celia F. Kerr to be postmaster at New Madrid, Mo., in place of C. F. Kerr. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Henry O. Hopp to be postmaster at Oronogo, Mo., in place of H. O. Hopp. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Bruce C. Maples to be postmaster at Ozark, Mo., in place of B. C. Maples. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

James W. Fleming to be postmaster at Parkville, Mo., in place of J. W. Fleming. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

William A. Porter to be postmaster at Plattsburg, Mo., in place of W. A. Porter. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Richard A. Gehrig to be postmaster at Salisbury, Mo., in place of R. A. Gehrig. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

George S. Carnes to be postmaster at Trenton, Mo., in place of G. S. Carnes. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Harry N. Lutman to be postmaster at Versailles, Mo., in place of H. N. Lutman. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Fletcher G. Smart to be postmaster at Webb City, Mo., in place of F. G. Smart. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Charles Hawker to be postmaster at Wheeling, Mo., in place of Charles Hawker. Incumbent's commission expires February 24, 1932.

Cornelius F. Strack to be postmaster at Wright City, Mo., in place of C. F. Strack. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

MONTANA

Francis F. Fowler to be postmaster at Darby, Mont., in place of L. P. Johnson, resigned.

Leslie L. Like to be postmaster at Drummond, Mont., in place of L. L. Like. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Ruth Allen to be postmaster at Poplar, Mont., in place of Ruth Allen. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Glenwood H. Corrington to be postmaster at Ryegate, Mont., in place of G. H. Corrington. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Rose C. Spangler to be postmaster at Superior, Mont., in place of R. C. Spangler. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

NEBRASKA

Fred H. Carlson to be postmaster at Alliance, Nebr., in place of F. H. Carlson. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Edgar W. Meth to be postmaster at Arthur, Nebr., in place of E. W. Meth. Incumbent's commission expires February 20, 1932.

Daniel C. Leach to be postmaster at Bayard, Nebr., in place of D. C. Leach. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Samuel H. Wolfe to be postmaster at Lodgepole, Nebr., in place of S. H. Wolfe. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Joseph H. Harrison to be postmaster at Ravenna, Nebr., in place of J. H. Harrison. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Edwin S. Garber to be postmaster at Red Cloud, Nebr., in place of E. S. Garber. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Leon M. Suchanek to be postmaster at St. Paul, Nebr., in place of L. M. Suchanek. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Catherine Honey to be postmaster at Uehling, Nebr., in place of Catherine Honey. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

NEVADA

James L. Denton to be postmaster at Caliente, Nev., in place of J. L. Denton. Incumbent's commission expired February 7, 1932.

Henry J. Marriott to be postmaster at Ely, Nev., in place of H. J. Marriott. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Fred L. Littell to be postmaster at Yerington, Nev., in place of F. L. Littell. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Adin R. Chapman to be postmaster at Berlin, N. H., in place of A. R. Chapman. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Harry L. D. Severance to be postmaster at Claremont, N. H., in place of H. L. D. Severance. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Frank E. Webster to be postmaster at Farmington, N. H., in place of F. E. Webster. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

May F. Sumner to be postmaster at Goffstown, N. H., in place of M. F. Sumner. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Maurice H. Randall to be postmaster at Haverhill, N. H., in place of M. H. Randall. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Jesse C. Parker to be postmaster at Hillsboro, N. H., in place of J. C. Parker. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Harriet O. Harriman to be postmaster at Jackson, N. H., in place of H. O. Harriman. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Charles L. Bemis to be postmaster at Marlboro, N. H., in place of C. L. Bemis. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Arthur J. Gould to be postmaster at New London, N. H., in place of A. J. Gould. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Harold B. Pinkham to be postmaster at Newmarket, N. H., in place of H. B. Pinkham. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Stella E. Coburn to be postmaster at North Rochester, N. H., in place of S. E. Coburn. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Ernest H. Stevens to be postmaster at North Woodstock, N. H., in place of F. W. Smith, removed.

Herman P. Gleason to be postmaster at Ossipee, N. H., in place of H. P. Gleason. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Harry F. Smith to be postmaster at Peterboro, N. H., in place of H. F. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Joseph P. Conner to be postmaster at Portsmouth, N. H., in place of J. P. Conner. Incumbent's commission expires February 27, 1932.

Esther F. Bragg to be postmaster at Seabrook, N. H. Office became presidential July 1, 1931.

Harvey E. Gates to be postmaster at Troy, N. H., in place of H. E. Gates. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

James A. Reed to be postmaster at Union, N. H., in place of J. A. Reed. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

NEW JERSEY

Elmira L. Phillips to be postmaster at Andover, N. J., in place of E. L. Phillips. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

John G. Stoughton to be postmaster at Bergenfield, N. J., in place of J. G. Stoughton. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Rena S. Duffield to be postmaster at Cedarville, N. J., in place of J. H. Dare, resigned.

Alonzo P. Green to be postmaster at Chester, N. J., in place of A. P. Green. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.



John B. W. Berry to be postmaster at Clementon, N. J., in place of J. B. W. Berry. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Frank E. Gersie to be postmaster at Clifton, N. J., in place of F. E. Gersie. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Reuben Coyte to be postmaster at Coytesville, N. J., in place of Reuben Coyte. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Wilfred T. Sullivan to be postmaster at Delawanna, N. J., in place of W. T. Sullivan. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Anna Heus to be postmaster at Demarest, N. J., in place of Anna Heus. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Charlotte S. Hurd to be postmaster at Dover, N. J., in place of C. S. Hurd. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

George Oberle to be postmaster at Edgewater, N. J., in place of George Oberle. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

John P. Adair to be postmaster at Highlands, N. J., in place of J. P. Adair. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Harold R. Fife to be postmaster at Linwood, N. J., in place of H. R. Fife. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Andrew Bauer to be postmaster at Little Ferry, N. J., in place of Andrew Bauer. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Walter D. Finch to be postmaster at Mahwah, N. J., in place of W. D. Finch. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Thomas Post to be postmaster at Midland Park, N. J., in place of Thomas Post. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Arthur F. Jahn to be postmaster at Ridgefield, N. J., in place of A. F. Jahn. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Richard T. Beak to be postmaster at Shrewsbury, N. J., in place of R. T. Beak. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Edward C. Francois to be postmaster at Union City, N. J., in place of E. C. Francois. Incumbent's commission expires February 16, 1932.

Frank R. Parry to be postmaster at Wanaque, N. J., in place of F. R. Parry. Incumbent's commission expired December 21, 1929.

Herman H. Ahlers to be postmaster at West New York, N. J., in place of H. H. Ahlers. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

Harry C. Lussy to be postmaster at Wharton, N. J., in place of H. C. Lussy. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Velma M. Kitchell to be postmaster at Whippany, N. J., in place of V. M. Kitchell. Incumbent's commission expired January 17, 1932.

Richard Van Iderstine to be postmaster at Wyckoff, N. J., in place of Richard Van Iderstine. Incumbent's commission expired December 14, 1930.

NEW YORK

Robert C. Downey to be postmaster at Akron, N. Y., in place of R. C. Downey. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Mabel F. Reynolds to be postmaster at Alfred, N. Y., in place of M. F. Reynolds. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

Harrison D. Fuller to be postmaster at Antwerp, N. Y., in place of H. D. Fuller. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Arthur L. Howard to be postmaster at Baldwinsville, N. Y., in place of A. L. Howard. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Rudolph W. Schoverling to be postmaster at Bayville, N. Y., in place of R. W. Schoverling. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Henry B. Mulford to be postmaster at Binghamton, N. Y., in place of H. B. Mulford. Incumbent's commission expired January 16, 1932.

Maud Rogers to be postmaster at Bridgehampton, N. Y., in place of Maud Rogers. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lawrence R. Ryckman to be postmaster at Brocton, N. Y., in place of L. R. Ryckman. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles W. Dunn to be postmaster at Calcium, N. Y., in place of C. W. Dunn. Incumbent's commission expires February 27, 1932.

Ernest K. Hudson to be postmaster at Castleton on Hudson, N. Y., in place of E. K. Hudson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles W. Brock to be postmaster at Cattaraugus, N. Y., in place of C. W. Brock. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Margaret R. Mulligan to be postmaster at Central Islip, N. Y., in place of M. R. Mulligan. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Benjamin Wightman to be postmaster at Cherry Valley, N. Y., in place of Benjamin Wightman. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

Carolyn F. Parker to be postmaster at Chestertown, N. Y., in place of C. F. Parker. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Herbert N. Rothenmeyer to be postmaster at Clarence, N. Y., in place of H. N. Rothenmeyer. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Henry P. Wilcox to be postmaster at Cohocton, N. Y., in place of H. P. Wilcox. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Robert D. Southward to be postmaster at Congers, N. Y., in place of R. D. Southward. Incumbent's commission expired January 16, 1932.

Rhoda H. Lee to be postmaster at Dundee, N. Y., in place of R. H. Lee. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Benjamin R. Erwin to be postmaster at East Rochester, N. Y., in place of B. R. Erwin. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Raymond L. Hodge to be postmaster at East Syracuse, N. Y., in place of R. L. Hodge. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

William E. Lent to be postmaster at East Williston, N. Y., in place of W. E. Lent. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Henry J. Frey to be postmaster at Ebenezer, N. Y., in place of H. J. Frey. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Gaylord F. Carpenter to be postmaster at Elbridge, N. Y., in place of G. F. Carpenter. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Philip F. Schaefer to be postmaster at Fleischmanns, N. Y., in place of P. F. Schaefer. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Walter A. Pierce to be postmaster at Fort Ann, N. Y., in place of W. A. Pierce. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Thomas J. Courtney to be postmaster at Garden City, N. Y., in place of T. J. Courtney. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Arthur Decker to be postmaster at Goshen, N. Y., in place of Arthur Decker. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Paul W. Christenson to be postmaster at Gowanda, N. Y., in place of P. W. Christenson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Will E. Roberts to be postmaster at Granville, N. Y., in place of W. E. Roberts. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

George R. Archer to be postmaster at Hadley, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1930.

Ella E. Rodger to be postmaster at Hammond, N. Y., in place of E. E. Rodger. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Ray F. Dunlop to be postmaster at Harrisville, N. Y., in place of R. F. Dunlop. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Walter J. Pelham to be postmaster at Hensonville, N. Y., in place of W. J. Pelham. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Thomas J. Wintermute, jr., to be postmaster at Horseheads, N. Y., in place of T. J. Wintermute, jr. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Frank H. Burmaster to be postmaster at Irving, N. Y., in place of F. H. Burmaster. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Joseph R. Cowell to be postmaster at Jordan, N. Y., in place of J. R. Cowell. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lizzie G. Hall to be postmaster at Little Valley, N. Y., in place of L. G. Hall. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Violet M. Hill to be postmaster at Loomis, N. Y., in place of V. M. Hill. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Mary Murdie to be postmaster at Loon Lake, N. Y., in place of Mary Murdie. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Arthur G. Dean to be postmaster at Marion, N. Y., in place of W. H. Curtis, resigned.

Katherine A. Slattery to be postmaster at Maryknoll, N. Y., in place of K. A. Slattery. Incumbent's commission expired January 16, 1932.

Lizzie M. Tuthill to be postmaster at Mattituck, N. Y., in place of L. M. Tuthill. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Alonzo L. Waters to be postmaster at Medina, N. Y., in place of A. L. Waters. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Dill H. Werley to be postmaster at Middletown, N. Y., in place of J. D. Stivers. Incumbent's commission expired December 10, 1930.

Perry R. Bennett to be postmaster at Milford, N. Y., in place of P. R. Bennett. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Edward Everett to be postmaster at Millerton, N. Y., in place of Edward Everett. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Edith A. Parker to be postmaster at Moravia, N. Y., in place of E. A. Parker. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Albert Lynd to be postmaster at Nassau, N. Y., in place of Albert Lynd. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

James Owens to be postmaster at Ossining, N. Y., in place of James Owens. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

William O. Cooper to be postmaster at Oxford, N. Y., in place of W. O. Cooper. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

John T. Mills to be postmaster at Oyster Bay, N. Y., in place of J. T. Mills. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Edward R. Harms to be postmaster at Pearl River, N. Y., in place of E. R. Harms. Incumbent's commission expired January 16, 1932.

Lida M. Schwetz to be postmaster at Port Byron, N. Y., in place of L. M. Schwetz. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Mabel S. Griswold to be postmaster at Pottersville, N. Y., in place of M. S. Griswold. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Willard G. Bullion to be postmaster at Richfield Springs, N. Y., in place of W. G. Bullion. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Park J. Johnson to be postmaster at Ripley, N. Y., in place of P. J. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Max C. Headley to be postmaster at Rushville, N. Y., in place of M. C. Headley. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Eugene W. Seraphin to be postmaster at St. Bonaventure, N. Y., in place of F. E. Fitzsimmons, resigned.

John D. Fratsher to be postmaster at Saugerties, N. Y., in place of J. D. Fratsher. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles L. Carrier to be postmaster at Sherburne, N. Y., in place of C. L. Carrier. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Frank A. Erickson to be postmaster at Sherman, N. Y., in place of F. A. Erickson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Helen M. Braisted to be postmaster at Silver Bay, N. Y., in place of H. M. Braisted. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

William A. Hilton to be postmaster at Skaneateles, N. Y., in place of W. A. Hilton. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

William M. Ackerman to be postmaster at Sparkill, N. Y., in place of W. M. Ackerman. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Arthur L. Willshaw to be postmaster at Staten Island, N. Y., in place of W. A. Eagleson. Incumbent's commission expired December 13, 1930.

Carlyle S. Hoskins to be postmaster at Stillwater, N. Y., in place of C. S. Hoskins. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

John W. Bellis to be postmaster at Tappan, N. Y., in place of J. W. Bellis. Incumbent's commission expired January 16, 1932.

Marion E. Wroten to be postmaster at Trudeau, N. Y., in place of M. E. Wroten. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John De Frine to be postmaster at Williamson, N. Y., in place of John De Frine. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

George L. Helfter to be postmaster at Williamsville, N. Y., in place of G. L. Helfter. Incumbent's commission expires January 31, 1932.

Ada J. Folsom to be postmaster at Winthrop, N. Y., in place of A. J. Folsom. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

NORTH CAROLINA

John B. Lonon to be postmaster at Ashford, N. C., in place of J. B. Lonon. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

John F. Barlow to be postmaster at Banners Elk, N. C., in place of J. F. Barlow. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Lester G. Hales to be postmaster at Bladenboro, N. C., in place of L. G. Hales. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Abner W. Smith to be postmaster at Boone, N. C., in place of A. W. Smith. Incumbent's commission expires February 20, 1932.

Alice W. Starr to be postmaster at Creswell, N. C., in place of A. W. Starr. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

William C. Thorne to be postmaster at Elm City, N. C., in place of W. C. Thorne. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Andrew J. Runion to be postmaster at Hot Springs, N. C., in place of A. J. Runion. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

John A. Klein to be postmaster at Morehead City, N. C., in place of J. A. Klein. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

David M. Cloninger to be postmaster at Newton, N. C., in place of D. M. Cloninger. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Jacob H. Quinn to be postmaster at Shelby, N. C., in place of J. H. Quinn. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Mae A. Elliott to be postmaster at Union Mills, N. C., in place of M. A. Elliott. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

NORTH DAKOTA

Walter A. Sather to be postmaster at Bismarck, N. Dak., in place of Oliver Lundquist, deceased.

Theodore A. Marquardt to be postmaster at Cooperstown, N. Dak., in place of T. A. Marquardt. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

Arthur Nelson to be postmaster at Courtenay, N. Dak., in place of Arthur Nelson. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Genevieve Gregor to be postmaster at Dawson, N. Dak., in place of Genevieve Gregor. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Albert E. Gutekunst to be postmaster at Drayton, N. Dak., in place of A. E. Gutekunst. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Orna F. Leedy to be postmaster at Goodrich, N. Dak., in place of O. F. Leedy. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Albert G. Tverberg to be postmaster at Grafton, N. Dak., in place of V. A. Tallackson, resigned.

Mary A. Manning to be postmaster at Jud, N. Dak., in place of M. A. Manning. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Joseph H. Huseby to be postmaster at Leeds, N. Dak., in place of J. H. Huseby. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Donald B. McDonald to be postmaster at Maxbass, N. Dak., in place of D. B. McDonald. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Elizabeth J. Olson to be postmaster at Medina, N. Dak., in place of E. J. Olson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Ole S. Aaker to be postmaster at Minnewaukan, N. Dak., in place of O. S. Aaker. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Ivah A. Miller to be postmaster at Nome, N. Dak., in place of I. A. Miller. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Otto Sougstad to be postmaster at Northwood, N. Dak., in place of Otto Sougstad. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Oscar M. Thompson to be postmaster at Rolette, N. Dak., in place of O. M. Thompson. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Forrest Daniel to be postmaster at Sykeston, N. Dak., in place of Forrest Daniel. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Clarence B. Stinson to be postmaster at Warwick, N. Dak., in place of C. B. Stinson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

OHIO

Lloyd D. Carter to be postmaster at Akron, Ohio, in place of L. D. Carter. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Franklin Fasig to be postmaster at Arlington, Ohio, in place of Franklin Fasig. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Howard M. Snedeker to be postmaster at Bellaire, Ohio, in place of H. M. Snedeker. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

Fred O. Simpson to be postmaster at Belle Center, Ohio, in place of F. O. Simpson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Henry Kemper to be postmaster at Bellefontaine, Ohio, in place of Henry Kemper. Incumbent's commission expires March 27, 1932.

Charles A. Bower to be postmaster at Bowerston, Ohio, in place of C. A. Bower. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

John Roth to be postmaster at Excello, Ohio, in place of John Roth. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Wilber C. Foote to be postmaster at Fredericktown, Ohio, in place of W. C. Foote. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Alonzo B. Yarnell to be postmaster at Freeport, Ohio, in place of A. B. Yarnell. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

Charles F. Faris to be postmaster at Hillsboro, Ohio, in place of C. F. Faris. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

Harry H. Hover to be postmaster at Lakeview, Ohio, in place of H. H. Hover. Incumbent's commission expired January 12, 1932.

Heyward Long to be postmaster at Martins Ferry, Ohio, in place of Heyward Long. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

Jerry F. Koster to be postmaster at Mayfield Heights, Ohio, in place of J. F. Koster. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Leonard H. Kelly to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, Ohio, in place of L. H. Kelly. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

William M. Johns to be postmaster at Plymouth, Ohio, in place of W. M. Johns. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Alta N. Johnson to be postmaster at Rushsylvania, Ohio, in place of A. N. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Rodney Barnes to be postmaster at St. Clairsville, Ohio, in place of Rodney Barnes. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

James A. Downs to be postmaster at Scio, Ohio, in place of J. A. Downs. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

Russel A. Medaugh to be postmaster at Spencerville, Ohio, in place of R. A. Medaugh. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Edna M. Gilson to be postmaster at Steubenville, Ohio, in place of E. M. Gilson. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Mayme Bell to be postmaster at Utica, Ohio, in place of H. C. Bell, deceased.

Mattie M. Beeson to be postmaster at Vandalia, Ohio, in place of M. M. Beeson. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Milton W. Stout to be postmaster at West Liberty, Ohio, in place of M. W. Stout. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Margaret A. Brooks to be postmaster at Yorkville, Ohio, in place of M. A. Brooks. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

OKLAHOMA

Hugh M. Tilton to be postmaster at Anadarko, Okla., in place of H. M. Tilton. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

William S. Sibley to be postmaster at Arnett, Okla., in place of W. S. Sibley. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Royal F. Hall to be postmaster at Boise City, Okla., in place of R. F. Hall. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1931.

Frank A. Smith to be postmaster at Byars, Okla., in place of F. A. Smith. Incumbent's commission expires February 16, 1932.

Arthur D. Hartley to be postmaster at Cardin, Okla., in place of A. D. Hartley. Incumbent's commission expires February 16, 1932.

Roy M. Muse to be postmaster at Elmore City, Okla., in place of R. M. Muse. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1931.

James O. Dowdy to be postmaster at Haskell, Okla., in place of J. O. Dowdy. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Calvin C. Wilson to be postmaster at Henryetta, Okla., in place of C. C. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

James T. White to be postmaster at Howe, Okla., in place of J. T. White. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Hubbard A. Babb to be postmaster at Hugo, Okla., in place of H. A. Babb. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1931.

Roy Sherman to be postmaster at Lexington, Okla., in place of Roy Sherman. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Andrew G. D. Elswick to be postmaster at Manchester, Okla., in place of A. G. D. Elswick. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Ralph P. Witt to be postmaster at Maud, Okla., in place of R. P. Witt. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

John A. Norris to be postmaster at Okeene, Okla., in place of J. A. Norris. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

William G. Johnston to be postmaster at Oklahoma City, Okla., in place of W. G. Johnston. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Charles H. Johnson to be postmaster at Pawnee, Okla., in place of C. H. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

John T. Williams to be postmaster at Perkins, Okla., in place of J. T. Williams. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

William E. Watson to be postmaster at Quinton, Okla., in place of W. E. Watson. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

Mary E. L. Allen to be postmaster at Ramona, Okla., in place of M. E. L. Allen. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

James M. Adkison to be postmaster at Tulsa, Okla., in place of J. M. Adkison. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Virgil T. Gannaway to be postmaster at Tuttle, Okla., in place of V. T. Gannaway. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

James M. D. Clowdus to be postmaster at Wilson, Okla., in place of J. M. D. Clowdus. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

Laura M. Hopkins to be postmaster at Woodward, Okla., in place of L. M. Hopkins. Incumbent's commission expires February 16, 1932.

OREGON

Leslie B. Frizzell to be postmaster at Houlton, Oreg., in place of L. B. Frizzell. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Pauline W. Platt to be postmaster at Ontario, Oreg., in place of P. W. Platt. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Henry H. McReynolds to be postmaster at Pilot Rock, Oreg., in place of H. H. McReynolds. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Cora Eames to be postmaster at Warrenton, Oreg., in place of Cora Eames. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Nels C. Nielsen to be postmaster at Wendling, Oreg., in place of N. C. Nielsen. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harold Coburn to be postmaster at Allison, Pa., in place of Harold Coburn. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Stanley L. Bechtel to be postmaster at Bally, Pa., in place of S. L. Bechtel. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Daniel K. Miller to be postmaster at Birdsboro, Pa., in place of D. K. Miller. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Wayne M. Culley to be postmaster at Burgettstown, Pa., in place of W. M. Culley. Incumbent's commission expired January 23, 1932.

William W. Latta to be postmaster at California, Pa., in place of W. W. Latta. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

William McCandless to be postmaster at Catasauqua, Pa., in place of William McCandless. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

John K. Hagerty to be postmaster at Chester, Pa., in place of J. K. Hagerty. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

Frank U. Armstrong to be postmaster at Cheswick, Pa., in place of F. U. Armstrong. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

Harry O. Campsey to be postmaster at Claysville, Pa., in place of H. O. Campsey. Incumbent's commission expired January 23, 1932.

Harry M. Logan to be postmaster at Conshohocken, Pa., in place of H. M. Logan. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Joseph A. Lawrence to be postmaster at Danville, Pa., in place of J. B. Gearhart, deceased.

Millard F. Hauser to be postmaster at Delaware Water Gap, Pa., in place of M. F. Hauser. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Samuel A. Morrison to be postmaster at Delmont, Pa., in place of S. A. Morrison. Incumbent's commission expires February 27, 1932.

Oscar W. Welsh to be postmaster at Douglassville, Pa., in place of O. W. Welsh. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Charles R. Kschinka to be postmaster at Dushore, Pa., in place of C. R. Kschinka. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

George V. Glenn to be postmaster at East Butler, Pa., in place of G. V. Glenn. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Haydn E. Lupold to be postmaster at East Petersburg, Pa., in place of H. E. Lupold. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Mary S. Moore to be postmaster at Everson, Pa., in place of M. S. Moore. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Cletus L. Goodling to be postmaster at Farm School, Pa., in place of C. L. Goodling. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Arthur D. Garber to be postmaster at Florin, Pa., in place of A. D. Garber. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Roy R. Rhodes to be postmaster at Freedom, Pa., in place of R. R. Rhodes. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Charles O. Wescoe to be postmaster at Fullerton, Pa., in place of C. O. Wescoe. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Lemuel N. Ammon to be postmaster at Gap, Pa., in place of L. N. Ammon. Incumbent's commission expires February 24, 1932.

Warren R. Grove to be postmaster at Greencastle, Pa., in place of W. R. Grove. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

William R. Smith to be postmaster at Harmony, Pa., in place of W. R. Smith. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Benjamin F. Jenkins to be postmaster at Jeannette, Pa., in place of B. F. Jenkins. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

George J. Thumm to be postmaster at Lansdale, Pa., in place of G. J. Thumm. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Caddie L. Greth to be postmaster at Laureldale, Pa., in place of C. L. Greth. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Anna W. Kerr to be postmaster at Lincoln Place, Pa., in place of A. W. Kerr. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Rhea L. Moyer to be postmaster at Macungie, Pa., in place of R. L. Moyer. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

John L. Coldren to be postmaster at Manheim, Pa., in place of J. L. Coldren. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Henry B. Haines to be postmaster at Maytown, Pa., in place of H. B. Haines. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Mabel G. Wetzel to be postmaster at Middleburg, Pa., in place of M. G. Wetzel. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Harry J. Bearer to be postmaster at Monessen, Pa., in place of H. J. Bearer. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1932.

William S. Durham to be postmaster at Mont Clare, Pa., in place of W. S. Durham. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Andrew L. Daigneau to be postmaster at Mount Gretna, Pa., in place of E. R. Dissinger. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1930.

Phares S. Auxer to be postmaster at Mountville, Pa., in place of P. S. Auxer. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Albert P. Malkin to be postmaster at Nemacolin, Pa., in place of A. R. Morgan, resigned.

William E. Marsden to be postmaster at Nesquehoning, Pa., in place of W. E. Marsden. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Edwin Zimmerman to be postmaster at Newmanstown, Pa., in place of Edwin Zimmerman. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Clinton B. White to be postmaster at New Wilmington, Pa., in place of C. B. White. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

Bert D. Stephens to be postmaster at Nicholson, Pa., in place of B. D. Stephens. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

Anna C. Young to be postmaster at North Hills, Pa., in place of A. C. Young. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

David B. Seasholtz to be postmaster at North Wales, Pa., in place of D. B. Seasholtz. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

Lewis M. Krebs to be postmaster at Port Carbon, Pa., in place of L. M. Krebs. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Howard Sterner to be postmaster at Richlandtown, Pa., in place of Howard Sterner. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Eranious E. Bentel to be postmaster at Rochester, Pa., in place of E. E. Bentel. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Luther P. Ross to be postmaster at Saxton, Pa., in place of L. P. Ross. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

John N. Backenstose to be postmaster at Schaefferstown, Pa., in place of J. D. Backenstose, resigned.

Eberhard D. Smith to be postmaster at Sellersville, Pa., in place of E. D. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

Calvin S. Leitner to be postmaster at Sheridan, Pa., in place of C. S. Leitner. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Richard L. Harpel to be postmaster at Sinking Spring, Pa., in place of R. L. Harpel. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Edward W. Workley to be postmaster at Smethport, Pa., in place of E. W. Workley. Incumbent's commission expired February 28, 1931.

Peter L. Rohrer to be postmaster at Smoketown, Pa., in place of P. L. Rohrer. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Frank G. Jones to be postmaster at Spartansburg, Pa., in place of F. G. Jones. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Robert E. Frech to be postmaster at Stowe, Pa., in place of R. E. Frech. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Charles F. Wenrich to be postmaster at Wernersville, Pa., in place of C. F. Wenrich. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1932.

Helen L. Chaffee to be postmaster at Wesleyville, Pa., in place of H. L. Chaffee. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Mary H. Guess to be postmaster at West Alexander, Pa., in place of H. P. Howell, deceased.

Wayne Elliott to be postmaster at West Chester, Pa., in place of Wayne Elliott. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

John G. McCune to be postmaster at West Newton, Pa., in place of J. G. McCune. Incumbent's commission expires February 6, 1932.

Carl H. Borgeson to be postmaster at Wilcox, Pa., in place of C. H. Borgeson. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Philip Shay to be postmaster at Williamsport, Pa., in place of W. F. Zahn, deceased.

J. Mateer Pollock to be postmaster at Wilmerding, Pa., in place of J. M. Pollock. Incumbent's commission expires February 8, 1932.

Edwin K. Bedortha to be postmaster at Woodville, Pa., in place of E. K. Bedortha. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Harry N. Yost to be postmaster at Wyomissing, Pa., in place of H. A. Garner, removed.

Susanna S. Hartman to be postmaster at Yardley, Pa., in place of S. S. Hartman. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

PORTO RICO

Agustin Carbonell to be postmaster at Caguas, P. R., in place of Agustin Carbonell. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

RHODE ISLAND

Mary V. Nichols to be postmaster at Bradford, R. I., in place of M. V. Nichols. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Robert Liptrot to be postmaster at Greystone, R. I., in place of G. T. Lund, resigned.

Hartzell R. Birch to be postmaster at Kingston, R. I., in place of H. R. Birch. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Frank A. Rixford to be postmaster at Woonsocket, R. I., in place of F. A. Rixford. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Willard O. Dailey to be postmaster at Bison, S. Dak., in place of W. O. Dailey. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

Arthur D. Flagg to be postmaster at Buffalo, S. Dak., in place of A. D. Flagg. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

Charles S. Kingsbury to be postmaster at Dallas, S. Dak., in place of C. S. Kingsbury. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

Florence Holden to be postmaster at Lake Andes, S. Dak., in place of Florence Holden. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

Sylvester Eisenman to be postmaster at Marty, S. Dak., in place of Sylvester Eisenman. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

William Kayser to be postmaster at Parkston, S. Dak., in place of William Kayser. Incumbent's commission expires February 21, 1932.

William Zwicky to be postmaster at Rapid City, S. Dak., in place of J. H. Mathias, resigned.

TENNESSEE

John P. Gallaher to be postmaster at Ashland City, Tenn., in place of J. P. Gallaher. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

John L. Harris to be postmaster at Bethel Springs, Tenn., in place of J. L. Harris. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

John V. Lady to be postmaster at Blountville, Tenn., in place of J. V. Lady. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1931.

Mamie D. Phillips to be postmaster at Brighton, Tenn., in place of M. D. Phillips. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Joel F. Ruffin to be postmaster at Cedar Hill, Tenn., in place of J. F. Ruffin. Incumbent's commission expired February 19, 1931.

Lavella Bratschi to be postmaster at Erin, Tenn., in place of Lavella Bratschi. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1931.

William T. McCown to be postmaster at Fayetteville, Tenn., in place of W. T. McCown. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Charley M. Mount to be postmaster at Franklin, Tenn., in place of C. M. Mount. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Stephen H. Bedwell to be postmaster at Friendship, Tenn., in place of S. H. Bedwell. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

John F. Gaines to be postmaster at Gainesboro, Tenn., in place of J. F. Gaines. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Harry K. Dodson to be postmaster at Kenton, Tenn., in place of H. K. Dodson. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

John J. Graham to be postmaster at Knoxville, Tenn., in place of J. J. Graham. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Ernest C. Lowery to be postmaster at Leoma, Tenn., in place of E. C. Lowery. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Henrietta Whaley to be postmaster at Liberty, Tenn., in place of M. C. Bratten, resigned.

Elmer T. Sparks to be postmaster at McKenzie, Tenn., in place of E. T. Sparks. Incumbent's commission expired December 17, 1931.

Bassil G. Taylor to be postmaster at Mason, Tenn., in place of B. G. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

A. Henderson Johnson to be postmaster at Newbern, Tenn., in place of A. H. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Hugh G. Haworth to be postmaster at New Market, Tenn., in place of H. G. Haworth. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Colpy Upton to be postmaster at Obion, Tenn., in place of Colpy Upton. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

William S. Weatherly to be postmaster at Puryear, Tenn., in place of W. S. Weatherly. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Chester A. Scott to be postmaster at Selmer, Tenn., in place of C. A. Scott. Incumbent's commission expires February 24, 1932.

Cyrus L. Fairless to be postmaster at Trenton, Tenn., in place of C. L. Fairless. Incumbent's commission expired January 4, 1932.

Thomas E. Richardson to be postmaster at Tullahoma, Tenn., in place of T. E. Richardson. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

William E. Hudgins to be postmaster at Union City, Tenn., in place of W. E. Hudgins. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

TEXAS

Anderson J. Hixson to be postmaster at Abbott, Tex., in place of A. J. Hixson. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Ethyl H. Williams to be postmaster at Angleton, Tex., in place of E. H. Williams. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Ernest E. Cornelius to be postmaster at Athens, Tex., in place of E. E. Cornelius. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

Jefferson D. Bell to be postmaster at Bartlett, Tex., in place of J. D. Bell. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Joe B. Carter to be postmaster at Beckville, Tex., in place of J. B. Carter. Incumbent's commission expires February 27, 1932.

Antonia R. Garcia to be postmaster at Benavides, Tex., in place of A. R. Garcia. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Edith M. Bursey to be postmaster at Brackettville, Tex., in place of E. M. Bursey. Incumbent's commission expires February 27, 1932.

Gertrude N. Merrill to be postmaster at Buffalo, Tex., in place of G. N. Merrill. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Claude F. Riley to be postmaster at Canton, Tex., in place of C. F. Riley. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

David A. Young to be postmaster at Commerce, Tex., in place of D. A. Young. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Bradley Miller to be postmaster at Coolidge, Tex., in place of Bradley Miller. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

Eugene Webb to be postmaster at Corrigan, Tex., in place of Eugene Webb. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Vivian B. Boone to be postmaster at Fabens, Tex., in place of V. B. Boone. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

William N. Moore to be postmaster at Fort Worth, Tex., in place of W. N. Moore. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Nora C. McNally to be postmaster at Godley, Tex., in place of N. C. McNally. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Lenora Baade to be postmaster at Gulf, Tex., in place of W. L. Davidson. Incumbent's commission expired December 11, 1930.

Cass B. Rowland to be postmaster at Hamlin, Tex., in place of C. B. Rowland. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Clara C. Redford to be postmaster at Johnson City, Tex., in place of C. C. Redford. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Harman Straub to be postmaster at La Feria, Tex., in place of Harman Straub. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Alfred W. Orr to be postmaster at Livingston, Tex., in place of A. W. Orr. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1931.

John B. Vannoy to be postmaster at McLean, Tex., in place of J. B. Vannoy. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Paul Fomby to be postmaster at Maud, Tex., in place of Paul Fomley. To correct name.

Joel D. Cranford to be postmaster at Mineral Wells, Tex., in place of J. D. Cranford. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

James M. Cottle to be postmaster at Moran, Tex., in place of J. M. Cottle. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Beulah W. Carles to be postmaster at Muleshoe, Tex., in place of B. W. Carles. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Joseph F. Wiles to be postmaster at Olton, Tex., in place of J. F. Wiles. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

Nora M. Kuhn to be postmaster at Paige, Tex., in place of N. M. Kuhn. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1932.

Willie L. Kennedy to be postmaster at Putnam, Tex., in place of W. L. Kennedy. Incumbent's commission expires February 27, 1932.

Andrew J. Bushong to be postmaster at Rankin, Tex., in place of A. J. Bushong. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1931.

John M. Cape to be postmaster at San Marcos, Tex., in place of J. M. Cape. Incumbent's commission expires February 17, 1932.

William A. Farek to be postmaster at Schulenburg, Tex., in place of W. A. Farek. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Clara M. Bean to be postmaster at Van Horn, Tex., in place of I. C. Dees, resigned.

Joe Burger, sr., to be postmaster at Wharton, Tex., in place of Joe Burger, sr. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Alphonso S. Butler to be postmaster at Winona, Tex., in place of A. S. Butler. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1931.

UTAH

Ezra P. Jensen to be postmaster at Garland, Utah, in place of E. P. Jensen. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Leo N. Gledhill to be postmaster at Gunnison, Utah, in place of L. N. Gledhill. Incumbent's commission expires February 10, 1932.

Maranda Young to be postmaster at Heber, Utah, in place of Maranda Young. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

Joseph C. Frost to be postmaster at Riverton, Utah, in place of S. F. Stephensen, removed.

Norman G. Allen to be postmaster at Wellsville, Utah, in place of N. G. Allan. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1932.

VERMONT

Douglas C. Montgomery to be postmaster at East Arlington, Vt., in place of D. C. Montgomery. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Lyman H. Leach to be postmaster at Essex Junction, Vt., in place of L. H. Leach. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

William F. Braley to be postmaster at Hartford, Vt., in place of W. F. Braley. Incumbent's commission expires February 7, 1932.

Dora W. Brown to be postmaster at Lunenburg, Vt., in place of D. W. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Murray K. Paris to be postmaster at Lyndon, Vt., in place of M. K. Paris. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Truman E. Wheeler to be postmaster at Lyndonville, Vt., in place of T. E. Wheeler. Incumbent's commission expires February 27, 1932.

Walter W. Wright to be postmaster at North Troy, Vt., in place of W. W. Wright. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Charles W. Humphrey to be postmaster at Poultney, Vt., in place of C. W. Humphrey. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Earle H. Bishop to be postmaster at West Rutland, Vt., in place of E. H. Bishop. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

Belle H. Covell to be postmaster at Williamstown, Vt., in place of B. H. Covell. Incumbent's commission expired January 13, 1932.

VIRGINIA

G. Buford Bralley to be postmaster at Austinville, Va., in place of G. B. Bralley. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Grace S. White to be postmaster at Ballston, Va., in place of G. S. White. Incumbent's commission expired June 8, 1930.

Noah Markey to be postmaster at Beaverdam, Va., in place of Noah Markey. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Ella E. Ames to be postmaster at Belle Haven, Va., in place of E. E. Ames. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Roy E. Potts to be postmaster at Berryville, Va., in place of N. S. Ritter, removed.

Francis C. Fitzhugh to be postmaster at Cape Charles, Va., in place of F. C. Fitzhugh. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

James M. Nunn to be postmaster at East Radford, Va., in place of J. M. Nunn. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Mary L. Addison to be postmaster at Emory, Va., in place of M. L. Addison. Incumbent's commission expired January 29, 1930.

Gilmer T. Slusser to be postmaster at Fincastle, Va., in place of G. T. Slusser. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Neville L. Adams to be postmaster at Gretna, Va., in place of N. L. Adams. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Charles A. Hammer to be postmaster at Harrisonburg, Va., in place of C. A. Hammer. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

William R. Rogers to be postmaster at Hilton Village, Va., in place of W. R. Rogers. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

John W. Gibbs to be postmaster at Howardsville, Va., in place of J. W. Gibbs. Incumbent's commission expired April 1, 1930.

Frank D. Paul to be postmaster at Leesburg, Va., in place of F. D. Paul. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Rodney F. Woodward to be postmaster at Marshall, Va., in place of R. F. Woodward. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Charles P. Smith, jr., to be postmaster at Martinsville, Va., in place of C. P. Smith, jr. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Charles M. Saunders to be postmaster at Milford, Va., in place of C. M. Saunders. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Oswell H. Hopkins to be postmaster at Narrows, Va., in place of O. H. Hopkins. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Ruth O. Griffin to be postmaster at Newsoms, Va., in place of R. O. Griffin. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Roger G. Dyson to be postmaster at North Emporia, Va., in place of R. G. Dyson. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Robert M. Bradshaw to be postmaster at Rice, Va., in place of R. M. Bradshaw. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Mary E. Spratt to be postmaster at Richlands, Va., in place of M. E. Spratt. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Walter E. Richmond to be postmaster at Rural Retreat, Va., in place of W. E. Richmond. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Bessie H. Moon to be postmaster at Saxe, Va., in place of B. H. Moon. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Joseph B. Jones to be postmaster at Smithfield, Va., in place of J. B. Jones. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Gilbert F. Stiles to be postmaster at Wachapreague, Va., in place of G. F. Stiles. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Emmett W. Brittle to be postmaster at Wakefield, Va., in place of E. W. Brittle. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

John B. Grayson to be postmaster at Warrenton, Va., in place of J. B. Grayson. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

William M. Chamberlain to be postmaster at Waverly, Va., in place of W. M. Chamberlain. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

Campbell Slemp to be postmaster at Wise, Va., in place of Campbell Slemp. Incumbent's commission expired January 21, 1931.

WASHINGTON

Charles P. Stapp to be postmaster at Anacortes, Wash., in place of C. P. Stapp. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Fred H. Tonkin to be postmaster at Black Diamond, Wash., in place of F. H. Tonkin. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Eliza F. Head to be postmaster at Cathlamet, Wash., in place of E. F. Head. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles C. Mulligan to be postmaster at Kirkland, Wash., in place of C. C. Mulligan. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Florence P. Cooper to be postmaster at Long Beach, Wash., in place of F. P. Cooper. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Curtis B. Bay to be postmaster at Lynden, Wash., in place of C. B. Bay. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

Anna M. Robertson to be postmaster at Montesano, Wash., in place of A. M. Robertson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles A. Fiedler to be postmaster at Newport, Wash., in place of C. A. Fiedler. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Alvin R. Lehmann to be postmaster at Parkland, Wash., in place of A. R. Lehmann. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

John W. Cowdery to be postmaster at Rainier, Wash., in place of J. W. Cowdery. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

James Lane to be postmaster at Roslyn, Wash., in place of James Lane. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Charles M. Perkins to be postmaster at Seattle, Wash., in place of C. M. Perkins. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Warren P. Cressy to be postmaster at South Bend, Wash., in place of W. P. Cressy. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charles L. Evans to be postmaster at Benwood, W. Va. Office established.

Otto Sharitz to be postmaster at Berwind, W. Va., in place of Otto Sharitz. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Daisy I. Valley to be postmaster at Coalwood, W. Va., in place of D. I. Valley. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Howe Stidger to be postmaster at Farmington. W. Va., in place of A. F. Dunham. Incumbent's commission expired December 11, 1930.

Wilbur Dolly to be postmaster at Franklin, W. Va., in place of Wilbur Dolly. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Thelma Taylor to be postmaster at Cauley Bridge, W. Va., in place of Thelma Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Reuben Williams to be postmaster at Glen Rogers, W. Va., in place of W. S. Thomas, removed.

Ada F. Rush to be postmaster at Hundred, W. Va., in place of A. F. Rush. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Millard F. Forgey to be postmaster at Kingston, W. Va., in place of M. F. Forgey. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Pete A. Spurlock to be postmaster at Logan, W. Va., in place of P. A. Spurlock. Incumbent's commission expires February 4, 1932.

James D. Charlton to be postmaster at Mannington, W. Va., in place of J. D. Charlton. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Austin H. Brown to be postmaster at Newell, W. Va., in place of A. H. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Oscar S. Lindamood to be postmaster at Omar, W. Va., in place of O. S. Lindamood. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Lawrence Lipscomb to be postmaster at Parsons, W. Va., in place of Lawrence Lipscomb. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Bonnie Hanshaw to be postmaster at Peach Creek, W. Va., in place of Bonnie Hanshaw. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Jesse M. Wood to be postmaster at Worthington, W. Va., in place of J. M. Wood. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

WISCONSIN

John Meili to be postmaster at Alma, Wis., in place of John Meili. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Carl L. Christianson to be postmaster at Bloomer, Wis., in place of C. L. Christianson. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Thomas A. Lowerre to be postmaster at Delafield, Wis., in place of T. A. Lowerre. Incumbent's commission expires February 2, 1932.

Harry E. Garbisch to be postmaster at Dorchester, Wis., in place of H. E. Garbisch. Incumbent's commission expired January 9, 1932.

Albert C. Holmes to be postmaster at Evansville, Wis., in place of A. C. Holmes. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Anna J. Johnson to be postmaster at Fair Water, Wis., in place of A. J. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1931.

Dell Q. Grabill to be postmaster at Fort Atkinson, Wis., in place of G. A. Potter. Incumbent's commission expired January 21, 1931.

Wilfred D. Zeirke to be postmaster at Hartland, Wis., in place of Jacob Weed, removed.

Thomas A. Walby to be postmaster at Hudson, Wis., in place of T. A. Walby. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Eugene B. Williams to be postmaster at Hurley, Wis., in place of E. B. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1930.

Lawrence W. Daniels to be postmaster at Kansasville, Wis., in place of L. W. Daniels. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1932.

Frank A. Hanson to be postmaster at Kewaunee, Wis., in place of F. A. Hanson. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Wallace M. Comstock to be postmaster at Oconto, Wis., in place of W. M. Comstock. Incumbent's commission expired May 21, 1930.

Nellie I. McGill to be postmaster at Oregon, Wis., in place of N. I. McGill. Incumbent's commission expired January 14, 1932.

Frank F. Delventhal to be postmaster at Peshtigo, Wis., in place of Lawrence Barrett, deceased.

George W. Rickeman to be postmaster at Racine, Wis., in place of G. H. Herzog, removed.

Emil G. Prellwitz to be postmaster at Ripon, Wis., in place of A. H. Fischer, deceased.

Walter C. Anderson to be postmaster at Rosholt, Wis., in place of W. C. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expires February 28, 1932.

Harry E. Thomas to be postmaster at Sheboygan, Wis., in place of F. A. Knauf. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

Leo A. Brzezinski to be postmaster at Sobieski, Wis. Office became presidential July 1, 1930.

Henry J. LaGrandeur to be postmaster at Somerset, Wis., in place of H. J. LaGrandeur. Incumbent's commission expired January 10, 1932.

Harlow G. Hoag to be postmaster at Tomah, Wis., in place of W. R. Homermiller, removed.

George T. Classon to be postmaster at Weyauwega, Wis., in place of G. T. Classon. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1931.

WYOMING

Johan O. Hedemann to be postmaster at Columbine, Wyo., in place of J. O. Hedemann. Incumbent's commission expires February 9, 1932.

C. Golden Welch to be postmaster at Cowley, Wyo., in place of C. G. Welch. Incumbent's commission expires February 14, 1932.

Robert A. Hoover to be postmaster at Green River, Wyo., in place of R. A. Hoover. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Calloway Gillespie to be postmaster at Rock River, Wyo., in place of Calloway Gillespie. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1932.

Harold T. Duffy to be postmaster at Wheatland, Wyo., in place of H. T. Duffy. Incumbent's commission expired December 21, 1930.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 1, 1932

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

Jacob E. Hood, Cordova.
Sylvanus L. Sherrill, Hartselle.

MISSOURI

Lester H. Pettit, Ava.
Verner H. Kirkendall, Birch Tree.
Frank W. Dunn, Chaffee.
Bransby B. Houghton, Crystal City.
Maurice Craig, Illmo.
Benjamin H. Linhardt, Jefferson City.
Victor M. Blankinship, Kennett.
Charles S. Dickson, Milan.
John M. Medcalf, Monroe City.
Eugene E. Wyatt, Oak Grove.
Amy B. Burchard, Owensville.
Jesse A. Linthacum, Ridgeway.
Lester S. Eddings, Rogersville.
Alfred A. Smith, Rolla.
Estel G. Crawford, Tipton.

OKLAHOMA

Samuel H. Wilson, Barnsdall.
Herbert L. Burke, Beaver.
Osman A. Gilbert, Cleveland.
Guy M. Babcock, Denoya.
Roy R. Dodd, Fairfax.
John N. Voorhees, Fairview.
Doris M. Tyrrell, Fargo.
Onie L. Tapp, Marlow.
Irl J. Trout, Stigler.
Clarence O. Payne, Tipton.

OREGON

Charles B. Wilson, Newberg.

TEXAS

Eleanor B. Johnston, Goree.

WEST VIRGINIA

Rosa P. Oxley, Athens.
Leonard E. White, Princeton.
Roscoe B. Holmes, Raleigh.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, before whom the nations bow, we thank Thee that our unworthiness has not forfeited Thy love and that our hearts respond to it in gratitude. O bless us with the heart of a little child—strong to obey, quick to serve, and ready in kindliness. O Lord we wait; we wait with our struggling faith in the outcome of this confused, turbulent old world. Some stupendous barrier is in the way, when all our yearning and striving for peace fails. The darkened sky seems to be such a receding horizon. Do Thou help the statesmen who are looking on with such growing apprehension and are laboring for the dawn of the morning. Go Thou behind the fortified frontiers and put Thy hand upon the curse of this mad, mad world, lest all lands become involved. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, January 29, 1932, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 261. Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks.

INCREASED COMPENSATION AND FILLING OF VACANCIES IN DEPARTMENTS

Mr. POU, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution for printing under the rules, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

House Resolution 126

Resolved, That in the consideration of the general appropriation bills during the first session of the Seventy-second Congress it shall be in order to consider without the intervention of a point of order any sections of all the aforesaid bills, containing language which prohibits during the period from the date of their respective enactments until June 30, 1933, the use of appropriations for increases in compensation and the filling of vacancies in positions, with such modification in such sections as may be necessary to accomplish such purposes in order to adopt them to the respective appropriations bills.

THE PRIVATE CALENDAR

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, before we take up the business of the day, may I ask the majority leader a question?

Mr. RAINEY. Certainly.

Mr. SNELL. I have had several inquiries relative to the Private Calendar. I am wondering if the gentleman can arrange to give us some day this week or very soon for the consideration of that calendar.

Mr. RAINEY. Yes. I think the Private Calendar ought not to be taken up at night.

Mr. SNELL. I think we ought to have it taken up in the afternoon so that proper consideration can be given to it.

Mr. RAINEY. The business of the House is in such shape that I think we can have Friday afternoon next for the consideration of the Private Calendar.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Illinois desire to ask unanimous consent at the present time for the consideration of the Private Calendar on Friday next?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the Private Calendar be taken up for consideration in the House as in Committee of the Whole and bills unobjected to be considered on Friday next. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

VETERANS OF CONFEDERATE ARMY AND NAVY

The SPEAKER. This is consent day. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Consent Calendar.

The first bill on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4577) to extend hospital and home facilities to veterans of the Confederate Army and Navy.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object, because I want to know more about this.

Mr. HILL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, this bill really is the child of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. We had before the committee a letter from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, also from Mr. Watson B. Miller, speaking for the American Legion, and also from General Hines, and the committee, after hearings on the bill, reached the conclusion that there would be practically no veterans who would avail themselves of this right if given to them by Congress; that it would be a very gracious gesture and act on the part of Congress as indicating that all bitterness of feeling growing out of the situation from 1861 to 1865 has passed.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Does the gentleman think that is sufficient excuse to establish a precedent of the nature of this bill?

Mr. HILL of Alabama. All other veterans of all other wars of the United States are to-day eligible for admission to these homes.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Of course, no one for an instant could charge me with any bitterness of feeling, as I am more or less a grandson of the Confederacy. I think I shall have to object until I have a chance to look the matter over more carefully.

Mr. HILL of Alabama. Has the gentleman read the report?

Mr. UNDERHILL. No; but I want to read it. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice until I have had a chance to look into it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE, TERRITORY OF HAWAII

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 308) to provide for the appointment of an acting secretary of the Territory of Hawaii during the absence or illness of the secretary.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. I understood from the Delegate from Hawaii the other day that there would be a clause here which provides that no salary should be paid.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. That is acceptable.

Mr. BLANTON. That this is a position that would be held by another employee. It is understood that there is no salary to be paid additional to the salary already drawn by the official, but that a present official will merely act ex officio for the secretary of state?

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. That is correct.

Mr. DOWELL. The bill itself specifically provides that.

Mr. BLANTON. But sometimes they get around those things.

Mr. DOWELL. There is no way of getting around the plain language in this bill.

Mr. BLANTON. We want it distinctly understood as to that, and with that clearly understood I shall not object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object in order to ask a question. This bill came up two weeks ago, and it was suggested by some one there should be an amendment to it providing for the absence of this secretary. Can the gentleman from Hawaii explain to me just what is provided with reference to that?

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. It says: "When he is either sick or absent on one of the other islands."

Mr. JENKINS. That recalls it to my mind. It was suggested that the words "when absent upon official business" should be inserted.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. If he were away on furlough or on leave or on his vacation, then there is no one to act in his stead. It is in order to take care of such contingencies that this bill was provided, because there is an absolute prohibition against anyone but himself acting at the time. We are simply asking for one who will act at the time for him.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. What duties has the secretary of the Territory to perform which require a substitute by law?

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. One of the principal duties is in connection with the issuance of birth certificates.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Now, the gentleman knows that so far as birth certificates are concerned, in all likelihood his name appears printed "by registrar," or whichever authority has that particular ministerial duty. It is a ministerial duty.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. No. It is his own signature which is required.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. But that is only ministerial.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I think in the past the secretary's office has listed the birth certificates. Owing to the peculiar types of citizenship, some form has to be gone through as to birth certificates prior to securing steamship tickets and things like that.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. But the business of the Territory has been held up during his absence, and papers have had to be sent to San Francisco in order to obtain necessary official recognition, and in order to avoid that we have offered this bill. It means no cost to either the Federal Government or to the Territory.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Has the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] been satisfied as to the inquiry he made concerning the secretary?

Mr. BLANTON. I am satisfied concerning the assurance given me by the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. JENKINS. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. I yield.

Mr. JENKINS. I would like to show the gentleman the amendments which were suggested. On page 2, line 2, after the words "temporary absence," it was suggested to insert the words "on official business or during his illness." But I am inclined to agree with the gentleman from Hawaii. I think that language will not strengthen the bill at all, but that it will rather detract from it.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. Yes; because he may be away on vacation.

Mr. JENKINS. In that event the gentleman means that regardless of what business he may be away on he shall provide some one under bond to take his place.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. That is correct.

Mr. JENKINS. I believe the gentleman is correct in that respect.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 69 of the act entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved April 30, 1900 (U. S. C., title 48, sec. 534), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph to read as follows:

"The secretary may, with the approval of the governor, designate some other officer of the government of the Territory of Hawaii to act as secretary during his temporary absence or during his illness. Such designation and approval shall be in writing and shall be filed in the office of the governor, and a copy thereof, certified by the governor, shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of the Interior of the United States. Such person so designated shall, during the temporary absence or illness of the secretary, be known as the acting secretary of the Territory of Hawaii, and shall have and exercise all the powers and duties of the secretary, except those provided for by section 70 of this act (U. S. C., title 48, sec. 535). Such acting secretary shall serve without additional compensation, but the secretary shall be responsible and liable on his official bond for all acts done by the acting secretary in the performance of his duties as acting secretary."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word, and I ask unanimous consent to use that five minutes in speaking out of order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, because the gentleman from Texas always has matters of interest and information for the House, but, Mr. Speaker, we will have to tighten down on these requests on the Consent Calendar, so I hope that Members will not take any objection which is made in our desire to expedite this business as personal, if objection is made hereafter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post this morning carried a statement from President Hoover that "Directions have been given to send to Shanghai the Thirty-first Regiment, of about 1,000 men, now at Manila, together with 400 marines, in the transport *Chaumont*, leaving to-morrow," and that the cruiser *Houston* and six destroyers left Manila this morning for Shanghai.

In reciting the line-up of the naval and military forces of the United States, either now in China or going, the Post stated that there are 1,264 marines at Shanghai, and 566 boarding the cruiser *Houston* for Shanghai, with 433 marines at Peiping; that there are 700 infantrymen at Tientsin, and 1,000 boarding the transport *Chaumont* for Shanghai; that there are 2 destroyers at Shanghai with 242 aboard, 4 more en route with 460 aboard, and 7 more leaving Manila with 847 aboard; that 1 destroyer is at Nanking with 121 aboard, and in South China waters within 400 miles of Shanghai there are 5 destroyers with 605 aboard; that on the Yangtze River there are 7 small gunboats with 329 aboard, and 2 gunboats at Canton with 146 aboard; that there are 24 other ships and craft, including air and submarine, with a total personnel of 2,715, at Manila, and that there is 1 gunboat at Hsinho with 157 aboard. The Post further stated that following the conference at the White House yesterday, Secretary Hurley and General Douglas MacArthur hurriedly drafted the orders, written orders, written on a scratch pad, sending American Army troops to China.

Mr. Speaker, I want to ask my colleagues seriously how many of them are willing to involve the United States Government in war to protect a few Chinese merchants. Several years ago, while considering the Consent Calendar, I was fighting what was known as the Dyer Chinese Trading Act bills, and some of my colleagues then could not understand my opposition. I called attention then to the fact that there would be a few corporations formed where Americans would engage in business in China, and that presently a serious situation would arise where their financial interests would be involved and we would be sending our battleships and men over there to protect them. That is exactly what we are doing to-day. They were so hurried yesterday in sending orders for American troops to embark that they wrote them out on a scratch pad on their knees, to send our battleships and men over to the Far East.

I am not willing to involve the United States Government in war to protect those few Chinese merchants over there, and I think the Congress of the United States ought to give our powers that be to understand we are not going to permit it.

Mr. McKEOWN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

Mr. McKEOWN. I would ask the gentleman if, under the conditions existing at present, the gentleman does not think it unwise to discuss that situation?

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman would wait until a bunch of our marines are shot down and killed over there and then we will be called upon to vote war, and I am not going to wait until that emergency arises.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. What other authority than the President of the United States and his Cabinet should determine the movements of our battleships?

Mr. BLANTON. Congress only can declare war, but others can get us in it. Oh, there are jingoes in big business and jingoes in the War Department and jingoes in the Navy Department, and I am afraid they are in the State Department, all wanting to involve us in war for commercial profit and personal promotion.

I was called upon to vote for war back in 1917, but I have learned a whole lot since then, and we should be careful about sending our fighting men and fighting machines over there, for where warships rush into where fighting may be going on they are sure to become involved themselves. Somebody will be hurt, and shortly there will be a serious situation confronting the people. We ought to keep away from there. We ought to keep our ships and soldiers out of there, and we should notify those Chinese merchants that were formed into corporations under the Dyer Chinese Trading Act that they had better get out of there while foreigners are fighting and stay at home for the present.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. What other procedure would the gentleman suggest than the procedure that is being followed, under the circumstances, by the President and his Cabinet?

Mr. BLANTON. I would suggest that instead of rushing in there with our battleships and military forces where people are fighting, we should stay away from it. It is not our fight. We ought to arrange to assist Americans to get out of there, and then when these fighters get through with their scrap they can settle for the damage to American property, and that should be the extent of our activities. I am not willing that American forces should be sent 4,000 miles from home to protect the property of international merchants, who pay no taxes to the United States, and many of whom have no particular devotion to the United States but are seeking to enrich themselves in China.

This same edition of the Washington Post this morning gives the profits of J. P. Morgan & Co. from the sale of foreign bonds in the United States as $10,883,626, while the American investors whom they duped into buying these worthless bonds lost $2,000,000,000.

Why should we rush in with all of our marines, our battleships, and destroyers where a fight is going on? We are going to get into it as sure as you live if we do not stay away from there. Let these few Americans get out of China and come on home, and stay out during this fight.

Mr. PURNELL. Does the gentleman think we should not protect our people and help them get away from there?

Mr. BLANTON. Certainly we should. We should safeguard them and get them away from there through every reasonable and sane means, but we are doing a very dangerous thing just now.

Mr. PURNELL. How would the gentleman get them back? Would he have them swim back?

Mr. BLANTON. We have gotten them back before. We can get them back without entering a war. I wanted to sound this one note of warning. The first thing you know you are going to get some of our marines killed over there, and then we will be in a war, and if we use good judgment we can avoid it.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. When trouble was going on in China a couple of years ago we sent some war vessels over there, and the gentleman will remember that when the Cantonese army reached Shanghai the newspapers stated that they laid down a barrage around the Standard Oil Co.'s plant and let the missionaries and refugees take care of themselves. I agree with the gentleman from Texas. The thing we should do is to get our people out of there.

Mr. BLANTON. We should get them out of there and make them stay out of there before any of them are killed and we are then forced into a war that, with proper caution, can be avoided. And we must not let a bunch of war-seeking jingoes precipitate us into a war.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE DESERT LAND LAW

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar (H. R. 5484) extending the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories," approved March 3, 1877 (19 Stat. 377), and acts amendatory thereof, to ceded lands of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire whether the amendments as recommended by the department have been included in the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. They have been included.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the price at which this land would be disposed of would be the price as fixed about 35 years ago, would it not?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Yes; but it is worth less now than it was then.

Mr. COLLINS. I understand; but that is the price at which it would be disposed of.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. It is nothing but desert land. There are thousands of acres there, and this bill simply extends to this land the desert land law. The homestead laws apply and the timber and stone act applies, but there is no other law that is applicable. There are only 160 acres involved, and it is intended to use some waste water which is unappropriated to put on these 160 acres.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the gentleman accurate in saying there are only 160 acres involved? My understanding is that there may be 5,000 acres.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. There are only 160 acres we know of that would be applied for, because an entryman must show he has title to water to put on the land before an entry would be accepted, and there is no water there except waste water from an irrigating ditch which can not be utilized on any land within the irrigating system.

Mr. STAFFORD. Have these lands been classified as grazing lands?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is there any timber on these lands?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Absolutely none. It is nothing but desert land in a section where there is possibly less than 10 inches of rainfall per annum.

Mr. COLLINS. Does the gentleman assure the House that this bill is applicable to only 160 acres of land?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. No; I did not make that statement. I said it may be applicable to more, but there are no more lands for which there is water. There is no water to irrigate any land except these 160 acres, and this will not have any application unless water is available. In this instance there is water for 160 acres which comes from an irrigating ditch. All of the other water has been utilized by the Indian Service on other lands.

Mr. COLLINS. I think we had better let this bill go over without prejudice.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. This simply extends to these lands the desert land law. When the other extensions of the land law were made by Congress the desert land law was not mentioned.

Mr. LEAVITT. Is not this the case? This land could now be taken under the homestead act without any payment to the Government except the filing fee, but there are 160 acres of land, as it was presented to the committee, that could be taken under the desert land act if that act is made to apply. There will be water enough for that much. When you are considering the cost of it, $2.50 per acre is the least part of it, because it would still be necessary to spend money to bring water on the land.

Mr. COLLINS. The gentleman gives me an excellent reason for objecting.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Will the gentleman from Mississippi state why he objects, so that we may have some information about it.

Mr. COLLINS. I tried to indicate in my original question that the price fixed 30 years ago might be a very low price now.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. If it were appraised now, it would be appraised at probably 10 cents an acre because it is worth nothing unless it has water. Water is the valuable factor in the matter, and this waste water can not be applied on any other land except these 160 acres.

Mr. COLLINS. The gentleman has no objection to the bill going over?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. I certainly do object. We reached this bill two weeks ago, and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] objected. He looked into it carefully this morning when I had a conference with him, and the gentleman states the legislation is all right.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will yield, I may say that I gave further consideration to this bill yesterday, and this morning I was honored by a visit from my friend the gentleman from Idaho, who removed the objections I had. He states affirmatively that this is simply desert land. The bill only purposes one thing, as I see it. It enables certain entrymen to take 320 acres under the desert land law, whereas under the general homestead law they are limited to 160 acres. If the land is absolutely desert land and not suitable for any purpose whatsoever, I thought it would be better to give it to some adjoining neighbor and allow it to be cultivated.

Mr. COLLINS. The gentleman's persuasive argument is convincing, so I withdraw my objection.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Would this have a tendency to open additional lands for farming purposes?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Only to the extent of 160 acres, because there is no water there to irrigate more than that. It would simply permit the entry of 160 acres and the application of waste water to that land, which without water is absolutely useless.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Is that the only 160-acre tract of land in existence that is in that particular situation?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. The only tract for which there is any water available, because the water has all been taken up by the Indian Bureau and is applied to Indian lands which are susceptible of irrigation. This piece of land lies quite a distance away, and the fact that they can save the waste water and put it on this tract of 160 acres makes this law desirable.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Of course, if it applies only to 160 acres, it would be immaterial; but does not the gentleman think this is a very bad time to pass legislation that would bring into cultivation additional land for agricultural purposes?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. If there were any great quantity involved; yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand, this land is to be used largely for grazing purposes and not for cultivation.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Yes; for the raising of forage.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories," approved March 3, 1877 (19 Stat. 377), and acts amendatory thereof, are made applicable to the ceded lands on the former Fort Hall Indian Reservation: *Provided*, That no land shall be disposed of at less than the price fixed by act of June 6, 1900 (31 Stat. 672).

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, in line 1, after the word "Reservation," insert "open to entry by the act of June 6, 1900 (31 Stat. 672)," and on line 3, after the word "by," strike out the words "the act of June 6, 1900 (31 Stat. 672)" and insert "that act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

QUINAIELT INDIAN RESERVATION

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 7011, to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington for lighthouse purposes."

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the report states that the bill has the approval of both the Department of the Interior and the Department of Commerce, but there is no statement here from any other department except the Department of the Interior.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I am glad to have an opportunity to offer an explanation of this bill.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I think it needs it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I should not feel hurt very much if the gentleman should object to it.

Here is a case where it is apparent that one branch of the Government has so long delayed action that now another branch of the Government steps in and asks that this land—43 acres in all—be given back to the Indians. In 1924 an act was passed which provided that some 43 acres of Indian reservation on a bluff facing the Pacific Ocean should be taken for lighthouse purposes and the Indians paid for it.

At that time officials of the Department of Commerce felt very sure they would have a lighthouse on that promontory. The bill was passed with some difficulty, because some Members of the House thought there might be some value to the timber on the land, although it is badly wind swept. The timber is of no particular value, and at that time there was no road or highway near the point. The Department of Commerce has never built the lighthouse, never paid the Indians, and has never taken any further steps. It is not likely that steps will now be taken, and the Indians want their land back; or, to be more exact, they really want the money for that little piece of land.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. And not the land?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes. The chances for getting the money are not very good, so the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, trying to do the best he can by the Indians, heeds their cry and proposes this legislation to give them back their land.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman says it is a promontory, and I suppose it is of very little use to the Indians for any practical purpose.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I think it is of no use. Some of the Indians have hope that the Government will spend a large sum building a scenic highway through the reservation close to the ocean.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. It would make little difference one way or the other.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Except this: I am sorry the lighthouse project is to be abandoned.

Mr. LEAVITT. The gentleman from New York says there is no recommendation from the Secretary of Commerce. I call his attention to the letter of Secretary Wilbur in the report, in which he says:

> By letter of October 2, 1931, the Acting Secretary of Commerce advises this department that the land has never been occupied by that department, and that it is not now considered it will be needed for further use. He therefore recommended that the act of May 31, 1924, be repealed.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That is what I said, that we take the authority of the Department of the Interior, that the letter of the Department of Commerce had been written.

Mr. LEAVITT. There is no question about its being written.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I have pursued every possible effort to procure the steps that would take from the funds in possession of the lighthouse to pay for these 43 acres, which site would be secured for a lighthouse, which I think is needed. But inasmuch as the Bureau of Indian Affairs wants to close up this legislation, I do not see anything to be gained by objection.

Mr. LEAVITT. The Indians own the land. A bargain was made for its purchase, but it has never been kept.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we substitute S. 2408, an identical bill on the Speaker's table, for the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to set aside for lighthouse purposes, lot 5, section 13, and lot 1, section 24, township 21 north, range 13 west, Willamette meridian, within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington, containing a total of 43.21 acres, be, and the same is hereby, repealed in its entirety.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The House bill was laid on the table.

VIADUCT ACROSS MAHONING RIVER AT STRUTHERS, OHIO

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 70) granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Mahoning County, Ohio, to construct a free overhead viaduct across the Mahoning River at Struthers, Mahoning County, Ohio.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress be, and it is hereby, granted to the board of county commissioners of Mahoning County, Ohio, and its successors in office, to construct, maintain, and operate a free overhead viaduct, together with the necessary approaches thereto, across the Mahoning River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at Struthers, Mahoning County, Ohio, in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS ELK RIVER AT OR NEAR KELSO, TENN.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 73) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Elk River at or near Kelso, Tenn.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate bill S. 556, an identical bill on the Speaker's table, be substituted for the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Elk River, on the Fayetteville-Winchester road near the town of Kelso, in Lincoln County, Tenn., authorized to be built by the Highway Department of the State of Tennessee, by an act of Congress approved January 31, 1931, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from January 31, 1932.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The House bill was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS WACCAMAW RIVER AT OR NEAR CONWAY, S. C.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 75) granting the consent of Congress to the State of South Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Waccamaw River.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill S. 201, an identical bill, on the Speaker's table be substituted for the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Highway Department of the State of South Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Waccamaw River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, near Conway, in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, and subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this act.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. Does the Senate bill carry the House amendment for a free highway bridge? The gentleman from Missouri will find in line 5 of the House bill a proposed amendment of the committee to insert the words "free highway."

Mr. MILLIGAN. I do not think it does.

Mr. STAFFORD. I suggest the Senate bill be amended carrying that committee amendment.

Mr. MILLIGAN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: Line 5, before the word "bridge," insert the words "free highway."

The amendment was agreed to; and the bill as amended was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

A similar House bill was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS SUSQUEHANNA RIVER, CATAWISSA, PA.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 81) granting the consent of Congress to the Catawissa Railroad Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Susquehanna River at or near Catawissa, Pa.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Catawissa Railroad Co., its successors and assigns, to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge and approaches thereto across the Susquehanna River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or about 2,150 feet south of Rupert Station, in the township of Montour, county of Columbia, State of Pennsylvania, to a point at or about 6,070 feet north of Catawissa Station, in the township of Catawissa, county of Columbia, State of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to sell, assign, transfer, and mortgage all the rights, powers, and privileges conferred by this act is hereby granted to the Catawissa Railroad Co., its successors and assigns, and any corporation to which, or any person to whom, such rights, powers, and privileges may be sold, assigned, or transferred, or which shall acquire the same by mortgage foreclosure or otherwise, is hereby authorized to exercise the same as fully as though conferred herein directly upon such corporation or person.

SEC. 3. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS COLUMBIA RIVER, THE DALLES, OREG.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 149) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg., authorized to be built by Dalles City, a municipal corporation, its successors and assigns, by the act of Congress approved February 20, 1931, are hereby further extended one and three years, respectively, from February 20, 1932.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 6, strike out "a municipal corporation, its successors and assigns, by the" and insert "by an."

Page 2, line 1, strike out the word "further."

The amendments were agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS MISSOURI RIVER, GARRISON, N. DAK.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 474) granting the consent of Congress to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Garrison, N. Dak.

There being no objection, the bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Missouri River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Garrison, N. Dak., in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS MISSOURI RIVER, CULBERTSON, MONT.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4695) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Culbertson, Mont.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Culbertson, Mont., authorized to be built by the State of Montana and the counties of Roosevelt and Richland, or any of them, by the act of Congress approved July 3, 1930, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from July 3, 1932.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendments:

Line 7, after the figures "1930," insert "heretofore extended by an act of Congress approved February 20, 1931," and on page 2, line 1, after the word "hereby," insert the word "further."

The committee amendments were agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SALE OF INDIAN CEMETERY, OKLAHOMA

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 7223) to authorize the sale of parts of a cemetery reserve made for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in Oklahoma.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. How much is involved in this?

Mr. LEAVITT. Two and a half acres.

Mr. HASTINGS. And no protest was filed with the committee?

Mr. LEAVITT. No. The statement was made by the Member of the House from that district that the Indians are favorable to this, and that it is desired by the local white people, who have used this as a burial ground for years, with the consent of the Indians.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. Is that a fair statement of the bill?

Mr. LEAVITT. As to this particular part; yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Section 2 permits them to sell any part of the remaining 80 acres that is now used for a burial ground. These Indians are protesting.

Mr. LEAVITT. No.

Mr. BLANTON. I presume their burial ground is just as sacred to them as is the burial ground of any other people to them.

Mr. LEAVITT. If the gentleman will allow me, the statement was made to the committee by the Member from the district that the entire bill was agreed to by most of the Indians. There may be some of the Indians who object, and that is stated by the Secretary in his report, but the statement to the committee was that it was generally desired by the Indians. It has nothing to do with the sale of any lands in which any Indians are buried.

Mr. BLANTON. Do all of the Representatives in the State of Oklahoma know about this bill?

Mr. LEAVITT. I do not know whether they know about it. The one in whose district it is located was before the committee, and he is in favor of it and so stated.

Mr. BLANTON. If he is in favor of it, I shall not object.

Mr. STAFFORD. Are any of these lands mineral in character?

Mr. LEAVITT. The Senate passed an identical bill, and we had a discussion in the committee at the last meeting, even though the Senate bill had not been referred. It is held on the Speaker's desk, and I intend at the proper time to ask unanimous consent to consider it. The committee took occasion to put a mineral reservation in the Senate bill at the end of section 1 to read as follows:

Provided further, That there is hereby reserved for the use and benefit of the present Indian owners in common all oil, gas, coal, or other minerals in the lands set aside hereunder.

Mr. STAFFORD. That only applies to the 2½ acres which will be granted to the whites for cemeterial purposes. I wish to inquire whether there will be any reservation for the protection of the Indians as far as that part of the 80 acres that is to be sold for the benefit of the Indians?

Mr. LEAVITT. I intend to offer a similar amendment at the end of section 2, which would cover all of the lands.

Mr. HASTINGS. Do the Indians continue to use this cemetery for burial purposes?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes; they do.

Mr. HASTINGS. Is there an adequate amount remaining after this is sold?

Mr. LEAVITT. Oh, yes. The only part that can be sold under this bill is the part no longer needed for Indian burial or administrative purposes.

Mr. HASTINGS. And the gentleman who represents the district is agreeable to this bill?

Mr. LEAVITT. Oh, yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Under the proposed amendment which the gentleman intends to offer, what interest would the Indians have in the mineral rights on these lands that are sold?

Mr. LEAVITT. They would be retained by the Indians for the benefit of the Indians.

Mr. STAFFORD. So only the surface rights will be sold for the upkeep of the cemetery that is reserved for the Indians?

Mr. LEAVITT. That is true.

Mr. STAFFORD. With the assurance that the amendments will be adopted, I have no objection.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Then the gentleman will propose as an amendment the usual mineral reservation laws which the Government puts in in granting surface rights?

Mr. LEAVITT. I do not know that it is worded just as they are worded, but it has that purpose; yes, sir.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that an identical Senate bill, S. 2407, be substituted for the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause to be issued a patent in fee for not to exceed 2½ acres of land lying in the northwest corner of the south half of southwest quarter of section 23, township 5 north, range 12 west, Indian meridian, in Caddo County, Okla., said area being within the tract set apart and reserved as a tribal burial ground for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, but long used with their knowledge and assent as a burial place for white residents of the vicinity: *Provided*, That no patent shall issue until a cemetery association has been legally organized to hold title and until payment for the area involved has been made to the superintendent of the reservation in an amount not less than the appraised value of the land.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment which I have sent to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Montana offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LEAVITT: At the end of section 1, strike out the period and substitute a colon, and add the following: "*Provided further*, That there is hereby reserved for the use and benefit of the present Indian owners in common all oil, gas, coal, or other minerals in the lands set aside hereunder."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is further authorized, in his discretion, to offer for sale on competitive bids, at not less than their appraised value, and to convey to the purchasers such other parts of the said 80 acres heretofore set apart and known as the Cache Creek Indian Cemetery, as may be found not longer needed for Indian burial or administrative purposes; with the understanding that the net proceeds received from such sale or sales and from the cultivation or leasing of any part prior to sale, shall be set apart and constitute a fund for the beautifying, improvement, and management of the portion retained as a tribal cemetery.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment which I have sent to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Montana offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LEAVITT: Line 19, after the end of section 2, strike out the period and insert a colon, and add the following: "*Provided further*, That there is hereby reserved for the use and benefit of the present Indian owners in common all oil, gas, coal, or other minerals in the lands set aside hereunder."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. It is further provided that each of the three tribes interested may select one of its full-blood members, the three to function as trustees and custodians of the tribal cemetery, signing leases and otherwise assisting in the management of the property, subject to advice and approval of the superintendent.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, and was read a third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

A similar House bill was laid on the table.

HIGHWAY BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSOURI RIVER FROM FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION NEAR POWER-SITE CROSSING, MONT.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4696) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Montana or any political subdivisions or public agencies thereof, or any of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near the point known and designated as the Power-site Crossing, in the State of Montana.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the State of Montana or any political subdivisions or public agencies thereof, or any of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Missouri River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation and southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near the point known and designated as the Power-site Crossing, in the State of Montana, in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 3, strike out the words "consent of Congress is hereby granted to the" and insert "times for commencing and

completing the construction of a bridge authorized by act of Congress approved July 3, 1930, to be built by the."

And on page 2, line 1, strike out "to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto"; and on page 2, in line 6, strike out "in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled 'An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters,' approved March 23, 1906," and insert in lieu thereof "are hereby extended one and three years, respectfully, from the date of approval hereof."

And amend the title.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

Amend the title to read: "A bill to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near the point known and designated as the Power-site Crossing, in the State of Montana."

BRIDGE ACROSS RAINY RIVER NEAR BAUDETTE, MINN.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 5064) authorizing Vernon W. O'Connor, of St. Paul, Minn., his successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, in accordance with my usual position toward bridges, and this being a toll bridge to some private party at the end of a Federal-aid project, I must object.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman withhold his objection for a moment?

Mr. PATTERSON. I will withhold the objection for a statement, certainly.

Mr. KNUTSON. I take it the gentleman has not all the facts, and I will be glad to give them to him. This is an international bridge to be built between Baudette, Minn., and Rainy River, Ontario, Canada. None of the political subdivisions in this section of the country are in financial position to build the bridge. In fact, I do not know of an international bridge anywhere that is not a toll bridge. There is no way for us to get a bridge up there if we do not get a toll bridge. I hope the gentleman will not object.

I may say, Mr. Speaker, that a similar bill passed three or four preceding Congresses, but we have had difficulty in finding anyone who would be willing to go in and build the bridge.

Mr. BLANTON. If the gentleman will permit, this is on all fours with bridges that have been built across the Rio Grande and other boundaries. Unless you are going to permit them to build a toll bridge you are not going to have any bridge at all.

Mr. KNUTSON. Congress will never appropriate for any bridge up there.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, that is not the point, and I object.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSOURI RIVER

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to vacate the proceedings by which the bill (H. R. 4696) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Montana or any political subdivisions or public agencies thereof, or any of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near the point known and designated as the Power-site Crossing, in the State of Montana, was passed, for the purpose of offering an amendment to correct the spelling of a word.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to vacate the proceedings by which the bill H. R. 4696 was passed. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment. On page 2, line 10, strike out the word "respectfully" and insert the word "respectively."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri offers an amendment which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Milligan: On page 2, line 10, strike out the world "respectfully" and insert the word "respectively."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE CHOCTAWHATCHEE RIVER

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 5066, to extend the time for constructing a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River, east of Freeport, in Walton County, Fla.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to substitute a similar Senate bill, S. 1291.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does the Senate bill include all of the amendments suggested by the committee?

Mr. MILLIGAN. Yes. The Senate bill is practically the same.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River, near Freeport, Fla., authorized to be constructed by the State of Florida, through and by its highway department, by act of Congress approved June 18, 1930, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from date of approval of this act.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri offers an amendment which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MILLIGAN: On page 1, line 8, strike out the words "one and three," and insert in lieu thereof the words "two and four."

Mr. LaGUARDIA. What is the purport of the gentleman's amendment? To extend the time?

Mr. MILLIGAN. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Is not that rather taking the House by surprise?

Mr. STAFFORD. That was the very amendment proposed by the House committee, and it is in the House bill.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer another amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MILLIGAN: Page 1, in lines 8 and 9, after the word "date," strike out the words "of approval of this act" and insert "June 18, 1931."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

A similar House bill was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 5131, to extend the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River near and above the city of New Orleans, La.

There being no objection, the bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River, near and above the city of New Orleans, authorized to be built by the city of New Orleans, a municipal corporation existing under the laws of the State of Louisiana, its successors and assigns, through its Public Belt Railroad Commission, by an act of Con-



gress approved April 17, 1924, heretofore extended by an act of Congress approved May 24, 1928, are hereby further extended three years from May 24, 1933.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 3, strike out the words "times for commencing and" and insert in lieu thereof the words "time for."

Page 2, line 2, strike out the word "are" and insert the word "is."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS WABASH RIVER IN SULLIVAN COUNTY, IND.

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 5471, authorizing Sullivan County, Ind., to construct, maintain, and operate a public toll bridge across the Wabash River at a point in said county to a point opposite on the Illinois shore.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to promote interstate commerce, improve the postal service, and provide for military and other purposes Sullivan County, Ind., or any board or commission of said county which is or may be created or established for the purpose, be, and is hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Wabash River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, extending from some point in the county across said river to a point opposite on the Illinois shore, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, and subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this act.

SEC. 2. There is hereby conferred upon the said Sullivan County, Ind., or such board or commission and the successors thereof, all such rights and powers to enter upon lands and to acquire, condemn, occupy, possess, and use real estate and other property needed for the location, construction, maintenance, and operation of such bridge and its approaches as are possessed by railroad corporations for railroad purposes or by bridge corporations for bridge purposes in the State in which such real estate or other property is situated, upon making just compensation therefor, to be ascertained and paid according to the laws of such State, and the proceedings therefor shall be the same as in the condemnation or expropriation of property for public purposes in such State.

SEC. 3. The said Sullivan County or such board or commission and the successors are hereby authorized to fix and charge tolls for transit over such bridge, and the rates of tolls so fixed shall be the legal rates until changed by the Secretary of War under the authority contained in the act of March 23, 1906.

SEC. 4. In fixing the rates of toll to be charged for the use of such bridge the same shall be so adjudged as to provide a fund sufficient to pay for the reasonable cost of maintaining, repairing, and operating the bridge and its approaches under economical management, and to provide a sinking fund sufficient to amortize the cost of such bridge and its approaches, including reasonable interests and financial cost, as soon as possible under reasonable charges but within a period of not to exceed 20 years from the completion thereof. After a sinking fund sufficient for such amortization shall have been so provided such bridge shall thereafter be maintained and operated free of tolls, shall then be and become the property of the State of Indiana and a part of the State highway system and be maintained by the State of Indiana out of the maintenance fund of the State highway commission. An accurate record of the cost of the bridge and its approaches, the expenditures for maintaining, repairing, and operating the same, and of daily tolls collected shall be kept and shall be available for the information of all persons interested.

SEC. 5. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 3, line 4, strike out the word "adjudged" and insert in lieu thereof the word "adjusted"; page 3, line 10, strike out the word "interests" and insert in lieu thereof the word "interest."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BANKHEAD). The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

I do this for the purpose of making an inquiry of either the author or the gentleman in charge of the bill as to whether the form incorporated in the bill is the model form for toll bridges, as adopted by the committee?

Mr. MILLIGAN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I see that it has all the safeguarding clauses about the period of time when depreciation may be made, limited to 20 years, and in every particular it safeguards the interests of the traveling public with respect to a toll bridge.

Mr. MILLIGAN. This bill follows the form that has been adopted by the committee.

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER NEAR BATON ROUGE, LA.

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 5478, to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of the bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La., authorized to be built by the Baton Rouge-Mississippi River Bridge Co., its successors and assigns, by an act of Congress approved February 20, 1928, heretofore extended by an act of Congress approved January 25, 1929, and further extended by act of Congress approved June 10, 1930, are hereby further extended two and five years, respectively, from February 20, 1931.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, line 2, strike out the word "five" and insert in lieu thereof the word "four."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE RED RIVER OF THE NORTH NEAR BYGLAND, MINN.

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 5626, authorizing the States of Minnesota and North Dakota, the county of Polk, Minn., the county of Grand Forks, N. Dak., or any one or more of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Red River of the North at or near Bygland, Minn.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to facilitate interstate commerce, improve the postal service, and provide for military and other purposes, the States of Minnesota and North Dakota, the county of Polk, Minn., the county of Grand Forks, N. Dak., or any one or more of them, be and is hereby authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Red River of the North, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Bygland, Minn., on the township line between township 150 north, range 49 west, fifth principal meridian, and township 149 north, range 49 west, fifth principal meridian, where said line crosses the Red River of the North, in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. There is hereby conferred upon the States of Minnesota and North Dakota, the county of Polk, Minn., the county of Grand Forks, N. Dak., or to any one or more of them, all such rights and powers to enter upon lands and to acquire, condemn, occupy, possess, and use real estate and other property needed for the location, construction, operation, and maintenance of such bridge and its approaches as are possessed by railroad corporations for railroad purposes or by bridge corporations for bridge purposes in the State in which such real estate or other property is situated, upon making just compensation therefor, to be ascertained and paid according to the laws of such State, and the proceedings therefor shall be the same as in the condemnation or expropriation of property for public purposes in such State.

SEC. 3. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DECLARING MUD RIVER, KY., A NONNAVIGABLE STREAM

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 5865) declaring the Mud River, in the State of Kentucky, a nonnavigable stream.

The Clerk read the title to the bill.

Mr. MOORE of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill go over without prejudice.

There was no objection.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AT BATON ROUGE, LA.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 5878) granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission and the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co. and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a combination highway and railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Louisiana Highway Commission, an administrative body created and acting under the constitution and laws of the State of Louisiana, and the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co., a corporation created under the laws of the State of Missouri, and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co., a corporation created under the laws of the State of Delaware, their successors and assigns, jointly to construct, maintain, and operate a combination highway and railroad bridge and approaches thereto across the Mississippi River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Baton Rouge, La., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to sell, assign, transfer, and mortgage all the rights, powers, and privileges conferred by this act is hereby granted to the Louisiana Highway Commission, the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co., and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co., their successors and assigns, and any party to whom such rights, powers, and privileges may be sold, assigned, or transferred, or who shall acquire the same by mortgage foreclosure or otherwise, is hereby authorized to exercise the same as fully as though conferred herein directly upon such party.

SEC. 3. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission and the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co. and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge in combination with a railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La."

The following committee amendments were read:

Page 2, line 4, after the words "operate a," strike out the word "combination" and insert the word "free" in lieu thereof; and after the word "highway" strike out the word "and" and insert the words "bridge in combination with a."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE ST. JOSEPH RIVER AT ST. JOSEPH, MICH.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 6451) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Joseph River.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate bill S. 2317, an identical bill on the Speaker's table, be substituted for the House bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct a bridge and approaches thereto across the St. Joseph River, at or near St. Joseph, Mich., at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, and to maintain and operate the same in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, and subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this act.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, line 5, after the word "a" and before the word "bridge," insert the words "free highway."

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. The committee amended the House bill with the following language: "Maintain and operate." Does the gentleman think that essential?

Mr. MILLIGAN. We do not think that is essential.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The Senate bill as amended was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The House bill was laid on the table.

BRIDGE OVER THE MONONGAHELA RIVER BETWEEN PITTSBURGH AND HOMESTEAD, PA.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 7225), granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Monongahela River between the city of Pittsburgh and the borough of Homestead, Pa.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Board of County Commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Monongahela River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, between the city of Pittsburgh and the Borough of Homestead, to replace what is known as the Brown Bridge, in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXEMPTING BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS FROM BEING ADJUDGED BANKRUPTS

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 374) exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged involuntary bankrupts.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. COLLINS. Reserving the right to object, I was wondering why building and loan associations were not originally exempted from the provisions of the bankruptcy law.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] made the report. If I may answer, the building and loan associations were not so general when the bankruptcy act was passed as they are now. In the bankruptcy act insurance companies and railroad companies and banks were exempt from that act. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] was chairman of the subcommittee that made a careful examination with reference to this matter during the last Congress. His committee arrived unanimously at the conclusion that building and loan associations ought not to be subjected to the operation of the Federal bankruptcy act. The Committee on the Judiciary unanimously agreed. The Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate itself unanimously agreed to that fact.

Mr. COLLINS. We have receivership laws in all of the States.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Yes.

Mr. COLLINS. It has been my thought that receiverships are more costly than bankruptcy proceedings as a rule. What would prevent a receivership?

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Nothing. That is the point about it.

Mr. COLLINS. Is not the gentleman then bringing about a situation that will make conditions worse instead of better?

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. That is not the opinion of people who are operating building and loan associations in a managerial capacity or of members.

Mr. COLLINS. What is the gentleman's own opinion?

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. My opinion is that they ought not to be subjected to the operation of the bankruptcy law. They are subjected, of course, to the administrative agencies of the States and of the powers of the States dealing with bankrupts. The peril is now that some lawyer, perhaps not the most ethical lawyer, may get hold of three claims and, under the conditions which prevail now with the shrinkage in the value of real estate, throw a building and loan association into bankruptcy.

Mr. COLLINS. And this bill is to prevent involuntary bankruptcies?

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. I think the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] and myself agree that that is the chief objective. Of course, it prevents any sort of bankruptcy proceeding and sends building and loan associations to the administrative agencies of the State for liquidation. Building and loan associations are local, and they operate usually within a community.

Mr. COLLINS. I did not intend to object to this bill when I rose, but I felt an explanation should be given of why a bill of this importance should be passed on the Consent Calendar.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. There is an element of emergency in the situation. A number of building and loan associations in the country, because of the radical shrinkage of real-estate values, find themselves in a perilous condition and would prefer to have themselves exempted from the operation of the bankruptcy act.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Yes.

Mr. GREENWOOD. I have had some experience in the management of these building and loan associations. They are entirely under the management of State laws. Nearly all of them have State inspectors to check up on their books and securities. They are subject to the State laws respecting voluntary assignments and receiverships, and there is every reason why they should be taken out from under the Federal bankruptcy law and be allowed the usual course taken under State management and State law. I think this legislation would be beneficial.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Senate 2199, an identical Senate bill, be substituted for the House bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4 of the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, as amended (U. S. C., title 11, sec. 22), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 4. Who may become bankrupts.—(a) Any person, except a municipal, railroad, insurance, banking corporation, or a building and loan association, shall be entitled to the benefits of this act as a voluntary bankrupt.

"(b) Any natural person, except a wage earner or a person engaged chiefly in farming or the tillage of the soil, any unincorporated company, and any moneyed, business, or commercial corporation (except a municipal, railroad, insurance, or banking corporation, or a building and loan association) owing debts to the amount of $1,000 or over, may be adjudged an involuntary bankrupt upon default of an impartial trial, and shall be subject to the provisions and entitled to the benefits of this act.

"The bankruptcy of a corporation or association shall not release its officers, directors, or stockholders, as such, from any liability under the laws of a State or Territory or of the United States."

The bill was ordered to be read a third time; was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill was laid on the table.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMISSION, GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (S. 1306) to provide for the incorporation of the District of Columbia Commission, George Washington Bicentennial.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. This does not properly belong on the Consent Calendar. It is unfinished business before the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman may object to its being on the calendar if it is improperly there.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I am more concerned with preserving the integrity of the calendar. I would like to have that point decided. I make the point of order that the bill is not now properly on the Consent Calendar upon the ground that it is now before the House as unfinished business and is under the control of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the gentlewoman from New Jersey has requested that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New Jersey that the bill be passed over without prejudice?

There was no objection.

CACHE NATIONAL FOREST, IDAHO

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 393) authorizing an addition to the Cache National Forest, Idaho.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. I notice in this bill that departments disagree. How can the gentleman explain that?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. That disagreement regarding legislation of this kind has continued for many years.

For the last 20 years there has been disagreement between the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture in regard to adding lands to the national forests, for the reason that legislation has been pending during those years in the Committee on the Public Lands, upon which extensive hearings have been held, to carry out the plan of the Secretary of the Interior to have legislation enacted providing for the control or disposition of grazing lands. During these years legislation of the character of the pending bill has been enacted in emergency cases, and we contend that this is one of the emergency cases. This bill passed the Senate and the House in the Seventieth Congress, but because of a slight amendment made in the Senate in the closing days of Congress it was not reached for consideration before adjournment. An identical bill has already passed the Senate at this session of the Congress.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman state what the emergency is?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. The emergency is that it involves a strip of land 2 miles wide lying between the mountain side and the irrigated lands below, which is open to grazing, and vagrant bands of sheep are driven through that tract during the grazing season. They tramp out the terrain to such an extent that it causes erosion of the soil, which is brought down on the irrigated farms and fills up the irrigating ditches so that the farmers must incur expense each year to clear out the ditches.

Mr. JENKINS. Is the gentleman familiar with the territory?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Yes; I have visited the section.

Mr. JENKINS. It strikes me, from these letters, that this is simply a contest of 8 or 10 farmers wanting the Government to take care of their water rights for them.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. No. It is simply a proposition of having a number of farmers protected from the damage to their farms from having the earth and gravel loosened by the bands of sheep washed into the irrigating ditches and onto the field.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. What does the gentleman say about this report? The Land Commissioner, Mr. Moore, in his letter of January 13, 1932, to the committee, says:

It is not, in my opinion, a wise method of dealing with the grazing problem of the unreserved public lands to add small tracts such as that involved in the legislation proposed to a national forest, instead of coordinating the use of all such lands under a comprehensive system which would promote the economic value of the entire public domain. I therefore recommend that the bill be not enacted.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. I made the explanation concerning that letter.

Mr. BLANTON. Is the gentleman going to override the departments?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. The Secretary of Agriculture, in his report, urges the passage of this legislation.

Mr. BLANTON. But this involves 19,000 acres of land.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Yes. It is a strip 2 miles wide lying between the side of a mountain and the irrigated farms.

Mr. BLANTON. On the question of public lands are we going to follow the Commissioner of Agriculture or the Land Commissioner?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. The Land Commissioner is simply carrying out a policy that has prevailed in the Department of the Interior, to recommend against all legislation of this character until general legislation is enacted.

Mr. BLANTON. Following the recommendation made by the Land Commissioner, Mr. Speaker, for the present I shall object.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. BLANTON. If that request is made, Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw my objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

RESIDENTS ON HOMESTEAD LANDS DURING 1930 AND 1931 IN DROUGHT-STRICKEN AREAS

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 268) to excuse certain persons from residence upon homestead lands during 1930 and 1931 in the drought-stricken areas.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I notice that the commissioner in this case says:

I believe that the act of March 2, 1889, affords sufficient relief, but if in the opinion of Congress additional legislation is necessary I would interpose no objection to the enactment of the bill if amended by eliminating all that part following the figures 1931 in line 1, page 2.

I have noticed that the bill has been amended accordingly.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. It has been amended.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Why this conflict in the necessity of legislation?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. I do not think the act of 1889 affords the amount of relief here provided. The former act, of which I speak, provides that a man may have five months' leave under such circumstances. He then must come back before he can get five months' more leave. This bill is intended to relieve all these people who have been driven from their homes over these two years.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Only?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Only; but this amendment provides that they must take up their residence and complete the three years' residence.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The Land Commissioner believes that under the general law this is sufficiently adequate?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Yes; so he reports.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I take it that the gentleman contends that the conditions in 1930 and 1931 were so abnormal that this additional relief for this specific period is required?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. That is correct. That is my theory.

Mr. JENKINS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. I yield.

Mr. JENKINS. Does not the gentleman fear that this language, "causing total or partial failure of crops," leaves the door wide open for everybody to come in?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Everybody who has not perfected his homestead; but he must make his application to the department. He must get the approval of the department.

Mr. JENKINS. Well, the department says you can already do that.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. The law says he can be relieved for five months, and then he must take up his residence on the homestead before he can have another five months. This act would relieve him for the years of 1930 and 1931.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand the general law, if he applies to the Land Office he can be relieved for the entire year.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Possibly; and granting that he could——

Mr. STAFFORD. Wherein does this special act, with the amendment proposed, differ from the relief provided in the general law?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. It differs in this: The time has already expired for 1930 and 1931. To-day you and I might start a contest against that man, who is away from there, and he has been driven away by this drought. I do not want those people harassed by somebody filing on their lands.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think the gentleman has now advanced the real reason for this legislation. There is no other reason, because the general law provides the same relief as is intended to be carried by this bill with the proposed amendment.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. Many of these people have been driven from their lands as though before an invading army. Their entries are now subject to contest or protest. I want to relieve them from those conditions for the years of 1930 and 1931.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That any homestead settler or entryman who, during the calendar years 1930 and 1931, found it necessary to leave his homestead to seek employment in order to obtain food and other necessaries of life for himself, family, and work stock because of serious drought conditions, causing total or partial failure of crops, may, upon filing with the register proof of such conditions in the form of a corroborated affidavit, be excused from residence upon his homestead during all or part of the calendar years 1930 and 1931, and in the making of final proof upon such an entry absence granted under this act shall be counted and construed as constructive residence by said homesteader.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, line 2, after "1931," strike out "and in the making of final proof upon such an entry absence granted under this act shall be counted and construed as constructive residence by said homesteader" and insert "and said entries shall not be open to contest or protest because of such absences: *Provided*, That the time of such actual absence shall not be deducted from the actual residence required by law, but an equivalent period shall be added to the statutory life of the entry."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EXCHANGE OF POTASSIUM-BEARING LANDS IN TOOELE COUNTY, UTAH

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 5062, to authorize the exchange of potassium-bearing lands in Tooele County, Utah, between the United States and private owners.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the sponsor of the bill about two points that are disturbing me in this matter? One is that the spirit and purpose of the bill, as I understand, is to grant

relief to these individuals who went there for the purpose of developing this potash land and whose lands are now disconnected and not contiguous. That being so, it occurred to me whether or not the relief here granted would not place in the hands of corporate interests large tracts of this land, thereby destroying the very purpose of this bill.

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. Mr. Speaker, the situation of the land involved is this: Under the act of 1917 permits were issued each covering 2,560 acres of land. After the permittee had demonstrated that there was potash in the land he was permitted to take one-fourth of the area by patent, and the taking of the land by various patentees under that act resulted in this sort of an area [referring to map], a great number of patented areas with public land between in long strips [indicating]. The land described in this bill is in an area about 125 miles in length, and in places 40 miles in width. This land in this area is underlain with strata that carry the brine in which potash is found, and the potash brine extends under practically the whole area. It requires a large area, by slow draining, to make a successful commercial activity, and the purpose of this bill is to combine the lands in these scattered areas in a way such as this [indicating on map], so that the lands can be operated together.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I understand from the hearings that there has been no private operation for extracting of potash from these fields.

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. That is true.

Mr. STAFFORD. Though there is, in adjoining California, a plant that is producing some 59,000 tons annually for fertilizer purposes. Has this soil been analyzed to show whether there is sufficient potassium in this brine to warrant a commercial investment?

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. On the identical lands involved in this bill there has been no commercial extraction, but in lands adjoining it, in this area here [indicating], there has been successful commercial extraction.

Mr. STAFFORD. To what extent?

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. As high as 20 tons per day of commercial potash has been taken out, and that was during the war period.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is its status to-day? When we had the agricultural appropriation bill under consideration it was shown that in Nebraska 60,000 or more tons were extracted from their brine deposits during the World War.

It was developed because of the exigent conditions, and it proved uneconomical and ceased operations when we did not have to pay such outrageously high prices.

I have read the hearings before the subcommittee on the agricultural bill and find that in California at a certain lake they are to-day commercially producing potash to the extent of 59,000 tons a year. I am asking whether there is any capital that will go in here and whether the chemical content of this briny soil is sufficient to warrant a commercial investment?

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. The potash content has been demonstrated.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the content?

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. It runs from 2 to 6 per cent potash in the brine as it comes from the ground, varying in different locations and at different seasons of the year.

Mr. STAFFORD. In Nebraska it is more than that, and it is now not found commercially profitable. In California the content is 5.6, I believe.

Mr. COLTON. If the gentleman will permit, it is the plan to do most of the work by evaporation, so that the final content of the product or brine will be much higher. Of course, this will be after the evaporation takes place; and even though it is of low content now, by evaporation it can be concentrated so that it will pay, and capital will be willing to make the investment if they can get a larger tract of land of this nature. This consolidation is necessary.

Mr. STAFFORD. On first study of this bill I was inclined to think it was a matter that was too broad in its scope to warrant consideration on the Consent Calendar, but on further consideration and upon reading the hearings before the Appropriations Committee in connection with the work of developing potash throughout the country, I came to the conclusion that while the lands are of no value except for the development of potash or potassium oxide, I believe they call it, we should allow this experiment to go on for the consolidation of these potash tracts into commercially adaptable units.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I am very much interested in what the gentleman has said.

Mr. STAFFORD. I may say that the reason I have been giving more than customary attention to this question of the development of potash in this country is that it is a prime subject before the Committee on Military Affairs in connection with the development of Muscle Shoals. As all farmers and some industrialists know, potash is one of the three main ingredients of fertilizer, the other two being nitrates and phosphoric acid. We get most of our potash from Germany, but there are large mineral deposits of potash in New Mexico which are being commercially developed, but it was only during the war we developed these brine beds in Nebraska. I was surprised to find that in California there is one lake which has been continued in production of potash to the extent of 59,000 tons a year since the war. But there the potash content or the potassium oxide is 5.6, whereas in Nebraska, as well as here, as the gentleman has stated, it is only 2 plus.

Mr. ARENTZ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. It happens that Searls Lake is the place the gentleman refers to in California.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. ARENTZ. The solution at Searls Lake contains potash, salt, and magnesium, with the result that this big plant at Searls Lake is producing salt, potash, and borax. It is shipping that potash where? To the farmers of America that need it.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the adjoining territory in California, because of the freight cost. It is altogether a question of whether the freight costs are such as to permit the development of this low-grade potash land and allow it to be commercially profitable to make it there for use in beet-sugar cultivation.

Mr. ARENTZ. And that is exactly the reason they are trying to develop a plant in that section.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. If the gentleman will permit, I want to call his attention to the mechanics of this bill. What I fear is that it is so broad that it may concentrate all of the valuable land for this purpose in one control.

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. Will the gentleman let me answer that?

Mr. STAFFORD. The fact is, in the first place, it is limited to one county, and here we have little strips that have been taken under the general law passed in 1916.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. But owned by different individuals.

Mr. STAFFORD. Owned by different individuals in tracts of 160 acres, and I am quite certain that is not an economical proposition. It can not be. You have to have the land concentrated in a close, confined area to warrant capital going in there and investing money to extract it. You can not expect any plant to develop or extract potash on a small area.

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. In reply to the gentleman from New York, I want to state that the lands involved in this bill are approximately 4 per cent of the area that the Geological Survey has determined are potash-bearing lands. There is 96 per cent of the land still left in the Government.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentlemen who have been interested in this matter point out that the necessity of developing this potash is because of the need to furnish fertilizer to the farmers in the immediate neighborhood, but if we are not careful we will get this source under such control that it will be of no benefit to the farmers around there.

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. There is still 96 per cent of the whole field open to development.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is of such low-grade content, although there are immense amounts in Nebraska of the same grade, yet they have not found it commercially profitable to produce it. Now, why not allow it to be developed if capital will take the risk, and in order for capital to take the risk they have to have certain large fields where they can extract this potash from the soil.

Mr. LOOFBOUROW. The area involved here is only 4 per cent of the field.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. My theory is—and if I am wrong I would like to be corrected—that it will fall into the hands of the same people now dealing in fertilizer.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, no; there will be no control as far as potash is concerned. It will let capital take the risk and give the benefit to the farmer.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to encourage and facilitate the development of lands in Tooele County, Utah, believed to contain potassium and associated minerals in commercial quantities, and in order to make it possible for the owners of land of that character in said county to consolidate their holdings into substantially compact form suitable for economic development, and in order to restore to public ownership lands in such compact form as to allow their economic development for said minerals, the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized, in his discretion, to accept on behalf of the United States conveyance of title to lands hereinafter described now in private ownership, containing 21,323.84 acres, more or less, held in fee under United States patents, and in exchange therefor may patent to said private owners public lands of like character in said State, of equal area and value to the lands conveyed.

SEC. 2. Patented lands whereof title may be reconveyed to and accepted by the United States are the following: North half section 5; north half section 6; south half section 17; south half section 18; south half section 27; south half section 28; south half section 29; south half section 30, in township 2 north of range 15 west. Also south half section 1; south half section 2; south half section 4; south half section 5; south half section 6; north half section 9; north half section 10; north half section 19; north half section 20; north half section 21; north half section 22; north half section 23; north half section 24; south half south half section 30; north half and north half south half section 31; north half section 32, northwest quarter section 33, in township 1 north of range 15 west. Also south half section 18; north half section 19, in township 1 south of range 15 west. Also northeast quarter section 8; north half section 9; east half section 10; south half section 13; south half section 14; east half section 15; south half section 17; south half section 18; east half and east half west half section 22; west half west half section 23; east half section 27; east half section 34, in township 2 north of range 16 west. Also south half section 1; south half and northeast quarter section 3; southeast quarter section 4; south half and south half north half section 6; north half north half section 7; east half section 10; south half south half section 13; east half section 15; north half section 19; north half section 20; north half and north half south half section 24; east half section 27; south half section 29; south half section 30; east half section 34, in township 1 north of range 16 west. Also south half section 14; south half section 15; south half section 17; south half section 18; north half section 22; north half section 23, in township 1 south of range 16 west. Also south half section 3; southeast quarter section 4; northeast quarter section 20; north half section 21, in township 1 north of range 17 west. Also southeast quarter section 6; east half section 7; east half section 18; east half section 19; east half section 30, in township 3 south of range 18 west, all of Salt Lake meridian, and containing 21,323.84 acres, more or less.

Lands which may be conveyed by patent under the terms of this act are the following: West half section 19; west half section 30; west half section 31, in township 2 south of range 17 west. Also south half section 15; northwest quarter, southeast quarter and south half southwest quarter section 17; north half and south half south half section 18; all section 19; all section 20; all section 21; all section 22; all section 23; all section 24; all section 25; all section 26; all section 27; all section 28; all section 29; north half, southeast quarter, and north half southwest quarter section 30; south half northwest quarter, southwest quarter, and west half southeast quarter section 31; all section 33; all section 34; all section 35, in township 2 south of range 18 west. Also north half section 1; north half section 2; north half section 3, in township 3 south of range 18 west. Also west half section 22; east half and west half west half section 23; all section 25; east half and west half west half section 26; all section 27; south half northeast quarter and southeast quarter section 33; west half southwest quarter, and southeast quarter section 34; south half north half and south half section 35, in township 1 south of range 19 west. Also east half and west half west half section 3; east half section 4; east half section 9; east half, and west half west half section 10; north half, and south half southwest quarter section 13; north half, southeast quarter and southwest quarter southwest quarter section 14; northeast quarter, west half west half, southeast quarter southwest quarter, and south half southeast quarter section 15; north half section 22; northeast quarter, west half west half, southeast quarter southwest quarter, and southwest quarter southeast quarter section 23; west half and west half east half section 24;" southwest quarter northeast quarter, south half northwest quarter, southwest quarter, and west half southeast quarter section 25; southeast quarter northeast quarter, west half northeast quarter and southeast quarter section 26, in township 2 south of range 19 west, all of Salt Lake meridian, and containing 21,263.28 acres, more or less.

SEC. 3. If any of the lands hereby authorized to be conveyed by patent by the United States in exchange for privately owned lands shall be found to be included in any pending application or applications for lease under the potash acts of 1917 (40 Stat. 297; U. S. C., title 30, sec. 141 et seq.), and/or 1927 (44 Stat. 1057; U. S. C., title 30, sec. 281 et seq.), said lands or any part thereof may by any such applicant be relinquished to the United States, and any lands so relinquished may be patented to such private owners under the provisions of this act, and any such applicant who shall have so relinquished lands may be permitted by the Secretary of the Interior to select and apply for leases of other public lands believed to contain potassium and associated minerals and located in the immediate vicinity and of approximately equal value and area. In order to accomplish such consolidation, said Secretary may likewise grant leases of public lands believed to be valuable for said minerals, in exchange for surrender of subsisting leases or rights to leases, under said acts.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed; and a motion to reconsider the vote was laid on the table.

TO AUTHORIZE THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR TO ISSUE PATENTS FOR LAND HELD UNDER COLOR OF TITLE

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (S. 1588) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for lands held under color of title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman from New Mexico to explain, if he can, the apparent discrepancy pointed out by the Commissioner of the Land Office, which says:

> The effect of the enactment of the said bill would be to require New Mexico claimants to pay $1.25 an acre for lands purchased under color of title, whereas claimants in other States under the said act of December 22, 1928, would still be required to pay a price of not less than $1.25 per acre.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from New York that the impelling motive for this legislation originally arose under these circumstances. These people located within old Spanish or Mexican land grants. Some of these lands have been in control and occupied by these people and their predecessors in title for probably a hundred years. To this day the exact boundary lines have not been fully ascertained, and many families have owned their little piece of land, built their homes, and cultivated the soil. Later, when the values increased, surveys were made, and it was found that under the survey, instead of being within the land grant, they were outside on the public domain.

With that in mind, Congress, in 1926, passed a special law applicable to New Mexico, and fixed the price at $1.25 an acre. In some instances these homes have been there for a hundred years. They do not figure on anything beyond receiving title protection.

Now Congress passed a general law in 1928 applicable to lands in all States, where the adverse possession had existed for 20 or 25 years; price to be fixed by appraisal at not less than $1.25 per acre.

Mr. STAFFORD. But that was applicable to all States, including New Mexico.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes. They had to appraise the land before they could get a patent, even under color of title. You can see the effect of that—this is a different situation from the conditions in New Mexico.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Does the gentleman contend that this is primarily to relieve individuals in maintaining what they believe was already their home?

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. How does the gentleman explain the proviso in the bill, which says that the term "citizen" as used herein shall be held to include a corporation organized

under the laws of the United States, or any State or Territory thereof?

Mr. CHAVEZ. For the reason that the legislation will apply as a matter of fact to very few individuals. There is a particular instance where there is a mercantile establishment organized as a corporation, north of Albuquerque, and that corporation owns the land that this legislation will protect. Title was obtained from citizens who had possession for many years. The directors and stockholders of the corporation are the same people who originally owned the land. It does not apply to any utility proposition, to no one except local corporations.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. I understand it to be the gentleman's contention that a law was passed in 1926 allowing people to acquire title at $1.25 an acre, and in 1928 they passed a general law which provided for clearing up the color of title at an appraised price?

The department construed the general law to have annulled the law that was in existence for New Mexico, and this puts back into effect the 1926 law passed for New Mexico.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. What is disturbing some of us is this: That the general law was for the purpose of removing clouds on titles and giving a perfect title to these homesteaders who lived on the land, under certain conditions prescribed in the law, and in connection therewith we provided they would pay the appraised value. Here comes a bill which exempts one class of settlers from the general class we were seeking to relieve and gives them a preference in the matter of payment. I can not reconcile that.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. It is my theory that the general law did not intend to repeal the New Mexico law. That was a special law for New Mexico.

Mr. STAFFORD. What authority has the gentleman for making the statement that when Congress passes a general law it shall keep alive a special law? The courts have construed that it negatives a special law. Are there not similar conditions in California where the same appeal may be made, not to have the appraised value, as under the general law, but the preferential consideration that we granted to New Mexico?

Mr. EVANS of Montana. That is possibly correct.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like to get further information as to whether the claimants the gentleman from New Mexico seeks to give relief to are centralized or distributed all over the State?

Mr. CHAVEZ. I do not believe there are more than 12 or 13 pieces in all of this, and they are practically centralized.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then I think the law should be circumscribed by designating the locality. I have no objection to having the bill passed over without prejudice.

Mr. JENKINS. It strikes me that the bill is unconstitutional, inasmuch as it makes a special law for one State, while the language is general.

Mr. STAFFORD. We are strongly opposed to that character of legislation.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. We have passed these general laws for special States here frequently and have done so for the last score of years. We have passed them for Montana and Nebraska and the Dakotas, and all other Western States.

Mr. JENKINS. If the gentleman will read the bill he will get my point. It ought to refer specially to the land in New Mexico.

Mr. CHAVEZ. This law originally was passed in 1926; the owners of the property were required to go before the Interior Department and make their showing. Many did. Others who were in the process of making a proper showing when the general law was passed in 1928 found themselves in this condition. Hence they received no benefit from the 1926 law. This is only to place them back in the position in which they were originally under that law.

Mr. JENKINS. I do not think the gentleman sees my point. I am not opposed to the bill, but the language is not proper. If we want to cover certain lands in New Mexico, why does not the gentleman give the sections, so that it will not be a general law?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think the gentleman would have no objection to withdrawing the bill and letting it come up another day. It seems to me that the land should be set out more definitely rather than to have it a general law.

Mr. GREENWOOD. The gentleman has made the statement that he is trying to cover certain land grants contained in the old Spanish survey?

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes.

Mr. GREENWOOD. While he is undertaking to enact a law that will cover the whole State of New Mexico, and particularly those tracts that were thought to be within the old Spanish survey but that are on the outside, should not the gentleman limit his bill to take care of these specific instances instead of the whole State?

Mr. STAFFORD. And in the meantime prepare an amendment that will bring relief to this particular number.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

PER CAPITA PAYMENT TO CHIPPEWA INDIANS OF MINNESOTA

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 225) providing for payment of $50 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. With the condition of the treasury of the Chippewa Indians as it is, I could not consent to the passage of this bill unless the amendment of the committee cutting it down to $25 be agreed to.

Mr. KNUTSON. That is agreeable.

Mr. STAFFORD. The amount of the trust fund would not permit such a large appropriation.

Mr. KNUTSON. That amendment is agreeable.

Mr. JENKINS. I notice that the commissioner's report refers to minor children, including the shares of minor children; but in the bill proper nothing is said about the shares of minor children.

Mr. KNUTSON. It has been the practice of the agent in making payments to families not to pay the per capita payment to the minor children. Each case is settled on its own merits.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Their fund now is about two and a half million dollars?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. This will take about $400,000 instead of $800,000 contemplated in the bill.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. They are all in very bad shape. They are in distress and starving.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will this relieve them for the winter?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. If the purpose is to relieve them for the winter, will $25 see them through?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I do not think they ever needed it any more than they need it now.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to withdraw from the Treasury so much as may be necessary of the principal fund on deposit to the credit of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota, under section 7 of the act entitled "An act for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota," approved January 14, 1889, as amended, and to make therefrom payment of $50 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota, under such regulations as such Secretary shall prescribe. No payment shall be made under this act until the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota shall, in such manner as such Secretary shall prescribe, have accepted such payments and ratified the provisions of this act. The money paid to the Indians under this act shall not be subject to any lien or claim of whatever nature against any of said Indians.

With the following committee amendment.

Page 2, line 1, strike out "$50" and insert in lieu thereof "$25."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The title was amended to read: "A bill providing for payment of $25 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States."

MINIMUM AREA FOR SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK, FOR ADMINISTRATION, ETC.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4712) to establish a minimum area for the Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Reserving the right to object, the report is meager; but as I understand it, the purpose of this bill is to extend the time of concessions from 2 years, now in the existing law, to 20 years?

Mr. TEMPLE. No. Only in some cases. Where there are churches and schools and institutions of that sort, the lease may be under the second section of this bill for as long as 20 years. Also in the case of private owners who are attached to their homes, we find that some of them fear that a lease for two years will not be extended, so that the existing law would be changed to provide that private persons may be given renewal of leases up to the end of their natural lives; but corporations, such as schools and churches, up to 20 years. Then there are certain orchards, particularly in Tennessee, in the area to be acquired for the park. Twenty years would cover the life of an orchard, and we get the land a great deal cheaper if we make this arrangement than if we do not.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Now, we have churches and schools; that is one class. We have orchards; that is the second class. And we have homes, in order to establish the continuity of their expected natural lives. Is the 20-year period extended to any other class?

Mr. TEMPLE. Yes. It would extend to fishing clubs and organizations of that sort that have territory within the park.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman surely does not agree to that, does he?

Mr. TEMPLE. Yes. I would rather have it on that condition than not get it at all.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. How about commercial concessions?

Mr. TEMPLE. There are no commercial concessions at all.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. None at all?

Mr. TEMPLE. None at all.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. And none contemplated in the bill?

Mr. TEMPLE. None contemplated in the bill, except the orchards mentioned.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Well, we understand that.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like to have the gentleman's interpretation of that reservation in lines 8 to 11, where there is no limitation as to the length of lease that may be granted to a grantor.

Mr. TEMPLE. That is on page 2?

Mr. STAFFORD. Page 2, lines 8 to 11, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to take over the lands of present owners, subject to leases entered into as part consideration. There is no limitation of term as to that condition whatsoever.

Mr. TEMPLE (reading):

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized, in his discretion, to accept title to lands tendered without cost to the United States, within the areas of these parks, subject to leases entered into and granted as part consideration in connection with the purchase of said land for tender to the United States for park purposes: *Provided*, That said leases and the terms and conditions thereof shall have previously been submitted to and approved by the Secretary: *Provided further*, That he may lease upon such terms——

Mr. STAFFORD. The second proviso which the gentleman is reading does not apply to the conditions under which land may be leased to the owners. I would ask whether the gentleman has any objection to an amendment similar to this, after the word "purpose," in line 9, "but not exceeding in length of term the life of the particular grantor or grantors"?

Mr. TEMPLE. No; I have no objection to that. Will the gentleman prepare such an amendment?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. TEMPLE. There is no objection to that.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISHBURNE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to substitute an identical Senate bill (S. 1089) for the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FISHBURNE]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the minimum area for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service in the Shenandoah National Park, the establishment of which is provided for by the act of Congress approved May 22, 1926 (44 Stat. 616), be, and the same is hereby, established as 160,000 acres, and so much of the said act of May 22, 1926, and of the act of February 16, 1928 (45 Stat. 109), as is inconsistent herewith is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized in his discretion to accept title to lands tendered without cost to the United States within the areas of the Shenandoah National Park, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Mammoth Cave National Park, and the Isle Royale National Park, subject to leases entered into and granted as part consideration in connection with the purchase of said land for tender to the United States for park purposes: *Provided*, That said leases and the terms and conditions thereof shall have previously been submitted to and approved by said Secretary: *And provided further*, That he may lease upon such terms and conditions as he deems proper any lands within the aforesaid areas when such use shall not be deemed by him inconsistent with the purposes for which the lands were acquired on behalf of the United States, to persons, educational or religious institutions, private corporations, associations, and partnerships previously occupying such land for terms not exceeding the particular lifetime in the case of natural persons, and not exceeding 20 years in all other cases, which latter leases may be renewed in the discretion of said Secretary.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: Page 2, line 11, after the word "purposes," insert the following: "but not exceeding in length of term the life of the particular grantor or grantors."

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Does the gentleman think that will accomplish the purpose which we all have in mind?

Mr. STAFFORD. This accomplishes the purpose as far as the lands taken over by the Government, where they are tendered without cost, allowing the owner to remain on the land for his life, or if there are more than one, for their lives. That accomplishes that purpose. The following proviso relates to leases that may be entered into with other persons after the Government has acquired title to the lands.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FISHBURNE. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia offers an amendment which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. FISHBURNE: At the end of section 2, line 21, insert the following: "*And provided further*, That the Secretary of the Interior may accept lands for these parks subject to the reservation of rights of way and easements."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The similar House bill was laid on the table.

IMPROVEMENTS OF WILLAMETTE RIVER BETWEEN OREGON CITY AND PORTLAND, OREG.

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 7248, authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order and also reserve the right to object.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I also reserve the right to object.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the gentleman from New York what his point of order is?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I want to press my point of order after we get the purpose of the bill, and I believe the gentleman knows what I have in mind. This bill seeks to amend an existing statute or report. I believe the bill is bad in its form because it repeals something by making reference not to another law, but to a report. It seems to me that is a very inartistic method of legislating.

Mr. JENKINS. That is my objection to the bill.

Mr. HAWLEY. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Certainly.

Mr. HAWLEY. In the river and harbor act of 1930 this project is adopted by reference to a report and this proposes to modify the adoption of that project by reference to a report, by omitting from it certain obligations that they have found to be unfounded upon further investigation by the engineers.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I will submit to the gentleman from Oregon, if it is possible for anyone to understand just what is to be accomplished. The bill reads:

That the project for the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., authorized by the river and harbor act approved July 3, 1930, is hereby modified in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers in the report submitted in House Document No. 748, Seventy-first Congress.

Mr. HAWLEY. That is the method by which all river and harbor projects are adopted.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from New York will recall that in the river and harbor appropriation act there is included language which covers the respective projects, as designated in the reports. So this language, I take it, is in correct form. It merely modifies the language as carried in the river and harbor act, where the project is referred to.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. By reference to another extraneous report.

Mr. STAFFORD. It might be made more particular in its designation, but this language refers to one identic document, House Document No. 748, Seventy-first Congress. There is no other document by that number. However, you could add to its particularity by referring to the river and harbor act of such and such a date.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. May I say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that the report states as follows:

I, therefore, report that the elimination of the requirement for local contribution is advisable.

That is the report. Surely by reference to it in this bill can anyone say that it is anything but a recommendation which he makes?

Mr. HAWLEY. All of the authorizations in the river and harbor act are made by the adoption of reports of the Engineers by reference to the numbers of the reports made on various projects and the Congresses to which such reports were submitted.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is this only an authorization or it is the modification of an authorization?

Mr. HAWLEY. It is the modification of the law, proposing the elimination of a requirement, and is recommended by the Engineers.

Mr. JENKINS. I do not want to put my judgment against the judgment of the distinguished gentleman from Oregon, but it strikes me that what the gentleman from New York suggests is absolutely correct. Here is the way the bill reads:

For the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., authorized by the river and harbor act, approved July 3, 1930, is hereby modified.

Not in accordance with the language contained in the river and harbor act, but in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers in his report, and that report is not an enactment.

Mr. HAWLEY. The original authorization was by reference to a report, and that is now the law. So far as the authorization was concerned, it required a certain thing to be done. Now, by reference to another report, made by the same body of engineers and by the same authority, it is proposed to modify the original report. If the first were adopted properly, this certainly can be adopted properly.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. At this time this is an authorization, I suppose.

Mr. HAWLEY. No; this is not an authorization.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. It is to carry out an appropriation?

Mr. HAWLEY. It is to eliminate a certain requirement which the engineers now believe ought not to be made.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The provision contained in the act of 1930 called upon them to do a certain thing.

Mr. HAWLEY. If the gentleman will permit, I will state the particular point at issue. The original report as adopted required certain corporations operating at the dam at Oregon City to expend $50,000, because it was at first thought that they would be benefited by that amount in additional power. The engineers, upon further investigation, find they will not be so benefited and that the original requirement was an unfair requirement. Now they propose to eliminate that unfair requirement by relieving these companies of the necessity of making that expenditure.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. And you do that by reference to this report, which says:

The provision in the existing project for a local contribution to the extent of $50,000 was based on special and local benefits which, from further investigation, it now appears can not be realized.

But you do so by indirection by referring to this report. If the gentleman is satisfied it will accomplish his purpose, then my objection is as to form.

Mr. HAWLEY. I do not think there is any doubt but that it will accomplish the purpose.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Certainly.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I have here the laws of the Seventy-first Congress and have this very provision in the rivers and harbors act, approved July 3, 1930.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. What provision?

Mr. CHINDBLOM. The provision to which reference is made in this proposed act, and this project is described there and is authorized in the following terms:

Willamette River, between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., in accordance with the report submitted in House Document No. 372, Seventy-first Congress, second session, and subject to the conditions set forth in said document.

Mr. JENKINS. Will the gentleman permit this question? Does the gentleman contend that recommendation is a part of the law of the land?

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Why, of course, it is a part of the law.

Mr. JENKINS. If it is, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. HAWLEY. Otherwise, they would not have authority to proceed with the improvement.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I may say to the gentleman that practically every item in the rivers and harbors act provides for improvements by reference to certain documents.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold his objection and state the reason for his objection?

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I will withhold my objection and shall be delighted to state the reason for the objection. The proposal is wholly without precedent, so I have been advised.

Mr. HAWLEY. I think the gentleman is in error.

Mr. COLLINS. No; not if I have been advised correctly.

Mr. HAWLEY. I have in mind a case——

Mr. COLLINS. The gentleman has in mind cases where the amount was reduced but can name no case where it was entirely eliminated.

Mr. HAWLEY. There has been no money advanced, and there is to be no money returned.

Mr. COLLINS. But you secured the project upon a promise that you would put up $50,000?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. A promise was not made.

Mr. COLLINS. If there was no promise, the project was begun upon the idea of a contribution of $50,000.

Mr. HAWLEY. No; it was a requirement of the engineers, and not a promise made by the operating companies. My information is that they opposed it.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. It was not a promise, but a requirement.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Mississippi further withhold his objection a moment?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman from Mississippi is mistaken as to this being without precedent. It has been done on several occasions.

Mr. COLLINS. I have been advised that it is without precedent.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The engineers themselves recommended this action.

Mr. COLLINS. I understand, but I have been advised that such action is without precedent, so for the time being, at least, I must object.

Mr. MANSFIELD. This is not a refund of money and it is not to release any promise to pay money. The engineers in their former report assessed without the consent of the parties or the local interests.

Mr. COLLINS. I object, Mr. Speaker.

IMPROVEMENT OF CHEVY CHASE CIRCLE

The Clerk called the next joint resolution on the Consent Calendar, House Joint Resolution 152, for the improvement of Chevy Chase Circle with a fountain and appropriate landscape treatment.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution go over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

QUINAIELT INDIAN RESERVATION, WASH.

The Clerk called the next business on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 7619, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for lots to Indians within the Indian village of Taholah, on the Quinaielt Indian Reservation, Wash.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized, upon application by any qualified Indian living within the Indian village of Taholah, on the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in the State of Washington, to issue to such Indian a patent for not to exceed two contiguous lots within said village, one of which lots must be occupied by said applicant: *Provided*, That where pursuant to section 10 of the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L. 858), one lot within said Indian village has heretofore been patented to any Indian living thereon said Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to patent to such Indian, or to his or her heirs in case of death, one additional contiguous lot wherever available. All patents issued hereunder shall be of the legal effect prescribed by said section 10 of the act of June 25, 1910, and all lots so patented to said Indians shall be disposed of as provided for in section 1 of that act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THE CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4583) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Reserving the right to object, I think there has been a rule reported from the Rules Committee for this bill.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Reserving the right to object, I want to say that the rule has been granted by the Rules Committee, and I ask that it be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

TO AMEND THE RADIO ACT OF 1927

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 7716) to amend the radio act of 1927, approved February 23, 1927, as amended (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 47, ch. 4), and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, this legislation is too important to be considered on the Consent Calendar.

Mr. DAVIS. If the gentleman will yield, I wish to state that this same bill, with one exception, which I will explain later, was unanimously reported by the committee in the last Congress, was thoroughly discussed on the floor, in which the gentleman from Wisconsin asked numerous questions. It passed the House without a dissenting voice. The committee has again unanimously reported it. Let me say that after it passed the House it was reported by the Senate committee, but never came up for consideration.

Mr. STAFFORD. I subscribe to the general provisions of the bill. I am in sympathy with them, and I wish to have the bill expedited. But I think that a bill of this importance should not come up on the Consent Calendar.

Mr. DAVIS. It has been under consideration two years, and I never heard an objection from any source to any provision of the bill. I submit that we probably have more time now than we will later.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think the gentleman will have more time when the gentleman's committee is called, which will be in a week or so. The gentleman then will have ample time to expatiate on the effect of the proposed amendments.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

AMENDING THE PUBLIC BUILDING ACT

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 375) amending the public building act approved March 4, 1931, authorizing acquisition of building sites and construction of public buildings at Hibbing, Minn., and other places.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Reserving the right to object, I would like to have the gentleman from Texas state how much of this total of $135,000 is to be expended for surface rights in the land from which the mineral rights are reserved?

Mr. LANHAM. The amount provided for herein is for surface rights. The mineral rights have been relinquished, except one claim of a thirty-second or a sixty-fourth. The land of the whole town is subject to the reservation of mineral rights.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Are you going to pay $135,000 for the site?

Mr. LANHAM. For the site and the building. This was provided for originally in the general public building bill which came from the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. PITTENGER. The Treasury Department advises that they will pay $28,500 for the site. The amendment is not for the purpose of increasing the amount for the site.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. It is to reserve the mineral rights?

Mr. PITTENGER. No; to go ahead in spite of that reservation. We have that reservation all over the county.

Mr. LANHAM. Have not all those rights been quitclaimed to the Government, except on the part of one claimant?

Mr. PITTENGER. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I take it these reservations run with the land?

Mr. PITTENGER. Yes.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to the fact that there are three bills on the calendar which are all in the same category. There are 23 other projects of a like nature, and the Members interested are now appealing to the Bureau of the Budget to permit the Treasury Department to come before the Committee on Appropriations and obtain legislation, which is in order under the first Elliott Act, changing the authorizations. We went before the Bureau of the Budget in a body on Friday of last week, and the matter is now under consideration. I do not propose to object, but will the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] say that if we find it necessary to go to his committee to get the changes in the various authorizations to enable the Treasury Department to do what it wants to do he will recognize us?

Mr. LANHAM. Of course, I can not say what the committee would do, but my assumption will be that if projects exactly analogous to these three projects are presented to the committee the inference would be that the committee would take the same action. There is no additional outlay on the part of the Government in these three projects. One is the correction of a boundary line, and this is simply allowing the Government to go ahead in spite of a small reservation of the mineral rights on a site where the drillings have shown that no minerals exist. The other is for a change in the location of a certain block of the place where the Federal building will be constructed. Personally I have no knowledge of any bills of the character the gentleman mentions being now before the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. No; because it is in order for the Committee on Appropriations to carry that sort of legislation on the Treasury appropriation bill. The Elliott Act so provides. Therefore, we have the matter up with the Committee on Appropriations. It is pending also before the Bureau of the Budget. Twenty-five Members of Congress are trying to get the Bureau of the Budget to recommend a change in legislation affecting old projects, not new ones.

Mr. LANHAM. The function of the Committee on Appropriations with reference to public buildings is a different one from that of Public Buildings and Grounds. These measures were taken up on bills presented to our committee which had to do with the functions of our committee and involve no additional appropriations; I am sure that the committee will be glad to give careful, prompt, and early consideration to any bills of similar character which may be presented.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. If we do not get action, and we hope we will the other way, we will certainly be before the committee. We can make a case here or before any committee in the House, and I guarantee you will do so before this session is over.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] some questions along another line. There was a time when the gentleman's committee controlled public buildings in the District of Columbia.

Mr. LANHAM. That is correct.

Mr. BLANTON. And that no power could tear down a good building without authority of Congress, expressed after action taken by the gentleman's committee. Unfortunately that authority has been delegated and is lodged now in a commission which decides that an important public building can be torn down, even when to tear it down is foolish, and against the wish of Congress?

Mr. LANHAM. In so far as the buildings here are concerned, and over the country, for that matter, I think my colleague is quite as familiar with the present law and the change in the old policy as I am. Of course, the general authority is lodged now in the Treasury Department, with the collaboration of the Post Office Department, concerning those buildings which affect the post office.

Mr. BLANTON. Does not the gentleman think we ought to take that authority away from them and put it back in Congress? Not long ago, the gentleman will remember, the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS], the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, by a unanimous vote passed an amendment to an appropriation bill giving express mandatory notice to these departments that Congress is against tearing down the Post Office Department Building and the Southern Railway Building and the Municipal Building in the city of Washington. In spite of that mandate from the House of Representatives, unanimously expressed, the gentleman saw in the press of yesterday a picture of this fine Post Office Department Building with a statement under it that it is going to be torn down immediately.

Mr. LANHAM. I think my colleague will recall that I opposed the change of policy when it was pending before the House and made a vigorous attack upon that change, but my views did not prevail.

Mr. BLANTON. My colleague is not only an able lawyer and legislator but he is also an able musician, a poet, and an artist as well. He has good judgment. Does the gentleman believe this Government, in this time of depression when the Government is hard up, should tear down a building like our fine Post Office Department Building in the city of Washington?

Mr. LANHAM. I have so many matters pending before me now which are requiring all of my ability to determine what should be done with them, and they are properly before me, that I hesitate to invade provinces which are not mine.

Mr. BLANTON. With the unanimous expression of this House to the contrary, I imagine that these departments having the matter in charge will hesitate to tear down these buildings against which the House of Representatives has expressed itself unanimously.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. When?

Mr. BLANTON. When the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] had his amendment adopted.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Oh, it was not unanimous.

Mr. BLANTON. The vote was as near unanimous as any vote ever could be with the gentleman from New York and myself both present.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That a provision of the public building act, approved March 4, 1931, which authorized the acquisition of a suitable site for the post office, at Hibbing, Minn., be, and the same is hereby, amended as follows:

"Hibbing, Minn., post office, etc.: For acquisition of site and construction of a building, under an estimated total cost of $135,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, accept a title which reserves or excepts all ores or minerals on the lands, with the right of mining the same."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 3, page 1, strike out the article "a" and insert the word "the."

Mr. LANHAM. I have no objection to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

ACQUISITION OF SITE AND CONSTRUCTION OF BUILDING IN JACKSON, MISS.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 6739) to amend the authorization contained in the act of Congress approved March 4, 1929, for the acquisition of site and construction of building in Jackson, Miss.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the authorization contained in the act of Congress approved March 4, 1929, for the acquisition of site and construction of a building in Jackson, Miss., under an estimated total cost of $825,000, be, and the same is hereby, amended to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into contracts for the demolition of the present building in Jackson, Miss., and for the construction of a new post office, courthouse, etc., building on the present site as enlarged by the land acquired under the authorization in said act of March 4, 1929, and the unexpended balance of the amounts appropriated under the authority of such act is hereby made available for the purposes herein.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

POST-OFFICE SITE AT PLATTSBURG, N. Y.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 7899) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate and to enter into an agreement regarding the south boundary of the post-office site at Plattsburg, N. Y.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to inquire of the chairman of the committee the reason why the committee did not follow the recommendation of the Attorney General in authorizing litigation to determine the title of the Government to this 8 feet of land?

Mr. LANHAM. The Treasury Department seemed to be of the opinion that with less expense and less inconvenience and more promptness it could negotiate and get the matter settled. It is an old controversy that has been under consideration dating back to 1859, and there has been some dispute as to the south boundary line, an addition of 8 feet.

Mr. STAFFORD. But if the Government believes it has a good title, why not authorize the Attorney General to press our rights against some obstreperous occupant?

Mr. LANHAM. There is some doubt that the Government has title to that 8 feet, by reason of the fact that a wall, which was built as the marking line of the Government's property in 1859, left the inference that the Government thought the property owner was correct in his contention. As far as the committee is concerned, it is a matter of tweedledee or tweedledum whether it is done by suit or by private negotiation. However, the Treasury Department seemed to be of the opinion that it could satisfactorily adjust the matter by negotiation, save the expense of a lawsuit, and save the inconvenience that would be incident to it, and also get the matter cleared up much more promptly.

Mr. STAFFORD. My individual opinion is that if this authorization is granted, they will grant title to the original claimant who has been refusing to recognize the rights of the Government all these years.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the reservation of objection, however.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and empowered to negotiate with the owners of the property south of and adjoining the Federal building site at Plattsburg, N. Y., and to enter into such agreement or agreements with the owners as in his discretion may be deemed necessary definitely to establish the south boundary line of said Federal building site.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill passed was laid on the table.

EXTENDING NATURALIZATION PRIVILEGES TO ALIEN VETERANS OF THE WORLD WAR

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 6477) to further extend naturalization privileges to alien veterans of the World War residing in the United States.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That an alien veteran, as defined in section 1 of the act of May 26, 1926 (ch. 398, 44 Stat. 654; title 8, sec. 241, U. S. C., Supp. 1), shall, if residing in the United States, be entitled at any time within two years after the enactment of this act to naturalization upon the same terms, conditions, and exemptions which would have been accorded to such alien if he had petitioned before the armistice of the World War, except that such alien shall be required to appear and file his petition in person, and to take the prescribed oath of allegiance in open court.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 2, beginning in line 1, after the word "that," strike out the remainder of line 1, all of lines 2 and 3, and insert the following:

"(1) Such alien shall be required to prove that immediately preceding the date of his petition he has resided continuously within the United States for at least two years, in pursuance of a legal admission for permanent residence, and that during all such period he has behaved as a person of good moral character; (2) if such admission was subsequent to March 3, 1924, such alien shall file with his petition a certificate of arrival issued by the Commissioner of Naturalization; (3) final action shall not be had upon the petition until at least 90 days have elapsed after filing of such petition; and (4) such alien shall be required to appear and file his petition in person, and to take the prescribed oath of allegiance in open court. Such residence and good moral character shall be proved either by the affidavits of two credible witnesses who are citizens of the United States, or by depositions by two such witnesses made before a naturalization examiner, for each place of residence."

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Alabama, in order to clarify the matter so that there will be no doubt about it, if the two witnesses required by the committee amendment may testify to both the length of service of the veteran, as well as to his character?

Mr. JEFFERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. It does not require four witnesses?

Mr. JEFFERS. No, sir.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The two witnesses can certify to both?

Mr. JEFFERS. "Two witnesses" applies to both.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS FRENCH BROAD RIVER BETWEEN JEFFERSON AND COCKE COUNTIES, TENN.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (S. 2388) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn., authorized to be built by the highway department of the State of Tennessee by an act of Congress approved February 6, 1931, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from February 6, 1932.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS FRENCH BROAD RIVER ON DANDRIDGE-NEWPORT ROAD, JEFFERSON COUNTY, TENN.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (S. 2389) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the Dandridge-Newport Road, in Jefferson County, Tenn.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, on the Dandridge-Newport Road, in Jefferson County, Tenn., authorized to be built by the highway department of the State of Tennessee, by an act of Congress approved May 14, 1930, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from the date of approval hereof.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

FREE HIGHWAY BRIDGE ACROSS PAWCATUCK RIVER, WESTERLY, R. I.

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 7247) authorizing the Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads and the State Highway Department of the State of Connecticut to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Pawcatuck River near the location of the present Broad Street Bridge between Westerly, R. I., and Stonington, Conn.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to facilitate interstate commerce, improve the postal service, and provide for military and other purposes the Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads and the State Highway Department of the State of Connecticut be, and is hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Pawcatuck River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near the location of the present Broad Street Bridge between Westerly, R. I., and Stonington, Conn., in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. There is hereby conferred upon the Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads and the State Highway Department of the State of Connecticut all such rights and powers to enter upon lands and to acquire, condemn, occupy, possess, and use real estate and other property needed for the location, construction, operation, and maintenance of such bridge and its approaches as are possessed by railroad corporations for railroad purposes or by bridge corporations for bridge purposes in the State in which such real estate or other property is situated, upon making just compensation therefor, to be ascertained and paid according to the laws of such State, and the proceedings therefor shall be the same as in the condemnation or expropriation of property for public purposes in such State.

SEC. 3. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

REVISED BOUNDARY MOUNT M'KINLEY NATIONAL PARK, ALASKA

The next business on the Consent Calendar was the bill (H. R. 6485) to revise the boundary of the Mount McKinley National Park, in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. BLANTON. Reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. WICKERSHAM] with regard to the cost of this bill to the Government. There is nothing in the report that shows the cost of it.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. There is no cost. It is a bill drawn by the department and introduced for the department.

Mr. BLANTON. It provides for the addition of 246,000 acres of land to this park.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Is there not some cost incidental to that matter?

Mr. WICKERSHAM. I do not know of any except possibly a survey. I do not know whether a survey has been made or not.

Mr. BLANTON. After it is added to the present park there will be the cost of keeping it up and operating it and looking after it.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. They already have a large park there, and these costs will be taken up in that way.

Mr. BLANTON. I was just wondering at this time with a $2,000,000,000 deficit in the Treasury if it would hurt anything, if it is going to cost any appreciable sum, to postpone taking this 246,000 acres into the park.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. There is no cost.

Mr. BLANTON. Just what benefits are the people of the United States going to have by reason of the taking in of this additional land?

Mr. WICKERSHAM. The same benefits they have with respect to the balance of the parks. This bill simply carries the boundary down to the river on one side and across country on the other side.

Mr. BLANTON. It is going to require looking after?

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Oh, no; not at all. It has looked after itself for millions of years and will continue to do so.

Mr. BLANTON. Just now we are seeking to retrench and seeking to balance the Budget. How are we going to balance the Budget if we keep on taking into all of the different parks 246,000 additional acres in this time of depression?

Mr. COLTON. The passage of this measure will make possible a natural boundary for the park, and really will make it easier to police with this addition than without it.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman from Utah [Mr. COLTON] has added so many acres of public land to the various public parks in the West that there is no other man better able to tell us what it is going to cost.

Mr. COLTON. It will cost practically nothing additional.

Mr. BLANTON. If it is not going to cost anything additional, I will not object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the boundary of the Mount McKinley National Park is hereby changed so as to read as follows:

"Beginning at the summit of a hill between the Toklat River and the Clearwater Fork of that river at an approximate latitude of 65° 47′ 45″, longitude 150° 17′ 40″, which is intended to be same point of beginning of the boundary description as contained in the act of February 26, 1917; thence southerly along the summit of the ridge between Toklat River and the Clearwater Fork of said river and across Stony Creek at its confluence with the said Clearwater Fork to the summit of the ridge between Stony Creek and the Clearwater Fork of the Toklat River; thence following the summit of said ridge and the summit of the ridge between the tributaries of said Clearwater Fork, the headwaters of the North Fork of Moose Creek and Boundary Creek to the intersection with the present boundary of Mount McKinley National Park at approximate latitude of 63° 32′ 45″, longitude 150° 24′ 45″; thence southwesterly 14⅛ miles, more or less, to a point one-half mile north of Wonder Lake on the stream out of Wonder Lake into Moose Creek; thence south 68° west 43⅛ miles, more or less, to the point of intersection with the southwest boundary extended; thence southwesterly 33 miles, more or less, to the summit of Mount Russell; thence in a northeasterly direction following the present south boundary approximately 88 miles to Windy Creek at approximate latitude 63° 25′ 45″, longitude 149° 1′ 35″; thence easterly following the north bank of Windy Creek to the western boundary of the Alaska Railroad right of way; thence northerly following the west boundary of the Alaska Railroad right of way to a point due east of the present north boundary of the park as extended due east; thence due west following the present north boundary of the park to the summit of the ridge between Toklat River and the Clearwater Fork of said river; thence southerly following the summit of said ridge to the place of beginning."

SEC. 2. That the provisions of the act of August 25, 1916, entitled "An act to establish a national park service, and for other purposes," and the act of February 26, 1917, entitled "An act to establish the Mount McKinley National Park, in the Territory of Alaska, together with all acts supplementary to and amendatory of said acts, are made applicable to and extended over the lands hereby added to the park.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 5, strike out the word "beginning" with the quotation and insert the word "Beginning."

In line 7, strike out "sixty-five" and insert "sixty-three."

On page 2, line 16, after the word "stream," insert the word "flowing."

In line 20, strike out the word "southwesterly" and insert the word "southeasterly."

On page 3, line 10, strike out the word "beginning" and the quotation and insert the words "beginning: *Provided, however,* That such isolated tracts of land lying east of the Alaska Railroad right of way and the west bank of the Nenana River between the north bank of Windy Creek and the north park boundary as extended eastward are also included in said park."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Delegate from Alaska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WICKERSHAM: At the end of line 15, on page 3, following the committee amendment, insert:

"*Provided further,* That nothing in this act shall be held to limit, revoke, or change any location, filing, or entry of land within the area hereby added to the said McKinley National Park, under the homestead, mining, or other laws of the United States, nor prevent the locator from completing his title thereto."

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will withdraw his amendment because we are not prepared on it. When unanimous consent was granted there was no notice given that an amendment was to be offered, so that the amendment takes us unawares. It may be absolutely all right, but I do not know.

Mr. BLANTON. And the committee has not passed on it. It ought not to be presented at this time.

Mr. STAFFORD. It has been so many years since the Delegate from Alaska has served in the House that he does not know of the practice that has grown up in the House in regard to unanimous-consent bills. There is an unwritten law that when the Consent Calendar is called that before consent is granted any Member desiring to propose an amendment shall give notice to the House in advance. I know full well that the gentleman from Alaska did not wish to take the House unawares by having consent granted and then offering his amendment.

Mr. LEAVITT. The mining laws apply within this national park area in Alaska just as they do in areas outside. Consequently, I see no necessity for this amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. As the gentleman from Montana says, it is already covered by existing law. Therefore, I hope the gentleman will see his way clear to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. I do not think the amendment is necessary, but I do not think it is bad. I think it is a safeguard in behalf of anybody who happens to be there.

Mr. BLANTON. But it is not keeping faith with the House on unanimous-consent day. We certainly would not have allowed the bill to come up under unanimous consent unless we knew what amendments were to be offered.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, the only purpose of this amendment is to protect those people who happen to reside upon the lands which are taken into the park. There are some homesteaders there, there are some mining people there, and their rights ought to be protected.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will withdraw his amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will make this statement: It has been customary for gentlemen asking unanimous consent for the consideration of a bill to give notice to the House if they propose to offer a material amendment so that the House may have knowledge of the amendment and give consent to the consideration of the amendment as well as the bill; otherwise a bill could be called up and amendments could be offered which would be very material and far-reaching in their nature. The Chair thinks that notice should be given before consent is given for the consideration of a bill, that amendments will be proposed, so that the membership of the House may have knowledge of what is coming up.

So the Chair suggests to the Delegate from Alaska that he either withdraw his amendment or allow the bill to go over so that the matter may be considered on next consent day.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, I then ask unanimous consent that the bill may go over until the next consent day without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the Delegate from Alaska?

There was no objection.

MOUNT RAINIER NATIONAL PARK

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 6657, to authorize the purchase of an electric generating, transmission, and distribution system in the Mount Rainier National Park, and for other purposes.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman withhold his objection a moment?

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Speaker, I withhold my objection, although I am opposed to the bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. The plan proposed here is the plan that is in use in the Yosemite National Park and the Yellowstone National Park, two of the large parks that have very large attedance.

Mr. FULLER. I am opposed to the bill——

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Then, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill go over without prejudice.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

ESTATES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS DYING WITHIN CONSULATES

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 6310, to amend section 1709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the act of March 3, 1911 (36 Stat. 1083), and section 304 of the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (42 Stat. 24).

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there is no report here from either department, and I ask unanimous consent that the bill go over without prejudice.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman to allow me to explain the bill? I do not see why it should go over.

Mr. BLANTON. There ought to be a report here from the departments on it. There is no report here from either the Treasury Department or from the General Accounting Office, and I insist on the request that it go over without prejudice.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman to allow this to go over for just a while and then I can produce the report from the department.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may go over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

CACHE NATIONAL FOREST, IDAHO

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, S. 457, authorizing an addition to the Cache National Forest, Idaho.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is not this bill similar to the one objected to a while ago?

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Speaker, this is a Senate bill identical with the one that was passed over a few moments ago.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I then ask unanimous consent that this bill go over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

The Clerk called the next bill on the Consent Calendar, H. R. 483, to amend the act of March 2, 1897, authorizing

the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the St. Lawrence River.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to know about the suggestions contained in the report that some distinguished citizens are getting together and forming this bridge company as a civic duty and that it is not the usual promotion idea that we very often have confronting us in a bridge bill.

Mr. SNELL. I will say in reply to the gentleman that they are doing their best to get a community bridge here. They are even taking stock subscriptions down to $100, and we will be pleased to have the gentleman join with us, because it is purely a civic proposition of one village in New York State and one in Canada.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Of course, if I joined with them I would be disqualified from voting on the bill, and I do not want to deprive my colleague from New York of that.

Mr. SNELL. The only thing this bill seeks to do is to give these two communities the right to do what the railroad itself has the right to do under existing law.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire of my friend the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] wherein the authorization to be conferred by this bill differs from the authorization that was conferred in the bill providing for a bridge across the Rainy River district that the gentleman objected to?

Mr. SNELL. If the gentleman will allow me, I think I can answer any question with regard to this bridge, if that is what the gentleman wants.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] some time ago objected to a bridge in the Rainy River district.

Mr. SNELL. Oh, I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I may say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that in the case of the Minnesota bridge, the bridge is not in existence. It is a contemplated idea or project and the bridge is yet to be built. In this instance it is a railroad bridge which is in existence, and we have the assurance that it is not a profit-making undertaking, but it is simply proposed to plank this bridge in order to permit the passing of vehicles and pedestrians over the bridge.

Mr. PATTERSON. I want to say to the gentleman from New York that the report shows that the Department of Agriculture—

Seriously questions the advisability of authorizing a combination railroad and highway bridge at this point, as such bridges frequently result in serious congestion, particularly to highway traffic.

Mr. SNELL. I am glad the gentleman has brought up the report. They did not get the purport of the bill.

Mr. PATTERSON. I should not want to object to a meritorious proposition, and had not the gentleman better let it go over without prejudice?

Mr. SNELL. All this bill does is to give the right to these two communities, one at each end of the bridge, to do what the previous act authorized the New York Central Railroad to do. These communities are renting the bridge for a dollar a year, and the two communities are going to operate it together.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Let me say that after the report of the Department of Agriculture we obtained all the facts relative to the bill from the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL]. It is merely to allow these communities to plank the railroad bridge, which has been in existence 30 years, and which the company has now abandoned, and only one or two trains run over it daily.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I want to say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that we are assured that this bridge will be operated by the two communities, which distinguishes it from the case that the gentleman from Wisconsin referred to.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first section of the act of March 2, 1897 (29 Stat. L. 603, ch. 357), entitled "An act to authorize the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the St. Lawrence River," be, and is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"The Northern New York Railroad Co., a corporation organized and created under and by virtue of the laws of the State of New York, or such railway or bridge company now or hereafter incorporated under the laws of said State or of the Dominion of Canada as the said Northern New York Railroad Co., or its assigns, may unite with, be, and it hereby is authorized and empowered to construct, own, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the St. Lawrence River from a point on the right or southerly bank thereof at or near the village of Hogansburg, in the county of Franklin, in the State of New York, to a point on the island of Cornwall, near the town of Cornwall, in the county of Cornwall, and Stormont, Province of Ontario, in the Dominion of Canada, at such point as may be most convenient to said corporation to unite and connect the railroad built or to be built by it in the said State of New York with any railroad or bridge that may be constructed by any person or corporation in the said Dominion of Canada. Said bridge shall be constructed to provide for the passage of railway trains and, at the option of the said corporation, may be used for the passage of vehicles, animals, and foot passengers upon such reasonable rates of toll as may be fixed and from time to time revised by the Secretary of War of the United States; the bridge may be equipped for use for the passage of vehicles, animals, and foot passengers by the lessee under a lease made by the corporation, and the tolls for such passage, as fixed and revised by the Secretary of War as aforesaid, may be collected by the lessee under such lease. Said bridge when completed shall be deemed and taken to be a lawful structure, and shall be recognized and known as a post route for the United States mails: *Provided*, That before the construction of the said bridge shall be begun all proper and requisite authority therefor shall be obtained from the Government of the Dominion of Canada."

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. GIFFORD, by unanimous consent, was given leave of absence for the remainder of the week, on account of important business.

RESIGNATION FROM COMMITTEES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication.

The Clerk read as follows:

Hon. JOHN N. GARNER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Please permit me to submit herewith my resignation as a member of the Committees on Coinage, Weights, and Measures and the Census.

Respectfully,

MENALCUS LANKFORD.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 128

Resolved, That MENALCUS LANKFORD, of Virginia, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of the standing Committee on Naval Affairs.

The resolution was agreed to.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill (H. R. 4) to protect banking and commerce against short sales of securities issued by corporations engaged therein, introduced by myself and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and the bill H. R. 4638, a similar bill, introduced by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, be referred to the Judiciary Committee, that has several bills of that character.

I took the matter up with the chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Mr. RAYBURN, and he has no objection. I have also consulted the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and he has no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

BRIDGE ACROSS RAINY RIVER AT BAUDETTE, MINN.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota has made a request of the Chair. The Chair does not like to make a precedent, and he does not like to refuse a request to return to a bill which the House might wish to consider by unanimous consent. The bill has been passed over, but

the Chair is going to recognize the gentleman from Minnesota to ask unanimous consent to return to a bill objected to, provided the gentleman who objected to the bill is in the Chamber.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I objected to the bill, and I withdraw the objection.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return to the bill H. R. 5064.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to return to a bill, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read the title, as follows:

H. R. 5064, authorizing Vernon W. O'Connor, of St. Paul, Minn., his successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. PATTERSON. Reserving the right to object, will the gentleman explain the condition that exists there now and the need for this legislation?

Mr. KNUTSON. There is a need for a bridge at this point. At present the only means of communication between the two countries is by ferry.

Mr. PATTERSON. What is the price of the ferry at present?

Mr. KNUTSON. My colleague tells me that it is $3 for an automobile.

Mr. SINCLAIR. Judge Lowe, from my district, passed over this ferry last summer. He said it was an outrageous charge that was made. He had to pay $3 for getting the automobile across and a dollar or a dollar and a half for each person riding in the automobile.

Mr. PATTERSON. What assurance can the gentleman give the House that this condition will be any better when the bridge is built?

Mr. KNUTSON. Of course, the matter of tolls will be fixed by negotiations between the two Governments of the United States and Canada. The State Department and a similar department from Canada will fix that.

Mr. PATTERSON. It will be under their supervision?

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to facilitate international commerce, improve the postal service, and provide for military and other purposes Vernon W. O'Connor, of the city of St. Paul, Ramsey County, State of Minnesota, his successors and assigns, be, and is hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Rainy River, so far as the United States has jurisdiction over the waters of such river, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Baudette, Minn., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this act, and subject to the approval of the proper authorities in Canada.

SEC. 2. There is hereby conferred upon Vernon W. O'Connor, his successors and assigns, all such rights and powers to enter upon lands and to acquire, condemn, occupy, possess, and use real estate and other property in the State of Minnesota needed for the location, construction, operation, and maintenance of such bridge and its approaches as are possessed by railroad corporations for railroad purposes or by bridge corporations for bridge purposes in the State of Minnesota upon making just compensation therefor to be ascertained and paid according to the laws of such State, and the proceedings therefor shall be the same as in the condemnation of expropriation of property for public purposes in such State.

SEC. 3. The said Vernon W. O'Connor, his successors and assigns, is hereby authorized to fix and charge tolls for transit over such bridge in accordance with any laws of Canada applicable thereto, and the rates of toll so fixed shall be the legal rates until changed by the Secretary of War under the authority contained in the act of March 23, 1906.

SEC. 4. The right to sell, assign, transfer, and mortgage all the rights, powers, and privileges conferred by this act is hereby granted to Vernon W. O'Connor, his successors and assigns; and any corporation to which or any person to whom such rights, powers, and privileges may be sold, assigned, or transferred, or who shall acquire the same by mortgage foreclosure or otherwise, is hereby authorized and empowered to exercise the same as fully as though conferred herein directly upon such corporation or person.

SEC. 5. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 6, strike out the word "successors" and insert "heirs, legal representatives."

Page 2, line 10, strike out the word "successor" and insert "heirs, legal representatives."

Page 2, line 22, strike out the word "successors" and insert "heirs, legal representatives."

Page 2, line 25, strike out "Canada" and insert "Minnesota."

Page 3, line 6, strike out the word "successors" and insert "heirs, legal representatives."

The committee amendments were agreed to, and the bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended to read: "A bill authorizing Vernon W. O'Connor, of St. Paul, Minn., his heirs, legal representatives and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn."

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

CONSOLIDATION OF ARMY AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested by the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to ask Members of the House who desire to submit views on the bills to create a department of national defense, to have those views in the hands of the chairman of the committee by the end of the week. The committee has heard the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy and other officials of both departments. Hearings will be closed this week, and the statements submitted by Members will be included in the printed hearings. No other notice will be sent to the Members of the House other than by this statement in the RECORD.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill and joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 6660. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill and joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 6660. An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution making an appropriation for expenses of participation by the United States in the general disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, February 2, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Tuesday, February 2, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:





COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Marine Corps personnel (H. R. 5444).

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE, RADIO, AND FISHERIES

(10 a. m.)

General inquiry into the American merchant marine, the United States Shipping Board, and Merchant Fleet Corporation affairs.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Interstate commerce act, section 15a (H. R. 7116 and H. R. 7117).

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

(9.30 a. m.)

Revision of patent laws.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(10.30 a. m.)

H. R. 7801, to amend section 3 (6) of the immigration act of 1924.

H. R. 7802, to amend section 15 of the immigration act of 1924. (Admission of certain aliens and nonquota immigrants.)

COMMITTEE ON LABOR—SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS FOR RELIEF OF THE UNEMPLOYED

(9 a. m.)

Appropriations for the relief of the unemployed (H. R. 206, H. R. 6011, H. R. 8088).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

416. A letter from L. B. Wilson, transmitting a comparative general balance sheet of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

417. A letter from L. B. Wilson, transmitting a report of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

418. A letter from George B. Fraser, transmitting a detailed statement of the Georgetown Gas Light Co. for the year 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

419. A letter from George B. Fraser, transmitting a detailed statement of the Washington Gas Light Co. for the year 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. POU: Committee on Rules. H. Res. 126. A resolution to provide for the consideration of certain provisions in connection with the general appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1933; without amendment (Rept. No. 310). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 8083. A bill providing for the appointment as ensigns in the line of the Navy of all midshipmen who graduate from the Naval Academy in 1932; without amendment (Rept. No. 311). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RANKIN: Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation. H. R. 8578. A bill to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended, by providing allowances for widows and children and dependent parents of veterans of the World War; without amendment (Rept. No. 312). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. H. R. 8638. A bill for the temporary relief of water users on irrigation projects constructed and operated under the reclamation law; with amendment (Rept. No. 313). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 987. A bill for the allowance of certain claims for extra labor above the legal day of eight hours at certain navy yards certified by the Court of Claims; with amendment (Rept. No. 314). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1260. A bill for the relief of James E. Fraser; without amendment (Rept. No. 315). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1290. A bill for the relief of Jeannette Weir; without amendment (Rept. No. 316). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1292. A bill to extend the benefits of the United States employees' compensation act to R. W. Dickerson; with amendment (Rept. No. 317). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1322. A bill for the relief of Anna Gohbeck; without amendment (Rept. No. 318). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1786. A bill for the relief of Arthur H. Teeple; without amendment (Rept. No. 319). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2013. A bill for the relief of Pinkie Osborne; with amendment (Rept. No. 320). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2038. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Harris Smith; without amendment (Rept. No. 321). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2042. A bill for the relief of Hedwig Grassman Stehn; without amendment (Rept. No. 322). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2117. A bill for the relief of John O'Toole; without amendment (Rept. No. 323). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2189. A bill for the relief of Elsie M. Sears; with amendment (Rept. No. 324). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2574. A bill for the relief of Walter E. Switzer; with amendment (Rept. No. 325). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2777. A bill for the relief of Wallace E. Ordway; with amendment (Rept. No. 326). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2841. A bill for the relief of the owners of the steamship *Exmoor;* with amendment (Rept. No. 327). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3375. A bill for the relief of Laurin Gosney; with an amendment (Rept. No. 328). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3467. A bill for the relief of David C. Jeffcoat; without amendment (Rept. No. 329). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3582. A bill for the relief of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.; with an amendment (Rept. No. 330). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3693. A bill for the relief of William Knourek; without amendment (Rept. No. 331). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3811. A bill for the relief of Lela B. Smith; with an amendment (Rept. No. 332). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3812. A bill for the relief of the estate of Harry W. Ward, deceased; without amendment (Rept. No. 333). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4071. A bill for the relief of W. A. Blankenship; without amendment (Rept. No. 334). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4233. A bill for the relief of Enza A. Zeller; with an amendment (Rept. No. 335). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4234. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Lawrence Chlebek; with amendment (Rept. No. 336). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4859. A bill for the relief of Jeff Davis Caperton and Lucy Virginia Caperton; without amendment (Rept. No. 337). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4885. A bill for the relief of Kenneth G. Gould; without amendment (Rept. No. 338). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5265. A bill for the relief of A. W. Holland; without amendment (Rept. No. 339). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5592. A bill to reimburse the estate of Mary Agnes Roden; without amendment (Rept. No. 340). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 6274. A bill for the relief of J. O. Winnett; without amendment (Rept. No. 341). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 8251. A bill for the relief of James M. Pace; without amendment (Rept. No. 342). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6233) for the relief of Albert T. DeBaun, jr.; Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 7018) granting a pension to Margaret E. Hoffman; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 4) to protect banking and commerce against short sales of securities issued by corporations engaged therein; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (H. R. 4638) to prohibit communication of false information with respect to securities in certain cases; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DALLINGER: A bill (H. R. 8676) to authorize the Postmaster General to pay laborers in the Railway Mail Service on the basis of 306 days per annum; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8677) to regulate the wages of cleaners in first-class post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8678) to amend sections 5 and 7 of the act approved February 28, 1925 (43 Stat. 1080; U. S. C., title 34, secs. 754 and 756), as amended, entitled "An act to provide for the creation, organization, administration, and maintenance of a Naval Reserve and a Marine Corps Reserve"; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8679) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8680) to enact a uniform pension law for disabilities incurred in war service and granting pensions to certain soldiers, sailors, marines, and nurses who served the United States in time of war; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CROSSER: A bill (H. R. 8681) to develop American air-transport services overseas, to encourage the construction in the United States by American capital of American airships for use in foreign commerce, and to make certain provisions of the maritime law applicable to foreign commerce by airship; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8682) to authorize the purchase of certain lands by the United States from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8683) to establish a fish hatchery; to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

By Mr. HOGG of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8684) suspending the relegation to third-class of second-class post offices whose receipts are above $6,500 annually; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. BRAND of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 8685) to amend the act entitled "An act to amend the act entitled 'An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes,' approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes," approved November 9, 1921; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. LICHTENWALNER: A bill (H. R. 8686) concerning recognition of military status of persons who honorably served with the American Red Cross and kindred American organizations with the United States forces overseas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAJOR: A bill (H. R. 8687) to authorize the attendance of the Army Band at the Grand Army of the Republic encampment at Springfield, Ill.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8688) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BLACK: A bill (H. R. 8689) regulating the performance of work by the enlisted personnel of the United States Army, Navy, and Coast Guard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8690) to establish in the Bureau of Efficiency a survey board for the purpose of making a survey in order to determine what action should be taken to increase efficiency and reduce the costs of administration with respect to (1) eliminating useless boards, bureaus, commissions, and other agencies; (2) merging or consolidating boards, bureaus, commissions, or other agencies whose functions are related, overlapping, or duplicating; and (3) modernizing, systematizing, and standardizing the departments and agencies of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments.

By Mr. HOWARD (by departmental request): A bill (H. R. 8691) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain unused Indian cemetery reserves on the Wichita Indian Reservation in Oklahoma to provide funds for purchase of other suitable burial sites for the Wichita Indians and affiliated bands; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. KARCH: A bill (H. R. 8692) providing that beginning May 1, 1932, six hours shall, in contracts for labor and service, be deemed a day's work and the measure or standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for services for all employees who are now or may hereafter be employed by any common carrier by railroad, etc.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GARBER: A bill (H. R. 8693) to provide for the more effective supervision of foreign commercial transactions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. STEAGALL: A bill (H. R. 8694) to amend section 5202, United States Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., title 12, ch. 2, sec. 82), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8695) to amend section 5153 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., title 12, ch. 2, sec. 90); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CULKIN: A bill (H. R. 8696) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the St. Lawrence River near Alexandria Bay, N. Y.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GARBER: A bill (H. R. 8697) requiring publicity for certain foreign-loan transactions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREENWOOD: Resolution (H. Res. 127) proposing an amendment to Clause III, Rule XIII, of the Rules of Congress; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOEHNE: A bill (H. R. 8698) granting a pension to James P. Stallings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BEERS: A bill (H. R. 8699) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Laidig; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8700) granting a pension to Lottie Stumpff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8701) granting an increase of pension to Matilda J. Irvin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARDEN: A bill (H. R. 8702) granting a pension to Warren A. Purcell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DICKINSON: A bill (H. R. 8703) granting an increase of pension to Mary Elliott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DALLINGER: A bill (H. R. 8704) for the relief of Laban H. Davies; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8705) for the relief of Julia M. Holland; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8706) for the relief of Edmund L. Moore; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. GLOVER: A bill (H. R. 8707) granting a pension to Nancy Elizabeth Ashcraft; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HORR: A bill (H. R. 8708) for the relief of Thomas M. Buist, jr.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 8709) granting an increase of pension to Maine F. Pressley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LAMBERTSON: A bill (H. R. 8710) for the relief of Emerson C. Salisbury; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MAJOR: A bill (H. R. 8711) granting a pension to Susan Coker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8712) granting a pension to Charles E. Waters; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MANLOVE: A bill (H. R. 8713) granting a pension to Nancy Ann Williamson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8714) granting an increase of pension to Emma D. Combs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8715) granting a pension to Clara Slyker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAY: A bill (H. R. 8716) granting a pension to Theodore Fields; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8717) granting a pension to John Stacy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8718) granting a pension to Bascom Prater; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8719) granting a pension to William R. Hunter; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MICHENER: A bill (H. R. 8720) granting a pension to Ida Allabach; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON of Maine: A bill (H. R. 8721) granting a pension to Mary A. Hayes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PARKER of New York: A bill (H. R. 8722) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Sullivan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8723) granting a pension to Catherine Woodcock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PARKER of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8724) granting a pension to Frederick Joseph Trott; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RAMSEYER: A bill (H. R. 8725) granting a pension to Sylvia C. Terry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBINSON: A bill (H. R. 8726) granting a pension to Le Vert Taylor; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8727) to pay the agreed purchase price due from the United States to various individuals for certain lands, comprising 5,000 acres, embraced within the area now occupied by the United States Marine Corps post at Quantico, Va.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. STALKER: A bill (H. R. 8728) granting a pension to Sarah A. Ten Broeck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8729) for the relief of John Ball, of Walla Walla, Wash.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SWICK: A bill (H. R. 8730) granting an increase of pension to Melissa J. Boggs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8731) granting an increase of pension to Mary McFann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8732) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Douds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8733) granting an increase of pension to Amelia Lathrop; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 8734) granting a pension to George Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8735) for the relief of A. H. Sphar; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8736) for the relief of Effie Shoun; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8737) for the relief of Walter Livingston Clemens; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8738) granting a pension to Clellia S. Irvin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8739) granting a pension to Maggie Allen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8740) granting a pension to Hannah T. Heaton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8741) granting a pension to Albert H. L. Wells; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THATCHER: A bill (H. R. 8742) granting a pension to Rose C. Shewmaker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THURSTON: A bill (H. R. 8743) granting an increase of pension to Phoebe A. Jennings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WATSON: A bill (H. R. 8744) granting a pension to Mary Baldwin Kennedy; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WELSH of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8745) for the relief of Francis Michael Tully; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE: A bill (H. R. 8746) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Adams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOLVERTON: A bill (H. R. 8747) granting an increase of pension to Mary Jane Cooper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. YATES: A bill (H. R. 8748) granting a pension to Dolly Hathaway Catherwood; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1087. By Mr. ANDREWS of New York: Petition of residents of fortieth congressional district of New York, to reduce Federal salaries, etc.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1088. Also, letter from New York State League of Savings and Loan Associations, in opposition to House bill 4524; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1089. Also, petition of residents of fortieth congressional district of New York, opposing any modification of prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1090. Also, letter of Niagara Sprayer & Chemical Co. (Inc.), Middleport, N. Y., protesting against Senate bill 1963 amending shipping act of 1916; to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

1091. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of the First Baptist Church, the Trinity Evangelical Church, the Methodist General Aid, the Presbyterian U and I Circle, and various citizens, all of El Dorado, Kans., supporting the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1092. Also, petition of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Belle Plaine and the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the College Hill Methodist Episcopal Church, of Wichita, both of the State of Kansas, in support of the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1093. By Mr. BACHMANN: Petition of Katherine Hornick, secretary, and other members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Wheeling, W. Va., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1094. By Mr. BOHN: Petition of Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association of America, Local No. 11, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., that all sailors being citizens of the United States of America and who in the past years have paid hospital dues to the United States marine hospital service be now and forever entitled to all benefits of the United States Public Health Service and hospital division; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1095. By Mr. BOLTON: Petition of residents of the twenty-second Ohio congressional district, protesting against Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1096. By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: Petition of citizens of Harlem, Ga., protesting against resubmission of prohibition question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1097. Also, petition of citizens of Apalachee, Ga., against resubmission of prohibition question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1098. Also, petition of citizens of Crawfordville, Ga., protesting against resubmission of prohibition question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1099. By Mr. BURDICK: Petition of Lena W. Sparks and 55 other residents of Rhode Island, opposing repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1100. By Mr. CLARKE of New York: Petition of Ira W. Snyder and 52 other citizens of Worcester, N. Y., urging the support of legislation for maintenance and enforcement of prohibition law and in opposition to modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1101. Also, petition of Matthew D. Sill and 44 other citizens of Richfield Springs, N. Y., urging support of legislation for maintenance and enforcement of prohibition law and in opposition to modification, resubmission or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1102. By Mr. CONDON (by request): Petition of Bertha Scholes and several other citizens of Rhode Island, protesting against the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1103. By Mr. CRAIL: Petition of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Hollywood, Calif., protesting against any measure to repeal, revise, resubmit, or nullify the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1104. By Mr. DAVENPORT: Petition of Poland Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Methodist Episcopal Church, Poland, N. Y., with respect to the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1105. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Pittsburgh, in opposition to Senate bill 1963; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1106. Also, petition of Department of Oklahoma, United Spanish War Veterans, Lawton, Okla., indorsing and urging support of House bill 7230, providing for uniform pension for widows and children of the veterans of all wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

1107. Also, petition of Clara Barton Auxiliary No. 2, United Spanish War Veterans, Enid, and the Fitzhugh Lee Camp, No. 15, United Spanish American War Veterans, Tulsa, both of the State of Oklahoma, indorsing and urging support of House bill 7230, providing for uniform pensions for widows and children of deceased veterans of all wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

1108. Also, petition of citizens of the eighth district, protesting against the proposed tax on motor vehicles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1109. Also, petition of citizens of the eighth district of Oklahoma, protesting against any modification of the eighteenth amendment, and urging its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1110. By Mr. GLOVER: Petition of Roy Jason Fish Post, No. 37, of Star City, Ark.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1111. Also, resolution of Grace Presbyterian Church, Little Rock, Ark., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1112. Also, resolution of First Baptist Church of North Little Rock, Ark., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1113. Also, resolution of Antioch Baptist Church, Little Rock, Ark., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1114. Also, resolution of Immanuel Baptist Church, of Little Rock Ark., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1115. Also, resolution of session, First Presbyterian Church of Little Rock, Ark., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1116. By Mr. KNIFFIN: Petition of Rev. Lucy B. Smith and 55 others, of Defiance, Ohio, urging support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1117. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Mrs. L. H. Parcels, president of the Hiawatha (Kans.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union and 163 other citizens, urging the support of the prohibition law and opposing any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1118. By Mr. LINDSAY: Petition of the Merchants' Association of New York, opposing the proposed construction of the St. Lawrence waterway; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1119. Also, petition of the American Oil Burner Association (Inc.), New York City, opposing tariffs or embargoes on crude petroleum, petroleum products, including fuel oils; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1120. Also, petition of Raymond M. Donovan and eight other citizens of New York City, opposing any reduction in armory drills or field training as prescribed by the national defense act; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1121. Also, petition of the American Brass Co., Buffalo, N. Y., opposing tax on automobiles and accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1122. Also, petition of the department of police, city of St. Louis, Mo., favoring the passage of Senate bill 1525 and House bill 4537; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1123. By Mr. MICHENER: Petition of sundry citizens of Michigan, protesting against the passage of Senate bill 1202, the compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1124. By Mr. MILLARD: Petition of the Woman's Christion Temperance Union, protesting against the proposed submission of the prohibition question to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1125. By Mr. MURPHY: Petition of Frank Bailey, of St. Clairsville, Ohio, asking for the passage of House bill 6041 for the relief of the veterans of the Indian wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

1126. By Mr. NELSON of Maine: Petition of Melvin B. Grant and 22 citizens of Sandy Point, Me., urging Federal regulation of interstate busses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1127. Also, petition of James A. Blanchard and 35 other citizens, of Stockton Springs, Me., urging Federal regulation of interstate busses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1128. By Mr. PARKER of Georgia: Petition of Mrs. P. N. Gresham and 209 other citizens, of Savannah, Ga., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and protesting against any measure that looks toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1129. By Mr. ROBINSON: Petition urging the passage of House bill 93 from the Lawton Camp, No. 2, Department of Iowa, United Spanish War Veterans, Des Moines, Iowa, signed by Commander W. E. Sutphin and Adjutant B. H. Patterson and indorsed by 95 men of the organization and 80 ladies of the auxiliary; to the Committee on Pensions.

1130. Also, petition signed by C. W. Sage, president, and John Hancock, secretary, No. 2485, United Mine Workers of America, urging that Congress give serious thought and earnest consideration to any measure or bill that will bring about the stabilization of the coal industry and conserve the interests of both worker and investor; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1131. Also, petition of Mrs. Carl Anderson, of Clemons, Iowa, and signed by 24 citizens of Marshall County, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to the States or its repeal and favoring adequate maintenance for its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1132. Also, petition of the Lawton Camp, No. 2, Department of Iowa, United Spanish War Veterans, Des Moines, Iowa, signed by Commander W. E. Sutphin and Adjutant B. H. Patterson and indorsed by 95 men of the organization and 80 ladies of the auxiliary, urging the passage of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1133. Also, resolution of the Colonel John C. Loper Auxiliary, Department of Iowa, A. U. S. W. V., No. 12, Marshalltown, Iowa, same being signed by the committee, Anna G. McKeon, Nelle G. Richter, and Mary J. Hoar, strongly urging the support and passage of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1134. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Pittsburgh, Pa., opposing the passage of Senate bill 1963; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1135. Also, petition of American Oil Burner Association (Inc.), New York City, opposing tariffs or embargoes on crude petroleum, petroleum products, including fuel oils; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1136. Also, petition of Oscar H. Hegtre, Odiorne C. Homer, D. Lewis, S. H. Nash, S. H. Priddy, Louis S. Hewlett, George T. Green, and other citizens of New York City, opposing any cuts in armory drills and field training as prescribed by law; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1137. Also, petition of the American Brass Co., Buffalo, N. Y., opposing special taxes on automobiles and accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1138. Also, petition of the Merchants Association of New York City, N. Y., opposing the participation of the United States in the construction of the proposed St. Lawrence waterway; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1139. Also, petition of the chief of police, city of St. Louis, Mo., favoring the passage of House bill 4537 and Senate bill 1525; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1140. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of Edward Edmunds, jr., and many other citizens of Fort Fairfield, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1141. Also, petition of E. E. Hoff and many other citizens of Shirley, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1142. By Mr. SPARKS: Petition of 38 citizens of Alton, 19 citizens of Beloit, and a resolution of temperance meeting of Friends Church and Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Alton, all of the State of Kansas, protesting against change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1143. By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: Petition of residents of Los Angeles, Calif., urging maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and protesting against any change in eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1144. By Mr. SUMMERS of Washington: Petition of David Brown and others, urging support and maintenance of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1145. By Mr. SWANK: Petition to forbid the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1146. Also, petition of the Women's Jeffersonian Club, of Oklahoma City, requesting Congress to take such action as will insure the enlargement of the volume of active money; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1147. By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Petition of citizens of Cedaredge, Colo., protesting against the enactment of any Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1148. Also, petition of citizens of Paonia, Colo., protesting against any change in present prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1149. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petition of Alice G. Stephens, Waynesburg, Pa., urging support of legislation increasing rate of pensions to widows of Spanish War veterans; to the Committee on Pensions.

1150. Also, petition of Russell Motor Co., Burgettstown, Pa., protesting against the proposed tax on motor vehicles, parts, and accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1151. Also, petition of Washington Local Union 627, International Alliance of Theatrical Employees, Washington, Pa., protesting against the proposed 10 per cent theater admission tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1152. By Mr. WATSON: Resolution adopted by the South Eastern Vicinity County Council, United Spanish War Veterans, expressing opposition to any change in the act of February 12, 1931, providing for the new naval hospital in Philadelphia; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

1153. By Mr. WHITTINGTON: Petition by Mrs. W. Q. Sharp, president regional conference, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Jackson, Miss., January 26, 1932, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1154. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Wisconsin Legislature, memoralizing Congress to enact a law substituting for the present patent system a new system whereby no more patents running for long periods of time shall be granted, etc.; to the Committee on Patents.

1155. Also, petition of the Wisconsin Legislature, memorializing Congress to amend the Volstead Act so as to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 4 per cent of alcohol; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1156. Also, petition of the Wisconsin Legislature, memorializing Congress to promptly enact the La Follette emergency public works bill as a measure of unemployment relief and an essential step in the restoration of prosperity; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1932

(Legislative day of Monday, February 1, 1932)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Austin	Dale	Kendrick	Schall
Bailey	Davis	Keyes	Sheppard
Bankhead	Dickinson	King	Shipstead
Barbour	Dill	La Follette	Smith
Barkley	Fess	Lewis	Smoot
Black	Fletcher	Logan	Steiwer
Blaine	Frazier	Long	Stephens
Borah	George	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Townsend
Broussard	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulkley	Gore	Morrison	Tydings
Bulow	Hale	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harris	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harrison	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Hastings	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hatfield	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hebert	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Howell	Pittman	White
Costigan	Hull	Reed	
Cousens	Jones	Robinson, Ark.	

Mr. McNARY. I wish to announce the necessary absence of the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] due to illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. FESS. I announce the necessary absence of the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE], who is still ill. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment the following bills of the Senate:

S. 556. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Elk River at or near Kelso, Tenn.;

S. 2199. An act exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts;

S. 2388. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport Road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn.;

S. 2389. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the Dandridge-Newport Road in Jefferson County, Tenn.; and

S. 2408. An act to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington for lighthouse purposes."

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 201. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of South Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Waccamaw River; and

S. 2317. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Joseph River.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, severally with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 1089. An act to establish a minimum area for a Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes;

S. 1291. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River, near Freeport, Fla.; and

S. 2407. An act to authorize the sale of parts of a cemetery reserve made for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in Oklahoma.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 70. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Mahoning County, Ohio, to construct a free overhead viaduct across the Mahoning River at Struthers, Mahoning County, Ohio;

H. R. 81. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Catawissa Railroad Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Susquehanna River at or near Catawissa, Pa.;

H. R. 149. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg.;

H. R. 225. An act providing for payment of $25 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States;

H. R. 268. An act to excuse certain persons from residence upon homestead lands during 1930 and 1931 in the drought-stricken areas;

H. R. 308. An act to provide for the appointment of an acting secretary of the Territory of Hawaii during the absence or illness of the secretary;

H. R. 375. An act amending the public building act approved March 4, 1931, authorizing acquisition of building sites and construction of public buildings at Hibbing, Minn., and other places;

H. R. 474. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Garrison, N. Dak.;

H. R. 483. An act to amend the act of March 2, 1897, authorizing the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the St. Lawrence River;

H. R. 4695. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Culbertson, Mont.;

H. R. 4696. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near the point known and designated as the Powersite Crossing, in the State of Montana;

H. R. 5062. An act to authorize the exchange of potassium-bearing lands in Tooele County, Utah, between the United States and private owners;

H. R. 5064. An act authorizing Vernon W. O'Connor, of St. Paul, Minn., his heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn.;

H. R. 5131. An act to extend the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River near and above the city of New Orleans, La.;

H. R. 5471. An act authorizing Sullivan County, Ind., to construct, maintain, and operate a public toll bridge across the Wabash River at a point in said county to a point opposite on the Illinois shore;

H. R. 5478. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.;

H. R. 5484. An act extending the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories," approved March 3, 1877 (19

Stat. 377), and acts amendatory thereof, to ceded lands of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation;

H. R. 5626. An act authorizing the States of Minnesota and North Dakota, the county of Polk, Minn., the county of Grand Forks, N. Dak., or any one or more of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Red River of the North at or near Bygland, Minn.;

H. R. 5878. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission, and the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co., and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge in combination with a railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.;

H. R. 6477. An act to further extend naturalization privileges to alien veterans of the World War residing in the United States;

H. R. 6739. An act to amend the authorization contained in the act of Congress approved March 4, 1929, for the acquisition of site and construction of building in Jackson, Miss.;

H. R. 7225. An act granting the consent of Congress to the board of county commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Monongahela River between the city of Pittsburgh and the borough of Homestead, Pa.;

H. R. 7247. An act authorizing the Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads and the State Highway Department of the State of Connecticut to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Pawcatuck River near the location of the present Broad Street Bridge between Westerly, R. I., and Stonington, Conn.;

H. R. 7619. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for lots to Indians within the Indian village of Taholah, on the Quinaielt Indian Reservation, Wash.; and

H. R. 7899. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate and to enter into an agreement regarding the south boundary of the post-office site at Plattsburg, N. Y.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (H. J. Res. 261) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks, and it was signed by the President pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE CAPITAL TRACTION CO.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Capital Traction Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of that company for the year ended December 31, 1931, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORT OF THE POTOMAC ELECTRIC POWER CO.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Potomac Electric Power Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of that company for the year ended December 31, 1931, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORT OF THE WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Washington Railway & Electric Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of that company for the year ended December 31, 1931, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF THE WASHINGTON INTERURBAN RAILROAD CO.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the Washington Interurban Railroad Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of that company for the year ended December 31, 1931, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution of the Legislature of South Carolina, which was ordered to lie on the table:

A concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to call upon the President to designate a day on which the people of this Nation shall meet in their respective places of worship to ask the Supreme Being for divine guidance through these perilous times

Whereas there exists among the people of this and other nations a spirit of world-wide unrest, unemployment, and distress that endangers the peace of nations and, unless checked, threatens civilization itself; and

Whereas all thoughtful people must realize the imperative need of divine wisdom and guidance to solve the problems that are beyond the wisdom of man to solve; and

Whereas in times of deep gloom and dire distress in the past united prayers were asked by the Presidents of the United States, and these prayers were heard and victory came to the banners of those who made supplication—notable, when President Lincoln designated a day of prayer for the saving of the Union, and again when President Wilson designated a day of prayer for the success of our forces in the World War, in each of which cases the tide of battle turned promptly after the people gathered and sent up their petitions: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring), That we memorialize the Congress of the United States to call upon the President to designate and set apart a day in the near future for the assembling of the people of this Nation in their respective places of worship to join their voices in prayer and supplication to Almighty God for a higher conception of duty and responsibility on the part of the individual citizen; for the removal of selfishness and the spirit of unrest among our people; for renewed faith and confidence in organized government; for a realization on the part of the people of this and all other lands of the utter futility of force unless sustained by justice and right; and, finally, for the realization that God will heal and bless His people when they exalt Him above selfishness and greed for gain and Godless pursuits:

Providing further, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Clerks of the two Houses of Congress for action as may seem fit and proper to that honorable body.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Columbia, S. C., January 28, 1932.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of a concurrent resolution adopted by the house of representatives and concurred in by the senate.

[SEAL.] J. WILSON GIBBES,
Clerk of the House.

Mr. CAPPER presented the petition of the Local Institute of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Reserve, Kans., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana presented petitions of the pastors and members of the congregations of the United Christian Church and the Pilgrim Holiness Church, both of Elwood, and of the Francis Cleveland Chapter, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Marion County, in the State of Indiana, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BARBOUR presented a resolution adopted by the Reserve Officers' Association, Department of New Jersey, protesting against any reduction in the enlisted or commissioned strength of the Regular Army or National Guard, or any postponement or reduction in the training of the Organized Reserves, the National Guard, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or the citizens' military training camps, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. COPELAND presented resolutions adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church group, of Blodgett Mills; the ladies' aid of the Lloyd Methodist Episcopal Church, of Lloyd, and Genesee Valley Grange, No. 1109, of Scio, all in the State of New York, protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitu-

tion to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Orleans County (N. Y.) Pomona Grange, favoring the amendment of the Constitution so as to base the election of Representatives in Congress and members of the Electoral College upon citizenship population rather than upon total population, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. ASHURST presented the petition of Newton B. Ashby and other citizens of Tucson, Ariz., which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

We the undersigned duly qualified electors of the county of Pima, State of Arizona, do respectfully petition you as follows:

That you do not vote for or support any bill or bills for modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment or the Volstead Act.

NEWTON B. ASHBY, *Tucson, Ariz.* (and 951 others).

Mr. ASHURST also presented the following joint memorial of the Legislature of Arizona, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

STATE OF ARIZONA,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
State of Arizona, ss:

I, Scott White, secretary of state, do hereby certify that the within is a true, correct, and complete copy of House Joint Memorial No. 2, first special session, Tenth State Legislature, House of Representatives, State of Arizona, entitled "A memorial to the Congress of the United States requesting the Congress to appropriate or to cause the proper governmental bureau to expend sufficient funds to pay for one-third the cost of constructing a bridge across the Colorado River at Parker, Ariz.," all of which is shown by the original engrossed copy on file in this department.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of Arizona. Done at Phoenix, the capital, this 29th day of January, A. D. 1932.

[SEAL.] SCOTT WHITE,
Secretary of State.

House Joint Memorial 2

To the Congress of the United States requesting the Congress to appropriate or to cause the proper governmental bureau to expend sufficient funds to pay for one-third the cost of constructing a bridge across the Colorado River at Parker, Ariz.

Whereas the Legislature of the State of Arizona passed a law, approved by the governor, on March 16, 1931, being chapter 75, Session Laws of Arizona, 1931, House bill No. 91, providing that the Arizona Highway Commission is authorized to cooperate with the State of California and with the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs or any agency of the United States in the construction of a highway bridge, together with approaches thereto, over and across the Colorado River in the vicinity of Parker, Ariz., at a point to be mutually determined by the Arizona Highway Commission, the California Highway Department, and the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs or their duly authorized agents; and

Whereas the State Highway Commission of the State of Arizona is ready at all times to budget the sum of $75,000 to pay the cost of one-third of constructing such bridge; and

Whereas the cost of the said bridge shall not exceed the sum of $225,000; and

Whereas the State Highway Department of the State of California has by official action indicated that it will set aside and budget an actual sum of $75,000 for the payment of one-third the cost of said bridge and is ready at all times to cooperate with the Government of the United States and the State of Arizona in such construction work:

Now, therefore, your memorialists, the Legislature of the State of Arizona, with the governor concurring, herein request the Congress of the United States to authorize the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the United States to expend not to exceed the sum of $75,000 in defraying the cost of one-third of such construction work; or that the Congress enact a law appropriating the said sum of $75,000 for the use of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs or such other agency of the Government as the Congress may determine and that such bureau or agency be authorized to cooperate with and enter into an agreement with the State of Arizona through its highway commission and the State of California through its highway department, providing for and agreeing to the construction of such bridge; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, a copy to the Secretary of the Interior, and a copy to the Representative and Senators in Congress from the State of Arizona.

Passed the senate January 6, 1932, by the following vote: 11 ayes, 8 nays.

FRED SUTTER,
President of the Senate.
W. J. GRAHAM,
Secretary of the Senate.

Passed the house January 5, 1932, by the following vote: 57 ayes, 3 nays, none absent, 3 excused.

W. G. ROSENBAUM,
Speaker of the House pro tempore.
LALLAH RUTH,
Chief Clerk of the House.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR.

This bill was received by the governor this 7th day of January, 1932, at 10.47 o'clock a. m.

J. W. STRODE,
Secretary to the Governor.

Approved this 7th day of January, 1932.

GEO. W. P. HUNT,
Governor of Arizona.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

This bill was received by the Secretary of State this 7th day of January, 1932, at 2.34 o'clock p. m.

SCOTT WHITE,
Secretary of State.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. GEORGE. From the Committee on Finance I report back favorably with an amendment the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 76) authorizing the President to reorganize the executive agencies of the Government, and I submit a report (No. 157) thereon.

Mr. President, the committee amendment is as follows:

On page 3, line 24, strike out the period and insert a semicolon and the following: "and such action shall be final unless Congress by concurrent resolution shall disapprove it within 60 days."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. REED, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 156) to investigate the effect of the depreciation of foreign-currency values upon importations of important commodities into the United States, and for other purposes, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 158) thereon.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 929) relating to the taking of depositions in cases arising under section 19 of the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 159) thereon.

Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (S. 14) to amend chapter 15 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia, relating to the condemnation of land for public use, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 160) thereon.

Mr. CAREY, from the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, to which was referred the bill (S. 3422) for the temporary relief of water users on irrigation projects constructed and operated under the reclamation law, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 161) thereon.

PROPOSED INVESTIGATION OF CAUSES OF DEPRESSION

Mr. FESS, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 5) for an investigation of the causes of the prevailing industrial depression and into measures to relieve the same and avert a recurrence thereof (submitted by Mr. WALSH of Montana on December 21, 1931), reported it without amendment and moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I called the attention of the Senate yesterday to Senate Concurrent Resolution 5. I now submit an amendment to the resolution in the nature of a substitute, which I ask may lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will lie on the table and be printed.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

Mr. SMOOT, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of Dan G. Stewart, of Kansas City, Mo., to be collector of internal revenue for the sixth district of Missouri, in place of Noah Crooks, which was ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DAVIS:

A bill (S. 3436) to provide for the carrying out of the award of the National War Labor Board of January 15, 1919, Dockets Nos. 419 and 420, in favor of certain employees of the Lebanon (Pa.) plants of the Bethlehem Steel Co. and the Lebanon Valley Iron Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOWELL:

A bill (S. 3437) for the relief of Roy B. Carlberg; and

A bill (S. 3438) authorizing adjustment of the claim of Lindley Nurseries (Inc.) (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3439) for the relief of Charles Walker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

A bill (S. 3440) for the relief of Nick Wagner; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3441) requiring certain additional reports from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. REED (by request):

A bill (S. 3442) for the relief of the former owners of certain lands in Bucks County, Pa., condemned by the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McNARY (for Mr. JOHNSON):

A bill (S. 3443) to authorize the Secretary of War to grant a right of way to the Alameda Belt Line across the Benton Field Military Reservation, Alameda, Calif.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3444) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to grant an easement for railroad right of way over and upon a portion of the helium-gas bearing lands of the United States of America in Potter County, in the State of Texas; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 3445) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth H. Harriman (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3446) granting an increase of pension to Blanchard L. Stuart (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CUTTING:

A bill (S. 3447) for the relief of John Stratis; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3448) to amend an act of Congress entitled "An act to regulate the employment of minors within the District of Columbia," approved May 29, 1928; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DILL:

A bill (S. 3449) to amend section 6 of the national charter of the Great Council of the United States of the Improved Order of Red Men; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana:

A bill (S. 3450) granting compensation to the widow and minor children of Lloyd B. Tupper; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 3451) granting a pension to Daniel J. McGrath (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3452) granting an increase of pension to Elzena Troxell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STEIWER:

A bill (S. 3453) for the relief of the city of Bandon, Oreg.; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3454) granting a pension to Frances E. Weaver (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3455) granting an increase of pension to Frank A. Benedict (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 3456) for the relief of Annie May Carter (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROOKHART:

A bill (S. 3457) relating to travel allowances of certain members of the volunteer forces of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

A bill (S. 3458) for the relief of Charles A. Peters; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3459) granting a pension to Maggie Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOWELL:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 92) to authorize the making of loans to farmers who suffered crop failures in 1931; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 93) amending section 1 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 3, 1930, relating to the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Illinois River and Minneapolis; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. STEPHENS:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 94) consenting that certain States may sue the United States, and providing for trial on the merits in any suit brought hereunder by a State to recover direct taxes alleged to have been illegally collected by the United States during the fiscal years ending June 30, 1866, 1867, and 1868, and vesting the right in each State to sue in its own name; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JONES:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 95) regulating certain naval and military activities in the several States; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT—AMENDMENT

Mr. WAGNER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HEARINGS ON SALE OF FOREIGN SECURITIES

Mr. SMOOT submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 12), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in accordance with paragraph 3 of section 2 of the printing act approved March 1, 1907, the Committee on Finance of the Senate be, and is hereby, empowered to have printed 2,000 additional copies of the hearings held before the committee during the current session on Sale of Foreign Bonds or Securities in the United States.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated below:

H. R. 308. An act to provide for the appointment of an acting secretary of the Territory of Hawaii during the absence or illness of the secretary; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 6477. An act to further extend naturalization privileges to alien veterans of the World War residing in the United States; to the Committee on Immigration.

H. R. 149. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg.; and

H. R. 7225. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Monongahela River between the city of Pittsburgh and the borough of Homestead, Pa.; to the calendar.

H. R. 225. An act providing for payment of $25 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States; and

H. R. 7619. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for lots to Indians within the Indian village of Taholah, on the Quinaielt Indian Reservation, Wash.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 268. An act to excuse certain persons from residence upon homestead lands during 1930 and 1931 in the drought-stricken areas;

H. R. 5062. An act to authorize the exchange of potassium-bearing lands in Tooele County, Utah, between the United States and private owners; and

H. R. 5484. An act extending the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories," approved March 3, 1877 (19 Stat. 377), and acts amendatory thereof, to ceded lands of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

H. R. 375. An act amending the public building act approved March 4, 1931, authorizing acquisition of building sites and construction of public buildings at Hibbing, Minn., and other places;

H. R. 6739. An act to amend the authorization contained in the act of Congress approved March 4, 1929, for the acquisition of site and construction of building in Jackson, Miss.; and

H. R. 7899. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate and to enter into an agreement regarding the south boundary of the post-office site at Plattsburg, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

H. R. 70. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Mahoning County, Ohio, to construct a free overhead viaduct across the Mahoning River at Struthers, Mahoning County, Ohio;

H. R. 81. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Catawissa Railroad Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Susquehanna River at or near Catawissa, Pa.;

H. R. 474. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Garrison, N. Dak.;

H. R. 483. An act to amend the act of March 2, 1897, authorizing the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the St. Lawrence River;

H. R. 4695. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Culbertson, Mont.;

H. R. 4696. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near the point known and designated as the Power-site Crossing, in the State of Montana;

H. R. 5064. An act authorizing Vernon W. O'Connor, of St. Paul, Minn., his heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Rainy River at or near Baudette, Minn.;

H. R. 5131. An act to extend the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River near and above the city of New Orleans, La.;

H. R. 5471. An act authorizing Sullivan County, Ind., to construct, maintain, and operate a public toll bridge across the Wabash River at a point in said county to a point opposite on the Illinois shore;

H. R. 5473. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.;

H. R. 5626. An act authorizing the States of Minnesota and North Dakota, the county of Polk, Minn., the county of Grand Forks, N. Dak., or any one or more of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Red River of the North at or near Bygland, Minn.;

H. R. 5878. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission, and the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co., and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge in combination with a railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.; and

H. R. 7247. An act authorizing the Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads and the State Highway Department of the State of Connecticut to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Pawcatuck River near the location of the present Broad Street Bridge between Westerly, R. I., and Stonington, Conn.; to the Committee on Commerce.

SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1089) to establish a minimum area for a Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes," which were, on page 2, line 9, after the word "purposes," to insert "but not exceeding in length of term the life of the particular grantor or grantors"; and on page 2, line 21, after the word "Secretary," to insert ": *And provided further*, That the Secretary of the Interior may accept lands for these parks subject to reservations of rights of way and easements."

Mr. GLASS. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendments.

The motion was agreed to.

INDIAN LANDS IN OKLAHOMA

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate an amendment of the House of Representatives to Senate bill 2407, to authorize the sale of parts of a cemetery reserve made for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in Oklahoma, and invites the attention of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. FRAZIER] to it.

The amendments were, on page 2, line 7, after "land," insert ": *Provided further*, That there is hereby reserved for the use and benefit of the present Indian owners in common all oil, gas, coal, or other minerals in the lands set aside hereunder"; and on page 2, line 19, after "cemetery," to insert ": *Provided*, That there is hereby reserved for the use and benefit of the present Indian owners in common all oil, gas, coal, or other minerals in the lands set aside hereunder."

Mr. FRAZIER. I move that the amendments of the House be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 15), in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate, as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 15

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That 5,000 copies of the prayers offered by the Rev. James Shera Montgomery, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, at the opening of the daily sessions of the House during the Seventieth and Seventy-first Congresses, be printed and bound for the use of the House of Representatives.

CHOCTAWHATCHEE RIVER BRIDGE, FLORIDA

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask that the Chair may lay before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to Senate bill 1291.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LOGAN in the chair) laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1291) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River near Freeport, Fla., which were, on page 1, line 8, to strike out "one and three" and insert "two and four"; and on the same page, lines 8 and 9, to strike out "date of approval of this act" and insert "June 18, 1931."

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

ST. JOSEPH RIVER BRIDGE, MICHIGAN

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2317) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Joseph River, which was, on page 1, line 5, after the article "a," to insert "free highway."

Mr. VANDENBERG. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

PROPOSED CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, on yesterday I entered a motion to discharge the Committee on Appropriations from the further consideration of the bill (S. 3116) to reduce the compensation and salaries of employees and officials of the Federal Government, and to refer it to the Committee on Civil Service. I had also intended this morning to present a similar motion with reference to Senate bills 2494 and 2495 and to ask for the discharge of the Committee on Appropriations from their consideration. I ask permission at this time, however, to withdraw my motion, and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] will present a request to the Senate touching those measures.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The motion of the Senator from Washington is withdrawn.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, in investigating the matter I find that on February 13, 1925, former Senator Ball introduced a bill (S. 4312) to amend the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act, approved February 26, 1907, as amended, which was referred to the Committee on Finance. That was a bill having to do with an increase in salaries.

On February 16, 1925, three days thereafter, the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], from the Committee on Finance, reported the bill back favorably, with an amendment, and asked that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

On February 17, 1925, the Senator from Utah, from the Committee on Finance, reported an amendment relative to a proposed increase in the salaries of Cabinet officers, Members of Congress, and so forth, intended to be proposed to House bill 12101, the legislative appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

On February 17, 1925, former Senator Warren reported back favorably from the Committee on Appropriations the amendment indorsed by the Committee on Finance, which formed an amendment to House bill 12101, the legislative appropriation bill.

Mr. President, in view of that record it seems to me that the bill referred to by the Senator from Washington ought to go to the Finance Committee, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations be discharged from the further consideration of Senate bill 3116 and that the bill be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, at the present time I shall have to withhold my consent. The chairman of the Committee on Civil Service expressed a feeling that the bill should go to his committee, and in his absence I shall have to object to the request of the Senator from Idaho. Probably the matter can be disposed of later in the day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection being made, the matter goes over.

PRAYERS OF THE CHAPLAIN OF THE HOUSE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives and invites the attention of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] to it.

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 15) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That 5,000 copies of the prayers offered by the Rev. James Shera Montgomery, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, at the opening of the daily sessions of the House during the Seventieth and Seventy-first Congress, be printed and bound for the use of the House of Representatives.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the Committee on Printing has had this matter before it, and I am authorized by it to move concurrence in the action of the House.

The concurrent resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

REMONETIZATION OF SILVER—ADDRESS BY MILTON A. MILLER

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Milton A. Miller, of Portland, Oreg., on the subject of the remonetization of silver.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. Miller spoke as follows:

There are two forms of government, one by force and one by consent. We perhaps have the best form of government known to civilization. Our Government was founded upon an ideal. The patriots who laid the foundation for the American Republic gave their time and their money to formulate their ideas as expressed in the Declaration of Independance and the Constitution of the United States of America.

When Thomas Jefferson wrote those immortal words, "Equal and exact justice to all, special privileges to none," he expressed all there is to government. If that doctrine had been carried out, there would not, in my judgment, be the contention and strife and the great unequal distribution of wealth that there is in our land to-day.

Andrew Jackson well said: "There were no necessary evils in government; they only came about by abuses. We should ever bear in mind that our ancestors fought in the Revolutionary War for the principles of liberty. They gave unselfishly of their time without the hope of personal award. Their ambition was liberty and justice, for which they were perfectly willing to die. Shall we forget their high ideals and their great sacrifices?"

The 55 men who drafted the Constitution of the United States, serving without pay, had one object in view, and that was the common good. Therefore, we should strive to put those great ideals and principles into practice.

One hundred and forty-three years ago Washington became President of the United States. Our population at that time was around 3,000,000 people. Our wealth was approximately $750,000,000. Our area was less than 1,000,000 square miles, containing 12 States and 1 Colony.

To-day we have an area of more than three and one-half million square miles, 48 States, a population of 120,000,000 people. Our wealth is something like $375,000,000,000.

We have outrun the prophecies of our progenitors and surpassed the ideals of our founders. Our development has been wonderful. We have made poetry of statistics and glorious romance of history. We have all the elements necessary for human sustenance and national greatness. What other country is so blessed?

"Our forests would build homes for the world to live in. Our coal would run its machinery, warm its firesides, and cook its food. Our lead, iron, copper, and zinc would supply its furnaces. Our granite and marble would build its temples."

The flying machine, the radio, and many other things I might mention have made us next-door neighbors to the utmost corners of the earth. Therefore we must face the future from a different standpoint than we have heretofore. By failing to so do at the close of the great World War the leadership of the world has been lost to us, but we have an economic condition which calls for the highest order of statesmanship and patriotism to solve.

The Constitution of the United States says that Congress has the power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof.

April 2, 1792, at which time Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury, Congress declared that gold and silver should be standard money with full legal tender powers—both admitted to free coinage. This was a law until 1873, when the silver dollar was secretly left out of the coinage act.

In 1793 President Washington signed a resolution passed by the American Senate declaring that "a holder of bank stock should not have a seat in Congress."

John Quincy Adams was elected to Congress; he refused to qualify until he had disposed of his bank stock.

We wonder how many members of the House and Senate to-day are holders of bank stocks. An eminent historian has said: "The study of world affairs has convinced me that our public life is to a very great extent exercised through the bankers. There were two ways in which they exercised this control. One was by determining who should issue the money; the other was by specifying the kind of money."

The bankers, at least since the Civil War, have decided both of these questions in their own interest.

Prior to 1861 the Democratic Party was the dominant party. In their first platform, which was adopted in 1836, they declared:

"Unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency.

1852

"*Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country; dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power."

1840

"*Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country."

Daniel Webster said: "I am clearly of the opinion that neither Congress nor any other authority can legally demonetize either gold or silver. If one coin can be dethroned as money, then the other one can be overthrown. The command to Congress is to coin money, not to destroy it; to create legal-tender money for the use of the people, and the grant of authority to create money can not be construed to mean authority to destroy money."

James G. Blaine said: "I believe gold or silver to be the money of the Constitution; indeed, the money of the American people, which the great organic law recognizes as independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold."

Appleton's Encyclopedia, 1861, page 296, says that the bankers were demanding from 24 per cent to 36 per cent for money.

President Lincoln said that Congress had the power to create money. They exercised their rights by issuing $60,000,000 of paper money with full legal tender for all debts, both public and private. This was followed by a bankers' convention in Washington City. They declared their bitter opposition to such money, and through their influence the next issue of paper money contained the exception clause: "Good for all debts, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt."

This was the beginning of our financial troubles and disaster that followed the years to come.

In 1863 Congress passed what is known in history as the old national banking act. It passed the House by a vote of 78 to 64; it passed the Senate by a vote of 23 to 21. The bankers had at last succeeded. They then and there laid the foundation for untold troubles and misery. In this connection I wish to quote as follows:

Thaddeus Stevens, in speaking of this legislation, said: "The truth is we can never satisfy the money power." On his death bed he said: "We had to yield; the Senate was stubborn. We did not, however, until we found and believed the country must be lost or the bankers gratified."

CONTRACTION

April, 1866, Congress passed a law authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds and retire the United States currency which they proceeded to do. They reduced the circulating medium from $40 to $5 per capita, with the result that wages and prices went down. One statesman said that it was as bad as a fire.

Senator Ferry said: "The universal distress and unparalleled failures which have followed these past years of trial must sadly record the severity of the process which has brought the country so close to financial ruin."

In the presidential election of 1868 Horatio Seymour ran upon a platform to pay Government obligations in lawful money. He was defeated by a narrow margin by Gen. U. S. Grant. Forty bankers signed a circular calling for the election of Grant.

CREDIT STRENGTHENING ACT

The credit strengthening act, which made bonds payable in coin, approved March 18, 1869, added millions to the burdens of the people. Prior to the passage of this bill all Government contracts were payable in lawful money. That, of course, meant gold, silver, or paper.

REFUNDING

The refunding act of July 14, 1870, provided for the refunding of the national debt. It was a well-devised scheme to perpetuate the debt and the national banking act upon the people of the United States. The refunding of the bonded, untaxed, interest-bearing debt was a calamity upon the people. Under this law they were successful in continuing a debt of $750,000,000 until 1907. In other words, it could not be paid before that time. One Senator said it would have the same effect upon the United States as England's bonded debt. England's debt was contracted under the same banking system.

DEMONETIZING SILVER

This was quietly accomplished. As I read history it could never have been done had the people been aware of what was going on. In other words, "Why did they want to destroy silver?" By so doing it would leave the bonded indebtedness payable in gold. It would enhance the value of bonds. It would give them an opportunity to perpetuate the debt upon the American people. It was a deep-laid scheme, thought out in the dark hours of night and silently passed unbeknown to the people.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 1872, PAGE 2032

Ernest Seyd, of London, who is now here, has given great attention to the subject of mint and coinage. After having examined the first draft of this bill, he made various sensible suggestions, which the committee adopted and embodied in the bill.

In 1872 the bankers sent out the following statement:

"DEAR SIR: It is advisable to do all in your power to sustain such prominent daily and weekly newspapers, especially the agricultural and religious press, as will oppose the issuing of greenback paper money, and that you also withhold patronage or favors from all applicants who are not willing to oppose the Government issue of money. Let the Government issue the coin and the banks issue the paper money of the country, for then we can better protect each other. To repeal the law creating national-bank notes, or to restore to circulation the Government issue of money, will be to provide the people with money, and will therefore seriously affect your individual profit as bankers and leaders. See your Congressman at once and engage him to support our interests that we may control legislation."

The country was now in the throe of a great panic, perhaps the greatest in our history according to wealth and population. J. Cook & Co. failed, millions of men were thrown out of employment. The prices of commodities had taken a great tumble. This panic lasted for more than five years, and was without question the worst the country had experienced up to that time.

I wish at this time to call attention to the passage of the following concurrent resolution by the House of Representatives January, 1878, and also by the Senate the same month and known as the Mathews resolution:

"That all the bonds of the United States issued or authorized to be issued under the said acts of Congress heretofore recited are payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government of the United States containing 412½ grains each of standard silver, and that to restore to its coinage such silver coins as a legal tender in payment of said bonds, principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith now in derogation of the rights of the public creditors."

REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS

In 1876 the Republican Party solemnly pledged its faith for the redemption of all United States notes in coin.

In 1880 the Republican Party says it has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin of all national obligations.

In 1888 the Republican Party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

In 1892 they declared for the coinage of gold and silver as standard money.

REPUBLICAN SILVER PARTY, JULY 22, 1896

The paramount question at this time in the United States is indisputably the money question. It is between the gold standard, gold bonds, and bank currency on the one side, and the bimetallic standard, no bonds, and Government currency on the other. On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a distinctly American financial system.

OREGON REPUBLICANS FOR SILVER

In 1890 they declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1. In this connection I wish to call your attention to the fact that many leading Republicans of the State were advocates of the white metal, namely, B. Herman, W. R. Ellis, Charles W. Fulton, John H. Mitchell, and many others that I might mention.

Thomas H. Tongue, Republican Congressman, said over his own signature in 1894, speaking of the gold standard: "It will make the United States a paradise for the class of people who are exclusive creditors, but it will make a hell for everybody else."

John H. Mitchell, who was a pronounced silver man, stated that the United States was the only Government that permitted the holders of obligations to say what kind of money they should be paid in.

BLAND-ALLISON ACT

In 1878 Congress passed what is known in history as the Bland-Allison Act, which provided for the coinage of not less than 2,000,000 standard silver dollars or more than 4,000,000 each month. That remained upon the statute books for 12 years during which time we coined nearly 400,000,000 standard silver dollars. Immediately after the passage of this act times began to get better, and no historian can deny all the predictions and disasters that could be imagined were predicted if this bill should become a law, but none of them became true. In fact, I fail to find anywhere in the history of our country where any trouble came from the coinage of silver. The opposition said when the Bland-Allison law passed that it would drive gold out of the country. It had the exact opposite effect. They said that it would depreciate.

This prediction also failed to become a matter of fact. Let me say in this connection that the United States of America never created a dollar of gold, silver, or paper clothed with full legal tender functions that has ever depreciated one iota. The contest has always been between Government money and bank money.

THE SHERMAN ACT OF 1890

In 1890 Congress passed what is known in history as the Sherman Purchase Act. This law provided that the Government should issue Treasury notes against silver bullion. This law was a makeshift, a compromise, and was never satisfactory to anyone.

Following the passage of this law a panic was broadcast through the land. The presidential election of 1892 resulted in an overwhelming victory for Grover Cleveland. He was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1893. He called Congress in extra session and recommended the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. After three months of perhaps the greatest de-

bate that ever took place on the face of the earth on an economic question, the law was passed and the Sherman law was repealed. This practically left no recognition for silver. Therefore the people throughout the country were indignant and began a campaign for the restoration of the white metal.

The Government redeemed the Treasury notes of 1890 in gold, which forced the sale of bonds both by Cleveland and McKinley. This was putting the gold standard into practice. When we got through with the transaction the Government did not have any more money but had more debts.

In 1893 the bankers again sent out the following letter:

"DEAR SIR: The interests of national bankers require immediately financial legislation by Congress. Silver, silver certificates, and Treasury notes must be retired and national-bank notes, upon a gold basis, made the only money. This will require the authorization of from $500,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 of new bonds as a basis of circulation. You will at once retire one-third of your circulation and call in one-half of your loans. Be careful to make a money stringency felt among your patrons, especially among influential business men. Advocate an extra session of Congress for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, and act with the other banks of your city in securing a large petition to Congress for its unconditional repeal, per accompanying form. Use personal influence with Congressmen and particularly let your wishes be known to your Senators. The future life of national banks as fixed and safe investments depends upon immediate action, as there is an increasing sentiment in favor of Government legal-tender notes and silver coinage.

Then came the great presidential contest of 1896; the Democrats declaring for the free coinage of silver without aid or consent of any other nation; the Republicans for the bimetallism with the aid and consent of other countries.

After a most exciting and spirited campaign McKinley was declared elected by a narrow margin. Congress appropriated $100,000 and sent a commission abroad in the interest of bimetallism. They spent the money and returned home. That was the last of Republican bimetallism.

It was freely predicted after the contest of '96 by the opposition of silver that the money question was settled, that the silver issue was dead, and that our financial troubles were over; but, fellow citizens, what is the story?

In 1907 we had a banker's panic. It affected every industry and all the business relations of our country. They issued clearing-house certificates without authority of law with nothing behind them but the faith of a few banks.

To say the least, this is a ridiculous position for a sound-money advocate to take. Will any sane individual of this great Republic claim that a certificate issued by a bank is better financiering than money issued by the Government of the United States?

In 1907, I recall when George E. Chamberlain was Governor of Oregon, he called holidays for more than 90 days to prevent the failure of the banks of our fair State. Since 1896, we have appointed monetary commissions, sent them around the world hunting for some financial policy.

Here we are to-day in the midst of the greatest financial disaster and upheaval that the United States has ever witnessed. It does not require any evidence to prove this assertion. It is familiar with every one of my hearers. It is so recognized by every community, every county, every State in the Union, and the National Congress. It is the thing uppermost in all legislative bodies in trying to do something to relieve the bad conditions that are now broadcast in our land.

The gold standard has fallen down; it has proved a failure. There is not a country under the sun, in my opinion, that can put the gold standard into practice. England, the leading commercial nation of Europe, has abandoned gold monometallism. When she wished to do so, she did not ask any other nation about it.

There is less than eleven billions of gold in the known world. If the United States contained this amount of gold, we would not have enough for our own use. Just think of a little pile of gold 31 or 32 cubic feet being the basic money of two billions of people. When you touch this precious cube it immediately affects the commerce of the entire world and perhaps no country under the sun is suffering to-day on account of this financial structure, together with a high tariff, more than the United States of America.

The gold production of the world is about $400,000,000 annually, which is equal to 20 cents per capita of the world's population. Would any individual claim for a moment that an increase of 20 cents per capita will meet the increase of population and the natural increase of business?

We coined in the United States in 1930 about forty-odd million dollars of gold, less than 37 cents per capita. From 1793 to 1931 we coined $4,500,000,000, which is an average of about $32,000,000 annually. This ought to be sufficient proof that the gold standard is impossible.

Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH said on July 11: "France and the United States now hold 65 per cent of the world's gold, leaving the balance 1,600,000,000 people of the world with a scant supply of 21 cents per capita." He further states: "Is it any wonder that the purchasing power of the millions has dried up, petrified, gone dead?"

Prof. Hermann F. Arendtz, A. M., Ph. D., in his book, 1931, page 67 says: "The inadequacy of the present gold supply and the future supply makes gold impossible as the only basic money," and further states that in order to keep pace with business that gold should be reinforced by silver as primary money.

We, the citizens of Oregon, are living on the Pacific Ocean upon whose shores are practically one-half of the world's population, nearly 1,000,000,000 people, and they are silver-using nations.

On account of the rise of the gold dollar the exchange has so increased that our commerce is greatly hampered, with the result that we are losing billions of dollars of trade every year. Will we continue such a policy?

Since England has abandoned the gold standard she has an advantage over us of 30 per cent in trading with the silver-using countries, with the result that Victoria, British Columbia, is receiving orders for lumber and other commodities that ought to come to the United States.

Lumber is Oregon's leading industry. Anything that increases the demand for lumber affects every part of our fair State.

The Chinaman says he can not buy Oregon lumber because it takes $70 of their money to buy 1,000 feet of lumber in Portland, Oreg. A merchant in Portland sent an invoice of $60 to a Chinese merchant in China. It cost the Chinaman $285.75 to pay the bill. In his remittance he said on account of the exchange he could not send any more orders.

It must be apparent without argument that as the gold dollar rises in value all commodities go down. Is there any reason why we should not coin silver and use it as standard money, thereby increasing our commerce besides opening up great industries in our own country?

If we were to open our mints to the coinage of silver, we would immediately feel its effects. Thousands and millions of dollars would immediately go into the channels of trade. Thousands of men would be given employment. It would not be issued through a bank based upon a bonded indebtedness and controlled by the gamblers in finance.

Silver has always been the people's money. It is the old contest all over, with the money of the people on one side, with the banker's money and interest-bearing bonds on the other. This is purely a contest between the people and special interest. The contest in America to-day is between the people and privilege

I appeal to the people of the State of Oregon to study this great economic question. It is not a political question; it is an economic question affecting the interest and prosperity of the people of our country.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The Senate resumed the consideration of Mr. LA FOLLETTE's motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] has the floor.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE resumed and concluded the speech begun by him yesterday. The speech follows entire:

Monday, February 1, 1932

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, before beginning my argument on the motion now pending I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD, as Exhibit B, at the close of my remarks, the replies to a questionnaire which I sent to the mayors of cities. I make this request at this time in order that the Printing Office may have an opportunity to handle the matter more expeditiously.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FESS in the chair). Is there objection?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I inquire if each individual questionnaire is to be printed, or one questionnaire, and then the various answers?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Each individual questionnaire is to be printed.

Mr. McNARY. Would not that make an unnecessarily voluminous RECORD?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do not know whether the Senator will consider it unnecessary or not. The contention is made that there is no information upon which to base an argument for consideration of this measure. In my judgment, the answers to the questionnaires are, perhaps, the only reliable information in existence concerning particularly the smaller cities and villages of the country.

Mr. McNARY. I have no desire to keep out of the RECORD any useful information, but I do not want unnecessarily to have printed material that probably could be digested in groups, so to speak, and I was just wondering if the questionnaires are the same——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Precisely.

Mr. McNARY. And if the replies to the questionnaires are dissimiliar in each case, or is there a large group that answers practically in the same way?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. They all give detailed information, or practically all of them, concerning their individual communities.

Mr. McNARY. It is a report from particular communities?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. From each community which replied.

Mr. McNARY. Rather than answers to a particular questionnaire, the material covers community situations?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. A questionnaire containing seven questions was sent to the mayors of cities, and most of them have answered in detail.

Mr. McNARY. Then each one pertains to a particular community?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Precisely.

Mr. McNARY. And can not be grouped all together?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Precisely.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request is granted.

(The matter referred to will be found as Exhibit B at the conclusion of Mr. LA FOLLETTE's remarks.)

WE ARE CONFRONTED BY THE MOST SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS IN OUR HISTORY

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, we are in the third winter of the most serious economic crisis which has ever confronted this country. The proof of that is to be found in various of the statistical indices concerning our economic activities.

Industrial production in the United States has declined from the peak of 1929 approximately 45 per cent.

Freight-car loadings have declined 38.40 per cent.

Prices, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, have declined 30 per cent.

Stock prices, according to the Standard Statistical Index, are at 58.

Manufacturing employment is at 69.4, a decline of practically one-third since the beginning of the depression.

The building industry is down approximately 50 per cent.

Residential building in the United States has declined approximately 80 per cent.

The net income of 550 of the largest industrial corporations in the United States in 1929 was $3,500,000,000; their net income for 1931 was approximately $1,100,000,000.

Defaults on all bonds, both foreign and domestic, ordinarily in normal times average about $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 per year. In 1930 there was a default on $369,000,000 of bonds and in 1931 approximately $2,000,000,000 of bonds were in default. The paper loss on these listed bonds since 1928 amounts, roughly, to $3,000,000,000.

In 1928 we had 491 bank failures; in 1929 we had 642 bank failures; in 1930 we had 1,345 bank failures; up to November 30, 1931, there were 1,932 bank failures.

I cite these figures, Mr. President, to demonstrate the severity of the depression through which this country is now passing and the terrific effect which that depression has had upon business and industry. As a consequence, there has been a terrific increase in the extent of total unemployment in the United States.

EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

Unfortunately we do not possess accurate statistics as to the extent of unemployment in the United States to-day. There are certain estimates, however, which, after careful study, I believe are conservative. If they err, I think they err on the side of underestimating total unemployment rather than overestimating it.

Last fall the Industrial Conference Board, a conservative organization, supported by industrial interests in the United States, estimated 7,300,000 persons to be totally unemployed in the United States. Recently the American Federation of Labor has issued an estimate, based upon the reports which they receive from all over the United States, that 8,300,000 persons are now totally unemployed in this country.

Unfortunately we do not have accurate estimates as to the total number of persons who are working on part time. I believe, however, that it is conservative to estimate that at least as many persons are working on part time in the United States as are now estimated to be totally unemployed. We must take into account, therefore, an additional seven and a half to eight million persons at least who are working 1, 2, or 3 days per week at reduced wages.

The terrific impact of the economic breakdown is felt primarily by the wage earners in the United States. They are in the front-line trenches of this depression; and, Mr. President, the effect of this depression, so far as the wage earners are concerned, is more widespread than were the casualties which confronted those in the front-line trenches during the World War. In war, at least, a certain percentage of those who engage in it escape unscathed, but in a prolonged depression with prolonged unemployment the wage earner has no opportunity to seek the shelter of a bomb-proof dugout or a shell hole; he is mowed down regardless of his previous efforts to provide against the future.

As this depression goes on, its cumulative effect, so far as the former wage earner is concerned, rises almost in geometric progression. The savings put by out of the meager earnings, made possible through the sacrifice of husband and wife over a long period of years, are soon wiped out when total unemployment affects the wage earner of that family over a period of months. The equity the wage earner has secured in a home, the ownership of which is the ambition of every American citizen, is likewise swept away in this holocaust of depression.

Mr. President, the wage earner is not primarily concerned with the fall in prices of securities; he is not forced merely to postpone the purchase of a new automobile; he can not reduce his living standard by abandoning his country house in Florida during the winter season; he loses his economic all in a period of protracted depression.

In this, the third winter of the depression, I shall show that many of the persons who are now seeking the meager relief afforded by relief agencies and by municipalities and counties in the United States have been out of work 20, 24, and more months.

During the period since this depression began, this is the first time that Congress has turned seriously to the consideration of the rank and file of the people of the United States. Let us review briefly the record of the Federal Government in the worst economic crisis in the history of this country.

THE RECORD OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In 1929 industrial activity in the United States began gradually to decline. On a certain black Thursday in October, 1929, there came a crash on the stock exchange. The first recognition of this problem was by the President of the United States, who issued a statement to the effect that conditions were "fundamentally sound." It failed to check the stock-market decline; and when Congress met in December, 1929, there was proposed the first remedial measure to check the most serious economic depression of modern times.

I wonder if Senators have forgotten what it was. It was brought forward at that time as a solution. It was a proposal to reduce the taxes of income-tax payers to the tune of $160,000,000! The Progressives fought the measure. We maintained the money would be needed for relief, but we were told that we did not understand the depression. Democrats and Republicans contended that the depression was psychological in character. They argued the passage of the bill to reduce income taxes by $160,000,000 would so "psychologize" the situation that the fall in security and commodity prices and the increase of unemployment would be checked.

On the floor of the Senate the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] admitted that no person could tell whether that tax reduction would produce a deficit in the Treasury or not; but Senators upon both sides of the aisle supported the proposal to reduce by $160,000,000 the amount paid by the income-tax payers in the United States.

Following that the Congress and the administration refused to recognize the gravity of the crisis. With indications

of mounting unemployment in this country, finally, in March, 1930, the President of the United States issued his now justly famous statement that after a careful investigation—I do not quote his language, but I give the substance of it—he had come to the conclusion that within 60 days unemployment in this country would be so drastically reduced that it would no longer be a serious problem.

In the short session of 1930–31 there was adopted, as an amendment to an appropriation bill, a provision for $25,000,000 to be given to the Red Cross for the purpose of providing food, clothing, and medicines to those who were destitute and unable to secure those provisions otherwise. Finally the amendment was eliminated from the bill. Later on in the course of my remarks I may have occasion to advert to this incident again.

Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1931, as provided in the Constitution. During the next few months appeals were made to the President of the United States to convene Congress in extraordinary session in order that there might be a consideration of all the various aspects of the economic crisis. The appeals were unheeded and we met in regular session on the first Monday of last December.

Immediately there was ready for the consideration of Congress the major portion of the President's so-called reconstruction program, namely, the bill creating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. After hearings which lasted four days, the Banking and Currency Committee hurriedly reported the bill to the floor of the Senate. It was taken up and jammed through under whip and spur.

The objective of that measure was to provide up to $2,000,000,000 of credit, furnished by the people of the United States, to stem the tide of bankruptcy, of railroad receiverships, of bank failures. In other words, the Congress of the United States and the administration, with hardly any consideration, passed through and enacted the Reconstruction Finance Corporation measure for the relief of those who are interested in these corporations, insurance companies, and banks.

Two billion one hundred and sixty million dollars has already been provided by the Congress and the administration during this depression for the relief of those who own property and securities in the United States. Now, when it is proposed that the Congress shall give consideration to a measure providing for the relief of those in the United States who, through no fault of their own, find themselves destitute, cold, hungry, and homeless, the contention is raised that there is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate the necessity for Federal action in this crisis.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN GENEROUS IN THE PAST IN RELIEVING DISTRESS CAUSED BY DISASTER

It has been the traditional policy of the Federal Government of the United States to come to the assistance of citizens who, through no fault of their own, were suffering from disaster and were unable to provide for their sustenance and relief. It began in 1827, when there was appropriated from the Treasury of the United States $20,000 to assist the citizens of Alexandria, Va., as a result of a fire which swept over that city.

In 1884, Congress appropriated $190,000 for relief necessitated by a Mississippi River flood, and later they appropriated an additional $400,000.

In 1875, $150,000 was appropriated to relieve conditions created by a grasshopper plague.

In 1882, the Mississippi River again went on a rampage, and Congress granted three appropriations from the Federal Treasury to relieve the sufferers in the flood area. One was for $100,000, one for $150,000, and then, later, another appropriation of $100,000 was voted in the same Congress.

In 1884, Congress appropriated $300,000 to relieve the sufferers in the flood area of the Ohio River Valley.

In the same year, on account of Ohio and Mississippi River floods, Congress appropriated $200,000.

In 1897, on the occasion of another flood on the Mississippi, Congress responded with an appropriation of $200,000.

In 1906, $1,000,000 was appropriated to relieve conditions growing out of the San Francisco fire and the earthquake; $1,500,000 additional was appropriated to relieve the sufferers from the same disaster.

In 1908, $250,000 was appropriated to relieve the victims of a cyclone in Southern States.

In 1912, Congress appropriated $1,239,000 on account of Mississippi and Ohio River floods.

In 1913, Congress appropriated $654,000 to relieve flood and tornado victims.

In 1913, again the Mississippi and Ohio River flood conditions caused Congress to appropriate $130,000 to relieve suffering and distress.

In 1914, $200,000 was appropriated to relieve conditions in the city of Salem, Mass., produced by a fire.

In 1916, appropriations were made to take care of sufferers because of floods in Southern States.

In 1928, Congress appropriated $1,500,000 for the relief of persons affected by a flood in the Mississippi River.

In 1927, President Coolidge made an address to the American Red Cross in which he boasted that the supplies, material, and other services furnished by the Federal Government in that year to the victims of the Mississippi River flood amounted, in his judgment, to over $7,000,000.

APPROPRIATIONS TO RELIEVE DISASTER VICTIMS ABROAD

Mr. President, we have not only extended the generosity of the Federal Government to relieve distress of victims of disaster in the United States, but we have likewise evidenced our generosity when disaster has befallen peoples of other lands.

In 1889, we appropriated $100,000 for the destitute citizens in Cuba.

In 1902, we appropriated $200,000 to relieve the victims of the French West Indian earthquake.

Again, in 1909, we appropriated $800,000 to relieve the victims of an Italian earthquake.

In 1911, famine victims in China received $50,000 from the Federal Treasury.

Mr. President, I know that those who oppose action looking to relief of destitute citizens of the United States to-day due to a national economic breakdown will contend that these precedents apply only to citizens who are suffering distress and privation due to an act of God. So far as the victims are concerned, it makes little difference to them whether they are homeless, cold, and hungry as a result of a physical trembling of the earth or whether they find themselves in that condition due to an economic earthquake which has deprived them of the opportunity of earning their daily bread.

I can not see the fine, hair-line distinction which opponents of Federal assistance to cities, counties, and States in meeting the problem of unemployment relief draw with regard to those precedents.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AIDED UNEMPLOYED IN EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

There are other precedents, however, where the generosity of the Federal Government has been extended, not to disaster victims as a result of an act of God but to those suffering from privation and want due to an economic dislocation. True, they were not citizens of the United States; they were citizens of European countries, who found themselves unable to find employment due to the economic dislocation which followed the World War. At the same time those victims were relieved by an appropriation of $100,000,000 from the Treasury of the United States.

I do not begrudge that contribution. I am proud of the record of generosity and sympathy for people suffering privation and want which this Government has made. But how can Senators take the position now that just because the victims who are suffering privation, want, and hunger due to an economic dislocation which many economists attribute primarily to the war happen to be citizens of the United States they shall not have relief, in view of the precedents which we established in 1919 and 1920?

Mr. President, they have not a leg to stand on. I have been unable to find in the debates, when contributions to unemployed in Europe were being considered, that any Senators rose and claimed the evidence of need was insufficient.

No one contended that we must ask the mayors of Belgian cities and of cities in the Balkan States or the rulers of those countries to come on bended knee and beg for relief.

Congress accepted the statements of persons whom it believed to be reliably informed that distress and destitution prevailed in those countries, and upon such statements of fact Congress appropriated a hundred million dollars to the people of Europe for their relief.

Mr. President, how will Senators justify, upon their return to their constituents, a refusal to extend relief from the Federal Government, through the agencies now used in cities, counties, and States, to relieve unemployment, distress, and destitution, in view of the record made by the Federal Government at that time?

In 1921, we appropriated $20,000,000 from the Treasury of the United States to relieve the sufferers from famine resulting from a drought in the Volga River Basin in Russia.

In 1922, European food relief received an additional appropriation of $107,746.

All those appropriations, with the exception of the last one, were administered in Europe to victims of economic distress by the present President of the United States.

In 1925, we appropriated $6,000,000 for the victims of the earthquake in Japan.

In 1924, there was a joint resolution pending before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the House of Representatives providing for an appropriation to furnish milk for the babies in Germany who were suffering as a result of the economic blockade. The then Secretary of Commerce, now President of the United States, wrote a letter to that committee, and I want to read a portion of it to the Senate. Said he:

> Our only hope is that the next generation will be better than this one, and there is no hope if they are to be stunted and degenerate from undernourishment.

He said further:

> I recognize the many arguments that may be brought against charitable actions, either by private agencies or by our Government, but I refuse to apply these arguments to children.

Mr. President, can we afford to quibble over methods, over precedents, and theories when there is ample evidence that to-day children in the United States are suffering from malnutrition due to the unemployment of their parents? Future citizens of the United States will be stunted unless the Congress acts.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR RELIEF DOES NOT FALL SOLELY ON LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Further, it is contended by the opponents of this measure that the responsibility rests upon the local government, that it rests upon the cities, counties, and States, and that the Federal Government has no obligation to relieve the suffering which is now prevalent in this country. Upon what theory is it contended that unemployment distress and suffering due to the nation-wide economic breakdown is the sole responsibility of local, county, and State governments? I can not see the logic of that contention. The local governments, the county governments, the State governments have no control over the fiscal policy of the Federal Government; they have no control over the credit policy of the Federal Government; they have no control over the tax policy of the Federal Government; they have no control over the tariff policy of the Federal Government. All these policies on the part of the Federal Government affect the economic welfare of the Nation as a whole. If any governmental entity is solely responsible for the economic disaster which has swept over this country, which I do not claim, then clearly the responsibility is that of the Federal Government and not of local governments or of the counties or the States.

Mr. President, when the entire burden of relief is thrown upon local communities, upon the counties, and upon the State governments the entire burden of taxation to meet that load falls upon real estate and tangible property. You tax the home, you tax the small merchant and business man. On the other hand, if the Federal Government steps in and helps in meeting this load, then part of it, at least, will be carried by income and inheritance taxes.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS CAN NOT MEET THE PROBLEM

Seventy per cent, at least, of the relief now provided the unemployed and their dependents in the United States is coming from public treasuries, from city, county, and municipal treasuries. Only 30 per cent of the relief provided for unemployed and their dependents comes from private charities.

The consequences of this depression, unemployment, and the decline in earning power on the part of the citizens of these communities are resulting in tax delinquencies mounting at an alarming rate. Thus local communities find themselves in the position of having diminishing revenues, due to tax delinquencies, and mounting burdens of unemployment relief.

One of two things will happen if this situation is permitted to continue as it is going to-day. One is the bankruptcy of practically every municipality in the United States. The other is that in order to save themselves from bankruptcy the cities will cut off the relief which they are now furnishing, on a famine-relief basis, to the unemployed. The question may be argued over and over again, but we can not escape these results if the Federal Government fails to step in and take part of the load of unemployment relief.

THE BILL IS NOT A DOLE

Mr. President, I realize that attempts will be made to damn the bill in the eyes of Congress and of the people by calling it a dole. I have little sympathy with the attempt to meet argument by calling names. But since the press associations, Members of Congress, and newspapers have seen fit to characterize the bill as a dole, I want to point out that it does not meet any of the specifications of a dole.

In the first place, the bill does not contemplate definite and specific allowances to individuals and to their dependents. It is based entirely upon the traditional American manner of relief, namely, relief on the basis of need.

Secondly, it does not propose to set up a separate agency whereby the Federal Government will, through a great bureaucracy in Washington, make direct payments in cash or in kind to individual citizens in the respective communities.

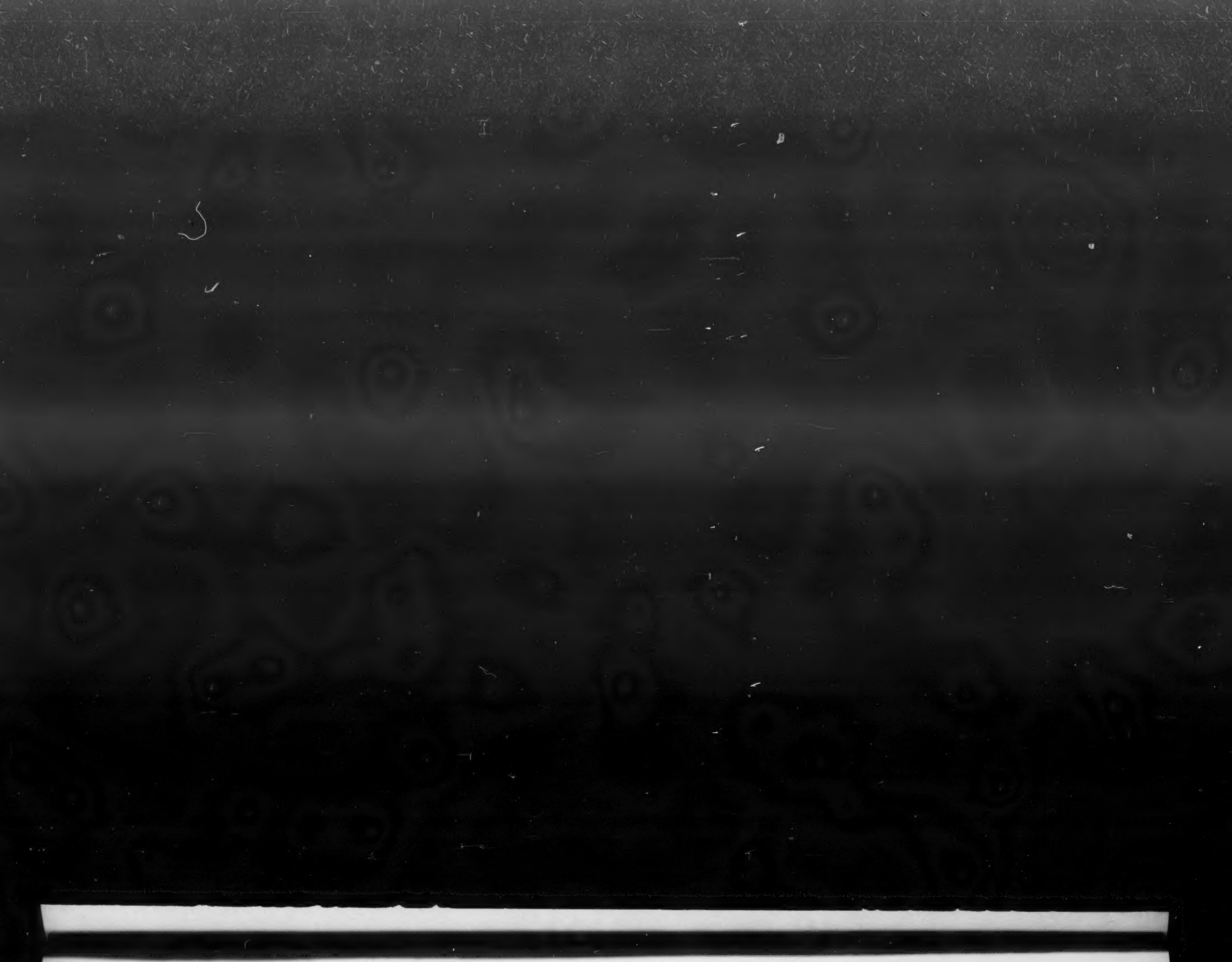
The bill proposes to utilize the agencies of relief—State, county, and municipal—which are now in existence and which are now cracking and groaning under the load they are attempting to carry. Of course when people use the word "dole," if they mean money appropriated out of a public treasury for relief, my only answer is to say that we now have the dole system in the United States to the extent of 70 per cent of the relief which is being provided. It is coming from overburdened treasuries in the cities, counties, and States to-day.

The bill sets up an emergency administrative organization which according to its specific terms will function for only two years after its enactment. It is designedly an emergency measure.

THE EVIDENCE OF NEED FOR RELIEF

Mr. President, it is said that there is no evidence to support the necessity for Federal action to assist the cities, counties, and States in meeting unemployment relief. The wage and salary loss since 1929 is estimated by competent economists, among them Dr. Leo Wolman, of Columbia University, to be $18,000,000,000. In and of itself the wage loss should put any Senator or Congressman upon notice that in the third winter of the depression an alarming situation has developed so far as relief to the unemployed is concerned.

We do not have to rest our case upon speculative conjecture. I admit at the outset that the information is not as adequate as I wish it might be, but it is all that the committee could obtain. It is evidence taken from those who have been engaged in meeting the problem and from those who are familiar with the relief problem in normal times in the United States, and who from force of necessity have had to take over this added emergency burden of relief due to unemployment.



TESTIMONY OF SOCIAL AND WELFARE EXECUTIVES

The first witness I cite is Mr. William Hodson, executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City, which is made up of several hundred welfare organizations that are on the firing line in this depression endeavoring to relieve human suffering. He frankly stated:

May I begin by saying that in this period, which probably presents the most serious human situation that this country has ever faced, we find ourselves in the anomalous position of being without that comprehensive, up-to-date, continuous information which will enable us to see the problem in its entirety. One of the things which ought to come out of this tragedy will be a continuous unemployment index which will give us information, current and comprehensive for the country, with regard not only to the total numbers of persons who are unemployed at any given time but also information with regard to the character of that unemployment, the industries within which this unemployment occurs, and the amount thereof.

Not only are we lacking a complete picture of the existing unemployment in the country, which is so vital, but we do not have on a national basis comprehensive data on the total need, the total number of persons and families who are not only out of work but who are in need of assistance. That data are, of course, obviously very much harder to get than would be the data with regard to unemployment, because it means interviewing and contacting millions of people to find out their exact condition.

In the third place, we lack the kind of information the need for which I tried to point out to the President in a recent letter, namely, information with regard to the financial condition of local communities throughout the country. How far are they able to meet the vastly increasing problem of relief, what are their tax limits and their debt-incurring limits at the present time, and to what extent can they raise larger funds through increased taxes and through the issuance of bonds for that purpose?

But he continued, on page 12 of the hearings:

We know, however, that the total number of persons who are needing relief is greatly in excess of what it ever has been before; and that as the depression goes on, more and more persons exhaust such resources as they may have. And so the problem becomes cumulative as the depression continues and people have no jobs and no more jobs are available.

Samuel A. Goldsmith, a director in the Jewish Federation of Relief Agencies in Chicago and a member of Governor Emerson's unemployment commission, also spoke of the cumulative character of the relief problem. I read from page 37 of the hearings:

Senator COSTIGAN. Does the prolongation of unemployment intensify the problem? We are now in the third winter of what is commonly spoken of as the "depression." Is that a factor in your increasing responsibilities?

Mr. GOLDSMITH. Very much so, naturally. There are people who come to us, on the average, unemployed for a few months, but there are also people who come to us unemployed two years, one year, and other varying periods of time. Those people have used up their resources. Had they come some time ago, the average amount of relief—I am now assuming the figure—may have been only $10 a month for those people; coming now, without resources, the average amount of relief must be much larger.

Said Mr. Hodson further:

In a period of depression you have to provide not only for chronic dependents but for practically all of the marginal dependents who are able to carry on in a self-sustaining way in the best times but who can not do so in bad times.

Then, when hard times are prolonged, the great middle class is hit, the white-collar workers, the skilled laborers, the clerks, the doctors, and the lawyers. They become dependent; and you add to your chronic dependents and your marginal dependents those who never before in their lives have sought charity or assistance in any form.

The thing that happens here is that when the breadwinner is out of a job he usually exhausts his savings if he has any. Then, if he has an insurance policy, he probably borrows to the limit of its cash value. He borrows from his friends and from his relatives until they can stand the burden no longer. He gets credit from the corner grocery store and the butcher shop, and the landlord foregoes collecting the rent until interest and taxes have to be paid and something has to be done. All of those resources are finally exhausted over a period of time, and it becomes necessary for these people, who have never before been in want, to ask for assistance.

The situation which has now arisen is that the specter of starvation faces millions of people who never before have known what it was to be out of a job for any considerable period of time and who certainly have never known what it was to be absolutely up against it.

Walter West, executive secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, an organization composed of social workers all over the United States, said:

For one thing, we have learned that with the duration of time the unemployment period of relief increases at almost a geometric rate. I might say it pyramids, due to the fact that the whole process is cumulative. Those who need relief one year need it even more the next, and even more than that the next; and there are at all times, due to a certain process which I think has been described here by Mr. Hodson earlier in the day but which I will refer to again, a great many of the unemployed who are not getting relief at all but who are prospects, who must be considered in making any sort of estimate for the coming winter. That is to say, some of the unemployed, of course, must have some sort of relief almost as soon as unemployment starts, but there are a great many now who have been unemployed for two years, who are still eking out an existence and going through a process of social and many times of personal deterioration, trying to stave off what appears to them, what has been made to appear to them, I think, by our understanding of social obligations in this country, the last resort that they ought to go to. Day after day and week after week, therefore, through this winter we will be adding to the relief rolls of the country large numbers of individuals and families who have not previously been known to the relief agencies, families for whom that act of applying will be an extreme tragedy.

Linton B. Swift, executive chairman of the Family Welfare Association of America, likewise an organization composed of welfare agencies all over the United States, said:

We do know, however, that relief has shown a continued acceleration, the pyramiding process that I have spoken of. We do know that this winter the need will be far greater than last winter. And we do know that upon the whole adequate provision upon the basis of adequate relief exists in comparatively few communities.

Further he said:

On top of the normal but still rapid increase in relief needs up to 1929, in the spring of 1931 the actual number of families accepted by these agencies has been approximately three times what it was in 1929. We have a tremendous pyramiding of the previous rapid increase. That tripling of applications accepted is still smaller than the number of applications pouring in upon the agencies, which in many instances could not all be accepted because of inadequate resources. Some agencies have been able to accept only 40 or 50 per cent of the applications which they have received. Others are able to accept as high as 70 per cent, although a part of the applications which are not accepted are referred to other agencies and are taken care of in other ways.

The danger of becoming callous to this situation and to the existence of need was pointed out by Mr. West. He said:

I think the real danger here is that we have begun to talk in figures as we did in the war, when we talked about 2,000,000 men being killed. They really did not seem like men to us, and I do not think it really seems like families to us when we talk about 2,000,000 families now. We do not think of it as men walking the streets day after day, trying to get a job, how he is going to meet his wife that night and meet his children. It is a real problem for each one of them. We deal with them after they have gone through a terrific process by themselves. At the time when they need all that the community could possibly give them, we meet them on a grudging basis, with relief that is pared down, that is withheld on a doctrinaire objection. "You must not have the Government come in; you must not call on public charity"—that sort of a doctrinaire attitude seems very unjust on the part of a society that has got to depend on the strength and independence and the ingenuity of those people to find their way back to being productive and valuable citizens.

I wish I could bring that point home to every Senator within hearing of my voice. Do you realize what is happening to the citizenship of this country upon whom the Government must depend for its continuity and for its existence in this generation and in the generations yet to come? Can you close your eyes callously to the grinding process, the process which rips and tears the moral fiber of citizens as they and their loved ones go through this holocaust of depression? What are we building for the future and upon what type of citizenship do we expect to depend if we permit this disintegration of character to proceed unchecked and unrelieved?

HOW MR. GIFFORD GOT HIS INFORMATION

Mr. President, I realize that in opposing this measure many will rely upon the testimony of Mr. Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and chairman of the President's Committee on Unemployment Relief. In order that Senators may know in advance on what sort of information Mr. Gifford based his contention that the situation, generally speaking, is well in hand I

want to read briefly from the very able examination of Mr. Gifford conducted by the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN]. I quote from the testimony as follows:

Senator COSTIGAN. How many people are out of work and on the verge of want in the United States?

Mr. GIFFORD. I do not think anybody knows, but I will give you a guess.

Senator COSTIGAN. You are in an exceptionally good position to make an estimate, are you not?

Mr. GIFFORD. Well, I could make a total estimate, but when you come to every little village, town, and hamlet, it is difficult.

Senator COSTIGAN. Before you make your estimate, will you tell us what you actually do know as head of the President's Unemployment Relief Committee as to present actual needs in the United States? Is your definite information as to unemployment needs confined to certain cities of the United States?

Mr. GIFFORD. Well, I have no definite information, nor has any city definite information.

Senator COSTIGAN. You do not know definitely how many unemployed persons in need of assistance are to be found within the borders of the Union at this time?

Mr. GIFFORD. No; and you could not know, because I have people that I individually am helping and undoubtedly you are and they are in need of assistance, but there is no record of that and never will be.

Senator COSTIGAN. We have had, however, some very definite estimates as to unemployment in certain parts of the country. They have been obviously conservative estimates, but a committee reported that last summer in Pennsylvania there were between 900,000 and 1,000,000 unemployed. The present estimate puts the figure in Pennsylvania somewhat in excess of 1,000,000 people. Do you regard that as a conservative estimate.

Mr. GIFFORD. I do not know. I think that might be all right. I do not know what the working population of Pennsylvania is.

Senator COSTIGAN. We have had estimates of New York City of approximately 750,000 people out of work and more or less in need at this time. Do you agree with that as a conservative estimate?

Mr. GIFFORD. I think I do. I think that is perhaps all right.

Senator COSTIGAN. We have had a corresponding estimate for the State of New York, where, it is stated, there are in excess of one and one-half million people out of work and more or less in need. Is that in accordance with your understanding?

Mr. GIFFORD. There may be that number out of work, but I do not know as I would classify the whole million and a half as in need.

Senator COSTIGAN. Could you give us your estimate of how many in New York State are in need?

Mr. GIFFORD. No; I could not.

Senator COSTIGAN. Can you make an estimate for Illinois, where we were advised the other day there are approximately 1,100,000 unemployed?

Mr. GIFFORD. I could not do that.

Senator COSTIGAN. Is your information similarly indefinite with respect to the rest of the country?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes, sir.

Senator COSTIGAN. The best information I believe we have is in the cities where relief work is more or less organized and community chests have been operating. Am I correct about that?

Mr. GIFFORD. I think the best statistics would be available there; yes.

Senator COSTIGAN. Do you know or does anyone else whom you can turn to know what the relief needs are in the smaller cities of the country which have no community chest organizations?

Mr. GIFFORD. No; I do not know.

Senator COSTIGAN. Do you know what the relief needs are in the rural districts of the United States?

Mr. GIFFORD. No.

Senator COSTIGAN. Your committee has not assembled information of that sort?

Mr. GIFFORD. That is correct.

Senator COSTIGAN. Did you turn to the Red Cross for information?

Mr. GIFFORD. Yes; we have some reports from the Red Cross.

Senator COSTIGAN. Did they supply you with any definite information as to the needs of the country as a whole?

Mr. GIFFORD. No.

Senator COSTIGAN. Did you, from any other source, acquire information which would enable you specifically to advise us how many people in the United States at this hour are on the verge of starvation?

Mr. GIFFORD. I have no such information.

Senator COSTIGAN. You have no such information?

Mr. GIFFORD. No, sir.

* * * * * * * *

Senator COSTIGAN. You are not particularly optimistic as to any immediate improvement in conditions?

Mr. GIFFORD. I am hopeful.

Senator COSTIGAN. You are always hopeful.

Mr. GIFFORD. I find it pleasant, Senator, to be hopeful.

Senator COSTIGAN. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it would be helpful if Mr. Gifford would file with us reports from the governors and State committee chairmen, on which these assurances appear to be based?

Mr. GIFFORD. I have none, Senator.

Senator COSTIGAN. You recall, Mr. Gifford, that I wrote you early requesting such information as you have, as far back as November 3, 1931?

Mr. GIFFORD. I had no real information then, Senator. We were just getting under way, and I think I wrote you I expected to have some information later.

Senator COSTIGAN. You really have no information which you consider of value for our purposes?

Mr. GIFFORD. The best information I have is that obtained by telephoning each member. Moreover, information received a month ago is not valuable to-day, because of the rapidly changing conditions.

I wish now to read, Mr. President, a resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor on January 17, 1932:

Resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor January 17, 1932

Whereas the newspapers of Friday, January 8, 1932, quoted Mr. Walter Gifford, president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., in his testimony before the La Follette committee as saying that "Illinois needs no Federal aid"; and

Whereas he was further quoted as having said that "Illinois is in legislative session for the purpose of passing legislation for the relief of the poor"; and

Whereas in the State of Illinois there is estimated to be 1,100,000 unemployed men and women wage earners, all of whom are hungry, and a great number at the point of starvation, and it is believed that 100,000 babies go to bed hungry every night; and

Whereas there are 14,000 school-teachers and 4,000 miscellaneous employees of the Chicago Board of Education without pay since April, 1931; and

Whereas the treasuries of their local unions have been depleted in furnishing food and clothing to their members and families; and

Whereas these unions are appealing to merchants of Cook County to furnish the necessary food and clothing for their members on their pledges to pay, and this has almost reached exhaustion; and

Whereas the Legislature of the State of Illinois has been in continuous session since November 5, 1931, and no act has been passed to give relief to the suffering people who are out of work; and

Whereas there seems to be no possibility of the present session of the legislature doing anything to bring about relief in this dire crisis of the State of Illinois: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we consider the statement made by Mr. Gifford either due to lack of knowledge of the condition of the people who are suffering because they have no work, and therefore they lack the means to purchase food and clothing, or, if he has information as to the situation, he has failed to present the true conditions to the La Follette committee: Therefore be it further

Resolved, That the Chicago Federation of Labor write to Mr. LA FOLLETTE, chairman of the aforementioned committee, and advise him that if this committee has not already obtained correct information as to the need of Federal help for the State of Illinois we shall be glad to furnish such information as this committee seeks; and be it further

Resolved, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor be requested to take similar action; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mr. Gifford, to Senator LA FOLLETTE, chairman of this special committee, and spread on the minutes of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and be printed in the Federation News.

[SEAL.] JOHN FITZPATRICK,
President Chicago Federation of Labor.

Mr. President, I want to bring to the attention of the Senate the testimony of some of those who do not have to rely upon telephone conversations with individuals and members of committees scattered over the United States, but who are representative of workers in the United States and who are constantly in touch with the situation in the various communities.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Before the Senator leaves the testimony of Mr. Gifford, my recollection is he testified that his committee had constituted committees in each one of the several States and that such committees were in conference or consultation with the governors of the various States.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is true.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Am I correct in my recollection of the testimony that no regular reports have come in from any of these so-called subcommittees of the various States?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is the only conclusion I could come to after listening to his testimony.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That all the information Mr. Gifford has about them is what he got over the telephone?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The day, I think, before he came before this committee he rang up these committee chairmen in 48 States who had been appointed to cooperate with his committee in the speeding-up of the relief drive, and asked them how things were, and they told him they thought everything was O. K.; so he came before the committee and said he thought everything was well in hand.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. He had no letters?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No; he says specifically that he has no letters, and that he has not any other information excepting that which he got over the telephone from these gentlemen.

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

First I want to quote from the testimony of Mr. Edward McGrady, representing the American Federation of Labor, to be found on page 146 of the record:

The greatest fear of our people in this, the richest country in the world, is unemployment and the specter of starvation drawing nearer and nearer all the time. The American Federation of Labor is in a position to know, perhaps better than any other group, just what the conditions are. We have in this country 28,229 local unions in the 48 States, and from these 28,000 points in the Nation we receive monthly reports on the state of unemployment.

I also wish to read from his testimony on page 149:

Unemployment and its consequent poverty is reaching into the lives of men and women in all walks of life. The story of these American workers is a story of despair that causes every one of us to wonder about the future safety of our institutions unless a solution is found for the problem.

Not only in our industrial centers but particularly in our isolated communities, where there are no community chests, the cry of despairing fathers and mothers and undernourished and sick children is rising in greater volume, and the American Federation of Labor prays that the Congress of the United States will see to it that the Federal Government will lend its aid in the very trying months to come.

In answer to a question by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN] he said:

Senator, we are not only facing a national emergency but we are facing an emergency such as we have never faced before in this country, and only by the aid of the Federal Government to the States we will be able to meet the situation adequately, in our opinion.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RAILROAD LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

I now wish to call before the bar of the Senate, so to speak, the able representative of the standard railway labor organizations in the United States, specifically authorized to represent and to speak for the organizations and their membership—Donald R. Richberg, their attorney, from Chicago. I hope Senators will follow his testimony. This testimony concerns the workers who are sometimes termed the aristocrats of labor, because their organization has enabled them to secure working conditions and wages some of which are among the highest paid in this country. This testimony concerns the group at the top of the wage earners in the United States.

Said Mr. Richberg, on pages 334 and 335:

I think it would be helpful to the committee to have a brief picture of the unemployment in this group—

Referring to the group of railroad labor organizations—

because I think I can speak with considerably more definiteness than is the case with some of the information that has been given as to unemployment.

May I say, Mr. President, that Mr. Richberg was present and heard the testimony of Mr. Gifford, and followed him on the witness stand; and it is to Mr. Gifford's testimony that Mr. Richberg refers in the paragraph I have just quoted.

Serious unemployment developed on the railroads long before the fall of 1929. In 1929 more traffic was handled than in 1923, but with 200,000 less employees. Then came the rapid decline of traffic, retiring, in 1930, 220,000 more men; and, in 1931, an additional 220,000. (I. C. C. Report, 1931, p. 62.) It is safe to say that to-day at least one-third of the railway employees are idle and at least one-third of the railway plant is likewise idle; 729,729 freight cars (33 per cent) and 15,198 locomotives (29.5 per cent) were idle October 1, 1931.

But the development of this calamity and the distribution of its burdens have not affected railway employees and investors equally. From 1923 through 1929, while 200,000 railway workers were losing their jobs, the aggregate payments to labor diminished $757,000,000; and the aggregate payments of fixed charges and dividends increased $1,050,000,000. At the same time over $2,000,000,000 were being added to surpluses and over $760,000,000 were being added to depreciation reserves. Comparing the year 1929 with 1923, wages were $107,000,000 less; fixed charges $47,000,000 more; dividends $194,000,000 more; additions to surplus $168,000,000 more; additions to depreciation reserve $52,000,000 more.

Then came the year 1930, in which wage payments declined from 1929 to the extent of $346,000,000; fixed charges were reduced about $11,000,000; and dividends were increased about $16,000,000; additions to surplus were slight, but depreciation reserves were increased by $190,000,000.

The financial results of 1931 operations are not yet available. It has been fairly estimated that wages will show a further loss of nearly $440,000,000; that fixed charges will be met; but that there will be available for surplus and dividends about $380,000,000 less than in 1930.

With the foregoing figures in mind, let it be observed again that the burden of changing economic conditions has not been distributed between railway employees and investors with any obvious equity. The increases in fixed charges and dividends have amply repaid investors for their additional investments since 1923. Then out of their previous investments the investors have benefited (in addition to a fair return) by over $2,000,000,000 added to surpluses and another billion dollars added to depreciation reserves. In the meantime the employees, who had invested their lives in the industry prior to 1923, have since then accumulated no surpluses and no depreciation reserves, but have suffered deficits in losses of earning power amounting to a total of $1,543,000,000. The prospect for 1932 is that the unemployment of railway labor will deprive these workers of $750,000,000 annual income, and that the unemployment of railway capital will deprive these investors of $350,000,000. With that fine sense of justice which might be expected, the representatives of idle capital have, therefore, asked the representatives of employed labor to contribute 10 per cent of their earnings, or about $250,000,000 in the year 1932, as a dole for idle capital. The 10 per cent tin cup is about to be presented by gentlemen carrying a 15 per cent gun in the other hand.

I may explain that on the eve of a conference to discuss whether the employees should be asked to make a 10 per cent reduction the roads served a formal notice of a demand for a 15 per cent reduction in the pay rolls.

* * * * * * *

The real facts must be made clear if Members of Congress and the public generally are to understand the existence of, and the reasons for, nation-wide destitution in the ranks of railway workers. Less than 50 per cent of these workers have any assurance of continuous employment—which is the reward only of long and faithful service. Only a still smaller percentage earn wages which permit of any savings beyond the simple forms of a limited life or accident insurance obtainable through their organizations. A large percentage are subject to the injuries and diseases which accompany what the insurance companies describe as a "hazardous occupation."

Before the general business depression began in 1929 some 200,000 men had lost their jobs. With the beginning of the depression, therefore, unemployment attacked, not the young and inexperienced workers who customarily suffer first in the decline of industry, but experienced men with years of service, and with families. In the last two years over 440,000 of these men have been forced into the ranks of the unemployed. Even in normal times the railway worker finds it difficult to get another job. The men engaged in actual transportation service, and a large part of the maintenance force are men trained in a public-service occupation, for whose work there is no precise parallel in private industry. Naturally in a time of nation-wide prostration of business, such as the present, there is little opportunity anywhere for these men to find employment and there is little in the nature of their work to make them self-sustaining. They live for the most part in large cities, in terminal and division points along the railroad. They are primarily a part of the industrial, urban population. They can not go "back to the farm"; they do not live on farms.

The great cities of the country are great railroad centers, and in the armies of the unemployed who walk the streets of these cities to-day will be found railroad men who are out of a job—45,000 firemen, 45,000 trainmen, 45,000 clerks, 200,000 shopmen, 150,000 maintenance-of-way men—to give examples from the lists compiled by the organizations.

It must be remembered that for much more than two years the organizations of these workers have been overburdened with the care of their unemployed members. Those employed have been maintaining dues and insurance for the unemployed. They have been furnishing in thousands of instances direct relief. It is hardly possible to find an employed railroad worker, earning more than mere subsistence, who has not been aiding the family of some relative or friend suffering for want of employment. The burdens of these years have worn away the narrow margin of savings, and the situation has been growing steadily worse as month after month of increasing unemployment has rolled by.

This morning I received a telegram from D. B. Robertson, chairman, and E. J. Manion, secretary of the Railway Labor Executives' Association. The telegram reads as follows:

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, representing 1,700,000 railroad employees, urge that immediate action be taken by Congress in supporting and passing La Follette-Costigan bill, ap-

propriating $375,000,000 for unemployment relief. Congress has already enacted laws to assist industry, and in the interest of humanity we urge Members of Congress to give their unstinted support to this humanitarian relief measure. The railway employees have agreed to contribute 10 per cent of their earnings to the relief of present conditions, reducing their power to aid 500,000 unemployed railway workers, and believe that the people of the United States would gladly contribute the appropriation proposed to the relief of unemployment distress.

Yet it is contended that we do not have any evidence justifying the consideration of this measure and its enactment by the Congress.

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS

I call on another witness, not one who obtained his information the day before over the telephone, but who is constantly in touch in the field and through his organizations with an industry which has suffered one of the most cataclysmic collapses in the history of our country. I refer to John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America. Here is his testimony, representing his organization, and speaking, as he said, not only for the organized miners, but likewise for the unorganized miners, who have no spokesman to represent them. Said Mr. Lewis:

Approximately 175,000 of the 240,000 distressed bituminous coal miners are located within six States and are isolated in regions where coal mining is practically the only industrial enterprise; merchants are bankrupt; banks are closed; schools are without operating funds, and even residents once considered wealthy, by reason of the depreciation of coal securities are in almost as dire want as are the coal miners. These coal-mining municipalities and townships can not collect taxes and have exhausted their credit, and therefore can not provide poor relief; coal properties will not bring even 10 cents on the dollar, and whatever benevolence these 175,000 men, their dependents, and the population of the mining communities are to receive must come from outside sources. In Pennsylvania alone approximately 60,000 coal miners are in dire want, 30,000 in Illinois, 10,000 in Indiana, 20,000 in Ohio, 20,000 in Kentucky, 30,000 in West Virginia. The remainder are scattered in coal-producing States east, west, north, and south.

The figures I have given represent a destitute population of more than 1,200,000 souls. They live among neighbors but little better off than themselves. They constitute a group whose labor is essential to the conduct of our business and the comfort of our lives. They are a courageous group; the hazards of their occupation testify to this. In the World War the United Mine Workers of America had the honor of carrying the largest service flag, with 54,000 stars emblazoned on it. They are as loyal as they are courageous. These destitute ones hardly know when they may eat their next meal. In many of the camps children are still going barefoot, and yet in the midst of this misery and distress they are repelling the propaganda of communism and syndicalism with a singular devotion to our Government and social institutions.

I speak not only for the members of our union but for the nonunion miners. They seem to have no other spokesman. My plea is that in this outpouring of national benevolence the mining communities shall not be forgotten; that something be done to clothe and feed the destitute of the mining camps; and that provision be made whereby this relief is assured to them through Federal agents charged with the distribution of food and clothing in this "no man's land" of charity. I wish to emphasize this point that whatever relief Congress intends for this worthy class must, to prove efficient, be administered by a special agency in touch and familiar with the mining communities.

Further, he said:

The general concept of the average citizen may be that those relief agencies represented by the community chests in the very large centers are caring for the destitution among the poor of the country. That is not at all true as affecting the mine workers. They live in isolated communities, communities so small ordinarily that they do not have a community chest or charitable organization, and it is impossible for them to secure any relief from the organized charities of the larger centers of population, so they have no place to go, because the local charities do not have the funds available to take care of them under the present emergency.

Can it be contended there is no evidence upon which to base a plea for relief; can it be maintained that no one has appeared on behalf of those who are destitute and hungry in this country? An impartial examination of the testimony taken by this committee will not permit of that contention being honestly made.

Mr. Lewis further said:

I have in mind that a month or two ago the Governor of Indiana telegraphed the President of the United States, and it was blazened in the public press, to the effect that Indiana would care for its own.

A familiar cry, Mr. President, that has been going up from the organizations affiliated with the President's committee headed by Mr. Gifford. Said Mr. Lewis:

A nice thing to say, but in the mining fields of Indiana then and now are some 60,000 men, women, and children who are hungry to-day, even as I speak, and the Governor of Indiana and no other agency in Indiana is giving a single dollar or a penny to put milk into the mouths of those babies or to relieve the distress of those mining camps, and yet he mumbles the phrase that Indiana will care for its own.

I received, under date of December 31, 1931, the following telegram from Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America:

HAZLETON, PA., *December 31, 1931.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Chairman Committee on Manufactures,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

As secretary-treasurer of United Mine Workers of America, representing approximately 400,000 men, would advise that the situation in the mining States of the Nation with respect to suffering and privation due to unemployment and part-time employment is very acute, and some means must be found upon the part of the Federal Government to provide food, shelter, and clothing through direct relief to supplement the meager amounts raised in a few communities in the mining sections. The situation is particularly acute in several anthracite counties of Pennsylvania and in all of the bituminous counties of the State of Pennsylvania. Situation likewise bad in mining sections of Ohio and in practically all mining sections of Kentucky. In Indiana it is estimated that 60,000 persons are affected alone in the mining sections and are on the verge of starvation. In Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma situation is likewise bad and need for direct relief urgent. In the northern and southern fields of West Virginia suffering is intense as well as in sections of Iowa, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. All other mining States more or less affected and in need of direct relief. Local and community funds hopelessly inadequate. It is vitally necessary that Federal Government step in to provide direct relief. In looking over reports from our jurisdiction, it is my judgment that $50,000,000, at least, is required to provide relief for the distressed victims of unemployment brought about by the collapse of our economic system. I express the hope that something can be done by your committee and by the Congress to pass your work-relief program as well as the program for direct relief. In connection with direct relief, it is important that this matter be handled as soon as possible in order to prevent dire suffering and disease during the next few months. This information is submitted supplemental to the statement submitted to your committee by Mr. McGrady, representing the American Federation of Labor, and I trust your committee will find same of interest and value in determining matter of providing an adequate relief program.

THOMAS KENNEDY.

Mr. President, I also wish to read a letter which came to me from Fairmont, W. Va., signed by Mr. Van A. Bittner. He is chief representative of the International Union of the United Mine Workers, of Fairmont, W. Va. He said:

MY DEAR SENATOR: Conditions in the mining fields and mining communities of northern West Virginia are such that it is impossible for local relief committees to take care of the situation. This condition is brought about by the terrible unorganized state of the coal-mining industry. The counties in the coal fields are unable to give adequate relief, and many of them are in debt for relief already expended.

It is absolutely necessary for some form of Federal relief for these people during the present winter, and we are hoping that Congress will give serious consideration to this situation and provide ways and means of alleviating the situation that exists in the mining fields of northern West Virginia.

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CLOTHING WORKERS

Mr. President, I wish now to quote briefly from the testimony of Mr. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Incidentally, he was present and listened to Mr. Gifford's testimony. He was asked:

What is the situation in so far as you are familiar with it concerning the problem of unemployment and its relief in these various centers?

MR. HILLMAN. The first hopeful signs I have observed were while sitting here listening to the testimony given by some gentleman as to the situation in the country. I, myself, find a condition of utmost despair. I find a condition I do not believe gentlemen in Washington can begin to appreciate. It is of the utmost distress, and the situation is becoming worse almost daily.

In our own industry there were 170,000 people employed in 1919 and 1920. Through technological unemployment it was reduced to about 100,000 or 110,000. The last year, in the whole Nation, 50 per cent of those engaged in our industry were unemployed. Now many of those who had found employment elsewhere have lost that employment and are trying to come back into the industry.

To-day, in New York City, our largest center in the country, our industry, being a seasonal industry, is engaged in manufacturing clothing for next spring and summer. And there are less than 10 per cent of the workers employed—less than 10 per cent.

* * * * * * *

Mr. HILLMAN. There are not 5 per cent of the people in our industry whom we would call to-day totally employed.

Senator COSTIGAN. The situation among the employed is very grave?

Mr. HILLMAN. I would say that most of the people who are employed are in a situation of distress and in need of relief.

* * * * * * *

If I should find fault with your bills at all, I should say that they are inadequate. I do not believe a quarter of a billion dollars will go anywhere toward meeting the situation.

Of those who believe that it is not quite timely as yet to give relief, I would ask by what standard are we to gauge the time; must we have hundreds of thousands of people actually dead and dying from starvation; must we have bread riots? What is necessary to convince them there is a need for Federal and speedy relief? The city of New York, the richest city in the world, is not doing half that it should do. To-day in Chicago or New York or any other city, people who once supported others when they had jobs are themselves in need of assistance. To discuss and quibble now about the dole or anything else is to assume the responsibility of practically saying that the great mass of the people must starve. It is not a question of what is going to happen, but of what is going on right now.

For Congress to sit back and quibble about certain things, I believe, is to definitely dodge responsibility and shirk obligations.

I am speaking feelingly to-day, because no one can meet any group connected with labor without realizing as I do the terrible distress that prevails, and one must be inhuman to quibble about it.

Talk about information! All you have to do is to go on any street and look at the faces of the people and get all the information you want as to what is happening in the homes. We have exhausted all our resources and can not help others, and those others need help to-day. There is growing a feeling of callousness and cruelty. Right in Times Square to-day thousands of people are standing in the breadlines in the cold and rain waiting for a sandwich and a cup of coffee, and yet it is said we do not know that there is a definite situation of distress which should be relieved by the Government. I believe that a bill should be passed quickly. Activity against legislation of this character to-day is the same as sabotage during a war emergency. We have our opinion about war, but at least when you put the boys in the trenches you are responsible for supplying them, and now we, in the industrial army, find ourselves completely wiped out, and from a Government with any sense of responsibility to the citizenship of the country the least we can expect are the bare necessities of life.

I would accept $15 a week as a fine standard. If $15 a week were given to everyone in New York who needed it, the relief funds would have been exhausted long ago.

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. President, I wish to read a letter received from an individual in the State of California connected with health work. I have not obtained permission to use the name, but I desire to quote from the letter and shall be glad to show it to any Senator who is interested. It was written under date of January 27, 1932, and I quote:

Many of our counties in California within the next month or two will have entirely exhausted their budget for the 12 months and under our present law no funds will be available until the 1st of September. * * *

The commissioner of welfare told me in Los Angeles last week that his organization is daily feeding 80,000 people. This does not include any people in any institutions, and 24,000 of these are families.

I perhaps look at this situation from a different angle because I do not see it mentioned very much in the arguments, but the cost of sickness as a result of this program of neglect is going to cost far more than any food program could possibly cost. The increase in tuberculosis alone will be tremendous. Every factor that we have been told was a contributory cause of tuberculosis now exists everywhere. Furthermore, the very serious and insignificant fact that in another year hundreds of small towns will be deserted villages and this load will again be thrown on cities unprepared to meet it. Our slum districts will be more crowded than ever, the public hospitals at present are all crowded to the doors, and apparently a program for relief that worked so well in France and Belgium, Italy and Russia, can not work so well here. It was no trouble to make a demand on the United States Senate to vote millions of American dollars to feed children in Europe, and I saw them after we had so successfully carried out the program and most of them looked so well and fat that I always wondered what such a program would have meant here if it could have been tried. * * *

A week ago I was in a section where mothers with babies were stirring flour and water and drinking it because they had no food.

The clinics everywhere are beginning to show children so emaciated that I wonder how they can even wait to be examined, and I leave our tuberculosis hospitals after making inspections thankful that there is at least some place where people can go and receive three meals a day.

I quote further from the same letter:

* * * I do not think anyone has any conception of the thousands of people who are attempting to hang on a little longer before they go on the charity list. The money that is to be given to the banks and the railroads will not in any way help the thousands of stenographers and clerks and teachers who are now walking the streets looking for work. I found a woman the other night well dressed. She told me that she had sold everything except the clothing on her back. I saw her staggering along the street and thinking she was ill went up to her to see if I could help her when I saw she was on the verge of fainting from hunger, and there is not any welfare worker in the country that could not tell you innumerable stories of what they are finding.

This letter is from a public health expert, Mr. President. It is tangible, specific testimony concerning the situation in the great State of California, which enjoys a marvelous climate and is richly endowed with wealth. Will any Senator rise in the Chamber to say we are not in possession of information showing the tragic and devastating effect of the depression and unemployment upon the victims? Will any Senator say that a case has not been made for Federal action to assist the cities, counties, and States in meeting the problem?

I continue to quote from the letter:

* * * How ridiculous has the White House conference become in talking about future programs for children and a child's bill of rights when at the present moment they are without the necessities of life and many of them will probably not live to enjoy the benefits that the White House conferences propose to give them in the years to come.

DATA FROM THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

Mr. President, on the 21st of December I asked, through the Secretary of Labor, to have the Children's Bureau furnish me with any information which they had at hand concerning the problem, in so far as the children of the country are concerned. Under date of January 22 the Secretary transmitted the material to me with the following letter:

On December 21 you requested from the Children's Bureau material dealing with the effect of the economic depression upon the health and welfare of children. I am transmitting herewith a memorandum on reported effect of the depression on child health and child-health services prepared by the Children's Bureau from such scattered material as is available at the present time. I am also inclosing a copy of a report just issued on family welfare.

I ask to have the entire report of the Children's Bureau printed as Exhibit A, following my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit A.)

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. At this time I desire to read briefly from the report:

The National Organization for Public Health Nursing stated recently, on the basis of reports received as the result of a nation-wide questionnaire to public-health nursing agencies, that "two years of financial depression and unemployment have taken their toll in undernourishment of children and young mothers." It cited a health center in New York City where the percentage of undernourished children has been carefully determined for three years and where malnutrition has increased from 18 to 60 per cent since 1928; and the statement of an organization in Louisville, Ky., that, compared with 1929, 1,000 fewer children in its district were able to meet the public schools' "blue-ribbon" standard of health because of underweight. It also referred to the statement of another agency concerned with the effect of the depression, particularly on expectant mothers, that many of the mothers are unable to provide themselves with even one glass of milk a day.

I quote further from the report:

An article entitled "Some Other Things That Are Happening Since Men Are Out of Work," in the October, 1931, number of the Public Health Nurse Quarterly of the Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh, quotes the following statement of Doctor Briant, assistant to Doctor Price, who is chief of staff at the Children's Hospital in Pittsburgh and medical director of the child-health division: "A conference with the various men working in the public-health conferences brings out the fact that coincidental with the depression there has been a marked increase in the number of cases of malnutrition and a noticeable increase in rickets, the latter particularly in very young babies. There have been two cases of xerophthalmia noted in one clinic." The

same article states that "tuberculosis increased steadily in all age groups during the first six months of this year. More children under 16 years of age died from tuberculosis during these six months than in the full year of either 1929 or 1930."

Are there any Senators who will say now that we are not justified in demanding favorable action upon this relief bill?

* * * * * * *

The cost of an adequate family diet, estimated in terms of the minimum amounts of the cheapest foods which are necessary to provide nutritive essentials for the maintenance of health and for the normal-growth needs of children, at present prices, varies in different parts of the country from $7.50 to $10 per week for a family of five.

I hope Senators will bear that in mind when I come to discuss the question of just how much relief is now being provided.

Reports from a number of sources of relief given by poor-relief officials and social agencies indicate that in many localities the amounts of relief allotted are considerably below the amounts necessary, according to the prices just stated, for food alone. In normal times a larger proportion of families under the care of relief agencies have some resources, such as wages from some members of the immediate family and help from relatives and friends. At the present time, however, many of these supplemental resources are not available.

In a survey undertaken in 1931 by the Children's Bureau, of which the report is as yet unpublished, on the extent of public aid to dependent children in the United States under mothers' aid or mothers' pension acts the following conditions were found:

"In the family welfare section of the annual report for 1930 on Social Statistics in Child Welfare and Related Fields it is shown that in 30 metropolitan areas the maximum average expended per family per month for families under care (not including those receiving incidental services only) was $37.94; in only 8 cities was the average amount more than $20 per month; in 18 cities the average amount paid monthly was from $10 to $20, while in 4 cities the average was less than $10 per month per family. These figures are the average amount allotted for all needs, not just for food.

"Some of the conditions affecting the number of families aided and the amount of the grant per family are illustrated by statements made by individual counties in four States—Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia. Twenty-six of the one hundred and one counties in these States supporting mothers' aid stated that aid to mothers had been discontinued during the year, or that the number of families aided or the amounts given to the families had been reduced because of lack of funds. Inability to collect taxes was noted as the cause of such decrease in some of the counties.

"In one of these States, for example, only 13 of the 75 counties in the State had been giving mother's aid, and 4 of these counties discontinued such grants before June, 1931, because of lack of funds. Reports from 13 counties in another State showed serious curtailment. One of these counties had no appropriation for the current year, two reported a 50 per cent reduction, and several reported funds exhausted early in the year. Similar reports have come from other States."

Reports of conditions in certain coal-mining communities of several States show weekly family-relief orders ranging from $1 to $5 and monthly orders from $5 to $16.

Mr. President, here is just a brief letter from the Central Labor Council of Stockton, Calif. I offer this as supplemental evidence to the summary of the questionnaires, to which I shall refer in a few moments. The letter is dated January 12 and is as follows:

Our situation here in Stockton is doubtless typical of conditions which prevail in practically every American city, town, and hamlet at this time. In last evening's paper the startling announcement was made that the county welfare department is now without funds, with the added statement by the director that this department has been caring for 10,000 helpless people in this county, all of whom will now be in dire straits unless additional funds are provided. And the supervisors seem to be at a loss as to how this is to be done.

At the same time the citizens' unemployment council, with registrations of 2,042 men and 127 women, faces a depleted treasury, which it is hoped may be repleted to the extent of $50,000 as a result of the community chest campaign just inaugurated. But grave doubt is expressed whether this campaign, in view of the drafts which have already been made upon the resources of the people by this private charity program, will reach anywhere near its prescribed goal.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from Oregon wishes an executive session. As I have not concluded my remarks I am perfectly willing to yield for that purpose and will endeavor to secure recognition to-morrow.

(At this point Mr. LA FOLLETTE yielded the floor for the day.)

Tuesday, February 2, 1932

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, when I yielded the floor on yesterday I was presenting to the Senate evidence taken by the Committee on Manufactures and other material which had come to me indicating the need for unemployment relief. I wish now to resume the discussion of that phase of the problem.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS SUPPORTS THE BILL

On February 1, yesterday, I received a telegram from the executive committee of the National Federation of Settlements, which reads as follows:

At a meeting of the executive committee of the National Federation of Settlements held in New York, January 30, representatives from Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Louisville, New York, and other centers canvassed the emergency unemployment needs of the industrial districts in which settlements are located and heartily indorsed the Costigan-La Follette Federal relief bill.

LEA D. TAYLOR, *President.*
MRS. V. G. SIMKHOVITCH,
Vice President.
ALBERT KENNEDY, *Secretary.*
HELEN HALL,
Chairman Unemployed Division.

In the hearings this morning before the House Committee on Labor, considering the Lewis bill, which is a companion bill to the one now under discussion, a statement was made by Miss Lea D. Taylor, of Chicago, one of the signers of the telegram which I have just read, as follows:

I am here representing the National Federation of Settlements of which I am president. This organization includes 150 settlements in many States located in the industrial centers of the country. No group of people knows the actual effects of unemployment and inadequate relief on individuals, families, and communities as well as settlement social workers who live as neighbors to the people.

They have seen family savings vanish. They have seen the burden carried long months by relatives, the landlord, the grocer, and the milkman. Then finally the family is driven to ask relief—and the insecurity and uncertainty of it, and its inadequacy bring a tension that shows in physical and mental strain.

For the maintenance of decency and of family life more than the barest minimum of food and coal must be provided. Families plead for more adequate food, for gas with which to cook, for electricity to light the home, for special care of the sick, and for money for medicine, for car fare for school children, for clothing, and for rents, so that they may have some feeling of security. Without them—and thousands of families are without this minimum standard of living—family morale diminishes, children stay away from home, domestic discord increases, or family loyalty holds together in desperation, but above all is seen the tension and strain which can not go on much longer.

In Chicago alone there is an estimated daily wage loss of $2,000,000, against which relief averaged $100,000 a day. Food relief for December totalled $1,000,000 for 400,000 individuals, or an average of 8½ cents a day per capita, according to Frank D. Loomis, secretary of the Emergency Relief Commission.

For three things the unemployed workers in settlement communities plead. First, for more immediate, more regular, and more adequate relief, which can only be obtained if Federal aid is added to vanishing local resources. They plead for a return to work, or even for relief in the form of work. They plead for immediate planning for the prevention of future unemployment and the safeguarding of workers against the terrific losses they now face.

Representing many local communities where Federal aid is a necessity to supplement and stimulate local action the National Federation of Settlements indorses the Costingan-La Follette and the Lewis bills for Federal aid.

Here is testimony from Miss Helen Hall, of Philadelphia, who is connected with the National Federation of Settlements, a trained and experienced worker in the relief field, if there be one in the United States. She says:

I have just visited 11 industrial cities, going from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Toledo, Columbus, Cleveland, Akron, Buffalo, Syracuse, as far as St. Louis and Madison. The trip was made in the interest of a survey which the National Federation of Settlements is making of the results of unemployment on family life during this depression.

In only one city did I receive a report that the unemployment relief funds would last as long as June 1. In most cities exhaustion was anticipated in from one to two months.

Everywhere an effort was being made to cut relief given for food to a point so far below the minimum standards that the health of the families getting relief must necessarily be endangered. There was a general lack of coordination in relief giving and in relief standards. People in distress through unemployment have not had the security of any continuing coordinated plan of aid. Where it was used, private relief giving has proved itself inadequate, but public funds have been given only intermittently and relief methods have changed constantly in the last two years in every city. The families in distress have had to suffer through the city's changes in plans and lack of continuity.

One of the benefits of Federal relief measures should be not only to relieve an actual need but to strengthen and coordinate the local methods of relief, and perhaps to establish an accepted minimum of relief in a field which is full of distress and inequalities. It would be hard to explain why a child in Toledo needs less to eat than a child in Buffalo, or why a family suffers less under eviction in Philadelphia than one in Detroit, but the policy differs from city to city, being dictated often by political expediency or an effort to spread available local funds over as long a period as possible, regardless of the effect upon the individual.

I can think of a Philadelphia family whose story is typical of those coming to me from all over the United States. When the father first lost his job the family was given help by a private relief agency. This society's funds were soon exhausted, and for a while the family existed on credit. Next the city made an appropriation for unemployment relief, and after a reinvestigation the family was again temporarily cared for. After three months the Public Welfare's emergency fund was exhausted and the family's grocery order stopped. Then for three months there were practically no funds available for unemployment relief in Philadelphia. The settlement tided the family over the summer, and in the fall an emergency relief fund was raised in Philadelphia by private effort. By this the family was carried through the winter, and when these funds were exhausted the family was turned back on the city welfare department again, which in the meantime had made another appropriation for unemployment relief. When the city's funds were exhausted once more the family found itself again in the hands of another private agency. This family were once proud of their position in the neighborhood and had been able to help their poorer neighbors. To-day they have lost both their health and their courage. It should take little imagination to realize some of the mental distress back of a story such as this.

In few cities is rent considered a necessary part of relief. The majority of cities pay rents only upon eviction notice, while others allow families to be evicted and pay the first month's rent on a new house, allowing them to again be evicted at the end of that month if the landlord sees fit. Some cities, such as Philadelphia, have the policy of paying no rents at all in unemployment relief cases. I myself have gone around my neighborhood at 10 o'clock at night trying to find a place for an evicted family—mother, father, and little girl dragging along with me. One story from New York which I read just before I came away told of a family which had been evicted three times in the past year.

* * * * * * *

Three years ago, when the depression was first felt, our working-class neighborhoods had resources, which have been exhausted to-day. Full-time employment was the rule rather than the exception. Most of those of working age in a family had jobs. Homes, if not already owned, were being paid for. There were savings, insurance policies, and furniture. After three years the picture has changed. My own neighborhood is no exception. There is hardly a family whose resources have not been used up in the last three years by occasional employment, part-time employment, or total lack of employment. Where there were once several working in one family often there is now one working in several families. A few doors from us three related families are living under one roof, depending on the wages of a woman 64. This family has never asked for assistance. Another family of eight is depending upon the wages of a 17-year-old boy. In another house a girl of 18 is supporting a family of nine, including a father and two older brothers. Another 19-year-old girl supports a family of 13 on $15 per week, a married brother and sister having come home to live. This old woman, this boy, and these girls are typical of the last line of defense. If these workers suffered illness or loss of work, the families which could have helped themselves three years ago have nowhere to turn but to the community for help.

In comparing the situation to-day with that of even a year ago we must realize that where the loss of a job by one wage earner might have been absorbed by other members of his family now such a loss may well throw more than one family on the community.

Senators, family ties are being torn asunder; families have no security or feeling of security in the homes which are thus temporarily provided. They live there, perchance, for a month, knowing, as each day goes by, that another eviction will come at the end of the month. They do not know then where they may find shelter. Such a condition should give the Congress of the United States pause. We have always maintained that it was upon the family unit that sound citizenship was based. To-day for millions of people in the country the unit of family life is being destroyed.

RAILWAY TRAINMEN PLEAD FOR ENACTMENT OF RELIEF BILL

Late yesterday, Mr. President, I received a telegram signed by P. C. Bradley, chairman of the International Association of General Chairmen of the Federated Railway Trainmen, now in session at Chicago. They respectfully petition favorable action by the Congress on the La Follette-Costigan bill. I ask that the telegram may be incorporated in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The telegram is as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 1, 1932.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate:

The International Association of General Chairmen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, now in session at Chicago, respectfully petition favorable action by Congress on La Follette-Costigan bill appropriating $375,000,000 for unemployment relief. Employees represented by this association in train and yard service, together with all other classes of railway employees in United States, effective to-day, have agreed to contribute 10 per cent of their earnings to relief of present economic conditions, thereby reducing their ability to aid the thousands of their fellow unemployed railway workers, and believe that the people of the United States would gladly contribute the proposed appropriation to the relief of unemployment distress. Congress has generously assisted industry, and we earnestly urge Members of Congress to enact this humanitarian relief measure.

P. C. BRADLEY, *Chairman.*

RELIEF NEEDS IN VARIOUS CITIES

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Now, Mr. President, I wish to discuss the relief needs in various cities. Mr. Hodson, the executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City, testified, on page 12 of the committee hearings, as follows:

NEW YORK

The research bureau of the Welfare Council has estimated that there are at the present time not less than 800,000 persons out of employment in the city of New York. That is to say, on the basis of what we regard as a conservative estimate, there are five times as many persons out of jobs to-day as is normally the situation. Our present unemployment, then, is five times our so-called normal unemployment.

Again, on page 14, he says:

We think that in New York City there are not less than 250,000 families and unattached persons who are either in need or are receiving some kind of assistance. The best guess possible with regard to that number of 250,000 is that perhaps 100,000 of them are getting some kind of assistance.

* * * * * * *

And that assistance varies, by the way, from an order of groceries given once a month to relief given by a family-relief society, which includes regular monthly relief as long as the family needs it. That is, relief varies from the very casual kind to the very carefully administered relief which is given by the well-equipped organizations in our cities.

In the year ending September 30, 1930, the relief given from private sources in New York City out of voluntary funds amounted to $2,200,000. But for the year ending September 30, 1931, the total relief given from private sources, including work relief and home relief, was approximately $12,000,000. This shows an increase of about 445 per cent in those two years. The increase is largely due to the funds raised by the Prosser committee, principally for work relief.

PHILADELPHIA

I wish to quote from the testimony of Mr. Karl De Schweinitz, who is secretary of the unemployment relief commission in Philadelphia—the commission administering the funds raised as a result of the drive conducted last fall in that city:

Normally we have between, I should say, 40,000 and 50,000 persons out of work in Philadelphia. That is, at any time when business is normal, there are—changing jobs or discharged from jobs or recovering from illness and not yet beginning work—between 40,000 and 50,000 persons. Last November, November 15—that is, November 15 a year ago, 1930—the estimates prepared for the committee on unemployment relief indicated that there were 154,000 persons out of work. That means three times as many as are ordinarily unemployed. This year in November there were 238,000 out of work, which was an increase of 54 per cent over last year and five times as many as are ordinarily unemployed.

Mr. President, there have been general statements, in the press and elsewhere, to the effect that many of the persons

seeking relief from these agencies were normally indigents; that they were persons who could not and did not support themselves, even in normal times. While there is, of course, that marginal group to which Mr. Hodson has referred in the testimony, I have already quoted from him, existing in every community during normal times, I desire to direct the attention of the Senate to an analysis made by this committee in Philadelphia of which Mr. De Schweinitz is the secretary.

This is a study of 8,700 men for whom work relief was provided. I asked Mr. De Schweinitz if it was a fairly good sample of those who were applying for relief at this time. His answer was:

Yes; a very good sample. I think it would be true of the group, of the whole number.

Now, listen, Senators:

Forty-two per cent of them came from manufacturing industries, from manufacturing businesses, and 31 per cent from construction. Then the mercantile trades furnished about 8 per cent. The great bulk came from manufacturing and construction. We divided those men into white and colored.

This is the type of person seeking relief from these overburdened agencies in Philadelphia:

Eighty-six per cent of them had jobs of a year or longer—that is, of the whites—

These were not migratory workers. These were not marginal groups. Eighty-six per cent of these white men had had jobs for over a year prior to the depression.

Eighty-six per cent of them had jobs a year or longer—that is, of the whites—and 79 per cent of the blacks; 69 per cent of the white men had worked for 3 years or more in the same job, and 55 per cent of the blacks, and 48 per cent, almost half, of the white men had been in one job for five years or longer.

Mr. President, this evidence shows conclusively that those who are seeking relief at this time, and unable to obtain adequate relief from the agencies, are the backbone of American citizenship. They are the efficient, upstanding, industrious, independent American wage earners who are now crushed by this depression and forced to seek aid; and when they seek it they find, as I think I shall prove before I conclude, only a meager subsistence, in most instances below the minimum standard required to maintain health and decency.

Now, mark this, Mr. President:

It might be interesting to know what their wages were, because that might be an indication of what they could do to tide over times of unemployment. Seventy-eight per cent of the white had earned less than $40 a week, and 22½ per cent had earned less than $25 a week. Of the colored, 94 per cent had earned less than $40 and half of them had earned less than $25 a week.

When these people came to us—

That was over a year ago—

they had been out of work for eight and one-half months.

They had not flocked to this agency, Mr. President, the moment unemployment struck them. They had used their savings. They had used all of their credit. They had thrown themselves upon the resources of their relatives. If they had equities in homes, they had sacrificed those equities before coming to this agency.

When these people came to us they had been out of work for eight and one-half months. Of course, this year you will have to add a whole year onto that, so it will be over 20 months that they have been out of work. Let me also say that in spite of the fact that these men have not had very high wages, the great bulk of them, 23 per cent of the white men, were buying their own homes, and the average savings of the white were $332. Eighty-two per cent of the group by the time they had come for help were in debt, and their average debt was $50 per person.

That is the way we found them last year when they came to us, and you will have to add a year of tribulation if you are going to get the picture as it is now. Unemployment relief began last year, with about 3,000 families receiving relief. This chart—

Which he exhibited—

indicates the burden of relief as it exists in Philadelphia right now. I have in this chart a line showing how the number of families has risen from the end of the first week in August, 1931, up to the close of this year. You will see that it has just trebled in that time, gone up 300 per cent. This chart shows 14,000 in the last week of August.

The CHAIRMAN. Families?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. That is families; 14,000 families under care. Those are the families that are receiving help through the bureau of unemployment relief, which until Christmas was supported from municipal funds. And you see how that curve rises steadily week by week until you strike it here in the week of October 10.

The CHAIRMAN. How high was it then?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. It was 30,000.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. TYDINGS. I was wondering if the Senator had any information as to how many of these municipalities have appealed to the governors of their States for further assistance.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No, Mr. President; I have no such information.

Mr. TYDINGS. I see that in the Senator's own State a comprehensive program has been adopted to take care of this situation, and I think such a program was adopted in the State of New York. I was wondering if any other States had adopted such a program.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. So far as my information goes, there are only three States that have acted. One of them is New York. All of Mr. Hodson's testimony and all of the testimony regarding the city of New York and the situation in New York State was given after that relief had been afforded by the State, showing the inadequacy, despite the State's action.

The State of Pennsylvania had a special session, which appropriated $19,000,000, as I remember. There is a controversy about it. The attorney general of the State contends that the bill is unconstitutional, so no relief has been afforded to the cities in Pennsylvania thus far as a result of the special session of the legislature.

In Wisconsin, the governor recommended a program of $16,000,000 as being necessary to meet the problem of unemployment relief. After a long fight in the legislature, the program has been pared down until it is only $8,000,000, or one-half what the governor recommended after a very careful survey of the situation.

The Illinois Legislature has been in session intermittently since November 5, if my memory serves me correctly, and up until this time it has not acted upon this question.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. A great many of us, I am sure, are impressed with the facts brought out by the Senator, and are very sympathetic toward the end which he hopes to accomplish by this bill; at least, I am. I should like to say, however, that some of us feel that we should have some concrete evidence from the governors that they are unable to handle the affairs in their respective municipalities before the aid of the Federal Government is invoked.

My purpose in asking the Senator the question was not to take issue with him on the facts he has adduced, but simply to bring out that information, if it is at all available—whether or not the governors themselves have stated, except in the cases the Senator has mentioned, that they were unable to provide out of State revenues the funds necessary to take care of the needs of the respective municipalities in their States.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do not know of any other governors who have taken up this question; and so far as I am concerned, in answer to the Senator's suggestion, may I say that I am producing evidence here to show the actual situation that exists, regardless of whether or not the governors have felt called upon to act, because it is my contention that this problem is a problem about which the Federal Government should be concerned.

These are citizens of the Federal Government as well as of the States; and if their citizenship and their moral fiber are being undermined, I contend that that is a concern of the Federal Government, and that the Federal Government should act.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. I agree with all the Senator has said, except, speaking for myself, I feel, first, that the communities should exhaust their resources before the aid of the Federal Government is invoked, and my purpose in asking the questions I have asked was to ascertain whether, in the present conditions, these municipalities had first appealed to the State authorities and had been turned down. If the State authorities are unable to take care of the situation if they are appealed to, I am sure there are many of us who would be inclined to go along with the Senator rather than have peop' starve. But we do not want to do it until there is concrete evidence from the governors themselves that the States will not do it or can not do it.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I am not willing to wait for information from governors while people starve. The evidence is overwhelming that the relief being afforded is inadequate, that people are suffering. Whether the governors confirm and back up that evidence, or whether they deny it, the evidence from competent witnesses stands on the record. It is the duty of the Senate and of the Congress to consider this question on its merits. The fact that some governor has not sent a telegram to the Senator saying that he is unable to do anything, or demanding assistance, does not alter the testimony taken by the committee, or the case which is made here for action by the Federal Government.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator whether the representatives of any of the respective communities who have given this testimony stated that they had appealed to the governors or State governments for aid, except in the cases he has already mentioned?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Some of the people from Ohio who testified stated that they had appealed to the Governor of Ohio to call a special session of the legislature. They were not, may I say, public officials; they were welfare workers and other people connected with relief work.

Mr. TYDINGS. The point I wished to bring out was that it seemed to me that in order to make a complete case, as I see it—and I agree that there is a great deal of suffering which is not being taken care of by the municipal and State authorities in the manner in which it should be taken care of—I feel that the gentlemen who appeared for those municipalities should have long since, if the conditions are as they say they are, have made their appeals first to the responsible heads of their local governments, such as the governors of the States, and it did seem to me that before they came to Washington they should have made such appeals and have gotten the information that the governors would act or that the governors could not act before the Federal Government's aid is invoked.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. So far as New York is concerned, as I stated a moment ago, the testimony was all taken after the State government had acted. So far as Illinois is concerned, the testimony was taken while the legislature was in session. As I stated a moment ago, it met the 5th of November; it has not acted, and is still in session. So far as Ohio cities, to which I will refer in a few moments, are concerned, some of those who appeared stated that they had appealed to the governor to act.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to ask the Senator a question about administration. How many of the States have State boards of charity or State unemployment commissions through which this act would be operated?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I can not give the Senator the exact number, but there are a number of States which have either permanent welfare commissions—and of course they would not all have the same names—and also there are a number of States where unemployment commissions have been appointed during this emergency.

Mr. McKELLAR. As I recall, the Senator's bill provides that it shall be operated through the welfare agencies where they exist; otherwise, through the Government.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It provides that if the legislatures shall be in session, they shall set up special agencies to cooperate, and that if they are not in session, the governor may designate or create an agency, which must meet the approval of the Federal board to be created under the bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LOGAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I want to revert to the question raised by the Senator from Maryland. It is fundamentally controlling. I find a provision in the Senator's bill which reads as follows:

> But no such allocation shall be made to any State unless the board is satisfied that the State or its political subdivisions have made reasonable efforts within their resources to provide for emergency relief expenditures.

Would not the able Senator think that a local subdivision had not made a reasonable effort unless it had applied to its State unit for relief?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Of course, Mr. President, under the set-up contemplated under this bill, there is no provision for local communities coming to the board and asking for assistance. Relief can be extended only following action by the legislature or the governor of the State. After the legislature or the governor has acted, it rests with the board to determine whether the municipalities and the State itself as a whole have made a reasonable effort to meet the problem within their resources.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Would the Senator think that a State had made a reasonable effort in this respect, except as it had undertaken to mobilize special, extraordinary funds for its own self-sufficient administrations of its own problems, and had exhausted these resources?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. So far as some of the States are concerned, the Senator realizes that there are constitutional inhibitions which prevent them, as States, from making any appropriations for direct relief of their citizens. There is, as I understand it, a controversy over the constitutionality of the law passed in the State of Pennsylvania for instance. It is contended by the attorney general, and other able lawyers, that the law is unconstitutional because there is no provision in the constitution of Pennsylvania for the appropriation of money for the direct relief of citizens. There are a number of other States which have constitutional provisions similar to that in Pennsylvania.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Does the Senator intend to submit, before he concludes, a demonstration of the fact that $125,000,000 of Federal money in this fiscal year will meet this stupendous challenge which he is laying before the Senate. If we are to start upon this method, must we not go infinitely further than the Senator proposes?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I expect to show that, in so far as the committee was able to obtain estimates, they indicate that all of those who appeared before the committee and have given this problem consideration feel that the committee has made a conservative suggestion, so far as the total amount of relief is concerned.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me suggest to the Senator, and then I will interrupt him no longer at the moment, that before he concludes he discuss this point of view, that the magnitude of the problem is so much bigger than $125,000,000 that there might be a danger of drying up the local impulse to provide local relief the moment the local resources discover that there can be a reliance upon Federal resources, as a result of which, if I make myself plain, the total relief available actually would be less, including the $125,000,000, than it would be if the local relief were left under the local impulse to take care of itself. In other words, when Federal contribution starts, will not local contribution dry up, because the local contributor will conclude that he meets his responsibility through his Federal tax bill?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I shall be very glad to discuss that if the bill is taken up for consideration by the Senate. I am now endeavoring to submit the evidence which I think is available showing the necessity for the Senate giving consideration to this problem.

In passing, however, I may say that the authors of the bill have endeavored so to frame it that any Federal aid to the States, and, through them, to the counties and cities, in meeting this problem, shall be upon a basis which will tend to increase the relief contributions, both public and private, in the various communities of a State, rather than to diminish them.

It has been the experience of the Federal Government, in all of its Federal-aid projects with the States, that the aid offered by the Federal Government has resulted, generally speaking, in increased expenditures made for the general purposes of those Federal-aid projects by the States themselves.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. FLETCHER. I understood the Senator to say, but I am not quite clear about it, that in the hearings nothing appears from any of the governors respecting conditions in their States.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Nothing appears excepting from the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLETCHER. The committee made no effort to obtain statements or reports from the governors of the different States as to the needs and conditions in their States?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No; it did not. It relied upon the testimony of those who are actually engaged in this relief work and upon reports from the mayors of cities as to the situation which exists in the various communities.

Mr. FLETCHER. I recall, in connection with the great State of Pennsylvania, that in the very early days, when there was a Quaker legislature in that State which was bitterly opposed to war and trouble of that kind, the Colonies needed some money to manufacture powder in order to meet their enemies from the other side. It was found that under the constitution of Pennsylvania there was no authority for making an appropriation to manufacture powder. But the legislature did find a provision in the constitution which allowed them to make an appropriation for the purpose of acquiring grain, and they construed that to mean grains of powder.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, would the Senator from Wisconsin prefer to go on with his remarks, or will he yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am perfectly willing to be interrupted. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator undoubtedly has made out a strong case that the communities in many instances have not taken hold of the relief situation as they should have taken hold of it. But I would like very much to know whether or not the State agencies can handle this matter. It stands to reason that they have not handled it, and therefore the Senator is on fairly strong ground. But it strikes me that if these bits of evidence had been called to the attention of the governors of the States concerned, there might have been, ere this, some State action to help out in this matter, rather than this direct appeal to the Federal Government.

I just want to say in conclusion that I appreciate the strength of the case the Senator from Wisconsin is making out, and I regret only that we have not the other link in the chain, namely, why have not the States attempted to solve their own local problems by contributing to the needs of these respective communities?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. There are a number of States which have constitutional provisions which make it impossible for them to deal with the situation. In other States there is indication, as the Senator knows, that the credit of the State is already impaired, and that if it is not impaired, they find it a very difficult time to float securities and bonds for any purpose.

I think the Senator will remember that just recently the State of South Carolina withdrew a $10,000,000 bond issue which they had arranged to float with Dillon-Read because they found that they would have to pay such an enormous rate of interest upon the bonds that the State could not afford to borrow the money.

I think that is what has been the difficulty, as I understand it, in Illinois. The local tax burden has become so terrific that the cities and counties and States are finding difficulty in raising sufficient revenue to meet even the ordinary running expenses of government, let alone the problem of unemployment relief which has been thrown upon them.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I appreciate everything the Senator has said and I think it is an accurate statement of conditions, that there are many States where they would have to say they could not do any more. Nevertheless it occurs to me that Federal Government bonds now are selling for 84 and there is a deficit of $2,000,000,000 in the Federal Treasury. I for one doubt very much if a $2,000,000,000 Federal bond issue could be sold to-day at anything like what we would think would be a fair price. My only reason for wanting to withhold the credit of the Federal Government until the local agencies have exhausted their credit and resources is because we must keep some semblance of financial order in the country, and it seemed to me that unless we force the communities to do their utmost in each one of these cases the day might come when the Federal Treasury would be like the other treasuries, and then what we would do for unemployment would not make a great deal of difference.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do not want to be diverted to argue the question of Government bonds. I expect to argue that later if I am able to secure consideration of my public-works proposal. The bonds selling at 84 are those upon which the Treasury Department made a very bad guess last September.

Mr. TYDINGS. They may make another one.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Nevertheless, I want to invite the attention of the Senator to the fact that the Liberty 4¼'s have been very firm all through the depression, despite the startling decline in the 3 per cent bonds that were issued last September, which would ordinarily tend to pull all the bonds down. I do not mean to say they have not fallen from the high of 116, but they have been very near par all during this situation. The bugaboo that is raised by the Treasury against any expenditures which it does not approve of I think is very illogical, in view of the fact that the bonds which have made the decline to which they continually point have declined because in September they offered those bonds at 3 per cent, a yield obviously below that which the money market considered adequate.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Coming back to the question of local responsibility, I have not had an opportunity to read the hearings, because I have been engaged in the consideration of other legislation. The hearings are quite extensive. Did the welfare workers and others, who are interested in the solution of this problem and who are directly in contact with unemployment and with misfortune, testify with reference to any instance in which they had called upon local authorities, either governors or mayors, for assistance and had been told it was impossible to furnish such local assistance? Did the committee go into that phase of it or did it just accept whatever testimony they brought here with reference to the need of the community, without regard to the efforts being made through the cooperation of the welfare societies and the authorities of the towns and counties and States to solve them?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. If the Senator will go through the testimony, or if he will bear with me as I go through some of it, he will note that practically every witness testified to

the Herculean efforts that have been made on the part of private agencies and the efforts which have been made on the part of local governments to meet the problem. I think that not one witness would want his testimony to be construed as a criticism of the great efforts which have been made by private charity and by the local governments in trying to meet the situation.

But the Senator must realize, as he gives the problem study, that the burden which has fallen upon these communities is so tremendous and is increasing at such a rate that they are all becoming embarrassed in their efforts to keep financially sound. The city of New York a few days ago found difficulty in borrowing money because the bankers, as the Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND] explained so well upon the floor of the Senate, wanted the city to increase its street-car fares. When I come to the situation in Detroit, a city which has made one of the most magnificent efforts of any city in America to meet the problem from the time it arose, the Senator will see the testimony of the mayor to the effect that the bankers finally served notice on the city of Detroit that it must reduce its relief expenditures or it could not obtain any further money.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the Senator will yield further——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Certainly.

Mr. BARKLEY. We all, of course, understand that the local budgets have been tremendously reduced by the shrinkage in the value of property for local taxation.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator will also find in the testimony, if he is interested in that subject, statements from many communities as to mounting tax delinquencies which are impairing the revenues of those communities.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think that is the story that comes from all parts of the country. In my own State the biennial estimate shows that revenues have fallen off about $8,000,000, and the legislature is now undertaking to work out some plan by which they can pay the ordinary expenses of the State Government, aside from any unemployment relief. I think every county and every city in the whole country is confronted with that problem. That does not, of course, it seems to me, relieve the local authorities from the responsibility of at least initiating the movement in behalf of Federal aid. If they are unable to cope with the problem locally, I am very much troubled about whether we ought to initiate the movement to grant relief without any official request on the part of mayors and governors, advising us that they can not cope with it, or whether we ought in some way to get an official statement from those local authorities that they have gone as far as they can and that they can go no farther.

I am not, as the Senator knows, one to quibble over technicalities in the presence of a great emergency, and I am not going to do it in this case, but I would be somewhat better satisfied in my own mind if there had been some concerted effort on the part of local authorities to thrust this problem on Congress rather than for us to take the initiative ourselves and hold out an invitation for them to ask us to do what perhaps they can not do, but which they ought at least to say they can not do.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, it seems to me it is more important for the Senate to consider what the actual situation is than it is to be concerned as to whether a particular official or group of officials in the States have brought it to the attention of Congress.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, I realize that no governor or mayor finds any pleasure in making his community or his State a mendicant. His pride would probably prevent that even though it resulted in want in his own community.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Besides that, I hope the Senator will not forget that there is politics in this issue also.

Mr. BARKLEY. Politics!

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes. The attempt has been made on the part of opponents of Federal relief to brand it as a dole and to carry conviction to the country that the inauguration of this policy would undermine our institutions. There is not only the factor of local pride but there is also the factor of the position which the present Republican administration has taken concerning Federal aid for relief, which of course would make it a matter of embarrassment for Republican governors generally to take a position indirect opposition to the policy of the administration.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course I realize that there is politics in everything. Everything that concerns the Government is political. I am trying to look at this from the standpoint of right and wrong and not from the standpoint of politics. Certainly there is no politics in it so far as I am concerned. I do not care whom it embarrasses, whether Republican or Democrat, whether a governor or a mayor or the President of the United States. If I can be convinced that the status of our country is such that we ought to take the initiative in granting this relief, so far as I am concerned politics can go to the hot hereafter.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will not the Senator be more explicit? I do not understand what he means. [Laughter.]

Mr. BARKLEY. In this case, "where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise."

Mr. NORRIS. Then I am ignorant, and the Senator is wise.

Mr. BARKLEY. I hope we are both blissful. I will confer with the Senator from Nebraska in private as to exactly the place I have in mind, if he is not satisfied.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am submitting evidence which I believe is unassailable that the need for Federal aid to the cities, counties, and States to meet the relief burden is woefully inadequate now. It is the duty of the Federal Government, as well as other governmental entities, to be concerned with the situation facing millions of our unemployed to-day. They are citizens, may I say to the Senator, not only of the State, but they are citizens of the United States as well.

Mr. BARKLEY. I agree entirely with the Senator about that, and I think we are to be congratulated in this country, in view of what happens in other countries, that under this threatening situation we have no greater outward evidences of occasion for disturbance among the people. I think it is a tribute to the stability and patriotism and dependability and long-suffering of the people of the country that they have borne with this condition as long as they have without more outward demonstration of impatience and of opposition, if not even of revolt.

At the same time I am concerned to know whether there has been any negligence on the part of those who are primarily charged with dealing with the situation locally. I do not know. I have not that information now as to whether there has been any holding back on the part of local authorities in the hope that the Federal Government after a while would be compelled to shoulder the whole responsibility or some very large portion of the responsibility.

Has the Senator from Wisconsin any evidence on that subject as to whether there has been any disposition on the part of local authorities to stop short of their full duty in meeting the condition which we all understand is deplorable and almost unprecedented?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. On the contrary, Mr. President, I think the evidence shows that both public and private agencies within these communities have manfully endeavored to meet the problem which has been thrown upon them. I think, furthermore, it shows that the burden has become so great that they can not adequately meet it.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the Senator will permit me there, in contrast with a direct appropriation of money out of the Treasury for the purpose of buying food and clothing to be distributed amongst the people, is the Senator going to discuss the question of providing work so that practically the same number of people might be given relief by being enabled to engage in some constructive or beneficial activities that would be, in the future, an investment for the country? Would not such a program in part solve the problem? I realize that work of that sort can not be given to everybody who is hungry and that there are many who are probably not in a position to enter upon that character of work even if it were offered to them; but is the Senator going to discuss

and compare these two methods of undertaking to meet the necessity for providing emergency relief?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do not see that the issue of public works has anything to do with the measure now under consideration. I am the author and advocate of a measure proposing the most comprehensive and the largest public-works program now pending in this Congress, but, Mr. President, it is not a program which can be put in operation in time to relieve the desperate condition which exists in the cities concerning which I have been citing the testimony. We can build roads or we can erect public buildings, but we can not get the work under way in time to relieve the emergency situation which now exists and which demands prompt relief.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I receive many letters, and I suppose other Senators do, from people who are in distress, saying that what they want is an opportunity to work; that they desire employment.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Of course, Mr. President, that is what people want; they prefer work to any other type of relief; but we are confronted by an emergency situation. It is a question of affording relief to the various communities in time to stem the tide of degradation which is affecting millions of our citizens. I expect, however, when this issue shall have been determined, to press for the consideration of a comprehensive public-works program as a means of providing work during the next 18 months of this emergency; but to offer that now as a substitute for the bill providing relief to men, women, and children in these communities is, in my judgment, merely an attempt to dodge the issue. Everyone knows that if we should pass a bill embodying a public-works program to-day it could not be put in operation within several months. In the meantime numerous communities are unable to meet the problem of relief, and destitution, hunger, privation, and sickness will overtake their citizens before any public-works program can be put into operation.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, has the Senator from Wisconsin thought about what might be the effect upon the morale of any man or of a large number of men who, asking for work, are forced to accept charity? Even assuming that we are going to appropriate the money for direct relief, would it not be also wise to provide some method, if it will meet the situation, by which those who do not want to accept charity may feel at least that they are earning what they get, even though it indirectly comes from the Government?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I hope Congress will consider the proposal for a stupendous public-works program as a means of stemming the tide of deflation in the United States, but to advocate it now in this critical emergency as a substitute for relief is to befog the issue. We could not get a public-works program in operation in time to meet this critical situation. The evidence is clear on that point.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. WAGNER. As a matter of fact, as the Senator knows, the Congress announced the policy that an enlarged public-works program should be undertaken during times of industrial slack and depression.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator was a very able advocate of that proposal, which I supported heartily.

Mr. WAGNER. It is now a law; and if two years ago, when we were not in as serious an economic condition as we are to-day, the Government had begun an enlarged public-works program, a good deal of unemployment would have been obviated.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am firmly convinced, Mr. President, that if the Government had acted as the Senator suggests, it would long since have stemmed the tide of the depression and turned the curve of employment and business conditions upward.

Mr. WAGNER. As a matter of fact, under the law it is the duty of the stabilization board and the President of the United States to provide such an enlarged public-works program when we are in a period of depression.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Precisely, but they have not done so. Advocates though the Senator and I both are of the public-work theory for expanding public works in time of depression, I am sure that he will agree with me that a public-works program as a substitute for emergency relief is absolutely impractical.

Mr. WAGNER. I quite agree with the Senator. If I may make just one further suggestion, there has been some talk here as to whether or not we have had evidence from State officials as to the need on the part of communities for aid as provided in the proposal of the Senator. As a matter of fact, I think the Senator by a little inquiry will ascertain that the men and women who appeared before his committee in order to convince the committee of the necessity of immediate action in the face of this situation are the very ones, and represent the same agencies, that informed the States and the municipalities of the dire necessity and secured action to the extent that they were able to act to relieve the unemployment situation.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I thank the Senator for his suggestion.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. HARRIS. I agree with the Senator from Wisconsin, but as to providing some kind of public-works program for the relief of the people, in the matter of building roads, for instance, I think the Bureau of Public Roads already has prepared plans for different projects all over the country, and it could, within a day, send telegrams that would start the work and give employment to thousands of people. Of course, in the construction of other public works there would have to be delay, as the Senator suggests.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes, Mr. President; and the Senator knows that, so far as roads are concerned, work on them is not going to remove from the relief rolls of the congested metropolitan centers and communities many of the people who are now in dire need of assistance.

Mr. HARRIS. Unless such work could be provided for them by the municipalities.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. But the municipalities have reached the end of their rope. The suggestion is made that the Federal Government should not do anything because the local communities should do it. Those who make such a contention are making a football of relief. The Senator knows, if he has made any study of this question, that the municipalities are now being forced to curtail their normal public-works programs because of two things: First, the increasing tax delinquencies, and the resultant diminishing revenues; and, second, they are unable to float perfectly sound securities because of the attitude of the bankers and the condition of the money market.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. WAGNER. Perhaps the suggestion I am about to make goes more to the substance of the bill, which the Senator, I understand, prefers to discuss at a later time, but I should like to throw out the suggestion now, so that we may think about it. I wonder whether the Senator or the committee has taken into consideration allocating sums granted for relief rather on the basis of an unemployment census than on the basis of population, so that, providing we can get a reasonably accurate count of the unemployed, we will direct the money to the places where it is most needed; that is, where unemployment is the greatest?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, may I say to the Senator that in the original bill which I introduced the fund was to be administered entirely on the basis of demonstrated need, but I became convinced, in view of the delay which would be occasioned, that the only prompt method of getting relief where it is needed would be to make apportion-

ment on the basis of population of a small proportion of the total appropriation. The bill which I originally introduced provided that the States should make survey and submit evidence to the board, that there should be furnished ample testimony, and so on, but I became convinced that, because of the critical character of the emergency which would arise this winter before it was reasonable to assume that Congress would act, it was wise to provide a more rapid method of distribution in the case of a smaller proportion of the amount to be allocated. The Senator knows that under the bill three-fifths of the appropriation will be administered on the basis of need.

Now, Mr. President, I return to the testimony of Mr. De Schweinitz concerning conditions in Philadelphia, and quote as follows:

So that the real increase in relief, in unemployment relief in a year, has been from 3,000 to 43,000. That is the way it has gone up.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that families?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. Families; yes.

Senator COSTIGAN. Is that a fair index of the need?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. Yes. And here is an interesting thing by the way. If I were to draw a line showing the amount of estimated unemployment in Philadelphia in this period, it would be almost a straight line after we once ran into our peak of unemployment, 238,000. It was 238,000 at the middle of last January; it is 238,000 now. You would have almost a straight line across, whereas the rise in relief has been much greater.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for that?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. There are two reasons. One is, the facilities are there, but that is only a minor reason. The main reason is that as time passes the resources of the family diminish. What the poor do for each other far exceeds anything that even the Federal Government can do, but there comes a limit. There are in Philadelphia, we estimate, 56,000 families where there is nobody at work. There may have been five wage earners in the family, but there is not a single solitary person working now. Presumably that might represent the saturation—I would not say the saturation point, but that might represent the area of greatest need. In a great many of the families there may have been somebody working, children or perhaps the mother, bringing in a few dollars a week. But we know that there are approximately 56,000 families where there is not anybody working, and we always have that figure in mind a little when we think of the way in which the number of families has been going up.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any estimate of the average number of persons in these 43,000 families?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. It is running about 5 per family. It is a little fraction less than that, actually, about 4.8, I think.

CHICAGO

Now coming to Chicago, this is the testimony of Samuel A. Goldsmith, executive director of the Jewish charities of Chicago, and a member of Governor Emmerson's unemployment commission. On page 34 of the hearings he testified:

Now, as most of you probably know, again because of our capacity for publicity, we are not in a very healthy condition from the standpoint of tax money in Illinois or in Chicago. Indeed, I should have brought the files of our local newspapers with their screaming headlines pleading for the closing of the schools in order to exercise pressure on our legislature. I could indicate to you that the entire health program in our public schools is being eliminated or threatened with elimination. Probably there is nothing more vital in cutting down illness among children. One of the things that has made many of the children's wards that have been so extensively built in private hospitals less useful has been health work in the public schools. Some of these most vital things are being cut out because of our rather deplorable present financial situation.

On page 31 he said:

In November, 1930, we were serving 16,500 families; in November, 1931, we were serving 97,000 families through these private agencies and the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.

Edward L. Ryerson, jr., chairman of the governor's unemployment commission, in appearing before the committee, cited the following facts and figures, to be found on page 266:

It will be seen from the table above that family relief constitutes the major burden of our relief work in Cook County. This relief is administered chiefly through the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare (county poor relief fund) and through five major relief agencies supported by private contributions, namely: The American Red Cross (Chicago chapter), Catholic Charities, Jewish Charities, Salvation Army, and the United Charities. The growing burden of family relief in the city is illustrated by the growth in relief work of these agencies in recent months.

I pause merely to point out that the number of families given relief in October, 1930, was 13,211; that by November, 1931, it had risen to 90,287. I ask that that table may be incorporated in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The table is as follows:

Number of families helped by major relief agencies

	5 major agencies	Cook County bureau	Total different families [1]
1930			
October	10,650	7,682	13,211
November	22,019	10,697	25,585
December	30,167	17,287	35,929
1931			
January	34,403	22,424	41,878
February	36,956	24,394	45,087
March	41,451	26,664	50,339
April	37,269	26,894	46,234
May	33,807	24,078	41,833
June	34,332	23,879	42,291
July	35,841	25,830	43,784
August	39,928	28,202	49,672
September	43,901	29,580	53,929
October	62,474	34,281	74,023
November	77,954	37,000	90,287

[1] About two-thirds of the families receiving relief from the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, also receive some help from the private agencies.

Relief distributed by major relief agencies

Date	5 major agencies	Cook County bureau	Total relief, both groups
1930			
October	$138,472	$67,081	$205,553
November	158,920	110,175	269,095
December	269,481	171,634	441,115
1931			
January	349,301	220,040	569,241
February	436,164	242,868	679,032
March	565,173	253,101	818,274
April	500,314	191,249	691,563
May	495,999	163,412	659,411
June	524,833	160,179	685,012
July	522,672	162,183	684,855
August	603,677	186,591	790,268
September	758,928	236,460	995,404
October	930,218	268,616	1,198,839
November	1,352,808	436,691	1,789,498

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Here is a dispatch to the New York Times under date of January 21. It says:

Chicagoans are beginning to realize that with half a million unemployed and homeless people facing starvation within a week unless relief funds are forthcoming the city is now in as precarious a situation as it was after the devastating fire of 1873.

The problem of finding lenders of cash with which to pay 47,000 public employees, thousands of whom have been unpaid for seven months—

I pause to say that information which I believe to be reliable indicates police and firemen are included as well as teachers—

and to enable governmental agencies to continue functioning was temporarily obscured to-day as officials and civic leaders considered means of inducing the legislature to adopt a $20,000,000 State unemployment program when it meets Tuesday.

Mayor Cermak to-day described what might happen if relief is not obtained.

"This is civic fire insurance," he said. "These communist organizers are not new in our city. We had them in times of plenty. But now they find men more ready to listen to them. I say to the men who may object to this public relief because it will add to the tax burden on their property that they should be glad to pay it, for it is the best way of insuring that they keep that property.

"Unless relief is granted by February 1—

I pause to say that it has not yet been granted, and this is the 2d of February—

nobody knows what will happen. Where we had one applicant before we have five seeking help to-day. On the other hand, from the contributor who gave us $1,000 a year ago we are lucky to get $100 to-day. The man who gave $100 then can only afford $10 now. And those who gave us $25 or $10 then are to-day knocking on our door for relief."

Under date of January 30, under the headline "Cold Wave Grips the Middle West," the New York Times of January 31 carried a dispatch from Chicago, of which the following is an excerpt:

Near-zero cold hit Chicago as the governor's relief commission was struggling to make its disappearing dollars accomplish the utmost. To-morrow had been set as the deadline when the relief cash would be exhausted and 128,000 families would be confronted with destitution unless legislative aid in the form of a $25,000,000 appropriation was forthcoming. Action to this end is expected Monday at Springfield.

Thousands of unemployed and homeless men, many accompanied by women and children, sought refuge to-day in the shelters maintained here by the governor's relief commission and charitable organizations. The number of applicants was the highest this winter.

CLEVELAND

Now, I wish to refer to the testimony concerning the need of relief in Cleveland, Ohio.

Raymond F. Clapp, director of the welfare federation of that city, testified, on pages 138 and 139, from which I read excerpts, as follows:

We have 15,000 families receiving home relief in Cleveland. I am speaking of greater Cleveland, Cuyahoga County.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that total include all of the families that are beng assisted by any of the organizations, both public and private?

Mr. CLAPP. Yes. We have no public organization giving home relief, as I understand the term. This is exclusive of mothers' pensions and of soldiers' and sailors' relief. The home relief is administered by two private agencies—the Associated Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau. From the two of them together there are, I should say, approximately 5,000 families receiving relief this month. That compares with a little over 5,000 families a year ago at this time, and probably about 1,000 families three years ago at this time, in what we like to think of as a normal year.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had a threefold increase in the load in the last year?

Mr. CLAPP. Yes. It has been our experience, month by month through 1931, that the number of families given relief, and the cost of that relief, has been approximately triple that of the corresponding month of 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been a corresponding decline in the amount of employment in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County during that period?

Mr. CLAPP. No; the employment has not declined in that ratio.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for the increased load?

Mr. CLAPP. Many families, of course, have resources of their own that last for months, sometimes for years, before they are required to call upon a relief agency. Our total relief expenditures in 1931, including direct relief, care of the homeless, and service and administration, will be about three and a quarter million dollars. We have been able to finance two and three-quarters million dollars of that cost. We are carrying a half million dollar deficit into 1932. The two and three-quarters million dollars has been met, half from the community fund and half from local taxes, local government.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that done? Did the local city government appropriate the money and turn it over to these organizations for their use?

Mr. CLAPP. The local government appropriated the money and spent it on the recommendation of the private agency. That is, they paid bills which the private agency incurred. The private agency acted as the agent of the local government in the administration of the relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your deficit in the form of outstanding obligations at the banks, or is it bills owed?

Mr. CLAPP. Approximately half, about $200,000 of it, is in the form of bills owed. You see, that is only about half of our December expenditures. About half is in money contributed to the community fund, whose campaign closed Thanksgiving Day, and payments were made on 1932 at the time of the campaign. We have borrowed that money, also a small part is owed to the banks.

CINCINNATI

Now I wish to refer briefly to the city of Cincinnati.

On page 251 Mr. Dykstra, the city manager of Cincinnati, testified:

The normal ratio of unemployment as of 1929 would be 6 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, of the employable?

Mr. DYKSTRA. Yes, sir; of the employables. To-day it is at least 27 per cent; in other words, the figures of December 1, 1931, indicate that there are 48,000—maybe more now—totally out of work in Cincinnati, and some 40,000 who are on short time, out of a working population of slightly over 200,000.

There has come to me recently a pamphlet printed by the community chest in Cincinnati. It was issued in January, 1932, and sent to every person who had contributed to the community chest, although many of their pledges have already been paid in full. I quote the following extract:

The year 1931 produced a volume of need unparalleled in the history of organized social work. This need was taken care of in a way of which the community should feel proud. The year 1931 likewise produced financial problems which not only will carry over into 1932 but into an undetermined number of years to come. These can be met only by adequate finances, careful planning, real social statesmanship, and no little sacrifice. The future holds serious difficulties which must be squarely faced. Each year, however, particularly 1932, holds its immediate problems, heritages of 1931.

The total relief given by community chest agencies and tax-supported bodies during 1931 amounted to over $2,000,000. Of this the community chest expended over $1,000,000 through its relief agencies.

Up to January 1, agencies in the chest had given relief to more than 17,000 different families since the depression began.

The Associated Charities, largest of the family relief agencies, alone gave assistance to 6,682 different families during December as compared with 1,906 families during the same period in 1930, an increase of 350 per cent.

If the cost of unemployment relief in 1932 is as high as in 1931, over $2,000,000 will be needed for the relief program. Of this sum, $500,000 will be available through the special tax levy. Other public and private funds will provide $500,000 more. Another $500,000 will be asked for in the April campaign. This leaves a deficit of at least $500,000 for which no provision yet has been made. If the requirements for the current month are an indication of the increase for the year, the deficit for 1932 will be more than $1,000,000.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from what he is reading?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am reading from a pamphlet sent out in January, 1932, by C. M. Bookman, the executive director of the community chest in Cincinnati.

Medical relief through the city health department has increased over 300 per cent. Attendance at the babies' milk-fund clinics has increased 50 per cent.

Again:

As an indication of the downward trend of home standards, the federation of churches (social service department) reports that 42 per cent of all families visited had, during 1931, moved into cheaper quarters in order to reduce the cost of living. About one-half of the mothers in these families have been forced to work, some at meager pay.

The relief load of the Salvation Army increased 700 per cent in 1931 over 1930.

Relief work in all chest agencies has been handled with practically no increase in administration expense, although the volume of work has grown by approximately 750 per cent above a normal year.

In the first 11 months of 1931, the humane society investigated and supervised 3,537 abandoned, neglected or abused children, an increase of 250 per cent.

During the same period, the Humane Society handled 746 cases of desertion and failure to provide, more than five times as many as in 1930. Unemployment was the main cause.

The number of boys reported to the juvenile court because of delinquency has doubled in the past 23 months.

The cumulative effects of deprivation on health will be felt more strongly after the depression is over. The death rate will then rapidly increase unless unusual efforts are made now by health agencies in preventive work.

The number of cases in which the young, through discouragement and unemployment, are becoming defiant of laws and social codes is rapidly growing. More of wholesome leisure time, recreation, and training and of character-building opportunities must be afforded them.

Again:

The community chest faces the present situation with no little anxiety. Its relief work for the next few months is largely dependent upon money furnished by the extra-tax levy. In order to meet its unemployment relief needs in January, it will run a deficit of $80,000, after using all public moneys made available. The agencies within the chest already are operating on drastically curtailed budgets. No further funds for January are in sight except from the payment of pledges by subscribers.

DETROIT

I now wish to refer to the situation in the city of Detroit. Frank Murphy, the mayor, testified, and his testimony appears on pages 277 and 278, from which I read excerpts:

In normal times, in Detroit, about 4,000 dependent families are carried, about 17,000 persons. That started to increase in 1929. The registration disclosed that in the fall of 1930 more than 100,000 family heads were without employment in Detroit. The registration also disclosed the families that were in immediate need of food and rent relief, clothes, medical, and legal assistance and other forms of immediate relief. The government undertook

this by increasing its welfare personnel as best it could, meeting the problem as carefully and fairly as it could under such chaotic conditions, and with the speed that was necessary.

By the time February, 1931, had arrived 48,000 families were carried on the public-welfare rolls and more than 211,000 persons were provided for by the city government. These were all family cases. In addition 3,000,000 meals were given; 1,200,000 beds; about 14,000 homeless single men were cared for daily in factories which were taken over—Fisher Lodge and Studebaker Lodge. Two hundred thousand were given clothes, and there were a great many medical cases and cases of legal assistance daily. Some 30,000 or 40,000 persons lived on gardens taken over by the city.

The summer months came on, and we found that the money we were spending could not continue. During that year—that is, up to July, 1931——

Senator COSTIGAN. 1931?

Mr. MURPHY. Up to July, 1931, yes; the city government spent between fourteen and fifteen million dollars on relief, as much as two million in a month and more than that some months. The city fiscal problems, of course, were serious ones. They had been serious for some time, and these problems had to be met; the credit of the city had to be preserved and its personnel, as much as possible, kept intact. We were notified by the banks that we could not borrow money to carry on welfare work on so elaborate a scale and that retrenchment of welfare work would have to follow.

* * * * * * *

We now carry 22,000 families on our welfare rolls. First, let me say during the height of this a half million people in Detroit were directly affected by unemployment. There were between 125,000 and 150,000 unemployed and many thousands more on part-time employment. About a third of our population was directly affected.

When we were notified that our standards would be limited to an amount almost half of that which was expended last year, we had, of course, to make our organization and its administration as efficient as possible—exclude certain groups that we wanted to take care of.

Mark that.

We had to exclude, for instance, an adult couple if they did not have children; we had to exclude adult couples with one child if the child was above 16, and even if under if they had relatives or any possibility of adjustment.

BIRMINGHAM

I wish now to refer to the testimony of Representative HUDDLESTON, whose district embraces the city of Birmingham, Ala. His testimony appears on pages 239 and 240 of the report of the hearings, and I quote excerpts:

The best I can get at it, we have about 108,000 wage and salary earners in my district. Of that number, it is my belief that not exceeding 8,000 have their normal incomes. At least 25,000 men are altogether without work. Some of them have not had a stroke of work for more than 12 months. Maybe 60,000 or 75,000 are working from one to five days a week, and practically all have had serious cuts in their wages and many of them do not average over $1.50 a day.

A few weeks ago, my city decided as a measure of relief to dig a little canal from some funds that they had left from another improvement. They advertised that they wanted 750 laborers, I believe it was, to do the hard, dirty work of digging and other laborious and unpleasant work. The men were to work 10 hours and to get $2 a day. They had over 12,000 registrations for those jobs and they were supposed to be only men who live in my city.

Since that happened, the Woodward Iron Co., which is a large producer of pig iron, has shut down and 3,000 men were thrown out of work. Previously, they had been operating two and three days a week.

Last February our charitable organizations there were feeding something above 25,000. In July last the number had been reduced to about 10,000 because the situation had improved on account of the season. The last information I had, they were feeding about 18,000.

We are hard put to it for money. We have a very efficient worker in charge of the family relief that we are distributing, and to get it the applicant must have to have it. Nobody gets it who does not make an ironclad showing. Many are deterred, of course, by the rigid investigation and the various humiliating circumstances attending the situation and do not ask for it. They ask their neighbors. Some are too proud. They go into remote quarters of the community and beg from door to door where they think they are not known, trying to get a little something to eat.

The scale of relief ranges for an average family of four and three-tenths persons from $2.50 to $4 per week. Possibly, in some cases, there is something additional given for house rent, but I think I may say that such cases are rare.

RELIEF IN THE MINING DISTRICTS

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print certain excerpts from the testimony of Mr. Clarence E. Pickett, secretary of the American Friends Committee of Philadelphia, which is supplemental to and corroborates the testimony given by John L. Lewis, and the telegram which I read yesterday from Mr. Thomas Kennedy, secretary of the United Mine Workers, concerning conditions in the mine regions.

I wish to point out to any Senators who may take the trouble to read this testimony that all that this Friends Committee is doing in these mining districts is providing one meal a day to the children and occasionally giving relief to some nursing mothers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator COSTIGAN. To what sections of the country does your testimony apply with respect to lowered relief standards or inadequate relief?

Mr. PICKETT. I do not know how familiar you are with the geography of West Virginia. Beginning at the north side of the State, we have gone through Monongalia County, Morgantown, down through Barbour, Taylor, Marion, and Harrison Counties, then down through Charleston, Kanawha County, and on into Logan and Mingo Counties, through the west central portion of West Virginia; in the eastern end of Kentucky, in Harlan, Bell, Perry, Letcher, and Pike Counties, the southeastern corner of Kentucky; in western Kentucky in Hopkins and Muhlenberg Counties, and in southern Illinois, Williamson and Franklin Counties. Then surveys have been made which have caused us to form plans to open definitely in the Little Panhandle of West Virginia, Brooke and Ohio Counties, around Wheeling, in Belmont County, Ohio, just across the river, Westmoreland, Fayette, and Cambria, and possibly Clearfield Counties, in Pennsylvania. That is the territory we know intimately from first-hand contact.

The CHAIRMAN. And when you say that you think your organization will be able to carry the load of child feeding until June, does that include the areas which you are now surveying, aside from the ones in which you are working?

Mr. PICKETT. Yes; it does, unless the need increases more than we think it will. I think we ought to remember, however, that all relief agencies will have great difficulty in withdrawing when the spring comes. We anticipate bringing on not only pressure but cooperation in the communities to even increase the amount of gardens that are cultivated, and by the middle of June in most of these places the gardens will be productive. But we have to face next year. Most of the people that we are now feeding, even if the coal mining industry were back somewhere near normal by next autumn, large numbers of them will still be unemployed, and we ought to think now of next year, because next year's situation will not be very much better, so far as this group of people is concerned, except in the few places where we may be able to work out rehabilitation schemes, getting them on the land.

SPOKANE

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I received the following telegram from Spokane, Wash., in December:

The undersigned commissioners of the city and county of Spokane urge on Congress the immediate passage of legislation to aid the States, cities, and counties in taking care of their local unemployment problems. The local communities have now carried on the work for two years and have about exhausted their ability. The problem is national in its scope and every agency of government from the town to the Federal authority at Washington should be exerted to alleviate the distress. Local governments in administering relief are dependent wholly on direct taxes on tangible property and the burden can not be borne much longer. We believe provision should be made by the National Government for aiding local communities with funds to be supplied by increased taxes on large fortunes and by a bond issue to initiate and carry on great public works necessary to the full development of the country. We are in the midst of a supreme crisis upon the proper solution of which the future of our country depends. As during the Great War the manhood of our Nation was drawn upon unstintedly to meet the country's supreme need, so now wealth should be drafted to do its share in saving the Nation from further calamity.

That is signed by Leonard Funk, Ralph Hendricks, Leroy Lambert, A. J. Fabian, A. W. Burch, City Council of the City of Spokane, Wash; Alvin Collin, James B. Felts, Samuel W. Webb, Board of County Commissioners of Spokane County, Wash.

SUMMARY OF CONDITIONS IN THE STATES

Mr. President, there appeared before the committee Mr. Frank Bane, who was at one time a member of President Hoover's Employment Commission when Colonel Woods was at the head of it. He is a former director of public welfare in the State of Virginia, and is now an official of the Public Welfare Association, with offices in Washington. That association is made up of public welfare officials throughout the United States. He has made a brief, and in many re-

spects an inadequate summary, but the best he could gather, concerning conditions in the various States of the Union.

His first reference is to Alabama, as to which he says:

Alabama: The general financial condition of the State is serious, with a $20,000,000 current indebtedness in addition to $70,000,000 bonded indebtedness. The bond issue for $25,000,000 for road building was defeated. Many steel mills are closed. Birmingham shows extremely bad conditions, as does all of Jefferson County. Food is plentiful in the rural sections, but little cash is available.

Perhaps that will explain to Senators why the State of Alabama has not acted to meet the present situation.

Arizona: The transient problem is most serious. Over half the relief budgets are used for relief of transients. Phoenix reports a maximum of 1,780 transient men in one day. Cotton-growing districts are in distress. The tax situation is serious because of decreased valuations in the basic industries, namely, copper mining, agriculture, lumber, and raising of cattle and sheep. The State director of unemployment relief says Federal aid is needed in order to have a unified program.

Arkansas: Crops are better than they have been in years, so the rural sections are in good condition except for lack of money. Generally, the State is in bad financial condition, with over 100 bank failures and State salaries unpaid. Road construction is at a standstill and people express intense desire for this form of Federal aid. Conservative estimates place the number of unemployed at 40,000. The bituminous coal-mining sections and the industrial cities are hard pressed. Lumber mills are closed down. Johnson, Cook, and Sebastian Counties have serious conditions. Little Rock is in serious financial condition and relief is decidedly inadequate. Hot Springs is struggling with a serious transient problem. Camden was damaged by a tornado on December 13. Fort Smith has a large number of transients, a heavy bonded indebtedness, and generally bad conditions.

California: The indigent transient problem is most serious. Young men are coming in large numbers, traveling on freight trains. It has been said that Los Angeles already has over 70,000 transient men, with about 1,500 coming in daily. These Southwestern States are feeling the need for some type of Federal aid for transients.

Colorado: The mining districts are just beginning to feel the depression.

Connecticut: Thirty-three towns out of 169 are said to face an acute situation. The State is well organized.

Delaware: The State is said to be in fairly good condition.

Florida: Miami, Tampa, and Jacksonville are swamped by transients. The sparsely settled counties are not aware of any special relief problems. The State needs outside aid for the transient situation.

Georgia: Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon are listed as black spots.

Idaho: Conditions are said to be fairly good.

Illinois: The need is greatest in the large industrial sections around Chicago and in the coal-mining sections in the southern part of the State. Both Williamson and Franklin Counties have deplorable conditions, with the counties literally bankrupt, county relief cut off, banks closed, and few mines running on even part time. People literally have no money, and there is actual destitution and suffering in abandoned mining villages. All reports show desolation, distressing conditions, and rapidly growing opinion in favor of Federal relief. Cook Couty has a deficit of millions in meeting the barest family sustenance needs. There is much suffering in the State. Cities seem to have reached the limit of possible work projects and there is no indication of factories resuming activities approaching anything like normal. Alton, Danville, and East St. Louis are reported as having a serious condition. Peoria reports factories running about 40 per cent below normal. Rockford reports factories closed and banks failed. Decatur has about 2,000 unemployed. Centralia has its railroad shops closed.

Indiana: The northern steel cities present the most serious problem.

Iowa: It is believed that the State can handle its own problems.

Kansas: The coal mines around the Pittsburg field have the most serious conditions. Crawford and Cherokee Counties are in bad condition. Kansas City has inadequate funds for unemployment relief. The governor states that all Federal road funds are now used up. Unless further appropriation is made 6,000 of the 10,000 employees now working will have to be laid off with no prospect of other employment. "The greatest help," he says, "would be for Congress to appropriate at least $80,000,000 for emergency relief again this year for construction." He estimates the unemployed at 20,000 to 30,000.

Kentucky: The soft-coal mining regions have the most serious problems. Bell, Floyd, Harlan, Hopkins, Johnson, Letcher, McCreery, Muhlenberg, Ohio, Perry, Union, and Webster Counties are said to need help.

Louisiana: Industries are almost at a standstill in many places. Money is scarce. Crops were generally good throughout the State, but along the Delta and southern section conditions are bad. In the cities there is much suffering, with insufficient funds to meet the needs. Relief is woefully inadequate. There is a steady, heavy increase in applications for relief and a shortage of funds in New Orleans. Elsewhere the story is the same, with reports of large numbers of malnourished children, negro families who are not given relief, etc. Conditions are alarmingly serious, and the belief is expressed by many that aid must come from the Federal Government.

Maine: Woodcutting in the north has almost stopped and Bangor is faced by a big relief problem due to this. Aroostook County, dependent on the potato industry, is hard hit, as potatoes are selling for less than it costs to raise them.

Maryland: Queen Anne County is in the worst condition. Allegany County is serious. Outside aid may be needed for these two counties.

Massachusetts: The State is well organized and generally can care for its own. Conditions are serious in Fall River, Haverhill, and Brockton.

Michigan: Conditions in the suburb regions around Detroit, including Oakland and Macomb Counties, are especially serious. Scrip is being used to pay teachers and county employees. The upper peninsula also reports counties with much distress and practically no financial resources. Many feel the need for State aid on either a loan or direct relief basis. Grand Rapids is feeling the need for either State or Federal relief, as their relief funds are exhausted.

Minnesota: Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth are faced by serious unemployment loads. Some of the iron range towns have serious problems.

Mississippi: The problem is very largely agricultural here.

Missouri: The mining section may need help. Jasper County in this section will need outside help.

Montana: Conditions are said to be fair.

Nebraska: Six of the northern counties have been hit by the drought. The Red Cross will help here.

Nevada: Local conditions are not especially serious, although the transient problem is becoming more acute.

New Hampshire: The State will probably be able to take care of its own problems.

New Jersey: State aid is helping the situation in most places. The borrowing power is exhausted in some localities. Hoboken is reported to have inadequate funds. White-collar employees who normally would work in New York City constitute one of the most serious problems. The State by legislative enactment has appropriated $9,616,033.50 for emergency relief.

New Mexico: The transient problem causes most difficulty. One town of 2,000 reported a transient load of 2,000 during one month and others are also carrying large transient loads.

New York: State aid is helping the situation to the extent of $20,000,000. Doctor Goldstein said recently that New York City was able to relieve less than one-fourth of the unemployment burden for the winter. It is estimated that at least $50,000,000 will be spent this year in the city.

North Carolina: Rural conditions are said to be better. Food is plentiful but the agricultural population has no money available for taxes or payment of debts. The greatest suffering is in the textile section.

North Dakota: Drought conditions exist in some counties. Conditions are reported as being quite serious.

Ohio: Based upon recent reports from all subdivisions, relief funds have a deficit of more than $2,000,000 with an estimated deficit for 1932 of around $15,000,000. Recent community-fund drives have been generally successful, however, and will serve to reduce the estimated deficit. The general conclusion seems to be that private funds will be insufficient to meet the needs and that additional resources must be developed from public sources by means of additional taxation, bonds, etc. Cincinnati and Cleveland have voted extra levies on real estate, but other cities have voted them down. Unemployment officials, however, feel that in some way the State may be able to meet its needs.

Oklahoma: Tulsa and Oklahoma City conditions are tragic. The coal-mining sections are generally hard hit. The McAlester section is especially serious. The governor now has a fund of $400,000 left from the gas tax that is available for State aid.

Oregon: The mills in several counties have closed, making a serious unemployment problem.

Pennsylvania: The central and western bituminous coal areas have the most serious problem. Bank failures have been common. In Pittsburgh and Alleghany County about one-third of the total working population is out of work. The Panther Creek Valley conditions are deplorable. In Philadelphia the increase of unemployed over last year is about 60 per cent without any corresponding increase in the funds for relief. The white-collar group presents an especially serious problem here. Relief was inadequate last year and the prospect is very bad for the winter. Although the legislature has made large appropriations for State aid, the constitutionality of such aid is doubtful.

Rhode Island: State aid on a loan basis is being resorted to.

South Carolina: Spartanburg, Greenville, Charleston, and Columbia are reported as having fairly serious conditions. Since it is mainly an agricultural State, food is plentiful. The textile industry has suffered considerably.

South Dakota: Since this is an agricultural State, conditions are not so bad.

Tennessee: The general financial situation of the State is bad. The eastern mining area has bad conditions, with mines only running part time. Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, and Memphis are having a serious time. There is little distress in the rural sections. The State probably needs outside assistance.

Texas: The economic situation is complicated by oil, cattle, and cotton. The border towns, with their large Mexican populations, have serious difficulties. This State shares in the transient problem common to the Southwest.

Utah: The situation is said to be fairly good.



Vermont: The State presents no severe problems.

Virginia: Petersburg has had serious problems due to the closing of the tobacco companies, mills, etc. The bituminous-coal area in the southwest has been depressed for several years. Conditions here are becoming more serious, and the section may need considerable assistance. The suburban areas of the larger cities have serious problems. The textile centers, such as Danville, have large relief loads. This State and many others could use additional Federal road funds effectively as work relief for the unemployed.

Washington: Conditions are not reported as especially bad.

West Virginia: Conditions are especially distressing in the coal-mining regions. Twenty counties report depressing conditions. Relief standards throughout the State are generally below minimum budget requirements. Many counties have serious financial deficits. The Friends have established feeding stations in seven counties because of the great need. School children are hungry and insufficiently clothed. Localities show much distressing poverty, with corresponding need for State or possibly for Federal aid.

Wisconsin: There are 10 lumber counties in the northern part of the State where the industry has moved out.

On pages 132 and 133 of the hearings appears the testimony of Mr. Allen T. Burns, executive director of the Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York City, and if Senators have been observing the newspaper accounts, they know that Mr. Burns has been a frequent visitor at the White House. He is one of the men with whom President Hoover has conferred most concerning the relief situation.

I quote excerpts from Mr. Burns's testimony to show that in his judgment there is practically no information available concerning the smaller communities:

Mr. BURNS. I am not sure whether it is above 2,500 or above 1,000. But that is the number of communities listed in the census as communities other than towns or counties under 25,000.

Senator COSTIGAN. As to how many of those have you information?

Mr. BURNS. About a hundred only. It is not significant.

Senator COSTIGAN. Have you information as to the needs in the rural areas of America?

Mr. BURNS. Not at all.

Senator COSTIGAN. Do you know whether the Red Cross or any other agency has such information?

Mr. BURNS. So far as the systematic gathering of information, we do not have any systematic gathering.

Senator COSTIGAN. You have been in touch with these various agencies, have you not?

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

Senator COSTIGAN. Including the President's unemployment organization? And you believe that there is a large "no man's land" as to which America is not advised with respect to relief needs?

Mr. BURNS. Yes; I do.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONNAIRES BY MAYORS OF CITIES

Mr. President, I now wish to insert the data gathered from the questionnaire, to which I made reference yesterday, which was sent out to the mayors of cities in the United States asking them seven questions concerning the unemployment relief problem. The answers to the questionnaires themselves will be found in Exhibit B following my remarks, but I wish at this time to bring to the attention of the Senate the result of the questionnaires in general terms.

In response to a questionnaire sent out just before the opening of Congress, I have received letters from the mayors or from other informed officials of 810 cities, covering every section of the country. Definite information was given in nearly 700 of the letters, and many of the others contributed more summary information to the general picture drawn by these officials.

A summary of the information which I have thus obtained follows:

Question No. 1. Increase in number of unemployed persons assisted, compared with December, 1930?

One hundred fifty-six cities show an increase up to 50 per cent.

One hundred fifteen cities show an increase over 50 per cent up to 100 per cent.

Eighty-five cities show an increase of 100 per cent or over.

Thirteen cities show some decrease over the preceding year.

This decrease is due in some cases to seasonal employment, which is expected to last for just a short time, such as getting tobacco ready for the market, picking cotton, and so forth.

Between 50 and 60 cities show no increase. This can be attributed in some cases to an itinerant part of the population which has moved to another State hoping to get employment or an easier living. Many of the western cities and the southern cities complain of an itinerant population for which they are almost totally at a loss to provide.

Question No. 2. Increase in city appropriations?

One hundred twenty-two cities have no appropriation for this relief.

Twenty-three cities have no funds (bankrupt, and so forth).

Thirty cities report that this work is done through county agency, and so forth.

One hundred five cities report no increase in appropriations.

Twenty-four cities report an increase up to 25 per cent over 1930.

Eighty-seven cities report an increase of 25 per cent up to 100 per cent.

Seventy-six cities report an increase of over 100 per cent.

Ten cities report a decrease.

In almost every case where there is no increase in appropriation there is an increase in the number of unemployed.

Pensacola, Fla., with a population of 31,500, was able to appropriate only $1,200, as her credit is exhausted.

Fort Dodge, Iowa, with a population of 21,000, says that the amount is raised by the county by direct taxation and has not been increased since 1919 because the maximum amount has been levied, yet her unemployed increased 100 per cent.

Cohoes, N. Y., population 23,000, reports that the city is bankrupt. A city showing a 50 per cent decrease in appropriation shows an increase of 50 per cent in unemployment; another city showing no increase in appropriation has 200 per cent increase in unemployment.

Question No. 3. Number of additional persons to need relief this winter:

Fifty cities show an expected increase up to 50 per cent over the number now helped.

Fifty-six cities show an expected increase of 50 per cent and over of the number now helped.

Twenty-nine cities say there will be no increase.

Nine cities expect a decrease.

Nineteen cities expect an addition to those now helped of one-tenth of their population.

Many cities give figures upon which one can make no comparison. One city with a population of 60,000 expects an increase of 4,000 to 5,000.

Another says that there will be 35 families each day added.

Detroit expects to help 50,000 to 75,000 more.

Another says there will be 10,000 more families and stranded men.

Toledo expects another 3,000 families to be helped.

Another says that the situation is growing steadily worse.

Question No. 4. Proportion of emergency burden carried by private relief agencies.

One hundred and sixty-eight cities report that all or nearly all relief is by private agency.

One hundred and thirty-eight cities report 25 per cent to 90 per cent of the burden by private agency.

Forty-four cities report less than 25 per cent by private agency.

Twenty-seven cities report none of the burden carried by private agency.

Twenty-four cities report a small share of the burden borne by private agency.

Part 2. How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?

Sixty-one cities report an increase up to 50 per cent.

One hundred and ten cities report an increase of 50 per cent or over.

Many cities reporting no increase and a few reporting a decrease give as the reason their inability to collect funds.

Question No. 5. Amount of relief given weekly to the average family?

The average for 461 cities reporting on this question is $6.07 per week. In some instances there should be added to this fuel, medical attention, rent, and in one or two cases urgent bills; also old clothes. Six dollars and seven cents a week is higher than is paid in a good many instances. In Texas the average is about $3.40, in Tennessee about $3.60, in Georgia $2.43, in Arkansas $4.20, in Mississippi $2.50. In Wisconsin the average is a little over $9, Massachusetts nearly $10, West Virginia $6.21, the State of Washington $5.38, Pennsylvania about $5.50, in Ohio a little over $4.

Question No. 6. Is your city in position to float further bond issues?

Two hundred and four cities report that they are in such position.

Two hundred and eighty-five cities report that they are not in such position.

Quite a number of those cities reporting that they are in position to float further bond issues state that they do not favor floating them for unemployment relief; others speak of the difficulty of getting a market for them.

Question No. 7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation?

Three hundred and five cities, with populations aggregating 9,711,100, do favor such appropriation.

Two hundred and fifteen cities, with populations aggregating 4,618,011, are not in favor.

One hundred and thirty-one of the cities favoring the appropriation have populations of 7,000 or under.

Forty-nine cities would favor a Federal appropriation to be spent for construction.

Thirty-five cities appear doubtful as to whether such appropriation would be good.

Some of the cities not in favor give as a reason the probable inability of the Federal Government to get funds to them in time to meet the emergency. Others speak of the cost of administration. A number of cities want such a fund, if granted, administered locally.

A few of the cities agree with the second part of question 7—that such an appropriation would be of aid, but do not favor help from the Federal Government.

Some of the cities would favor such an appropriation if the money could be obtained from appropriations from money secured from taxing the higher brackets in the income tax.

Mr. President, I have concluded my presentation of the evidence as to the need for unemployment relief. I wish now to invite the attention of the Senate to the resources which are available to meet this burden.

RESOURCES NOW AVAILABLE TO MEET RELIEF BURDENS

Mr. Swift, from whom I quoted previously, on page 93 of the hearings, referred to the activities of the community chest and kindred organizations. I digress long enough to say that it was the community chest and kindred organizations with which the Gifford committee cooperated most closely. They were the front and center of the attack upon the unemployment situation in the program laid down by the President's committee. I now quote from Mr. Swift's statement as it appears on page 93 of the hearings:

On the average, community chest campaigns have been very successful in reaching their goals. Those goals, however, do not necessarily reflect either the total need in the community, which I do not think a chest campaign can set as its goal, or the actual pressure upon the private agencies in the community chest.

Sometimes the goal is fixed in advance at an amount which it is considered reasonably possible to raise. And that is a very legitimate basis from the standpoint of those who wish to encourage the community in the raising of funds. And the community may be very successful in raising that amount of money.

Sometimes, however, cities have nominally failed in reaching their goals; but that failure may be because they have rather courageously dared to fix the amount of the goal not at what they thought they could get, but at what they thought they ought to try to get. I should say that in many instances that sort of failure is more glorious than success in reaching a predetermined low goal.

Philadelphia in its recent campaign, I should say, was an example of the unusually successful campaign, raising far more money than had ever been raised before, and going over its goal. But, as you have already heard, it did not raise anywhere near enough to meet the pressure upon the private agencies in the community.

COMMUNITY CHESTS CAN NOT MEET THE BURDEN

On page 124 of the hearings Mr. Allen T. Burns, of New York City, from whom I quoted previously, director of the Association of Community Chests and Councils, testified:

The CHAIRMAN. Does that organization include within its membership most of the chests and councils in the country?

Mr. BURNS. It does.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it cover the United States?

Mr. BURNS. So far as the chests cover the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Practically all of the large cities of the country are represented?

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

* * * * * * *

Two hundred community chests holding campaigns this fall have reported a total raise of $67,206,699, or 101.2 per cent of their goal. Only 179 of these chests can be compared with the results of a year ago. Some chests are new this year and others have become more inclusive. These 179 chests show an increase in total raised of 14.4 per cent. However, chests will increase their allotment for direct relief of families in their homes by 59 per cent. In other words, practically the whole 14 per cent gain is going into relief, and while the chests deal with so many other things than relief, the 14 per cent increase in total enables them to increase relief by 59 per cent.

About 90 more chests have held campaigns and have not yet reported because they are still working to complete their goals. When these results are in the total raised this fall will be approximately $80,000,000.

Some 90 chests will hold campaigns after January 1 and will add another $20,000,000, making the total raised by chests for 1932 approximately $100,000,000. In judging how far this $100,000,000 will go toward meeting the relief needs of the country, several factors should be borne in mind.

First, community chests exist only in the more resourceful and for the most part larger cities of the country, hence I am not qualified to report on the smaller communities, especially the single-industry towns and the resourceless regions where welfare work is not well organized. In short, community chests represent the communities that ought to come nearest to caring for their own needs.

Second, while the total raised by chests slightly exceeded their total goal, 47 of the 200 chests failed by 10 per cent or more to reach their individual goals.

Third, only 35 per cent of the total raised by chests, or about $35,000,000 will be spent on home relief of families. The other 65 per cent goes to such indispensable services as hospitals, visiting nursing, child welfare, crime prevention, and provision against the misuse of the immensely increased leisure time.

That is an important point, Mr. President, because the impression has been created generally over the country that since drives for community chest funds were successful—and in many instances they went over their goal—the situation has been taken care of and that the relief needs of the unemployed have been met. Quite the contrary is the case. As Mr. Burnes, the head of the association of community chests, testified, only 35 per cent of the total raised will be spent on home relief of families, while the other 65 per cent, as he pointed out, goes to maintain the usual character-building and health agencies.

Fourth, the 59 per cent increase in relief allotments which the chests this year are able to make should be compared with the fact that relief expenditures in these communities are now averaging more than 200 per cent of those of a year ago.

In other words, Mr. President, a 59 per cent increase of relief allotments is available to meet a 200 per cent increase in need in the wealthiest and most resourceful communities of the country.

There is no sign of abatement in these increased demands, and so no prospect of sufficient private funds to meet them.

Fifth, privately contributed funds, such as those given through community chests, constitute only 30 per cent of the total which communities spend for relief of destitution. The remaining 70 per cent comes from local government funds. These percentages are taken from investigations by the United States Children's Bureau, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Association of Community Chests and Councils, and they all practically agree in those percentages.

Further on Mr. Burns testified, at page 126, as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the results of those referenda?

Mr. BURNS. In cities like Cleveland, Toledo, and Cincinnati they succeeded—

That is, referenda for additional tax levies—

in cities like Dayton, Columbus, and Youngstown they failed. But you will find that even Cleveland—and I hope some representative from Cleveland may be called—these are illustrations of our fears that I voiced in my last paragraph—you will find that even with the successful referendum in that city their public funds

at least are not more than half of what they anticipate will be needed from that source. Cleveland and Philadelphia are perhaps the two most successful chests this year, and you have already heard from Philadelphia.

I think the specific fact was not referred to, that they anticipated the need of some $6,000,000 of public funds over and above the private fund that they set out to get, and raised so magnificently, and at the present time there is no certainty that a single cent of the $6,000,000 will be available.

NEW YORK CITY

With regard to the sources available in New York City, I wish to refer briefly to the testimony of Mr. Hodson on pages 14 and 15:

For the present year it seems likely that we shall spend approximately $25,000,000 for home relief and work relief out of private funds, in view of the fact that the Gibson committee on unemployment relief has raised the splendid total of more than $18,000,000; and that we shall spend at least $20,000,000 out of public funds for home relief and work relief; and that we shall spend another $20,000,000 to $25,000,000 for what we call our categorical forms of relief which are provided for by law, i. e., mothers' pensions, aid to veterans, old-age relief, and blind relief.

* * * * * * *

My judgment, Senator, is that the funds now in sight, which have been raised through private sources and under the Gibson committee, and the funds appropriated by the city of New York under the State relief act are not entirely adequate. Further public and private funds will be needed.

PHILADELPHIA

Coming to conditions in Philadelphia, I now quote from the testimony where Senator COSTIGAN was questioning Mr. De Schweinitz, on pages 136 and 137:

What unused available public resources has Philadelphia for meeting its great need?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. I am sure that if there were any unused available resources in Philadelphia they would have been seized long ago. We are having a little difficulty in paying our policemen and firemen; and while we do not yet aspire to the heights that Chicago has reached, we hope in time to be there. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. How much money have you left in this fund which your organization is administering?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. We have in this campaign that has just closed raised $10,262,000; $5,000,000 of that went to the federations and the balance of $5,262,000 is available for the committee of unemployment relief if it is all paid. I mean there is always a certain wastage in pledges. We began spending that money just about Christmas when the public funds became exhausted. Mr. Billikopf said he thought that money would not last much beyond the 1st of May. I think it may carry through May at the rate we are spending now. We probably will spend about a million dollars in January.

Further:

The CHAIRMAN. But even under the appropriations which the State legislature has passed you would get only $2,500,000, which will only carry you until the 1st of July, if the load does not increase?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. Exactly. It seems to me that those who do not favor Federal aid have the burden of proof resting on them. We ask them to show us where the money is coming from.

PENNSYLVANIA

Concerning Pennsylvania generally, Governor Pinchot testified:

When I found I could not get what was needed, I accepted compromise after compromise to no effect. Finally the extra session—

Referring to the special session of the legislature—

adjourned, having appropriated in all $19,000,000 as against $120,000,000 that I thought was necessary. All of the $19,000,000 was either unconstitutional or without any provision for meeting the expenditures by the raising of extra funds. Even if every cent of it had been available, it was utterly insufficient for the needs of the situation.

Further on, Governor Pinchot said:

The community-chest drives which were being made, or planned, in Pennsylvania covered only about one-half of the population and, as was explained to you before, they are totally insufficient for that half.

Later on he said:

This winter, of course, is much harder than other winters, because people who have helped their neighbors before are unable to do so now, and I think with the steadily increasing amount of unemployment, before spring, we are going to be, in Pennsylvania, in a desperate situation unless something is done to help us.

* * * * * * *

Senator COSTIGAN. Under the circumstances detailed by you, what sources of relief are available for the distressed people of Pennsylvania?

Governor PINCHOT. All of the sources which I have described in this plan would have been available if the legislature had acted upon them.

Now, we have the chests, which cover only about half of the people of the State, and the poor boards, whose funds are mainly exhausted. The unions will help where they can, but the sum of it all is that no amount of money in any way comparable to the need is being made available for unemployment relief in Pennsylvania.

Senator COSTIGAN. When you say that the chests cover only about one-half of the people of Pennsylvania, Governor Pinchot, to what do you refer?

Governor PINCHOT. I mean the community chests of the Hoover-Gifford drive. They cover 23 cities, as I remember it, in Pennsylvania, and they raised something, I believe, in the neighborhood of $20,000,000.

Senator COSTIGAN. Are those funds not expended in behalf of all the distressed people of Pennsylvania?

Governor PINCHOT. No, no; indeed they are not. They are spent only in the localities where they are raised; and, in the second place, the great majority of the money, something like 70 per cent of it, I believe, goes to organized charities already in existence, and functioning whether there is a depression or not.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the bulk of their funds is not for the purpose of relieving the distress occasioned by the emergency?

Governor PINCHOT. The bulk of it is not. The bulk of the chests goes to organized permanent charities of one sort or another.

Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, of Philadelphia, on page 49, testified:

Mr. MURPHY. There are many communities in Pennsylvania with no private family-welfare agencies. The great overwhelming body of family relief is carried by overseers of the poor or welfare. The hopeful note is that the development under wise leadership has been more rapid than there has been personnel to direct it. At the beginning of the unemployment crisis only 25 communities had private family-welfare societies regularly organized. Since then the number has increased.

* * * * * * *

The Pennsylvania Department of Welfare reports of the drying up of private funds. While there are 34 community chests in 27 counties, there are 40 counties without chest services to raise money.

CHICAGO

Referring to the situation concerning resources in the city of Chicago, Mr. Goldsmith says:

I might tell you parenthetically that, so far as some of our family-welfare agencies were concerned, there were portents of extensive unemployment back as far as May, 1929. We began to feel an increase in our load in some of our agencies in Chicago, and I think elsewhere, as early as that. In Chicago we have set up a particular form of organization to meet the situation. The governor appointed last year—that is, for the year 1930—a governor's commission on unemployment and relief, and that commission, so far as it had a Cook County branch, ran a campaign last year and raised $5,000,000. It was rather arduous work, but the money was raised. That campaign was to supplement the funds already being expended by the private agencies, and primarily the funds were expended through the private agencies. There was, in addition, $2,000,000 voted by our legislature—rather a bond issue was approved in the sum of $2,000,000, which money was to be expended by the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare. It will interest you to know that those bonds have not been sold as yet.

In other words, the city was unable to sell the bonds, although it authorized them.

The $5,000,000 which the governor's commission felt was sufficient to meet our needs for the year of October, 1930, to October, 1931, was used up on July 18, 1931. Hence, when the commission's campaign was organized for Cook County, and originally set a goal of $8,800,000, it carried a liability, so far as the private agencies were concerned, of making up to those private agencies certain deficits that they incurred by virtue of carrying an overload of relief between July 18 and October 1. It took about a million dollars to do that—money relief.

I describe this to indicate primarily the set-up, the form of organization. Chicago is so far convinced that it can meet its problem in the utilization of its Cook County Department of Public Welfare, or Bureau of Public Welfare, and private agencies, provided the funds are expended through those channels.

The new campaign was very successful. Instead of raising $8,800,000 that it set out to raise, it raised over $10,500,000. However, by the 15th of December, 1931, the commission has already spent about $5,000,000 of that money, and in the campaign were included certain very definite budgets of some of the private agencies, so that some money that might otherwise have been collected is not available.

It will interest you to get the contrasting figures of November of last year and November of this year, to understand how mightily our relief problem has grown. In November, 1930, the largest of these private agencies in point of view of number of families served, the United Charities, which is a nonsectarian agency, spent in money relief $51,277—let us say $51,000. In November, 1931,

one year later, when funds were somewhat available to meet their problem, they spent $522,000, ten times as much money. The Jewish charities in November, 1930, spent in money grants $26,500, and in November, 1931, $46,000.

* * * * * * *

We are spending the money faster than we collect it—the governor's commission has twice borrowed sums in the neighborhood of $300,000,000 because expenditures go on at a much more rapid rate than the money comes in * * *.

* * * * * * *

Senator COSTIGAN. So that the figures you give really indicate increasing need?

Mr. GOLDSMITH. Tremendously so. In November, 1930, we were serving 16,500 families; in November, 1931, we were serving 97,000 families through these private agencies and the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.

On pages 32 and 33 he says:

May I return now for a moment to our general financial situation? The joint emergency relief fund, as the governor's commission fund in Cook County is known, raised $10,500,000. Half of that was spent by the middle of December of this year. The fund is supposed to last until next October, when perhaps a new fund will be raised. The people in the governor's commission expect that our present rate of expenditure, which is roughly $2,500,000 a month for these 100,000 families, will spend all their money by about the 15th of February.

I have already cited dispatches from the press to indicate that their money was exhausted sooner than they anticipated—namely, on the 1st day of February—and that they are now without funds.

Beyond this there is no money.

DETROIT

So far as resources in Detroit are concerned, Mayor Murphy testified as follows, on pages 284 and 285:

Detroit has over a million and a half people and 300,000 taxpayers. We are limited as to the methods by which we can raise money. We can not tax incomes. If we were free to devise our own tax laws, it would not take us very long to solve the problems in Detroit. We have just a general property tax, which now has become so burdensome, through the spoils system and the lack of planning in our fiscal affairs during the past, that the general property tax has become almost a blight. There is a personal-property tax which the governments in the past have not enforced, and it has not been collected, and it does not mean anything much.

Most of the 300,000 taxpayers who pay for the government of the city of Detroit are modest home owners, and the city's income is almost entirely made up of this general property tax, and that is all we can do about it.

Now the large incomes are outside of the city limits often. The large industries have moved outside of the city limits, or a great many of them have, and the large residential properties are located outside of the city limits. These people pay income tax to the Federal Government. So the justice of the situation and an equitable distribution of the burden necessitates that all governments play their part in it. Then the city is limited in its credit—very limited. It can not even go on what it calls a sound program. It has no reserves. No one has been thoughtful enough to work that out in the past, and its credit has reached its limit. We have had a difficult struggle to keep it up right, but we have kept it up right and the credit of Detroit and its fiscal position is better to-day than at any time in five years. This has been due to the fact that in one year we dropped $17,000,000 out of the operating costs of the government, and with an ordinance we put into effect day before yesterday, a curtailment of other governmental services, which will total $5,500,000, amounting to a total of $22,500,000 less this current year in operating costs than the year preceding.

The CHAIRMAN. What types of services are you eliminating?

Mr. MURPHY. We are eliminating part of the 36 services that have grown on the city since 1916, such as our city planning commission, our rapid transit commission; we are just keeping a skeleton force in the art museum—I mean in operating personnel—we are cutting into even the departments for peace and health and safety.

And yet Senators say that cities have not done their utmost in meeting this problem. Here is the city of Detroit, forced by circumstances and by pressure from the bankers to reduce the health, the police, and the safety activities in that city; and yet Senators contend that they can meet this problem of unemployment relief alone and unassisted.

CLEVELAND

Now, Mr. President, I desire to take up for a moment the resources that are available in the city of Cleveland.

The city of Cleveland has always prided itself on its ability to meet these problems, and to meet them adequately. It is known in welfare circles as one of the most civically conscious communities in the country. Mr. Clapp, the director of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, had this to say about the situation financially in that city in meeting the burden of unemployment relief:

But assuming that one and three-quarter millions of that will be available for relief, which is more than I think we can get for relief, that, added to the $2,000,000 of community-fund money available, will merely finance a relief expenditure in 1932 of $3,250,000, plus meeting the deficit hanging over from this year. It is my opinion that relief requirements in 1932 will be at least $6,000,000, however, and may go as high as $8,500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have in sight how much?

Mr. CLAPP. And we have in sight $3,750,000. So that there is a deficit, in round numbers, of something between two millions and four and a half millions, depending upon whether the relief requirements in 1932 are double those of 1931 or whether they are triple those of 1931. In my opinion, they will be somewhere between double and triple the 1931 experience.

The tax limitations upon local government are such that I believe local government will be unable to find money for this purpose other than such as can be found from this special 1-mill levy. The demands upon private generosity have been such—the community fund raised $5,690,000 in its recent campaign—that I believe we shall be unable to count upon private philanthropy for any of this anticipated deficit. The only sources, then, from which it can be met are borrowings or additional taxation by local government; and the State legislature will have to meet in order to empower them.

* * * * * * *

Senator COSTIGAN. Cleveland is rather noted, is it not, among community-chest cities, for the generosity of its gifts?

Mr. CLAPP. We like to think we have that reputation.

Senator COSTIGAN. Nevertheless, you find increasing difficulties in meeting your needs?

Mr. CLAPP. It is impossible to meet the needs from private contributions alone in such a situation as this.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I judge from some of these comments as the Senator proceeds that one of the major difficulties is the exhaustion of local credit.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It is one of the major difficulties, together with the mounting tax delinquencies, due to the depression and the inability of property owners to pay the tax levies.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Has the committee any information as to the exhaustion of State credit rather than mere municipal credit?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The only detailed information which the committee has is the information which I placed in the RECORD a little while ago—a summary of the situation in some of the States made by Mr. Frank Bane, a former member of the President's Committee on Employment, and now the executive director of the American Public Welfare Association. He had gathered certain information regarding the unemployment-relief problem in the various States, and in that summary in some instances there is indication of the financial situation confronting some of the States. May I say to the Senator, however, that the committee has made no survey concerning the financial situation in the various States.

The Senator from Colorado, when he discusses the matter, I believe, will take up the constitutional difficulty which confronts some of the States in regard to appropriating any money at all for relief.

So far as the cities which replied to the questionnaire, to which I have adverted before, are concerned, there are available the responses of many communities concerning their ability to float further bond issues.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Did the committee consider in any degree the possibility of meeting the problem by loans to States?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The suggestion did not come up for considerattion by the committee, but I have heard it made by Senators in conversation since the bill was reported. I will say to the Senator that the Senator from Colorado will discuss the situation so far as that is concerned. My information is that there are a number of States which could not borrow any money from the Federal Government.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator means because of constitutional provisions?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; but I prefer to leave the legal phase of the matter to the junior Senator from Colorado?

CINCINNATI

So far as the city of Cincinnati is concerned, Mr. Dykstra, the city manager, testified concerning resources:

For instance, in 1931 the campaign of the community chest undertook to realize an additional amount for unemployment relief. That ran to something like $400,000, and for the first few months of the year the understanding with the city was that the chest would undertake to spend that money first and the city would undertake later to provide out of current appropriations every cent that could be made available.

We went through the year on that basis, and until about the middle of November we stayed out of the borrowing group of cities. After that we were flat and had to resort to what is called the Pringle-Roberts law of Ohio, under which the city could borrow as much as $500,000.

He refers to a law which the State Legislature of Ohio passed in extraordinary session last spring to raise the debt limits of cities in order to enable them to borrow for unemployment-relief purposes.

There is available from the drive which will be conducted by the community chest in February—it has been advanced from April to February—the same amount, if the community chest gets it, making $1,000,000 in sight for Cincinnati unemployment relief for 1932.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the approximate monetary expenditures of the city and the community chest, if you know, for unemployment relief purposes?

Mr. DYKSTRA. For 1931, beginning in January, the expenditures were $75,000 and in December, $171,000, increasing, with the exception of the two months of April and May, each month. At the present time we are running at about the rate of $250,000. If we scaled that down to $200,000, making every bit of relief the minimum amount of relief, it would carry us, under the proposed financial program, to about June 1.

* * * * * * *

Senator COSTIGAN. If the relief were extended, as you think it should be, considering the need, how soon would your funds, in all probability, be exhausted?

Mr. DYKSTRA. They would probably be exhausted a month earlier.

THE SITUATION IN THE SMALLER COMMUNITIES

The Rev. Father O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, testified concerning the situation in the smaller communities. He said:

I believe at the present time from my observations in different cities—and I have been in contact personally with the situation in some 45 cities of various sizes during the past six months—I believe that the problem is particularly acute in the small cities and in the small industrial cities with one industry and in the mining towns.

I shall read from the statement of Mr. Jacob Billikopf concerning resources. He is the executive director of the Federation of Jewish Charities in Philadelphia. He is a well-known expert upon this whole problem of relief. He said, as appears on page 83:

Unemployment relief thrusts a staggering burden upon our social agencies, public and private. It shakes and may shatter our whole scheme of social work—health, recreation, education, case standards for helping people in the ordinary coils of misfortune. Yet it is driven home to us that charitable giving is not sufficient. The relief budgets embedded in the sums raised by the community drives under the lead of the President's committees won't of themselves last the winter out. They can not make up for the flattening out of pay envelopes everywhere. Social workers who are stewards of these funds know this. We turn to municipal help, but that throws over onto real estate the brunt of an industrial risk at a time when landlords are shy on rents, when business is stalled, and when home owners run the risk of losing their equities. This left-handed blow at middle-class incomes gives another twist to the downspiral of purchasing power. Moreover, the resources of hundreds of American municipalities will be cramped for a long time to come because of their relief bills last winter and this.

Slowly we have begun to realize that local taxation will not afford enough money.

Mr. Hodson, referring to the difficulties of local communities, had this to say, as appears on page 25:

I think we have to remember that the burden as it is borne locally at the present time falls pretty heavily upon real estate, and that as the mayor of New York pointed out the other day in the hearing when he and his associates on the board of estimate and apportionment appropriated $5,000,000 for home relief, that there are a good many small-home owners who wonder whether the increased taxation will result in their seeking the bread lines. It raises the very important question of whether it is going to be necessary to tap other sources of wealth, namely, income, in order to meet this very great problem effectively.

Mr. HUDDLESTON, referring to conditions in Birmingham, on page 241 of the hearings, said this:

I believe, if it were easy to get in the poorhouse in my county, we would have several thousand in it, but the county authorities are looking after the county finances and the county is hard up because of this tax situation and, like all units of government, we have spent our money in various ways and we owe about all the money anybody will let us owe them, and it is necessary that economy be practiced by the public authorities.

In the testimony of Mr. Bayne, on page 110, this appears:

I might say this in that connection: The serious problem which confronts the welfare officials in quite a number of the States is the financial condition which exists not only in the State but in the localities. We have formed the habit of talking about the two or three year depression. In a great many States, particularly those that are agricultural, and those which are largely mining States, and bituminous coal particularly, there has been a 7, 8, or 10 year depression, which is responsible to some extent for the condition of State finances.

RELIEF IS INADEQUATE

Mr. President, I wish now to take up what I consider to be a very important aspect of this problem; that is, the inadequacy of the relief which is being afforded in view of the present need for relief, to which I have adverted and concerning which I have presented testimony, and the resources which are available, about which I have just concluded my remarks.

Mr. Billikopf, of Philadelphia, in his testimony on pages 115 and 116 of the record, quoted from a letter which he addressed to the New York Times, as follows:

In the first place, we shall not have done our duty in the situation so long as there is such a wide spread between the relief granted by our emergency set-ups and the relief standards set by our going charitable agencies in normal times based on their studies of what will keep a household intact. In Philadelphia, for example—and you must remember that I am identified with both organizations—the minimum relief accorded a family of five by the family society of the Federation of Jewish Charities is $21.97, divided as follows: Food, $9.25; lunches, 60 cents; rent, $5.77 ($25 per month; 5-room house); light and cooking, 69 cents; clothing, $2.92; household supplies, 35 cents; car fare, 90 cents; incidentals, 64 cents; coal, 85 cents (on a weekly basis throughout the year).

This is not guesswork; it is based on the most rigorous studies of what is needed to keep body and soul together; to keep health from being impaired; to conserve what we do not want to see broken down in family life. The relief available and distributed by our emergency unemployment relief committee, which now has under its care 40,000 families, is so far under this standard of adequacy as to be self-evident. It has amounted to $5 per week for a family of five for food only.

Mr. President, compare that with the minimum standard allowed to preserve health and decency of $21.97, and one can then understand the breakdown of family life, the health standards, and the moral fiber of the citizens who are being ground down under depression and unemployment. Mr. Billikopf went on to say:

In Altoona, Pa., where at this moment 1,200 families are cared for, the allowance per family is only $5 per month.

How would any Senator, a Member of this body, like to face the necessity of taking care of himself, his wife, and his children on $5 a month? Mr. Billikopf continues:

So you can see how wide is the spread between what we social workers think is the irreducible minimum for a family of five and what our unemployment relief committee in Philadelphia is granting, or what is allowed to needy families in Altoona and elsewhere.

Concerning the adequacy of relief in Philadelphia, Mr. De Schweinitz said:

The CHAIRMAN. How much are you able to allow these 56,000 families in which there is no one at work?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. Forty-three thousand families are actually getting help.

The CHAIRMAN. But do you make a different allowance for the 56,000 families in which there are no wage earners?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. The committee for unemployment relief has limited funds, although we have tried our best to get all the money we could. We have tried to get money from the State; we have tried to get it from the city; and we have tried to get it from private giving.

There is an answer to those Senators who are complaining that these witnesses before the committee have not exhausted every available avenue in their attempt to meet this appalling relief burden!

The CHAIRMAN. I am not criticizing your organization; I just want to get at the facts.

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. I am just explaining that, because I am very much ashamed of the figure I am going to give you. The actual amount, the actual average per family during the period that I have shown to you, has been $4.89 per family per week. Last year it was $5.01 per family. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. I take it from the qualifications or the explanation which you made prior to the statement as to the amount that was being given, you do not regard it as adequate to meet the situation, despite the contribution of friends and churches and other organizations.

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. That is correct. We had the committee for unemployment relief, which operated up until the middle of July, on private funds; then the bureau for unemployment relief, which operated under the same general administration—Mr. Horatio G. Lloyd, who was chairman of the committee for unemployment relief, became administrator of the bureau for unemployment relief, a dollar-a-year man. So there has been a continuing organization, and that organization has, in the main, been able to give only food, fuel, shoes, clothing which has been contributed and does not come out of our funds, and gas. There has been no payment of rent. There has not been money enough to pay rents, and there is no doubt that the landlords, who are usually thought of as the capitalistic class but in the main are not, have suffered greatly. They are in a great many instances just as poor as the clients themselves—I recall one woman who came to us for help and said, "Everybody renting from me is being helped by your committee, and now I have come because they don't pay the rent." So they have gone through an enormous amount of hardship. There is no doubt about that, and their attitude has been fine. In the month of November in Philadelphia we had only 53 evictions in what was then almost 40,000 families, but there has been an enormous amount of breaking up of families. There is house after house in certain parts of the city, 6-room houses, where there is one family to each room.

Mr. President, I do not know what will be required to convince the Members of this august body that there is need for action by the Federal Government. Evidence has been presented here to show the absolute breakdown of family life, the overcrowded conditions. I have demonstrated that those in distress are upstanding, independent, industrious citizens of the country. They have been driven only by sheer force of necessity to seek relief. Six families are crowded into a 6-room house in hundreds and hundreds of instances in the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. De Schweinitz continued:

The doubling up is simply beyond relief. There are families that have been broken up where the children have been parceled out among the neighbors. I know instances in which the children do not actually stay with the same neighbor for more than a week at a time. One neighbor will take care of a child for a week, and then the child goes to the next neighbor for two weeks, and then somewhere else, just being passed around all the time. There is a complete break-up in family life in those instances.

The chairman of the governor's commission of Illinois testified, on page 259 of the hearings, that the average relief per family in Cook County is $20 per month. In Cleveland they are giving $25 per month. In Cincinnati there is no average amount specified, but Mr. Dykstra, in response to the question "Can you tell us something about the standard of relief which is given," said:

Of course, it is at a minimum. Relief is given to a family one week and then they are pushed off for a week in the hope that somehow or other the breadwinner may find some kind of work.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this money spent for? Does it include anything other than food?

Mr. DYKSTRA. To date, no.

The CHAIRMAN. No rent being paid?

Mr. DYKSTRA. We are paying no rent at all.

I wish to refer now to the New York Times of January 20, in which appeared a statement addressed to Mayor Walker and signed by 23 members of the welfare council's coordinating committee on unemployment. They had this to say in part:

We believe that a full understanding of suffering which already exists and is constantly increasing as the months of unemployment lengthen into years will result in prompt and effective public action. It seems the more necessary to emphasize this need again at this time because of persistent rumors to the effect that the present authorizations of $5,000,000 for home relief and $15,000,000 for work relief, inadequate as they are, may be substantially reduced when the final decisions are arrived at.

We say without hesitation or qualification that any such reduction would be calamitous and would result in widespread suffering and hunger.

Further on they said:

At least 800,000 persons are out of employment.

Only 118,000 families have received assistance of any kind.

At least 107,000 additional families are in immediate and, in many cases, desperate need of help.

The following appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 30 under the headline:

Fund about gone; no new cases for citizens' relief after tomorrow. Only $300,000 in sight, and it will be entirely exhausted in six weeks. Sixty thousand persons will go hungry after February 1; $1,325,000 needed to complete year.

I quote briefly from the article:

The citizens' committee on relief and unemployment to-day announced that it would not take any new relief cases after tomorrow; also that with only $300,000 of funds in sight it would have to abandon its work altogether within six weeks unless additional funds are forthcoming. * * *

The gravity of the relief situation was pointed out to Mayor Miller by Chairman Smith in the following letter.

From which I read:

DEAR MR. MAYOR: At a meeting of the executive committee held Friday afternoon the following resolution was unanimously approved.

"*Resolved*, That because the citizens' committee on relief and employment will be without funds on February 1, it must terminate its emergency relief and employment activities, and that in winding up such activities of the committee the directing staff be instructed to make no expenditures beyond the amounts yet to be received during the course of the year from the joint campaign of the community fund and the citizens' committee on relief and employment."

It is our belief that about six weeks will be required to end the committee's relief and employment activities. In the meantime, we shall notify all agencies now receiving funds from the citizens' committee of this decision in order that they may shut down their machinery for taking care of the emergency load.

The necessity for taking such drastic action is deeply regrettable. It means throwing thousands of people upon their own resources, to obtain food or money in any way they can, or starve. Yet is a decision forced upon our committee by the plain fact that the funds on hand are entirely exhausted, and neither the city nor the public has responded to the call for additional money.

This is both a decision and a last appeal. We are fully aware of the serious consequences of refusing all further applications for help and of gradually turning 69,000 people now receiving relief out to shift for themselves.

Respectfully submitted.

TOM K. SMITH, *Chairman*.

Mayor Murphy, testifying concerning the inadequacy of relief in Detroit, had this to say:

So, in carrying on our work, in October we found that we had to conduct it on what we call a survival relief basis; in other words, a year ago last fall we tried to make adjustments with the family on a sort of normal healthy basis, trying to preserve as nearly as it could be done something of the standard that the family was accustomed to. It was not always the same by a long ways, but it was not reduced to a survival basis.

With reference to Chicago Mr. Goldsmith testified:

In that minimum budget, if you take into consideration the fall in food commodity prices, a child between 2 and 5, I think, is allowed about $1.50 a week expressed in food, and a workingman is allowed about $2.40. That is not very much money. It will, therefore, amaze you to know that even this minimum budget, given when we think we have sufficient money available, in order to stretch the money over all the families, and for the time of the emergency, the present emergency, that minimum budget is reduced at least to 75 per cent. In other words, we give 75 per cent of what we logically and decently have set up as a minimum and want to apply.

I also wish to refer to the testimony of Miss Dorothy Kahn, of Philadelphia. She is executive director of the Jewish Welfare Society of that city. I quote:

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell this committee what happens when these budgets are pared down to spread out the relief?

Miss KAHN. Senator, the things that happen are so legion that it is difficult to be brief on this subject. I think that the best way to approach it, perhaps, is to indicate what actually is happening in some of the families in Philadelphia that are now being cared for under our present funds, the city funds, which will soon be exhausted.

The CHAIRMAN. City funds?

Miss KAHN. These are city funds. The same bureau will administer the Lloyd committee funds after the 1st of January, as they did last year before the city appropriation was made.

The bureau of unemployment relief, in the creation of which we have all been interested because it was a public agency, for the first time administering direct relief after a lapse of 50 years in our community, has found it necessary, because of the limitations of its fund, to give what it regards as wholly inadequate relief. I think Mr. De Schweinitz will testify further on this point to-morrow. What impresses me as a family social worker are some of the direct results of our inadequate relief provisions as they come to my attention in a private agency which has attempted to maintain what we call a minimum standard of health and decency in our relief appropriation—and what I say is no criticism of our bureau; it is operating under an intolerable handicap, caring for 43,000 families, about forty times as many families as have ever received relief at one time in Philadelphia in normal times, and finds itself having to deal with a practical situation. Now, this bureau is providing grocery orders to families in amounts that range from $1.50 for one or two persons to something like $5 or $6 for a family of five persons.

The CHAIRMAN. Per week?

Miss KAHN. Per week. It also gives a certain amount of milk for young children in cases of illness. It provides a limited amount of coal, shoes where needed, and clothing on an emergency basis, only secondhand clothing such as is donated to the bureau. It pays no rent, not even in cases of eviction, and that is one of the outstanding problems in this situation, and I think that it illustrates some of the results of inadequate relief.

The CHAIRMAN. What happens to these families when they are evicted?

Miss KAHN. The families in Philadelphia are doing a number of things. The dependence of families upon the landlords, who seem to have a remarkable willingness to allow people to live in their quarters, rent free, is something that has not been measured. I think the only indication of it is the mounting list of sheriff's sales where property owners are simply unable to maintain their small pieces of property because rents are not being paid.

* * * * * * *

One of the factors that is never counted in all of the estimates of relief in this country is the factor of neighborliness. That factor of neighborliness is a point that I would like to stress here, because it seems to us who are close to this problem that this factor has been stretched not only beyond its capacity but beyond the limits of human endurance. We have no measure in Philadelphia—

Says Miss Kahn—

to-day of the overcrowding that is a direct or indirect result of our inability to pay rent for families. Only the other day a case came to my attention in which a family of 10 had just moved in with a family of 5 in a 3-room apartment. However shocking that may be to the members of this committee, it is almost an everyday occurrence in our midst. Neighbors do take people in. They sleep on chairs, they sleep on the floor. There are conditions in Philadelphia that beggar description.

Mark this:

There is scarcely a day that calls do not come to all of our offices to find somehow a bed or a chair. The demand for boxes on which people can sit or stretch themselves is hardly to be believed. I would not have believed it until I got actual testimony from our workers in the field and workers in this bureau (who have been coming to classes that I have been teaching for these workers) that families were living with the paucity of household goods, to say nothing of the total lack of income, that people in this country, in a civilized community, are having to experience at this time. Of course, that is on the physical side.

Later, on pages 76 and 77, she said:

Our own Federal Bureau of Home Economics is bringing to bear all of the educational resources of the Government to help families to live on the low incomes which they have even in normal times, and we are using those resources. To describe the budget that we would consider as adequate for, say, the typical family of five, consisting of a father and mother, three children, ranging in ages, say, from 13 to 7—and, by the way, this represents an average family. We would estimate as that family's needs something just a few cents less than $22 a week. That amount would provide $9.25 for food—and this figure, by the way, is subject to modification in the light of our December prices, because we are taking advantage of the drop in food costs. It would be reduced by about 75 cents from last June's figures.

Sixty cents a week for lunch for a school child or working member of the family——

Senator COSTIGAN. Is that for three children?

Miss KAHN. This item would be for one person, either for the working person or for the school person.

Rent at the rate of $25 a month; fuel for light and cooking, 69 cents; clothing, $2.90. Then a number of other items, household supplies, car fare either to work or school, incidental expenses, ice, and so forth, coming to about $2.50.

Making a total of almost $22—$21.80, or nearly $22 a week.

Senator COSTIGAN. That total is for how many people?

Miss KAHN. Five people. This is about four times as much as our public bureau finds it possible to give at the present time. We consider that an absolute minimum. If we deviate from it we know that we are undermining this family's standard of food, with the resultant threat to health; we know that we are undermining their capacity for maintaining decent family life, not having enough cups and saucers to go around, enough chairs to sit on, and so forth. If we deviate from it on the rent side, we know we have the overcrowding evil that I described, and so forth.

I wish to read briefly from the January, 1932, issue of the Welfarian, published in Pittsburgh, which has the headline "Funds Inadequate for Job Ahead—Crisis Facing Welfare Fund as Needs Continue to Mount":

The plain truth is that we are trying to stop an avalanche with a toothpick in Allegheny County. Needs have gone far beyond the anticipation on which the budgets were based last summer. Unemployment has increased from 62,000 to 110,000 since the first of the year. Now, with a fund of less than $6,000,000, we are trying to meet suffering and need caused by a wage loss of more than $500,000,000.

These words, from Wilbur F. Maxwell, executive secretary of the welfare fund, indicate the crisis facing that organization at the present time.

Mr. Hodson testified:

The CHAIRMAN. What information have you as to what is happening to the relief standards of organizations which have been accustomed to carrying the normal load? Have they been of necessity curtailed during this period because of the demand for emergency relief due to unemployment?

Mr. HODSON. There is no question about that. They have been curtailed in several ways. Relief in New York City now is for the most part on what might be called a disaster basis.

Mr. West testified:

We begin to temper our estimates to the amounts of money that we have got rather than to the amount of need. We are very flexible about our understanding of the amounts of need, especially when we begin to add them up, and don't think of them in terms of an individual family situation.

I now quote from the testimony of Mr. Goldsmith:

The CHAIRMAN. What is happening to the normal standards of relief organizations? Has it been necessary to reduce those standards in order to meet the increased demands for emergency relief?

Mr. GOLDSMITH. Yes; I indicated to you in presenting the facts on relief that the minimum budget had been reduced to 75 per cent thereof.

Mayor Murphy, of Detroit, said, on page 281:

Even the present survival relief plan would not meet the situation if there should occur an increase in unemployment. The two inadequacies of the present situation are largely the meagerness of the relief under our present allowance and, second, the danger in the event it should grow worse.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to insert in the RECORD additional excerpts from the testimony concerning the inadequacy of relief and the resultant effect upon those who are receiving relief.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The excerpts are as follows:

IN COAL AREAS

(Pickett, p. 59)

Mr. PICKETT. Well, let me put it in this way: That the area of need is so great that we are facing—that we drew an arbitrary line to hit the worst spots first. Now, we are making a second study in each of these areas and that is spreading out into some of these slightly more favored communities. Of course, within a given school district you may have a mine that is operating one day a week and another that is operating three days. Now, we are studying each community, so that we probably will have to include a good many more, because we are putting our feeding on the basis of the weight of the child, and also certain other factors which we discover by a case study of families. The first thing we do is to weigh all the children in the school, and automatically put on the list to be fed all who are 10 per cent underweight.

(Pickett, p. 61)

Mr. PICKETT. The only thing we can do thus far in the case of nursing and expectant mothers is to furnish milk in the home, and we have not covered that field yet. That, of course, involves a great deal of family visitation, and we have not been able to cover all the families in that much detail where we are operating.

Senator COSTIGAN. What you say applies to nursing mothers also?

Mr. PICKETT. To nursing and expectant mothers; yes. We are told by one of the district representatives, when we asked them to investigate the number of nursing and expectant mothers, that

that would include every woman of child-bearing age in the country. No birth control is exercised in these counties. Families are large and almost every home has a baby or expectant mother.

RELIEF BUDGETS GENERALLY

(Swift, p. 99)

The CHAIRMAN. Were these the same agencies that had responded to your previous questionnaire?

Mr. SWIFT. Approximately the same agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of replies did you receive?

Mr. SWIFT. We received budgets from practically all the agencies, not for a family of five but based just upon allowances per person. Twenty-seven of these agencies figured out what the family budget would amount to for a family of five persons. And we received these 27 family budgets.

The 27 budgets used as guides in that number of agencies ranged from $15 a week to $26.43 a week.

You heard yesterday a description of what goes into a family budget of $22 a week. Obviously the smaller budget to which I refer here does not include some of the items which the $22 a week budget includes.

Comparatively few agencies are able to maintain their standard relief budget. All of them are reducing the budget as a matter of practice for unemployment cases.

NONPAYMENT OF RENT

(Goldsmith, p. 32)

You have heard the statement already made that in certain communities in this country private agencies and public-welfare agencies are not paying rent. Of course, we can attempt to take the situation out on the landowners, but many of these landlords—that is, the landlords of these poor families—are themselves working people; they are themselves people who, by dint of saving, have acquired a house and depended on a tenant to carry the house—at least, that is greatly the situation in Chicago. When we reduce them to penury because in addition to their not receiving rent from a tenant who is dependent, they themselves are out of work, we put them in a position where they can not pay taxes and must lose their homes. As you know, because Chicago does receive an inordinate amount of publicity, there is a tremendous number of people in Chicago who actually are having their homes foreclosed and losing them, and who should be helped to retain them, because they are very decent people. Not only that, but not paying rent produces in the people who are tenants, as well as the landlords, a terrific amount of insecurity psychologically. These people are expecting to be evicted all the time.

In the Cook County renters' court there are 150 cases on Saturday, I was told by Judge Haase, the other day, the judge in that court, and 250 cases on an average day—landlord and tenant cases, in which writs of eviction are being asked. Many of these evictions never take place because a social agency steps in and pays part of the rent due, and the landlord is willing to forget what is due him. There are plenty of people in Chicago who have not paid rent for a year, who have not paid any rent at all and are being carried by landlords. That situation, however, is psychologically fraught with tremendous insecurity for these people, because to have a shelter, a home, is so primarily a need of anyone.

(Swift, p. 101)

And yet I have a serious question as to how long the omission of the payment of rent can go on. Not merely how long the landlords can stand it, but what is going to happen when the landlords can not stand it, with the burden of tax delinquencies, which is piling up in a great many cities. Not all landlords are wealthy real-estate corporations. You see many instances of where the small landlord depends largely upon his rents for his income. And when a family or families in one or two of his houses have been unable to pay rent for a number of months, he becomes an applicant for relief himself, and very likely loses his property.

The CHAIRMAN. As an illustration of that, I was told of one woman in Cincinnati who owns 28 homes occupied by workers; but, due to the failure or inability of the workers to pay rent, she is now herself a subject of charitable relief.

(West, pp. 66, 67)

The CHAIRMAN. In many communities it is impossible for the public agency to extend any relief until the recipient is practically destitute, is it not?

Mr. WEST. That gives me an opportunity, Senator, to point out one or two very interesting things. There are a great many of our relief organizations—and this gives me a chance to make an example of just what I was talking about—who are unable, as you say, to do anything for a family as long as that family has any kind of property, and it is not at all unusual for us to see a fairly snug little equity in a house which has been purchased by very painstaking payments for years, after some accident like unemployment or the death of the breadwinner or something of that kind, have the legal restrictions, or, you might even say, the traditional restrictions on relief by some private society without any legal restrictions, force the sale of that property at a loss and the use of the money, of that capital, before any relief can be provided. Then rents are sometimes paid on a larger scale than they would have had to pay for a further amortization of the property. If you examine our relief system fully, we have a great many faults to find with it. That is perhaps a fair sample.

(Goldsmith, p. 29)

Mr. GOLDSMITH. A total of about 1,100,000 people in the State of Illinois. It is a total of one-third of our possibly gainfully employed population. That is our problem. In terms of loss of wages, in the city of Chicago this problem amounts, conservatively estimated, to a loss of $2,000,000 a day.

Our relief expenditure in Chicago to-day, if I may parallel the New York figures, is approximately $100,000 a day.

Now, if you don't mind, I will come back to these relief figures in a moment.

Senator COSTIGAN. You mean the relief you expended?

Mr. GOLDSMITH. The money expended for relief.

Senator COSTIGAN. That was $100,000?

Mr. GOLDSMITH. Yes; as against $2,000,000 that is lost in wages. There is that great gap in the standard of living that we try to make up.

Senator COSTIGAN. That is per day?

(West, p. 71)

The human being is a tenacious individual. He hangs on to life pretty hard, and I think that what we do when we get short of relief funds is to take advantage of that characteristic somewhat and, as I said before, begin to pare down the amounts of relief and subtract little by little the requirements for decent living. That is the way we meet the situation of inadequate relief funds, and that is why it has been difficult for us to deal with this thing on a statistical basis, because the practice varies so readily with the amounts of money that are available; so that when we deal with relief figures we are very likely to be dealing with amounts spent or amounts raised much more than we are with amounts needed. What we have to deal with are the growing lists of items that are being cut out of relief funds all over the country, of statements from the relief agencies to the effect that although they have their budgets, they find that they have to depart from them, that they can not hold up anywhere near to those budgets, and this item of rent in many places is left out of the relief items entirely, because they have got to try to make their money go around. The result, it seems to me, is apparent.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I have concluded my summary of the testimony under three different headings: First, the need for relief; second, the resources available to meet it; and, third, the inadequacy of the relief now being provided.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. WAGNER. I should like to pursue a little farther the inquiry I made earlier in the afternoon. I have here figures, as collected by the Federal Government in 1930, showing the total number of classes A and B unemployed. Alongside those figures is given the percentage of the total unemployed in each State. There is also given the percentage of the allocation according to the unemployed under the pending La Follette-Costigan bill. In every instance of an industrial State the amount allocated under the bill is considerably less than the percentage of unemployed in such State, as compared to the total number of unemployed, and in many of the other States the amount allocated is considerably larger than the percentage of the total unemployed in such States; showing, although the basis of this proposed legislation, as I know the Senator intends it to be, is to supply money where the need is greatest and where unemployment is greatest, that according to these calculations those allocations would not be accurately made, that is, would not be made precisely according to the need.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Of course, the Senator would not contend that the unemployment situation is the same now as at the time the census was taken?

Mr. WAGNER. I have consulted the gentleman who has charge of the collection of such statistics, and those collected since then indicate very definitely—and he is quite willing to write me upon the subject—that, if anything, in the same industrial States unemployment has been accentuated and is a larger percentage of the total number of unemployed than under the census of 1930.

I make this statement because I think that the allocation really should be made according to the number of unemployed rather than according to the population of each State. A little later on I am going to ask the Senator to examine these figures.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I will be very glad to study them. I should like to say to the Senator, as I think I stated when the Senator interrupted me previously, that my feeling originally was that Federal aid should be provided entirely on the basis of demonstrated and proved need. However, the necessity of finding some devise for getting a small portion of this money, so that it may be available in time to

meet the emergency of this winter, convinced me that apportionment on the basis of population of a part of this fund is the only means whereby the money could be readily and quickly provided.

If Congress had met in special session, as I think it should have, in the summer, we could have enacted legislation and there would have been ample time for all of the evidence necessary to be gathered and presented. Now, however, action upon this bill, as speedily as it might be taken by Congress, will be so late that the peak of the load will be reached. We should provide the money as quickly as possible. I shall be glad, however, to look over those statistics, and later on to discuss the matter with the Senator.

Mr. WAGNER. The Senator spoke of my interruption some time ago. I hope it was an agreeable interruption.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It certainly was. I appreciate it very much.

Mr. President, no one can examine this evidence without being convinced that the need for action by the Federal Government in assisting the cities, counties, and States in meeting the problem of unemployment relief is one of the greatest emergencies that has ever confronted this Government. Failure to enact this legislation will result in debased living standards for millions of people in the United States. Failure to step in and to provide more adequate relief will result in breaking up hundreds of thousands of families. It will break down health standards. We shall be paying the toll in malnutrition and its effect upon adults and children for 50 years to come if action is not taken to meet this emergency and to raise the standards of relief. The nonepidemic type of diseases will become prevalent. The public-health director of the State of Pennsylvania has already publicly stated that an increase in tuberculosis, due to malnutrition, was evident in that State. The social progress which we have made in this country during the last 50 years will be wiped out, so far as millions of our population are concerned, if the relief burden is not adequately met. Our institutions themselves may be endangered by a prolongation of this depression, and a failure of Congress to meet its responsibility and to come to the assistance of citizens who are suffering as a result of economic disaster over which they had no control.

Mr. President, I wish to read an editorial appearing in the Washington Daily News of to-day. It is entitled "Feed Them—Or They Starve."

Sneers about a dole will not feed hungry men and starving babies.

There is only one question that matters in such an emergency.

It is not who is to blame. It is not how to prevent unemployment next time. It is not how to revive prosperity. All such questions must be answered. But they apply to the future rather than the present. Even if we could snap our fingers and bring back full prosperity next spring, that would not care for the hungry this winter.

Call it dole or call it charity, the American policy is and always has been to feed the hungry. When private charity has proved too slow or has been exhausted, the country always has turned to public relief.

Private charity has failed now. For two years public charity has carried the burden. Government figures show that more than 70 per cent of relief extended since the depression has been from public treasuries.

We are not confronted with a theory but with a fact.

Whether the hungry are fed by private charities or by cities or by the States or by the Federal Government, or by one or all, is not important. But that they be fed—somehow and by some one—is imperative. It is imperative from every angle—imperative for the sake of justice and of mercy, imperative for the sake of law and order.

So the one immediate question is whether Federal relief is necessary to prevent starvation. The answer has nothing to do with philosophies of government, conservative or radical; nothing to do with the bickering and maneuvers of political parties. The answer can be given only by the experts who have been handling the relief problem on the spot, the officials and the social workers who know the facts.

The experts have answered. Virtually unanimously the trained relief workers who have appeared before the La Follette Senate committee have testified to the need for Federal aid. These experts were not hand picked to prove some theory. They came directly from the trenches of misery where they have been fighting the war against hunger for two years. They called for help. Men like Allen Burns, head of the national organization of community chests, who was chosen by Hoover to do the work of the President's emergency unemployment organization, testified to the need for Federal relief.

In addition, Senator LA FOLLETTE has asked the mayors of the country whether their relief funds are sufficient to prevent starvation. Those mayors for the most part are members of Republican or Democratic Party machines who can not be accused of too much sympathy with progressive legislation. Nor, as spokesmen of local community pride under pressure of business interests, can those mayors be accused of wanting to advertise the failure of their cities.

Yet 305 of these mayors, who are responsible for local relief and who can not find enough funds to feed their people, appealed to Congress for help. The cities in need cover a population of 9,711,100; and 285 of these cities report that they have exhausted their borrowing power; they can no longer float bond issues.

The United States Government has fed the Chinese, the Belgians, the Russians, and other foreigners; it has fed American victims of fire, flood, and famine; it has subsidized shipping and aviation and wine industries, and handed giant corporations a tariff dole; it has come to the rescue of farmers, of veterans, of bankers and railroads. Now let the United States Government help to feed the unemployed.

Some Senators on this floor have indicated that they are sympathetic with the case presented. They have indicated that they believe a case has been made. They have indicated that they considered the testimony overwhelming that existing relief resources are entirely inadequate, and that actual want, privation, and hunger exists, so far as millions of our people are concerned; and yet they say, because the governors have not spoken, that they can not see their way clear to support legislation of this character.

Mr. President, the logic of that position is simply this: That unless the governor of a State determines to make an appeal to the Federal Government, Senators are indifferent whether millions of people in those States starve or not.

What will be the reaction from failure to pass this bill or some other measure which adequately meets the critical character of this emergency? It will mean, in the last analysis, that the Congress of the United States, in facing the problem of unemployment and the business depression, has appropriated or extended the Government's credit to the total sum of $2,160,000,000 in order to stem the tide of depression in so far as railroad companies, insurance corporations, and banks are concerned, but that the Congress now turns its back upon the millions of upstanding, independent wage earners of this country who find themselves overwhelmed in this depression.

I ask Senators also to consider the situation which will confront this Government if no action is taken. True, there have been enormous losses on the part of individuals owning property and securities; but for the most part they have had their standards of living reduced—not wiped out. So far as the wage earners are concerned, they have been catapulted by the effects of this prolonged depression into a bottomless pit of poverty and despair.

Proceed, if you will; make the record that you will extend relief to organized wealth in this situation to the tune of $2,160,000,000, and that you will turn your backs upon the millions of upstanding American citizens who are suffering want, privation, and misery. But I say that if you fail to meet this issue now, you will meet it later. You can not duck it; you can not dodge it; you can not meet it by offering substitutes that fail to meet the emergency character of the situation.

Senators say that this is a problem for local government; that it is no concern of the Federal Government.

Mr. President, the Federal Government is just as much concerned in the future citizenship of this Republic as the local communities, if not more so. If we permit this situation to go on, millions of children will be maimed in body, if not warped in mind, by the effects of malnutrition. They will form the citizenship upon which the future of this country must depend. They are the hope of America.

EXHIBIT A

[U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, January 22, 1932]

REPORTED EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION ON CHILD HEALTH AND CHILD-HEALTH SERVICES

NUTRITION AND GENERAL HEALTH

The National Organization for Public Health Nursing stated recently, on the basis of reports received as the result of a nation-

wide questionnaire to public-health-nursing agencies, that "two years of financial depression and unemployment have taken their toll in undernourishment of children and young mothers." It cited a health center in New York City where the percentage of undernourished children has been carefully determined for three years and where malnutrition has increased from 18 to 60 per cent since 1928; and the statement of an organization in Louisville, Ky., that, compared with 1929, 1,000 fewer children in its district were able to meet the public school's "blue-ribbon" standard of health because of underweight. It also referred to the statement of another agency concerned with the effect of the depression, particularly on expectant mothers, that many of the mothers are unable to provide themselves with even one glass of milk a day.[1]

From some of the coal-mining regions which have been studied by the Children's Bureau during 1931, reports indicate that, although no figures are available for comparing the amount of undernourishment among school children in 1931 with previous years, in general it was the opinion of physicians and nurses working in the schools that the percentage had increased considerably during this past year. Some physicians estimated the increase at 10 per cent, and others thought that 20 per cent or 25 per cent would not be an exaggeration. For example, in one school with an enrollment of 76 pupils, only 3 were found to be of normal weight, and all but 11 were 10 per cent or more underweight. In another, 130 of the 250 enrolled were at least 10 per cent underweight. In two or three districts where the mines had been abandoned and the men were totally unemployed, every child in school was seriously underweight. Teachers of both white and colored schools reported that the children entering school were inattentive, listless, and unable to learn. As one teacher expressed it, they were "in a dazed condition all the time." Wherever funds could be raised—even in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties—school lunches were started and remarkable improvement in the physical condition and scholarship of the children was noted in almost every case where such lunches were served. One teacher stated that her children entered in the fall so thin and pale and lifeless that she herself took over the janitor work in order to use the $8 saved monthly for noon lunches. The children improved immediately, but after a month's closing for quarantine returned in almost as bad condition as at the beginning of the term, and the work of building them up had to be done over. Another school was very proud of the fact that some of the children who had been seriously undernourished at the beginning of the term were blue-ribbon children at the close.

Many school nurses in these districts reported that it was growing increasingly difficult day by day to get defects corrected. When the parents were working they had little difficulty; but at the time of the study, unless the nurse herself could arrange for free care, little was done for the children.

The American Friends Service Committee has gone into some of these mining communities and instituted school-feeding programs. As the first step toward instituting such a program they have weighed and measured the school children. Over half of 2,381 children in five counties (four in West Virginia and one in Kentucky) were 10 per cent or more underweight.[2] Even this large number of children 10 per cent or more underweight is not necessarily an indication of the total amount of malnutrition present. Underweight is but one evidence, children may be and often are malnourished though not underweight.

An article entitled "Some Other Things That Are Happening Since Men Are Out of Work," in the October, 1931, number of the Public Health Nurse Quarterly of the Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh, quotes the following statement of Doctor Briant, assistant to Doctor Price who is chief of staff at the Children's Hospital in Pittsburgh and medical director of the child-health division:

"A conference with the various men working in the public-health conferences brings out the fact that coincidental with the depression there has been a marked increase in the number of cases of malnutrition and a noticeable increase in rickets, the latter particularly in very young babies. There have been two cases of xerophthalmia noted in one clinic."

The same article states that "tuberculosis increased steadily in all age groups during the first six months of this year. More children under 16 years of age died from tuberculosis during these six months than in the full year of either 1929 or 1930."

From a director of the maternity and infancy division of a State board of health comes the following statement: [3]

"We are receiving numerous letters of appeal from time to time from expectant mothers whose husbands are out of employment, who have large families, and who are receiving very little in the way of material relief adequate for the needs of themselves and their children. The physicians on the prenatal consultations report that almost every other woman coming to the clinics reports unemployment and shows evidence of getting, not so much an inadequate quantity of food, but an insufficient amount of essential foods—insufficient milk, meats, eggs, and vegetables. Many families report that they are subsisting almost entirely on potatoes. In the case of young children there is not so much evidence of loss of weight, because this diet seems to keep it up pretty well, but their color is very poor, they are listless, and in some cases show an accentuation of evidences of rickets.

"Food-thrift information has evidently penetrated, because to the diet of potatoes they occasionally add cabbage and milk when it can be obtained. From our experience in the children's consultations it would seem that rural families, near or on the farms, fare a little better than those in the smaller cities where we carry on the prenatal consultations."

From the chief of the preschool division of the State board of health in another State comes another report of interest:

"Our doctors were especially impressed with the underfeeding and evidence of general need in families brought to our health units this summer, particularly in ——— County, which is practically all rural.

"This varied with the communities, some places impressing the doctors very much and other communities showing almost no evidence of the unfortunate results from unemployment so far as the nutrition of the children or confidences of the mothers were concerned." [3]

CONSUMPTION OF MILK

The New York Times on September 11, 1931, stated that a study of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor showed that milk consumption in New York City was 20 per cent lower during the week studied than during the corresponding week of 1930.

The Illinois Health Messenger, the official bulletin of the Illinois Health Department, for November 15, 1931, in discussing a survey which was made from April 1 until the middle of September of the milk supply of the drought area of southern Illinois, stated:

"The results of this survey indicate that consumption of milk has decreased in some communities as much as 30 per cent. This estimate is based on the amount of pasteurized milk distributed as compared to previous years. The decrease is accounted for to some extent by the fact that dissatisfaction with declining prices of market milk has caused many producers to become distributors of their own product. This has resulted in a demoralization of the retail prices of pasteurized milk with a resulting loss of profit to the pasteurization-plant operators and slackening of vigilance in maintaining a satisfactory standard of sanitation. Close supervision by State sanitarians resulted. The survey further revealed that milk being marketed in the drought area is of poor quality when compared with standards for high-grade milk.

"The estimated consumption of pasteurized milk in Illinois is 0.41 quart per day per capita. This is based on estimated distribution of pasteurized milk during the calendar year of 1930. The results for 1931 will no doubt be lower than this figure."

From the New Jersey Department of Agriculture, as reported in the New York Times of December 27, 1931, comes the following statement:

"Figures available to the bureau of markets indicate a curtailment in per capita milk consumption in New Jersey. This curtailment is surprising in face of very low retail prices which make milk among the cheapest items in the family budget."

Milk producers in different localities who were interviewed recently by representatives from the Children's Bureau, in connection with studies of unemployment, gave the following information as to changes in total sales of milk, as to the amount of milk being used by families, and as to how the need for free distribution of milk had been met:

In a city in New York, the owner of a milk company stated that while the company's sales have increased, owing to the taking over of two small milk companies during the past year, he knew that individual customers were buying less milk than formerly and that the sale of cream had been cut almost in half. Records showed that families which had formerly bought 4 and 5 quarts of milk daily were now taking 3 or less.

In a county in Illinois, according to representatives of the two large dairy companies interviewed, milk sales have fallen off considerably in the past year. The owner of one company stated that he was giving away on the average two and three dollars worth of milk a day, that he formerly had two distributing plants, but that by last April (1931) sales had dropped off to such an extent that he had been obliged to close one plant and distribute all his milk from the other plant. At the time of the interview he was doing one-half the business from the combined plants that he did in the corresponding month last year from the one plant alone. Figures from his books showed that in January, February, and March of 1931 he had paid out less than one-half the amount he had paid out during the corresponding months of 1930 for milk with which to supply his customers.

The manager of the other large dairy in this county could not give accurate data regarding the decrease in milk sales but estimated that they had fallen off 33⅓ per cent in the month of the interview, as compared with the corresponding month of 1930. This dairy, also, has given away large quantities of milk daily but has kept no record of the amount. It has asked a local union to inform it when a family is suffering for want of milk and usually supplies it.

In a town in Pennsylvania the wagon sales for the largest dairy were 1,300 quarts less in January, 1929, than in January, 1928; 2,800 quarts less in January, 1930, than in January, 1929; and 2,000 quarts less in January, 1931, than in January, 1930.

The largest dairy in a mining county in West Virginia which supplies practically all the company stores could give no record before 1930 because of new management, but it reported that 19,012 quarts of sweet milk were sold in January, 1930, and 14,429 in January, 1931.

[1] News release, Sunday, November 1, 1931, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

[2] Information furnished by the American Friends Service Committee.

[3] Letter in files of Children's Bureau.

[3] Letter in files of Children's Bureau.

DEPLETION OF FAMILY RESOURCES AND APPARENT INADEQUACY OF RELIEF IN CERTAIN LOCALITIES

The gradual depletion of the resources of large numbers of families as a result of prolonged unemployment is a fact about which there is no question.[4] Available figures on the increase in relief expenditures in 1931 over 1930 and in 1930 over 1925[5] are evidence of this.

The cost of an adequate family diet estimated in terms of the minimum amounts of the cheapest foods which are necessary to provide nutritive essentials for the maintenance of health and for the normal growth needs of children, at present prices, varies in different parts of the country from $7.50 to $10 per week[6] for a family of five. Reports from a number of sources of relief given by poor-relief officials and social agencies indicate that in many localities the amounts of relief allotted are considerably below the amounts necessary, according to the prices just stated, for food alone. In normal times a large proportion of families under the care of relief agencies have some resources, such as wages from some members of the immediate family and help from relatives and friends. At the present time, however, many of these supplementary resources are not available.

In the family welfare section of the annual report for 1930 on Social Statistics in Child Welfare and Related Fields,[7] it is shown that in 30 metropolitan areas the maximum average expenditure per family per month for families under care (not including those receiving incidental services only) was $37.94; in only 8 cities was the average amount more than $20 per month; in 18 cities the average amount paid monthly was from $10 to $20; while in 4 cities the average was less than $10 per month per family. These figures are the average amounts allotted for all needs, not just for food.

In a survey undertaken in 1931 by the Children's Bureau, of which the report is as yet unpublished, on the extent of public aid to dependent children in the United States under mothers' aid, or mothers' pension, acts, the following conditions were found:

"Some of the conditions affecting the number of families aided and the amount of the grant per family are illustrated by statements made by individual counties in four States—Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia. Twenty-six of the 101 counties in these States reporting on mothers' aid stated that aid to mothers had been discontinued during the year, or that the number of families aided or the amounts given to the families had been reduced because of lack of funds. Inability to collect taxes was noted as the cause of such decrease in some of the counties.

"In one of these States, for example, only 13 of the 75 counties in the State had been giving mothers' aid, and 4 of these counties discontinued such grants before June, 1931, because of lack of funds. Reports from 13 counties in another State showed serious curtailment. One of these counties had no appropriation for the current year, two reported a 50 per cent reduction, and several reported funds exhausted early in the year. Similar reports have come from other States."

Reports of conditions in certain coal-mining communities of several States show weekly family-relief orders ranging from $1 to $5 and monthly orders from $5 to $16.

INCREASED DEMANDS ON EXISTING HEALTH AGENCIES

There is evidence of increased demands on agencies ministering to individual and the public health. Increased demands for health service may be due to increased appreciation of such service, diminished financial ability to employ private-paid medical or nursing service, or increase in illness.

The following statements are from a report of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing:[8]

"Many local organizations are being forced to drop their program for disease prevention and to devote all their time to nursing and clinical service."

* * * * *

"Already, since October, 1929, the demand for bedside nursing alone increased in 73 per cent of the reporting agencies; ranging from four-tenths of 1 per cent in Louisville, Ky., through an 11 per cent increase in Milwaukee, to the peak of 78 per cent reported by Pittsburgh."

* * * * *

"Although the demands upon public-health nurses have increased enormously during the past two years, 42 per cent of the agencies have suffered from a reduction of appropriation, 33 per cent are operating on the same budgets, but 25 per cent have had increases."

* * * * *

"Nearly two-thirds of the public health nursing units reported a decrease in fees received for their services. Many of the associations make a small charge for each visit, which is based on carefully computed costs. Wherever the patient is unable to pay the full amount, however, he is charged according to his ability to pay. One association in Detroit states that free visits constitute 40 per cent of the total work done, an increase of 10 per cent over 1929. In Norfolk, Va., a public-health nursing agency has suffered a 25 per cent reduction in fees."

* * * * *

"The demand for medical relief which consists of supplying bandages, medicine, proper clothing, etc., to those who are ill, has increased in nearly three-fourths of the associations who give this type of relief."

The United Hospital Fund of New York reported in September that a survey of 141 hospitals in New York City showed an abnormal and progressing increase in hospital cases concurrent with the period of depression.[9] It states:

"There has been little doubt in local medical circles as to the adverse effect of hard times on the public health. * * * we have made a survey of 141 hospitals in New York City definitely to determine whether hospital cases have increased in the years since the peak of prosperity out of proportion to the increased population. The figures show that the increase has been abnormal and progressive. The survey included all the public and private hospitals of the city with the exception of the relatively few proprietary hospitals and sanitaria, having a negligible number of beds and for which figures are not available.

"The following table shows the population increases as estimated in the Weekly Bulletin, the official publication of the New York Department of Health, for the years 1927, 1928, 1929, and 1930, and the corresponding per cent increase in hospital days and in visits to out-patient departments:

Year	Population increase	Hospital days increase	Out-patient visits increase
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
1927	2.0	3.3	5.6
1928	2.0	3.3	8.4
1929	2.0	5.3	10.1
1930	1.9	6.3	12.7

"It will be noted that the percentage increase of hospital days in 1927 over 1926 was identical with the increase in 1928 over the preceding year and that the percentages increased markedly with the beginning of the period of business depression."

In the same report the statement is made that while detailed figures are not available for the present year, Dr. Mark L. Fleming, general medical supervisor of municipal hospitals, threw some light on the immediate situation. He said:

"The municipal hospitals are overflowing, and the visits to out-patient departments had increased up to August 1 last by 25 per cent over the corresponding seven months of 1930. The municipal hospitals treated 2,000 more patients in the first seven months of 1931 than they did in the first seven months of 1930. This compares with an increase of something over 1,500 in 1930 over 1929 for the same period. In January, 1929, the patients in the city hospitals numbered 14,653. In the following spring the total had risen to 16,202, and in May of the present year to 17,572. The cases of infantile paralysis need not be considered as a factor in the comparisons as they formed a relatively small percentage of the total cases."

The Washington (D. C.) Council of Social Agencies, in a recent letter to the Children's Bureau giving figures for clinic and hospital service in the District of Columbia in 1930 and 1931, called attention to the fact that 1930 was not a normal year and that the increase in medical care due to the depression was probably larger than is shown in the figures, which follow:

"Eleven clinics reported 119,553 visits during the first nine months of 1930 and 136,652 visits during the same period in 1931, or an increase of 14.3 per cent.

"Eleven hospitals treated 29,909 patients during the first nine months of 1930 and 32,327 patients during the same period in 1931, an increase of 8.1 per cent.

"Patient days for the same period numbered 295,212 in 1930 and 332,596 in 1931, an increase of 12.7 per cent.

"There is an interesting change in the distribution of days' care into full-pay, part-pay, and free, with a decrease in the number of full-pay and a corresponding increase in the number of part-pay, as shown by the following table:

Per cent distribution of days' care according to pay status

Pay status	1930	1931
Full pay	61.3	55.1
Part pay	18.0	21.6
Free	20.7	23.3

In response to an inquiry as to whether there had been an increased demand for free hospital care as a result of the economic

[4] Unemployment and Child Welfare—A Study Made in a Middle Western and an Eastern City During the Industrial Depression of 1921 and 1922, U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 125.

[5] Relief Expenditures, January–September, 1931. U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, 1931.

[6] Emergency Food Relief and Child Health, U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, and U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, 1931.

[7] Social Statistics in Child Welfare and Related Fields—Annual Report for the Registration Area for the Year 1930. U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Separate from Publication No. 209. (In press.)

[8] News release, Sunday, November 1, 1931, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

[9] News, United Hospital Fund of New York. Released for Friday, September 11, 1931.

situation, the Children's Bureau tabulated from the reports received in connection with the registration of social statistics [10] the number of days' care given to all patients and to free patients in 144 hospitals in 27 metropolitan areas, in February and September, 1930 and 1931, with the results shown in Table I. Hospitals are grouped into three classes—those showing an increase in total days' care, those showing a decrease, and those showing no change. Because of the large amount of work involved in the tabulation the two months February and September were chosen as samples.

The table shows an appreciable increase in the days' care given to free patients and a decrease in the days' care given to pay patients in the two months of 1931, as compared with the corresponding period of 1930, in the hospitals reporting in all the metropolitan areas except one, which represented but 2 per cent of the days' care given by the total group of hospitals in the 1930 period. In the group of hospitals in 15 metropolitan areas which reported a 5 per cent increase in total days' care in the 1931 period, the increase in days' care to free patients over the 1930 period amounted to 17 per cent. In the group of hospitals in 11 metropolitan areas which reported a decrease, amounting to 5 per cent in total days' care, days' care of free patients increased 9 per cent. In both these groups there was a decrease in total days' care given to full-pay or part-pay patients, of 9 and 18 per cent, respectively.

TABLE I.—*Number of in-patient days' care given to all patients and number of days' care given to free and pay patients by 144 hospitals in 27 metropolitan areas [1] during February and September, 1930 and 1931*

Hospital service	Total, February and September		Increase (+) or decrease (−), 1931 compared with 1930 months	
	1930	1931	Number	Per cent
144 hospitals in 27 metropolitan areas:				
Total days' care	1,218,301	1,223,452	+5,151	(2)
Days' care to free patients	530,514	604,785	+74,271	+14
Days' care to full-pay and part-pay patients	687,787	618,667	−69,120	−10
66 hospitals in 15 metropolitan areas: [3]				
Total days' care	624,638	658,063	+33,425	+5
Days' care to free patients	342,034	399,564	+57,530	+17
Days' care to full-pay and part-pay patients	282,604	258,499	−24,105	−9
73 hospitals in 11 metropolitan areas: [4]				
Total days' care	570,257	541,983	−28,274	−5
Days' care to free patients	186,074	203,155	+17,081	+9
Days' care to full-pay and part-pay patients	384,183	338,828	−45,355	−12
5 hospitals in 1 metropolitan area: [5]				
Total days' care	23,406	23,406		
Days' care to free patients	2,406	2,066	−340	−14
Days' care to full-pay and part-pay patients	21,000	21,340	+340	+2

[1] Akron, Berkeley, Bridgeport, Buffalo, Canton, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Detroit, Duluth, Grand Rapids, Kansas City, Lancaster, Newark, New Haven, New Orleans, Omaha, The Oranges, Richmond, Sioux City, Springfield (Ill.), Springfield (Mass.), St. Paul, Washington, and Wilkes-Barre.
[2] Less than 1 per cent.
[3] Areas in which hospitals reporting showed an increase in total days' care in 1931 as compared with 1930.
[4] Areas in which hospitals reporting showed a decrease in total days' care in 1931 as compared with 1930.
[5] Area in which hospitals reporting showed no change in total days' care in 1931 as compared with 1930.

In an attempt to determine what changes, if any, had occurred in medical, nursing, and health-education service to mothers and children, the Children's Bureau has constructed tables from comparable reports received from children's and maternity hospitals and public-health nursing agencies in connection with the registration of social statistics. For one table data for portions of 1929, 1930, and 1931 are compared. For all the others comparable reports are available only for 1930 and 1931. The months for which tabulations have been made have not been selected arbitrarily but are those for which there are reports from agencies in successive years.

A tabulation of statistics for 11 children's hospitals in 7 metropolitan areas for the period May to September, 1930 and 1931 (Table II), shows a decrease (21 per cent) in days' care to full-pay or part-pay patients and an increase of 11 per cent in days' care to free patients.

[10] In July, 1930, the Children's Bureau undertook the monthly collection and compilation of dependency and health-service statistics in 39 metropolitan areas, a project begun two years before by the National Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago. Under this plan reports are received from hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries, and public-health nursing agencies, as well as from agencies caring for dependent families and children.

Statistics of out-patient services of five children's hospitals from February to September 1929, 1930, and 1931, reveal a marked increase in both the number of children cared for and the number of visits made by children to the clinics in 1931 over 1930, and a less marked increase in 1930 over 1929. (Table III.) In the out-patient departments of children's hospitals, if there is a fee, it is very nominal, and is charged only when the patient can afford to pay it.

Statistics of maternity-hospital in-patient service for maternity hospitals in four metropolitan areas tell the same story with regard to days' care to free and to pay patients in the first five months of 1931 as compared with the corresponding period in 1930, an increase of 25 per cent in days' care to free patients and a decrease of 17 per cent in days' care to pay patients. (Table IV.)

TABLE II.—*Number of children admitted to children's hospital in-patient service and number of days' care to free and pay patients in 11 children's hospitals in 7 metropolitan areas,[1] May to September, 1930 and 1931*

Hospital service	Total, May to September, inclusive		Increase (+) or decrease (−) in 1931 compared with 1930 months	
	1930	1931	Number	Per cent
Children admitted	6,580	6,730	+150	+2
Total days' care	149,177	152,179	+3,002	+2
Days' care to free patients	107,445	119,364	+11,919	+11
Days' care to full-pay or part-pay patients	41,732	32,815	−8,917	−21

[1] Akron, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Kansas City, and Newark.

TABLE III.—*Number of children cared for and total number of visits to dispensary out-patient departments of 5 children's hospitals in 5 metropolitan areas [1] from February to September, 1929, 1930, and 1931, respectively, and percentage of increase over previous years*

Children cared for and visits to clinic	Clinic and out-patient dispensary services in children's hospitals of 5 metropolitan areas [1]					
	Total, February to September, inclusive			Per cent increase		
	1929	1930	1931	1930 over 1929	1931 over 1930	1931 over 1929
Number of children cared for	13,554	14,243	17,723	+5	+24	+31
Number of visits to clinic	79,585	87,912	116,971	+10	+33	+47

[1] Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Newark.

TABLE IV.—*Number of days of in-patient care given to all patients and number of days' care given to free and pay patients of 5 maternity hospitals in 4 metropolitan areas,[1] January to May, 1930 and 1931*

Hospital service	Total, January to May, inclusive		Increase or decrease in 1931 compared with 1930 months	
	1930	1931	Number	Per cent
Total days' care	103,281	96,028	−7,253	−7
Days' care to free patients	23,912	29,894	+5,982	+25
Days' care to full-pay or part-pay patients	79,369	66,134	−13,235	−17

[1] Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Springfield (Mass.).

TABLE V.—*Number of children admitted and total number of visits made by children to clinics conducted by six infant and child health agencies in six metropolitan areas,[1] January to September, 1930 and 1931*

Clinic service	Total, January to September, inclusive		Increase (+) or decrease (−) in 1931 compared with 1930 months	
	1930	1931	Number	Per cent
Number of children admitted	11,574	16,312	+4,738	+41
Total visits of children to centers	96,378	137,910	+41,532	+43

[1] Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, The Oranges, St. Paul, and Springfield (Ill.).

TABLE VI.—*Child-health supervision by five public-health nursing agencies in five metropolitan areas[1] doing child-health work exclusively, January to September, 1930 and 1931*

Health supervision	Total, January to September, inclusive		Increase (+) or decrease (−) in 1931 compared with 1930 months	
	1930	1931	Number	Per cent
Average number of children under care per month	13,705	14,918	+1,213	+9
Average number of visits to children per month	5,894	5,354	−540	−9

[1] Minneapolis, New Orleans, The Oranges, St. Paul, and Springfield (Ill.).

TABLE VII.—*Maternal-health supervision by 20 public-health nursing agencies in 15[1] metropolitan areas, January to September, 1930 and 1931*

Maternal-health supervision	Total, January to September, inclusive		Increase (+) or decrease (−) in 1931 compared with 1930 months	
	1930	1931	Number	Per cent
Number of mothers cared for	46,316	45,658	−658	−1
Number of visits to mothers	261,629	268,731	+7,102	+3

[1] Bridgeport, Canton, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Kansas City (Mo.), Lancaster, Louisville, Minneapolis, Newark, New Orleans, Omaha, St. Louis, St. Paul, and Sioux City.

Statistics of infant and child health center service of agencies in six metropolitan areas shows an increased use of this service in the first nine months of 1931 as compared with a corresponding period of 1930, amounting to 41 per cent in number of children admitted and 43 per cent in total visits of children. (Table V.)

Reports of child-health supervision by public health nursing agencies indicate an increased number of children under the care of these agencies in the first nine months of 1931, as compared with the corresponding period for 1930. (Table VI.) The table also shows that with the increased number of children under care, amounting to 9 per cent, the nurses paid fewer visits to the children, the decrease in visits being 9 per cent. The increased demand on these agencies has probably not been accompanied by an increase in staff properly to take care of the extra burden.

Reports of maternal-health supervision by public health nursing agencies in 15 metropolitan areas (Table VII) show for the total group a slight decrease (1 per cent) in the number of mothers cared for in the first nine months of 1931 as compared with the corresponding period for 1930, and an increase of 3 per cent in number of visits to mothers—an indication that maternal-health supervision by this group of agencies had improved.

EXHIBIT B

ALABAMA

ALBERTVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your general inquiry sheet to mayors of small municipalities under date of November 27 is at hand, and I hasten to answer in so far as Albertville, Ala., is concerned:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in our city compared to December, 1930, is about 50 per cent; compared to 1929, about 200 per cent increase, as we had only little in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have no definite appropriation set aside for this purpose but let each case go before city council on its merits.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I believe 75 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About one-half of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. Expenditures have increased in about the same proportion as shown in No. 1 above.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4 to $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; our city is not in position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I believe that if a Federal appropriation were made to the city to aid in their emergency relief so that some definite place could be had for the registering of their needs, that a more systematic apportionment could be made, for at present, with several agencies working, some needy go to more than one and others are neglected. I believe a Federal appropriation to the municipal authorities, to be properly distributed, would provide relief for the needy, and in so doing lessen the burden to taxpayers.

Thanking you for the consideration of this inquiry and assuring you that the need everywhere is acute. Our local situation has really not come to the acute stage, for God has favored us with a warm fall and the need of clothing and fuel has not begun. There is a dearth in this line more than in the line of food, for there is an oversupply of such staples as peas and corn, which makes a humble but wholesome ration.

Yours very truly,

A. B. HOOPER, Jr., *Mayor.*

ANNISTON

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your form letter of November 27 I will advise that in our city the Anniston Community Chest looks after the unemployment and charity cases. The 1932 drive just completed called for a budget of $50,000, 90 per cent of which will go to charitable needs. This is an increase of $15,000 over last year for the additional unemployed.

The city administration has made no special appropriation for welfare work other than for hospitalization for charity cases and otherwise has provided as much extra city construction, paving, and maintenance as is consistent with our budget to help in the unemployment-relief program.

The board of revenue of Calhoun County provides for a county welfare department, which bureau, with the cooperation of the Red Cross, takes care of the needy in Calhoun County outside the Anniston city limits. The city of Blue Mountain, owned and controlled by the American Net & Twine Co., of Blue Mountain, which is joining our limit lines, this year for the first time is maintaining their own community chest and unemployment-relief program.

Our city is not in position to float further bond issues, inasmuch as property values are shrinking and with the present heavy bonded indebtedness we are running a danger of reaching our debt limit if valuations should continue to shrink as they have for the past year.

Yours very truly,

SIDNEY J. REAVES, *Mayor.*

AUBURN

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Mr. R. M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reference to your letter of November 27: The relief work that has been done by the city of Auburn, Ala., has been through the county welfare department here.

For 1930 the contribution in money was $800. In addition to that there was some food and clothing. Statistics for other years are not available.

The number of unemployed are about the same as last year.

The city of Auburn is bonded to its limit at present.

Probably Federal appropriation would help meet the immediate relief of the unemployed and the needy.

Very truly yours,

W. D. COPELAND, *Mayor.*

BESSEMER

DECEMBER 24, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: You will find inclosed herewith answers to your questionnaire.

Assuring you that I am pleased to furnish you with this information and my personal opinion relative to certain questions, I am,

Yours very truly,

P. M. MATHEWS, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent more than heretofore.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are not.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I oppose a dole. I think more of the doing of that, if possible to create employment, thereby making it possible for people to earn a living.

BIRMINGHAM

DECEMBER 24, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Complying with request contained in your letter of the 17th instant and your questionnaire of the 27th ultimo, I beg to advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, 544 families were given help in the city of Birmingham. In December, 1930, 2,271 families were given help. Figures for December, 1931, not available, but November, 1931, was heavier than December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. A bond issue for park improvements was voted in January, 1931, in the amount of $500,000. It is planned to use approximately the same amount on sewer work during the winter. This was made possible from a savings on a drainage bond issue voted two years ago. Prior to 1931 no municipal appropriation had been voted.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The peak load in Birmingham occurred in January, 1931, when 2,919 families were assisted. Mr. Early, of the community chest, who gave these figures, would not estimate the number of families who would call upon the Red Cross in the future, as he did not want to put out any information which was not authentic.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Information not available.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The budget, as allowed by the Red Cross, for a family of two adults and one child is $2.50 to $3 per week. For a family of two adults and three children, $4.06 is allowed.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We have at the present time $4,000,000 of bonds authorized but not yet issued. The city is not in a position to issue more than this $4,000,000 and will not be until there is a very considerable increase in our assessed valuations so as to provide more revenue with which to pay interest and make proper amortization provision for bonds in excess of those above noted. It is planned to use $500,000 of this $4,000,000 for unemployment relief, provided we can find a market for the bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens. We believe that this is a matter to be handled locally and that the Federal Government has troubles sufficient of its own to fully engage its entire attention. We feel that municipalities could be indirectly assisted in this unemployment relief if Congress were to amend our Federal reserve bank law to the extent that the municipalities might enjoy a proper degree of credit with the reserve banks.

Any further information desired will be promptly furnished upon request.

Yours very truly,

J. M. JONES, Jr.,
President of the Commission.

BREWTON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: With reference to your communication of the 27th in regard to your decision as to proper Federal policy, and in answer to paragraph 1, I would imagine the increase to be about 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city put on what we call an improvement and extension program, which in a way takes care of the situation, and expended about $1,500 for labor in 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We have added $500 to this fund, which we believe will take care of it during the incoming months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There has been only a small amount taken care of by private relief agencies, from the fact that the manufacturing institutions and farming interests in and around Brewton have been trying to relieve the situation.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Where there are two in a family we give them $1.25 per day for one man, which seems to take care of it by insisting on their receiving as much in garden and other foodstuffs as possible.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is thoroughly in line with its bonded indebtedness and could issue any reasonable amount.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor Federal appropriations to assist local governments. I believe there should be retrenchments all along the line. We exempted our citizenship from street tax this year, in full, which amounted to about $1,500. The taxpayers are not complaining.

Hoping this will be the information you desire, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

R. A. SMITH, *Mayor.*

CULLMAN

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Rather than attempt to answer categorically the questions submitted in your letter of November 27, I am writing you, giving you general information as to conditions in this city at this time and, as far as possible, in the State.

My best information is that in agricultural communities such as Cullman the number of unemployed will be but little, if any, in excess of that of last winter. In industrial centers like Birmingham it appears to be larger, but that city is expending a large amount for municipal improvements in order to give employment to those residents that have no work. This city, with a population of 3,000, appropriated $1,500 last winter to give employment to those without work, this being the first time in the history of the city when such a thing had been done. I hear of very little of this work in other cities of the State, and as far as I can learn all the smaller cities are reasonably well prepared to care for the needy through community-chest funds and Red Cross activities, which have grown up to provide for these emergency conditions. Due to the reduced price of the necessities of life, we can take care of an average family on $5 per week. I do not know of any city that will be under the necessity of floating bonds for relief, and, furthermore, those that might require it are hardly in a position to do so because of present financial conditions.

I am of the opinion that if we have a severe winter that there are communities in this State that will be compelled to call for help from the outside in order to provide fuel, food, and clothing, and I know of no other source of the funds required than the National Government. It is, therefore, my suggestion that an appropriation be made available to be called upon if the emergency develops to the point where such aid is urgently desired.

Yours very truly,

M. L. ROBERTSON, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

DEMOPOLIS

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of November 27 received relative to appropriating for the relief of the unemployed. In response I wish to say that the number of unemployed in this community is very slightly increased over the number of unemployed last year. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist governments (local) in getting their emergency relief burden, but think that each community should work out a way or means to caring for its unemployed and not look to the Federal Government for aid.

Very truly yours,

N. C. FLOYD, *Mayor.*

LANETT

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About the same as last year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Just about the same; maybe a small increase.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About the same as last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Different amounts; can't tell exactly—about $3.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; if possible.

Yours very truly,

H. G. CROWDER, *Mayor.*

MONTGOMERY

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Answering your letter of November 27, the second copy of which you were kind enough to send me on December 18, I am sure that the municipalities of our country are bearing a heavier burden than is generally realized. They all find it necessary to further increase their outlays for relief purposes this winter, but I doubt the wisdom of Federal appropriations to be used directly for relief work.

It occurs to me that the same purpose can be accomplished by a different method; that is, if Federal legislation will direct the Federal reserve system and temporary supporting financial agencies to recognize the need of a more liberal attitude toward loans on municipal bonds and notes, it will enable the municipalities in their own way to do much to help the unemployed and give employment to those who are now needy.

Answering your questions directly:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. While the number of unemployed in our city is not much greater than in 1930, the need of assistance has grown. This, of course, is due to the fact that the long period of depression has wiped out reserves and impaired credits.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city's appropriations for the unemployed have probably been increased 50 per cent over last year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The number of additional persons who will need relief is 50 per cent more than during 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The bulk of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies; 1931 shows a 100 per cent increase over 1930, and 300 per cent increase over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family is about $10, except in instances where sickness and shelter complicate the case.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in position to float further bond issues unless the relief suggested in the first part of my letter is provided so as to enable the financial institutions to be more liberal in handling city bonds and to sufficiently stimulate the municipal bonds so as to enhance their value. Our city has sufficient tax values to enable us to issue at this time a considerably increased number of bonds, but the low market value for municipal bonds makes this so unwise as to be prohibitive.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor direct Federal appropriation to assist local governments to meet their emergency relief burdens, but do feel that it might be quite possible for the Federal Government to enact some legislation that would to some extent stabilize first-class municipal bonds, thereby making it possible for those municipalities which are financially sound to increase their bonded indebtedness along business lines.

Yours very truly,

W. A. GUNTER, *Mayor.*

OPP

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: For the year 1929 the city of Opp did no charity work, as we did not have very many unemployed at that time. The situation was such that in 1930 we had to form a local relief organization and did quite a bit of charity work. This year we will have at least 50 per cent more unemployed than last year.

The city did not make any appropriations for 1929, but did have to help in 1930. The city is not in a position to make any donations for this year, and all relief will have to come from private business. We helped in the neighborhood of 500 people last year, averaging around 4 to the family; contributing on an average of approximately $5 per week per family.

The city is not in a position to float bonds for any purpose. We would favor Federal appropriations to assist us during this depression.

Sincerely yours,

B. H. MARTIN, *Mayor.*

RUSSELLVILLE

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: It seems to me that instead of the Government making appropriations for relief, it would be better to create a fund of a few hundred millions to loan to towns, cities, counties, and States to retire their bonds, many of which are 6 per cent and 8 per cent bonds. The Government could place this money for the bonds, taking the cities' lien as their lien, thus reducing the interest to probably 3 per cent instead of 6 and 8 per cent. Should this be done, the city would act as the agent of the Government, as they do now for the bond companies. This would save thousands of dollars to the property owners each year in interest, and would allow the cities the difference in interest for the unemployed.

For example, the city of Russellville has $87,500 in general fund bonds that is against the faith and credit of the city drawing 6 per cent interest. If this interest was cut, this amount could be cut in taxes against the people. We also have $250,000 paving assessment bonds against the property abutting drawing 6 per cent. This amounts to about $20,000 per year. If this could be handled all over the country, millions could be saved.

I would like to hear from you as to the soundness of this proposition. I hope I have explained this so it will be understood.

Thanking you for a reply, I am,

Yours very truly,

W. W. RAMSEY, *Mayor.*

In answer to your inquiry in regard to unemployment in Russellville, Ala.

We have a great many who are on starvation and are having to be fed by the city, community chest, clubs; and many are begging from house to house.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent more are being assisted now than in 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has not appropriated any more than previous years, but clubs and chest have.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent is being carried by private relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount given per person, per week, regardless of age, is 50 cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is not in a position to float bonds for relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I favor some plan to help handle the situation. What is best, I am unable to say.

I am writing you a letter in regard to a plan of aiding the cities and counties and States.

SHEFFIELD

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am pleased to give you the information regarding the unemployed in our city as requested in your letter of the 27th.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed persons in our city December, 1930, was about 50 per cent greater than December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city materially assisted the unemployed last winter by giving them work cleaning up river front, pruning and cutting dead trees in parks, and various other ways.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The number of persons needing assistance this winter will be about 25 per cent more than last winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private agencies during the past two winters have furnished about 75 per cent of the relief, but will not be able to furnish one-half of the needed relief this winter.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to each family was about $3 in food, and coal and old clothing were furnished many.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in position to float bonds and will not attempt to do so.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A Federal appropriation to assist municipalities in meeting their burdens would be desirable.

The associated charity organization is now putting on a drive for funds to relieve the unemployed and needy, but I do not think it will be possible to raise the amount that will be required.

The financial condition of the city is not as good as it was last winter; therefore we will not be able to do as much public work as was done last winter.

Yours truly,

R. R. HILL, *Mayor.*

ARIZONA

TUCSON

DECEMBER 29, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of December 11, in which you referred to having written to the mayor of the city of Tucson, Ariz., on November 27, has been referred to this office for consideration.

We regret that your letter of November 27 has become misplaced and we can not respond to the questions asked regarding unemployment in our community. However, from inquiries to the various relief agencies we find that while there are quite a number of unemployed within our community, these agencies are making every effort to alleviate the suffering that now exists. They have adopted the plan of giving work through the city and county and the State University situated at Tucson, and in return they are taking care of the families with the actual necessities of life.

If you will forward this office a copy of the letter which you wrote on November 27, I will be very glad to do everything I can to give the information that you desire.

I again express regret that your letter is misplaced, and please be assured that the city of Tucson is willing to cooperate in every way possible.

Most cordially yous,

CHARLES C. IRVIN, *City Clerk.*

WINSLOW

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In replying to your questionnaire of November 27, I wish to state that the information furnished is authentic in so far as I was able to ascertain; however, very few data have been kept on the subject.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. It is estimated there will be about 200 unemployed for this winter. Heretofore there have been few unemployed in our city, due to numerous projects.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The budgeted "charity" account for the city increased this year about 50 per cent over 1929 and 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Relief needed for about 300 additional persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The caring for transients (of which there are a great number) is handled almost entirely this winter by local relief agency, to which the employed have donated.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Unable to state.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Winslow not in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Relative to a Federal appropriation to assist our local government, there has been no need up to the present time.

Yours truly,

O. L. MURRAY, *Mayor.*

ARKANSAS

EL DORADO

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator Robert M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Reference is made to your form letter of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There was an increase of unemployed in December, 1930, over December, 1929, but there is no material change in the unemployment situation here at this time, December, 1931.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. This city has never found it necessary to make special appropriations for its unemployed. We have undertaken to care for the unemployed through local agencies like the chamber of commerce and welfare bureau.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I do not think that the number of persons requiring relief during the winter of 1931 and 1932 will increase over the winter of 1929 and 1930. I think that if there is any change in the situation there will be a slight decrease.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of the emergency burden in this city has been financed by private relief agencies; their expenditures of 1931 compared with 1930 have decreased about 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Up to this time in 1931 we have been required to expend very little cash for the relief of families of adults and children.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is deeply in debt, and it has a hard time securing sufficient income to operate on, but under the laws of this State, we can not float further bond issues for any purpose.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burden. I believe that each locality should handle its local situation, which, in my opinion, would cost less money, thereby lessening the burden of the taxpayers; and I think that such a program would create a better morale to the people.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER L. GOODWIN, *Mayor.*

FORT SMITH

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your questionnaire of November 7 in regard to the unemployed of the city of Fort Smith.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Forty per cent.

2. How much have city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? 1929?

Answer. $5,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Forty per cent larger than 1930.

4. What portion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family, two adults and two children?

Answer. Two days' work per week at $2 per day.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; we can not float bonds for this purpose.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens? Do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; I do not think we will have to ask Federal aid. In my opinion, we are able to take care of our needy ourselves without adding a heavy burden on our taxpayers, as we have bountiful field crops of all kinds in this trades territory. So far



as foodstuff, we are in better shape than we have been in many years.

I hope this is the information you desire. If I can serve you further, please let me know and I will be glad to do so.

Very truly yours,

FAGAN BOURLAND, *Mayor.*

HELENA

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of 27th ultimo in the matter of relief for the unemployed was received some days since and would have received my attention sooner but for the fact that the letter was misplaced.

I am giving you herein my answers to your questionnaire as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in the number of persons assisted compared with 1930, and no assistance was necessary in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation was made by the city for 1929 nor 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment, not a very great number of persons will need relief during the winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The entire burden is being carried by private relief agencies with no increase over either 1929 or 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to family of two adults and two children is approximately $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city enjoys a very small amount of bonded indebtedness, but under the law no further bonds can be floated except through referendum.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor Federal appropriation to assist local governments.

Yours very truly,

D. T. HARGRAVES, *Mayor.*

MAGNOLIA

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies now? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. None.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

O. W. COLLINS, *Mayor.*

MORRILTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Slight increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Nothing.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About same as last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little, except what Red Cross is doing now.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $1.75.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Can not issue more bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

O. J. OLSON, *Mayor.*

NORTH LITTLE ROCK

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed you will find questionnaire answered as per your request of recent date.

Yours very truly,

U. E. MOORE, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with December, 1930, 10 per cent; with December, 1929, 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, 25 per cent; over 1929, 10 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent (figuring on bad weather).

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. By private relief agencies, 75 per cent; increased expenditures, compared with 1930, 10 per cent; with 1929, 25 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes (without dole system).

PARAGOULD, ARK.

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is no increase of unemployed as compared with December, 1930. There is a considerable increase in unemployed as compared with December, 1929; probably 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has not appropriated anything to the unemployed directly from the public funds. None available. (See attached.)

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There will probably be no increase in the number of people requiring relief during the coming winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The principal relief given from any source in 1929 and 1930 has been from the Red Cross fund. Some private relief work done, but not by a regular organized group.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $2.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

This is about the best answers I can give with the information at hand.

Yours truly,

W. E. MIDDLETON,
Mayor City of Paragould.

SEARCY

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Thirty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred to four hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All. Seventy per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $3.45.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

MARK O. JONES,
Mayor, Searcy, Ark.

VAN BUREN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Probably about the same.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has no funds whatever to appropriate.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No additional persons here; shiftless class about the same.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Have no organization except American Red Cross.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. Couldn't sell the bonds, in the second place.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Our taxpayers have been skinned out of all they have and can't even pay taxes in many instances; men formerly of wealth are broke; some of the shiftless may die of exposure this winter.

W. G. FURRY, *Mayor.*

CALIFORNIA

ANAHEIM

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry regarding the unemployed situation I have gathered the following information together:

As you will note, I have answered the questions on your letter, listing the questions where space allowed.

In answer to question 4 I find a very small proportion is being carried on by private relief agencies, not over 10 per cent. The city maintains a welfare department which acts as a clearing house for all charity work among our local residents. The city also is supporting a Salvation Army station, which feeds and sleeps all floaters that will accept such assistance.

I am inclosing a clipping from the Los Angeles Times which states the situation quite accurately.

Very truly yours,

L. E. MILLER, *Mayor.*
By B. M. M.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 100 per cent; in 1929, 200 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, 100 per cent; over 1929, 200 per cent.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty-five families and 1,000 transients.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. See letter.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No; in the past it has been temporary until they are turned over to the county.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I favor Federal appropriation to provide for the floating unemployed population from other States which flock into our State at the rate of 1,200 per day.

CLAREMONT

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 5 per cent; in 1929, 10 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, $500; over 1929, $500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None to speak of.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Sixty per cent, 10 per cent, 25 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars and some work.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency-relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

G. S. SUMNER, *Mayor.*

COLTON

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of November 27 with reference to the unemployment situation, will try to answer your questions in the order in which you asked them.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in unemployment in the city of Colton has been about 200 per cent over 1930 and 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city of Colton has appropriated all the money it was in position to from its public utilities to care for the unemployment situation and has increased a large proportion over last year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our judgment there will be at least 100 per cent additional increase in our unemployment during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are not taking care of unemployment. However, they are doing their utmost to feed the families who are destitute.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We estimate that two adults and two children should have about $50 per month to maintain them.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float further bond issues, and, in fact, no bond issue would carry under the present conditions.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens and feel that the Federal Government should appropriate enough money, with the assistance of the States, to have a real constructive program of Federal highway construction; and the Federal forest department should appropriate money to make additional fire breaks and roads to eliminate our fire hazards and destruction of our national forests.

Also appropriations for flood-control purposes as floods become more and more of a menace as our forests are burned, endangering the lives and property of people who live in the valleys. Believe the Federal Government could handle the entire program of the unemployment situation in this manner, without any additional burden on the taxpayer of the United States. This work would be of great benefit for the future, and it is something that eventually will have to be done anyway.

Trusting that you will be able to get some relief through the Senate in the very near future and assuring you of our cooperation in this matter, I am,

Very truly yours,

WALTER A. PFUNDER,
Mayor, City of Colton.

COMPTON

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: In reply to your letter dated November 27, 1931, in regard to relief for unemployment, I will answer your questions in the order asked in the letter referred to.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed in our city compared with December, 1930, is about the same; compared with December, 1929, a very large increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Compton made no appropriation for the unemployed in 1929, $2,500 in 1930, and nothing has been appropriated so far this year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I believe that the month of December will be the peak month for unemployment this year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies have carried most of the burden in the city of Compton and are spending about 50 per cent more than last year and 100 per cent more than 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can not answer question 5 accurately.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The bonded indebtedness of the city of Compton is about one-seventh of what would be legally possible.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I believe that local communities should take care of the unemployed as far as their ability will permit, but some communities will be unable to meet the emergency, and in these cases I think the Federal Government should assist.

Yours very truly,

A. B. GIDLEY, *City Manager.*

CORONADO

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In the absence of our mayor I will answer as best I can the seven questions which you ask:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployment has increased somewhat in this city, although our problem here is less severe than in most cities.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city makes no direct appropriation in its budget for unemployment and the poor, this problem being taken care of by the Coronado community chest. The city does, however, appropriate and turn over to the community chest $2,400 per year toward the maintenance of an emergency hospital.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This is hard to estimate with the data available, but I will place the number at 25.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. This is really answered under question No. 2, and I do not have figures as to the increase in their expenditures, although it has been appreciably more.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I have obtained data from the community chest and find that they allow about $10 per week for a family of four.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to readily float other bond issues in so far as its financial status is concerned.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. While I do not believe that Federal appropriation is necessary for handling our local problem, I believe that it is in order to carefully consider such appropriation for the relief of local governments where the need is great, as the tendency seems to be to place too great burden upon local or municipal governments, which can not carry the burden adequately in many instances.

Trusting that these answers will be of assistance to you, I am

Very sincerely yours,

EDWIN A. INGHAM.

CULVER CITY

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry of the 27th ultimo, we submit the following information:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in Culver City, as compared with December, 1930, is about 50 per cent. The increase compared with the year 1929 is approximately 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city's appropriations for the unemployed is approximately the same this year as the year 1930, and 50 per cent more than in the year 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Would estimate that there will be at least 100 additional persons needing relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The information which we have at hand reveals that about 40 per cent of the relief burden is carried by private agencies. We also estimate that the assistance that the private relief agencies have given is 60 per cent more than in the year 1930, and no records available for the year 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children), under ordinary circumstances, is $5 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Culver City is in a position to float further bond issues for unemployment relief in so far as our bonded indebtedness limitation is concerned. We are not so sure that the tax-paying public will favor such a bond issue, although the city council have been discussing the feasibility of such a move.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I feel that a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in the present emergency relief burdens would be the proper solution and would aid in providing more adequate relief for the unemployed and needy cases in the various communities. I believe that a Federal appropriation properly distributed would give a more uniform system of relief than local bond issues because of the uncertainty of the local taxpayers approving or tolerating any further bond issues of a local nature, while in other communities the bond issues would be floated, thereby making an uneven distribution of relief measures.

Very truly yours,

PAUL H. JARRETT, *City Clerk.*

EL SEGUNDO

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In view of the fact that this community has a population of approximately 3,500 people only, and that about 95 per cent of the wage earners of said community have been employed by the Standard Oil Co. at its refinery here, which local industry seemed not to be affected by the depression until the year 1931, it is impossible to give you comparative figures as requested in your communication of November 27, received by the mayor of this city and referred to me for reply.

I will attempt, however, to picture the condition from available records and inquiry made in response to your questions as numbered, as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of unemployed persons assisted in this city December, 1929, none; December, 1930, none; December, 1931, 164 men, heads of families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for unemployed and poor, 1929, none; 1930, none; 1931, $20,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Additional persons who will need relief during winter months, 75 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Proportion of emergency burden carried by private relief agencies, undeterminable. El Segundo community chest is only local relief agency operation, and its expenditures generally are for immediate relief only. Its emergency relief expenditures were: 1929, $400; 1930, $450; 1931, $800.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Amount of weekly relief given average family is not fixed; dependent entirely upon circumstances.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The bond limit or capacity of the city is adequate to float bond issues for relief, but there is now complaint about high taxes, and I feel there would be considerable opposition to a bond issue for the purpose indicated.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The general consensus is that relief, or appropriations therefor, should originate in the Federal Government, and undoubtedly any such appropriations equitably distributed and judicially invested would aid materially in providing more adequate relief and would lessen the burden on those already overtaxed and who, unless conditions change at an early date, will find themselves in the same circumstances as those they are now helping.

We thank you for your interest in this matter and trust that you will be successful in your endeavors to mitigate the unprecedented hardships existing at this time.

Respectfully yours,

VICTOR D. MCCARTHY,
City Clerk.

FRESNO

DECEMBER 31, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to the questionnaire received from you relative to the unemployment in our community, I am sending you the following answers:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in unemployment or the number of unemployed persons assisted is approximately 25 per cent over 1930 and 30 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation was made by the city for the unemployed and the poor in 1929 and 1930. For 1931 a sum of $600 was appropriated.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. As far as it can be estimated, about 1,600 families a month are being provided for, and preparations are being made to take care of an additional three or four hundred during January and February.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Including the transient problem, the securing of work for the unemployed, and family relief, private agencies are taking care of approximately 40 per cent of the relief burden.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. There are approximately 808 families being taken care of weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not at present.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If the Government authorities would appropriate the money needed to put up necessary Federal buildings I believe it would stir up other building in the various communities that would probably more than relieve the unemployment situation.

I trust that the above information will fill your needs adequately. The figures are fairly accurate, but it is almost out of the question to secure absolutely correct figures on the above questions.

Very truly yours, Z. S. LEYMEL, *Mayor.*

FULLERTON

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your communication of November 27, please be advised as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. That the increase in the number of unemployed is double that of 1930 and three times that of 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In addition to families aided through special jobs, 45 are now being given supplies, and likely to reach 100 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The emergency burden is being carried by practically all private relief so far. City hires workers, quarters provided. Expenditures increased over 1930 and 1929 are twice and threefold.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our community nurses' association is looking after relief of families.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; if people are willing to vote bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If all migrant families are provided for by Government, bona fide residents (one year or over) can be pretty well cared for locally.

Yours very truly,

F. C. HEZMALHALCH, *City Clerk.*

GARDENA

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your general letter, dated November 27, 1931, and directed to the mayor of our municipality, has been delivered to me for attention.

The city of Gardena is in a rather difficult position, inasmuch as our incorporation took place in September of 1930, and we do not have very many records to fall back upon for information that would be of benefit to your committee. However, I have discussed the matter with the local relief chairman and the county welfare worker in this locality, and will answer as best I can the questions asked by you:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. It was the consensus of opinion that the unemployment situation and demands have tripled since this time in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have had no city appropriations, but did have a fund of approximately $2,500 allocated by Los Angeles County in the spring of 1931, and to date have had no further allowances of any kind.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The welfare in Gardena is helping new cases every day, and feels that the situation locally is steadily growing worse. The county welfare cases are increasing daily, and the worker thinks are much worse.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1920?

Answer. Our Gardena Valley welfare is carrying about 50 per cent of the burden of temporary aid—that is, feeding those who are down and out—and the rules and regulations of the county require too much time for immediate assistance.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The county welfare worker states that between $4 and $5 weekly is allowed an average family of two adults and two children.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float a bond issue. We incorporated without voting bonds for the original city, and have found it very difficult to carry on with tax rate set as low as possible; 80 cents for this year.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Personally, I would favor any action on the part of the Government which would give work to the men, but we would not at all favor a "dole" such as they have in England. It is true that something will have to be done during this coming

winter, but we hope that a plan may be developed whereby highways may be developed or county improvements.

Trusting that this small amount of information may be of some benefit to you, I am

Yours very truly,

CAROLYN A. GREGORY,
City Clerk.

GLENDALE

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your questionnaire of November 27, wish to advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Total registration, 1930, men only, 600; total registration, 1931, men and women, 1,900.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations and expenditures of city of Glendale, 1930, $49,906.62; 1931, $3,580.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately $1,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. City employees, 5 per cent of salaries for six months, $24,500; American Legion, $5,000; 530 school-teachers, at $4 per month for six months, $12,720; post-office employees, 115, at $4 per month for six months, $2,760; other contributions estimated, $8,040; Elks Lodge, $2,500. None of the above contributed in 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $5 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; our city is in a position to float further bond issues in the event that our present income is insufficient to meet adequate relief for needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Would advise that we would favor a Federal appropriation only for Federal work.

Very truly yours,

C. E. DOUGLAS, *City Manager.*

HAWTHORNE

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: In answer to your communication of November 27, 1931, regarding the unemployment conditions in the city of Hawthorne, I find that there has been an increase of the number of unemployed in this city for the year 1931, compared with the year 1930 of approximately 70 per cent.

The city of Hawthorne and the county of Los Angeles have appropriated approximately $25,000 during the year 1931. In the year 1930 there was only a very small amount expended on this account.

I believe that there are about 350 persons that will need relief during the coming winter months. The city of Hawthorne and the surrounding territory have relief headquarters and committee who receive donations of money, clothing, and food supplies, and dispense it for immediate relief until the Associated Charities of Los Angeles County can make an investigation. The amount of relief given weekly to each family of approximately two adults and two children is $4, plus rent, lights, gas, and water.

Our city is in a position to float further bond issues provided the bonds can be sold profitably. At the present time, however, the bond market does not appear to be very active. It is my opinion that a bond issue for relief would not serve any good or permanent purpose, as it would be an additional burden on the already overburdened taxpayers, who in the State of California comprise approximately 35 per cent of the population.

Any money raised for relief work, in my opinion, should be raised in a manner whereby all persons, including those benefited, would contribute to the retiring of this indebtedness.

From a close observation of conditions and from coming in contact with men of sound judgment in these matters, it is my opinion that the only permanent relief will come from a Federal law reducing the hours of labor to 6 hours in 24. This would tend to absorb the surplus labor and take up the difference in the increased production by machinery.

Your very truly,

S. V. FRASER, *City Clerk.*

HERMOSA BEACH

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Present unemployed about 150 (listed); no knowledge before that time.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have spent (counting extra work not needed) about $1,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Maybe not over the 150 now listed. We will have more to list, but will relieve others.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Organized effort has just started; nothing spent; nothing needed until this fall.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are not planning on any bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Of course money helps. But would not presume to advise on such a momentous question.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. CLARK, *Mayor.*

HOLLISTER

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No available data.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Do not know.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All. No data available.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

HUNTINGTON BEACH

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Two hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None 1929; approximately $100,000, 1930–31, and increasing fast.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred, making about 300 in all.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None 1929; about 50 families 1930; and double that 1931; increasing.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $18.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

HUNTINGDON PARK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, $2,000; over 1929, $4,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Increased expenditures compared with 1930, $500 per month; compared with 1929, $800.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Practically all groceries.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

INGLEWOOD

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Senator R. M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27 relative to the unemployment situation, beg to report as follows:

Last year at this time our registration of unemployed men was not as complete as it is at the present time; however, we are certain that unemployment is considerably greater now than at that time, perhaps as much as 30 or 40 per cent. How much it had increased last year over 1929 is not available.

So far as relief is concerned, there are probably enough cases additional to approximate 150 or 200 per cent over last year. Exact number we do not know.

We have organized in this city a relief committee along the lines of a community chest, supported by our people as a whole and administered in the same way. It was my lot to have been chosen general chairman of this committee.

Relative to the amount of weekly relief given to an average family, I would say that so far as food is concerned it probably totals about $4 per week. With this in mind, I might say that last month, during the month of November, our total amount of money expended for relief was something in excess of $1,200.

Relative to the floating of bond issues to meet relief needs in our community, I might say that last summer we tried such a proposition, but it was overwhelmingly defeated; and, with general conditions such as they are, high taxes, and other things, it is impossible to convince people that the way out of this thing is by bond issues.

Relative to Federal appropriations to assist local governments in meeting emergency relief, I do feel that such appropriations should be made and would be a great help in this matter. It seems that Inglewood at the present time is waiting to have money allocated for the erection of a Federal building in this city, and if that could be forthcoming and properly expended at least the building trades would be greatly helped. Other ways and means of Federal aid could be worked out by the help of concentration camps, or at least the offer for equipment to be used by them to carry on this work.

Just a personal idea in regard to this. I might say that it seems to me that there is one real solution to the unemployment situation, and a permanent one, which possibly the Federal Government could assist in, and that is in the adoption, or laying out of ways and means of adoption at least, of a program calling for a shorter number of days and a shorter number of hours per working day for all kinds of governmental work, private labors, etc.

Thanking you and trusting I have given you some information along this line, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

RAYMOND V. DARBY, *Mayor.*

LA VERNE

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your circular letter of inquiry regarding unemployment relief I would like to make a preliminary statement, namely, that this town (of about 3,000) is in the midst of a citrus-fruit growing community. There is no other industry, consequently the amount of work to be done has not greatly diminished, so that, so far as our permanent residents are concerned, there is not a great increase of unemployment.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Not an excessive increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriations have been made specifically for the unemployed. The city contributes regularly to a welfare agency, but this contribution has not been changed.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Perhaps 25 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Nearly all. Increase about 25 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can not answer.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I do not think so.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The only advantage I can see in Federal assistance would be the equalization of the burden over all the Nation.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR DURWARD, *Mayor.*

LOS GATOS

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: This will reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, in regard to the method of handling unemployment relief. I will reply to your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There were 35 unemployed in 1930, as compared with 75 in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. For 1930, none; for 1929, none.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty persons will require relief.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The local chapter of the American Red Cross has funds contributed locally and handles all relief work here.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars and twenty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I think we can handle the matter locally.

Yours very truly,

I. D. MABIE, *Mayor.*

MADERA

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your questionnaire of November 27, relative to unemployment in this city.

You are informed that the unemployment and relief situation is taken care of by the county of Madera, State of California, and Mr. Harrison Scott is the county welfare worker.

I am referring your letter to him for the information you ask for.

I am sorry that I am unable to give you the information at this time, but Mr. Scott will be able to give you the exact figures in so far as the county of Madera, State of California, is concerned.

Your truly,

JOHN B. GORDON, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with December, 1930, an increase of 50 per cent; compared with December, 1929, an increase of 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriation.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None; all county.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

MARYSVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Perhaps 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. About 20 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are able to take care of our needs.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We are not in favor of Federal appropriation.

WALTER KYNOCH, *Mayor.*

MILL VALLEY

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December 1, 1929, 32 reported; December 1, 1930, 41; December 1, 1931, 47.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City made no appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Maybe 10.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930?

Answer. All; about 25 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; decidedly not; cut the taxes down.

Kindly quit fighting the present administration and help it help us out of our difficulties. We fail to admire an obstructionist, but have high regard for constructionists—it's time to join the ranks of the latter.

WILL FALLEY.

NOTE.—Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE's secretary will please show this to him and not pigeonhole it.

MONTEBELLO

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of November 27 regarding Federal aid for relief of unemployment:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase of about 30 per cent in 1931 as compared with 1930. No records for 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city spent about $3,000 during winter of 1930, and in spring of 1931 about $6,000 on public work, which was work advanced on our budget for unemployment relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies carry about 50 per cent of work. Their expenditures have increased 30 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No data.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. Suggestion: Establish one or more military training camps in each State, providing vocational training, and have admission to the camp by card from the local municipal or county relief organizations.

This will take up the slack, and as labor becomes more plentiful skilled help can be drawn from the training camps.

Very truly yours,

J. P. WALKER, *City Manager.*

MONTEREY PARK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Trebled.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Doubled.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent; 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $10 per week and food.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

J. B. ALDINE, *Mayor.*

NEEDLES

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to yours of November 27, 1931, "To help in deciding upon a proper Federal policy, unemployed."

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We have no figures, but the summer and fall of 1931, especially in the months of September and October, showed a tremendous increase in the number of men drifting through on trains and highway; about twice as many as in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has made no appropriations, but more have been fed at county expense. The city has employed men to work on the streets and furnished them meals.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There seems to be some improvement in the employment situation here, possibly due to the fact that Needles is a desert city. The resident unemployed realize the poor possibilities of waiting for something to turn up and seek opportunities elsewhere. There has been a marked falling off of the number of men coming on trains during the month of November, 1931.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief carries none of the burden in Needles.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No families at present are given relief other than occasional gifts of food and clothing. One problem is the transient families of unemployed and single men.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Sincerely yours,

H. J. KANE, *Clerk.*

ONTARIO

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I would like to make the following comment in reply to your letter of November 27, 1931.

What can the people do to bring the representatives of our present Government to the realization that there is and has been a serious condition in our United States of America that demands the most serious consideration of every American citizen? We have been sending in figures for the past three years and about all that comes back is that every community will have to take care of its own.

The people have been doing fine in their effort to take care of the needy, but there is a limit as to just how far they can go. On the other hand the number of needy is increasing and the ability of the others to help is growing less. Relief is fine and we

must give help to those who are in need, but it is only temporary. What we need is more effort to correct the conditions that got us into this terrible mess.

We do not want more bond issues, for this also is only temporary. A bond issue places a larger burden upon the general public and in the end only helps those that least need it.

There is a growing feeling on the part of the general public that no group of individuals could have made more of a mess of conditions than the present Republican Party has during the past three years. We want men that have the interest of the general public at heart.

Anything the Federal Government can do at the present time will help to relieve the situation at the present moment. What we must eventually have is something of more permanent relief.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS P. WILLIAMS, *Mayor.*

PASADENA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Three thousand.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two thousand five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-fourth to one-third.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten to five.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours very truly,

P. M. WALKER, *Mayor.*

EL PASO DE ROBLES

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following are answers to the questionnaire which you sent out:

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Paso Robles appropriated $150 this year toward the Red Cross chest and pays $25 per month for a shelter which cares for about 20 each night. Heat is also furnished for same. During 1929 and 1930 transients were allowed use of jail and fire house without expense.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is unable to bond for more relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I favor a Federal appropriation for localities where help is needed.

Respectfully yours,

CLARK S. SMITH, *Mayor.*

PITTSBURG

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: It is rather hard to tell the increase in the number of unemployed persons in our city at the present time compared with the number in 1930. As the work in the different industries in our community decreased, a great number of the employees left for their homes in the East and elsewhere, but at the present time we have about 150 who have asked for work of some sort. In 1929 none applied for work.

In 1930 the city appropriation for the unemployed was about $900. There was no appropriation in 1929, and in 1931 we have raised $10,000 for the relief of unemployment.

In my judgment there will be about 300 additional persons needing relief during the winter months.

All of the emergency relief is carried on by the Pittsburg central relief fund. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children is about $8.

Our city is not in a position to float further bond issues to meet relief needs. In our case we do not need or favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting emergency relief burdens.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE T. OLIVER,
Chairman Central Relief Committee.

POMONA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent for both years.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?

Answer. One hundred per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; for relief of the needy.

PORTERVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifteen per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Five hundred dollars for both years.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Ten per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars, approximately.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

FRED W. PEASE, *Manager.*

RED BLUFF

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: In replying to your recent inquiry regarding the unemployment situation and business depression, it is impossible to give an answer to each of your questions.

Our city is small and no funds are appropriated from our city treasury for relief work. Most of such work is being done through various fraternal organizations, clubs, and the Red Cross. However, a committee has been selected from these organizations for the purpose of distributing any funds or giving help of any kind to the needy. This committee endeavors to place those needing assistance in suitable positions, thereby eliminating as far as possible the necessity of drawing on funds provided for relief work. This committee has been working with the highway commission to place our local unemployed, and the destitute transients with children are given aid as far as our funds will permit.

Very truly yours,

C. D. STORM, *Mayor.*

REDLANDS

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27, 1931, received.

The local unemployment situation is being taken care of through several local organizations, all supported by voluntary contributions. The several organizations are headed up under one general committee, generally eliminating an overlapping in activities. No city funds have so far been expended in this work. As far as we have had expressions, the local situation is well in hand and a Federal bond issue for relief purposes is not looked upon with favor.

Very truly yours,

C. P. HOOK, *City Clerk.*

REDWOOD CITY

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In this work of relief for the unemployed there are two separate and distinctive problems to be met. The

itinerant and the man with a family who, as a local resident, is trying to purchase and make a home for his loved ones.

We of Redwood City, through a general committee of citizens regularly authorized by the city council, have organized and apparently are able to meet the needs of the situation in so far as the demands of the local resident who has lost his job and is in need of help.

The itinerant is the real problem; thousands are coming into our State from all over the Nation; they are here now.

We find that our attempt to give aid to the local resident is handicapped by the fact that the local merchant, who ordinarily would gladly assist us in supporting benefits for the needs of the local resident who owes the merchant, is not in a position to help, because he is carrying the burden of the itinerant in giving them food and clothing and shelter.

One grocer tells me that within the last month he gave to the itinerants a sack of roasted coffee that ordinarily he would have sold for $40.

The Federal Government should in some manner participate in rendering aid to the itinerant, because they are an interstate problem.

We find that the local resident does not want charity; he wants work. Having this in mind, it has been the policy of the committee of which I am the chairman to create employment in sending a crew of 6 to 15 men to our Sequoia Union High School and having them perform labor under the supervision of the school authorities, and we pay the bill.

We are doing the same for our municipality. In both instances we are performing in a manner that acts to save the taxpayer, because the money we pay in labor would otherwise have to be raised by means of a bond issue or a raise in the rate for our schools or city.

Let the Federal Government take care of the itinerant and we will take care of our local unemployment.

Our local merchant has given credit to the local man out of a job, and he is also carrying the burden of caring for the itinerant. How in the world is he going to get out of this situation unless the Government steps into the breach?

Very respectfully,

DANIEL R. STAFFORD, *Mayor.*

RIVERSIDE

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, and your subsequent letter of December 11, I am submitting the following answers to the questions set out in your first letter:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, practically no unemployed in Riverside. In December, 1930, estimated unemployed, 200. At the present time registered unemployed, 675.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriations for unemployed in 1929. None in 1930. Appropriations aggregating $90,000, one-third of which is for labor, authorized in the last two months.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. List of registered unemployed who need assistance may reach 1,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all purely charitable relief work; no material increases.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Present bonded indebtedness below statutory limit, but I doubt if bond issues for relief will receive favorable vote.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH S. LONG, *Mayor.*

SAN BERNARDINO

DECEMBER 22, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate.

SIR: This reply to your letter of inquiry dated November 27, 1931, to Mayor I. N. Gilbert has been delayed, due to an illness of the mayor, which necessitated an operation at a hospital out of the city. I am giving you herewith replies to the questions set forth in your letter from our somewhat limited information, and trust it may have some bearing on bringing about a relieved condition.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. This is the first year the city has taken registration of unemployed and there is very little data to show rate of increase of unemployed persons in comparison with previous years. A small percentage of applicants—less than 15 per cent—report being out of employment for more than one year's time.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city has never legislated appropriations for unemployment relief. During the winter of 1930–1931 a community store was sponsored by the city government, but was run strictly as a charity organization maintained by subscription. Our present mayor, Mr. I. N. Gilbert, is responsible for the splendid relief work the city is now carrying on. Subscription money is paid to the city treasurer, and the city handles all office work and supervision at city expense. All moneys received are paid out 100 per cent to needy men who are put to work on city property, the work consisting chiefly of public park development. All applications are verified by a committee acting without pay. The inclosed statement will give you an idea of the scope of the work since starting October 29, 1931. Activities necessarily are limited to those residing inside the city limits.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. To date we have 950 applications from unemployed men. We have no definite data on which to base total unemployment, but estimate the total number might run from 1,500 to 2,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The only other organized employment relief work is through the San Bernardino County Welfare Department and the California State employment. We have no figures available in connection with their activities.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our relief work pays a man $2 per day six days per week, working every second week. Preference is given to those most needy and with large families, and nets the employee about $25 monthly. Payment made weekly in cash.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Due to the tax situation we do not deem it advisable—even if it were possible—to float a bond issue at this time as badly as the money is needed for this commendable work. You can readily understand that finances derived from subscription funds are inadequate and we are able to care for but comparatively few of our unemployed. We are attempting to promote as much public work as possible, and in this the county and State are cooperating. In spite of all this, suffering is acute and the number of unemployed is increasing.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Already the problem is beyond our handling, and if conditions become worse it will be necessary for us to have Federal or other outside aid. I am sure the city administration would heartily approve of any steps our Government might take to offer relief.

I regret the unavoidable delay in getting this information to you, and trust that such data as we have supplied may be of assistance in the work.

Yours very truly,

CIVIC EMPLOYMENT RELIEF,
By W. H. ROBERTS.

SAN FRANCISCO

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the request of the mayor, I am answering the questions in your letter of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, assisted 270 families; December, 1930, assisted 1,260 families; November, 1931, assisted 4,000 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929 the total expenditures for the entire year were $100,000. In 1930 expended $192,000 in the last four months, affording employment at $5 a day to unemployed and $160,000 for relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I estimate 66,000 people out of employment in San Francisco with an actual expenditure for relief for this fiscal year of something near $2,000,000. The families are increasing at the average rate of 35 a day. On our relief program at this time, approximately 3,500 families and 7,000 single men and single women are being cared for. The burden is at least ten times as great as in 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private agencies, through the community chest, are contributing $600,000 for emergency unemployment relief. This is in addition to their normal program, their expenditures being about triple in this respect, as compared with 1930, and 1930 was double 1929. The municipality, which until 1930 did not engage in the relief program at all, is contributing $1,250,000 this year for straight relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. See attached schedule which explains our relief program.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I doubt whether a bond issue would carry.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Believe any Federal appropriation should be made for work rather than for straight relief. In California, a large appropriation to preserve our forests by the cutting of fire trails, roads, etc., could employ thousands of men and at the same time result in permanent benefit. I feel that, particularly regarding the migratory man, the Federal Government will have to step in.

Yours very truly,

C. M. WOLLENBERG,
Director Unemployment Relief.

SAN GABRIEL

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: Your communication of November 27 relative to unemployment.

Let me preface my answer by saying that the county of Los Angeles, according to State law, is presumed to take care of all needy persons within its confines, whether situated in municipalities or not.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed have doubled since 1929, and about one-third more than in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in city appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There will be approximately 25 per cent more persons needing relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The San Gabriel Welfare Association provides for approximately one-fourth of expenditures. Their expenditures are double over 1929 and considerably increased compared with 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief granted is about $5 for two adults and two children, per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No bonds have been floated by the city to care for the unemployed, and there is no thought at this time of attempting any additional issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The council of the city do not favor Federal appropriations in face of the deficit now accumulating in the General Government; but along this same line there was an allocation of $110,000 to be made for Federal site and building to house the post office and other agencies. If this matter comes before the Congress, inasmuch as we are very much in need of the new building to properly handle the postal affairs here, and it would create considerable local employment, filling a want that is desired by the Government, then the Federal Government can assist by building this building, a capital outlay which is desired by all parties concerned.

Further, all municipal employees are donating 3 per cent and up of their salaries to an unemployment fund, and applications are being accepted for employment by those hard pressed who are employed in cleaning streets and allied work.

Through this agency, combined with the county and the welfare association, we are expecting to carry through the winter successfully.

Sincerely yours,

IRA H. STOFFER, *City Clerk.*

SAN JOSE

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The answers to your questionnaire sent out under date of November 27, 1931, are as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. San Jose, being a fruit-growing and canning center, is a community with a large percentage of seasonal labor. We have made no count of the unemployed for December, 1931.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Assistance for the unemployed and the poor is handled by three agencies—the county charities, the community chest, and the city of San Jose, the percentages for the present year being approximately 85, 7, and 8, respectively. The appropriation by the city of San Jose and the employees of the city for 1931 is approximately $12,500 more than for 1930 and $14,500 more than for 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No estimate can be made.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. As given above, the proportion of relief by private agencies is estimated at 7 per cent. From what information we can obtain, the appropriations by relief agencies for 1931 exceed those for 1930 by $10,000, and exceed those for 1929 by $12,500.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We are advised by the county charities commission that the minimum amount of relief given for a family of two adults and two children is $10 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of San Jose is in a position to float further bond issues, since our bonded debt is approximately $1,000,000 and our bond limit is 15 per cent of forty-five millions.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Direct appropriation by the Federal Government, in my opinion, would not reduce the burden on local taxpayers. If possible, the Federal Government ought to regulate the traveling from State to State by unemployed in search of work.

By the way, is coffee supposed to be more nourishing than wheat? Is there a tariff on coffee, and who gets the tariff? Personally I favor fewer questionnaires.

With kindest regards, yours truly,

C. B. GOODWIN, *Manager.*

SAN LUIS OBISPO

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge your circular letter of the 27th ultimo.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In my opinion the number of unemployed in the city of San Luis Obispo has increased this December about 50 per cent compared with December, 1930, and about 100 per cent compared with December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. This city's appropriation has not increased this year over the year 1930 and perhaps 25 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In all probability there will be about 200 persons additional needing help this winter compared with last winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No data available.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount given weekly to the average family is about $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is in no position to float further issues for relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I certainly am in favor of Federal appropriation to be given in some manner to assist local governments or direct action by the Government in relieving unemployment.

I am of the opinion that the present emergency is not a local one, but is a national one and it is, therefore, the duty of the National Government to first directly relieve the situation, and secondly, to indirectly do so.

If, as is stated 25 per cent of the wealth of the United States is in the State of New York and the emergency being a national one, it follows that the less wealthy communities if compelled to care for their own will be burdened with an unjust proportion of the cost.

I have but briefly outlined my opinion.

Yours truly,

L. F. SINSHEIMER, *Mayor.*

SAN RAFAEL

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, none; in 1930, 200; in 1931 to date, 500.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations possible. Local taxes high enough now.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Municipal and private agencies are taking care of all indigents, itinerants, and transients. Their expenditures have doubled since 1930 and 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three days per week at $4 per day for the head of each family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income in insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Absolutely not.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; for public works of a Government nature, such as national defense, air bases, Federal waterways, and Federal road building.

WILLIAM S. NOCK, *Mayor.*

SANTA ANA

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Chairman Committee on Manufactures,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The mayor of Santa Ana, Mr. John Knox, has handed me your questionnaire, dated December 22 last, for answering.

Taking the questions in rotation:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, the unemployment problem was not of sufficient stress with us as to demand municipal recognition. The number of our citizens now unemployed is about 400 less than in December, 1930, because of a comprehensive program of county road work undertaken to relieve the situation.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city of Santa Ana spent about $40,000 during 1930 creating employment for those who would otherwise be out of employment. In 1931, because of a depleted city treasury, the municipality has been unable to help.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably between 250 and 300 more heads of families will have to receive aid than are now being helped.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. It is all now being carried by private agencies, whose expenditures can not be gaged accurately, because the burden is being spread wider among them, but in the aggregate they must be spending 300 per cent or more than a year ago.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. That given direct from our office amounts to $2 weekly cost to us per family which has no employment. A copy of our food schedule, worked out by our county health department, is attached. While substantial, it contains only essentials.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Sincerely yours,

CITIZENS' UNEMPLOYMENT EMERGENCY COMMITTEE,
By ROBERT SPEED, *Executive Secretary.*

SANTA CLARA

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to yours of November 27, I wish to inform you that Santa Clara has about the same amount of unemployed every year, and those in need of assistance are taken care of by the Catholic Relief Society and the Kings Daughters, who receive the funds necessary for that purpose through popular subscription.

We are well able to take care of the local situation if each city and State would do the same.

Yours most sincerely,

MAX KOHNER, *Mayor.*

SANTA MARIA

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 100; 1929, 30.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $20.

A. F. FUGLER, *Mayor.*

SANTA PAULA

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, 1931, would say that while there has been some increase in unemployed this year over 1929 and 1930, the condition in this city is not serious and has thus far been taken care of by the local chamber of commerce. The charitable and welfare work has been taken care of by local organizations of private individuals. No city funds have been used for this purpose and no bonds have been issued. There is, therefore, no need of a Federal appropriation to assist our local government in meeting these relief burdens.

Yours very truly,

M. G. DEMAREST, *Clerk.*

SIGNAL HILL

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

The Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your communication under date of November 27, 1931, as addressed to the city of Signal Hill, Calif., we are pleased to advise:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase of registered unemployed in the city of Signal Hill is more than 35 per cent greater than in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The increase in city appropriations will run from 15 to 20 per cent over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We estimate there will be 100 additional persons needing relief during the coming winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have no accurate information, but assume there will be approximately 10 per cent taken care of by private agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We would estimate from $7 to $10 per week per family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is not in a position to adequately meet the needs for relief in this community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do feel that an appropriation should be made by the Federal Government in order to lessen the burden of the local taxpayers.

From the reports given out through our local county employment stabilization committee, it is estimated that there are more than 1,000 transient people entering the State of California each day, who are not in a position to support themselves. The State of California, together with the county and city of Los Angeles and the Metropolitan Water District have voted many millions of dol-

lars for local improvements; the Los Angeles Metropolitan Water District having, in one bond issue, provided for $220,000,000. No doubt this fact has contributed largely to the influx of hundreds of thousands of people, notwithstanding the fact that the expenditure of this money will be spread over a number of years, and can not be of any benefit in the present crisis.

The city of Signal Hill is in an oil-producing territory. The curtailment in the production of oil on the Pacific coast during the last two years has thrown out of employment many thousands of men, while at the same time there has been an ever-increasing amount of petroleum and petroleum products imported into this country free of any duty.

We find from the records during 1930 alone something over 100,000,000 barrels were imported. This was produced largely in South American countries and in Russia, where it is being produced by cheap labor, while our own American laborers, by being forced into the unemployed list, are rapidly becoming subjects for charity. Investigation will show the price of the finished petroleum product to the consumer has not been lessened on account of the foreign importation.

We sincerely hope that Congress will take appropriate steps to protect the American laborer and American industry, especially where such protection will not increase the cost of the product or the manufactured article to the consumer in this country.

Yours truly,

W. E. HINSHAW, *Mayor.*

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: I have read with much interest your questionnaire seeking information on social distress arising out of unemployment.

It should bring some interesting responses from southern California, where people are faced with the problem of caring for thousands of homeless men who are daily pouring over our borders to escape the rigors of eastern winter.

Without being able to give you definite information in answer to your questions, it is my judgment that unless the Federal Government assumes responsibility in a measure at least for the care of transients untold suffering will result. While it is un-Christian, it is natural and logical to shunt these homeless men from community to community to avoid caring for them.

This attitude is so apparent in plans that are being made to care for these homeless men—or at least in the interpretation which the newspapers have put on these plans in their stories—that I was moved to write an editorial on "Snowline camps for transients," a copy of which I am inclosing.

I recall with pleasure a number of pleasant meetings with you while you were serving as your father's secretary and I was with Senator KENDRICK in a like capacity some eight or nine years ago.

The outstanding way in which you are carrying on the liberal leadership furnished the Nation for so many years by your father is a matter of gratification to all people who think in terms of human values.

Yours very truly,

W. A. ANDERSON.

TORRANCE

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry of November 27, 1931, concerning need for unemployment relief addressed to the city of Torrance, has been handed me for report.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations by the city for unemployment—increase 1931 over 1930 about 60 per cent. Through the city of Torrance and Torrance Relief Society for relief and unemployment: 1929, $1,200; 1930, $2,000; 1931, $3,800; 1932, $5,000.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Additional demands for relief will probably be doubled during the winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Perhaps 50 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. Demands upon the private relief agencies in the city are at the present time about double over the present time last year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Supplies purchasable at wholesale prices approximating $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is not in a position to float bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. This city will undoubtedly take care of its relief situation and its unemployment problem as best it can; naturally delays attendant upon congressional action would be considerable and aid from this source would be uncertain. Other means will have to be provided locally to cope with the problem.

Very truly yours,

F. R. LEONARD, *City Engineer.*

TURLOCK

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter to the mayor of the city of Turlock has been referred to me for answer. I am giving you this information to the best of my ability since exact records have not been kept; but taking my data from the amount of money paid out by reason of the fact that I am treasurer of the relief committee, I feel that the figures are quite correct.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number has doubled.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In so far as the city is concerned, none. The citizens have more than doubled the private subscriptions over last year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The check-up shows no increase in the number of families. Transients have increased four times in number.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929 relief committees and different charitable organizations put up $3 to $1 by the municipality; in 1930 about the same proportion; 1931 will be $6 to $1.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We as a community give only temporary relief. Under the State law of California, the county is obliged to care for protracted cases. I believe the usual amount afforded is from $5 to $10 per family, according to circumstances.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float bonds; however, the citizens feel that it is not necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not. It is the general opinion that once a thing of this kind is started, it will have no end. However, it does seem that in the crowded centers of population something of this sort must be done if no other way presents itself for the solution of this difficult problem. It needs some one that has head enough to take hold of the proposition and think it through, regardless of any political or hindering factors which might enter in. Where is the man?

In addition to what I have said to you, I wish to say that I have been following your career in the United States Senate very closely. I am sure that you are undertaking to do a great work in the position which you occupy. I wish to state further that I was a great admirer of the late Robert M. La Follette, your father. In fact, I was a supporter of him in his political ambitions. I met him on occasions when he was a visitor to our State.

I hope the information given to you is that which is desired.

Very sincerely yours,

A. P. FERGUSON, *City Clerk.*

COLORADO

CANON CITY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few, if any.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all of it.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Could not; but it is very small.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Could not float bonds without vote of the taxpayers.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency-relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not at all.

Respectfully,

GUY JAMES, *Mayor.*

DENVER

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Mayor Begole has asked me to reply to your letter of November 27 concerning statistics regarding relief in Denver.

I will not repeat your questions but will answer them according to the number.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. It is impossible to answer this question as we have no statistics as yet for the number of unemployed compared with December, 1930, and with December, 1929. In November, 1929, we assisted 1,181 families; in November, 1930, 1,128; and in November, 1931, 2,808.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930 by 12 per cent; over 1929 by 12 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly 100 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private agencies are carrying about 28 per cent of the relief burden. I can not answer your question as to how their expenditures compare with 1930. If you wish, you might write to the community chest, Fourteenth and Welton Streets, Denver.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given such a family would vary according to the needs of the family. Food budget might amount to about $4 per week, and, if the children are small, a quart of milk would be sent.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I can not answer this question.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It seems to me that this question requires a great deal of careful thought. Undoubtedly there are counties in Colorado which are unable to finance their relief burdens, due to the small number of taxpayers in the county and to the general poverty of the county. The families needing assistance will have to be cared for in some way, and possibly a Federal appropriation is the only possible way. The situation in this State will have to be surveyed carefully, and appropriations, if any, should be carefully administered. Since Colorado has no public welfare department the problem of wisely administering the Federal appropriation would be difficult.

It seems to me that Federal appropriation would be of aid in lessening the burden on local taxpayers, not in providing more adequate relief for the needy.

I am sorry that my reply is late but hope that it is not too late to be of use.

Sincerely yours,

EUNICE ROBINSON,
Executive Secretary.

MONTE VISTA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies?

Answer. Two per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If ably and judiciously distributed; yes.

Respectfully yours,

A. R. BAIRD, *Mayor.*

TRINIDAD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 20 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Five hundred dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but they will not. Have reduced our budget to meet income.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. Favor Government keeping nose out of local affairs.

Colorado laws require county government to provide for relief of poor.

WALSENBURG

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with Decemher, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 30 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One thousand.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent, all private and local relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two to three dollars so far, account warm, favorable weather.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Only for road work, Federal buildings, and creation of some form of Government employment.

A. J. MERRITT, *Mayor.*

CONNECTICUT

ANSONIA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent; 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $25,000; 1929, $50,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two thousand.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more

adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; believe city should look after its own.

MICHAEL J. COOK, *Mayor.*

DERBY

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your recent communication relative to the unemployment situation in this city will say:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of persons aided in 1931 in comparison with 1930 represents about 50 per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Expenditures for the unemployed and the poor have increased about 25 per cent over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 300 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are carrying 25 per cent of the relief burden.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family receiving aid receives approximately $8 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation unless conditions become more serious.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM J. RIORDAN, *Mayor.*

HARTFORD

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: I have your circular letter of November 27, in which you ask for an immediate reply to certain questions requested by the Committee on Manufactures.

May I first state that in my opinion there is but one proper Federal policy to observe concerning relief, and that is for the Federal Government to observe the intent of the Constitution and to mind its own business until the time comes when municipalities and States have defaulted the responsibilities of their intended fields. The Federal Government at the present time, through the strangulation hold that it has gotten on functions which are beyond the intent of the Constitution, is rapidly killing individual initiative and local pride. This tendency must stop.

In response to your inquiries:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There are fewer unemployed in our city to-day than in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Only those seasonally affected; 500 fair estimate.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 25 per cent of the burden is borne by private relief agencies. Private agency relief is limited by the sums of money raised. This year the community chest raised double its accustomed amount for agency relief, thereby preserving their proportionate relief ratio.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $13.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We could float bond issues. We won't. We intend to meet the relief needs of the community from present income, making each annual budget meet the deficit through laying of increased taxes. We believe in paying our own way. It is cheaper than to bear the cost of Federal bungling.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Federal aid should be the last resort, and should only be provided in the event that it is asked for through action of a State governor or a State legislature, or in the event of the establishment of proof that the State has exhausted every effort to meet the contingency.

Very truly yours,

WALTER E. BATTERSON, *Mayor.*

NEW BRITAIN

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your recent inquiry regarding unemployment conditions in this city.

Beg to advise that conditions in New Britain are similar to the conditions existing in nearly all industrial centers in this country.

We have thousands here who would have had no employment had not the city government carried out certain public works and given limited employment each week to every citizen out of employment.

We have carried on this work for two years, but how much longer we can continue rests with the ability of the taxpayers to carry the burden.

We have had no thought to direct aid from the National Government, and believe that the town, city, and State governments can cope with the situation.

However, we do feel that the Congress can aid in this situation if the Members will concentrate upon national problems and not limit their labors to petty political broils, which, while they make newspaper copy, will never fill the empty belly of the American workman.

The American people want work, not charity; we want action from the Congress, not philosophy; we want intelligent, unselfish leadership, not platitudes from political self-seekers.

In brief, Senator LA FOLLETTE, what we want is a real Government administered in the interest of the American people and not in the interest of a selfish group or groups. In the meantime we of the towns, cities, and States will carry on unselfishly to the best of our ability.

Very truly yours,

GEO. A. QUIGLEY, *Mayor.*

NEW HAVEN

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: This is to acknowledge your recent communication concerning the unemployment situation in New Haven. It would be a very difficult matter to answer your questions in specific figures, as in many cases the figures would be only guesses.

In a general way I can state that the number of people who are calling upon the city for relief is greater than it was at the same time a year ago. This may be due to increased unemployment or it may be due to the fact that some who were unemployed a year ago had resources which are now exhausted, and probably both causes are effective. It would be impossible to determine what proportion is due to each cause.

We have had three bond issues to provide funds for unemployment relief, and while our financial situation is such as to permit additional bond issues, we have definitely abandoned bonding the city for this purpose, because by our charter bonds can only be issued for specific purposes, very limited in character, and the money accruing from the funds can not be used with sufficient flexibility to meet these requirements. Instead our board of finance is appropriating for specific purposes such sums as may be needed to be paid for out of current revenues. This will result in a deficit at the end of the year which will have to be made up by the levying of a special tax. The necessity of facing this situation will oblige the board of finance to limit expenditures to what is actually needed and yet leaves them free to expand the program as necessity demands.

I am most positively opposed to any type of Federal aid. The problem of taking care of New Haven's poor is New Haven's problem, and must be met by New Haven. From the standpoint of good business and good government as well, it would be highly unfortunate to evade this responsibility and lean upon some higher governmental agency for relief. Governmental revenues, whether local or Federal, in the last analysis come from the same people. If local people are taxed for this situation, the cost is immediately present in their minds, and expenses will be kept down to what is necessary, whereas if the money is received from outside sources it is a very easy matter to indulge in extravagance and waste in meeting the problem.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS A. TULLY, *Mayor.*

NORWALK

JANUARY 9, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your request for information sent to Mayor Nash, we are pleased to advise that the number of unemployed in Norwalk, a city of 36,000 people, is about the same as a year ago, approximately 2,000 people. The number of unemployed in December of 1929 was estimated at 700.

The charity appropriation in 1929 was $63,000; in 1930, $97,000; and the amount appropriated for 1931 was $72,000.

The municipality has set aside $40,000 for work relief on roads, bridges, etc., and the citizens' committee is raising $10,000 for

emergency relief. In 1930 a citizens' committee raised $22,000, of which $20,000 was spent for employment and $2,000 for emergency relief. There was no municipal fund in 1930 outside of the charity department mentioned above.

Persons receiving help from the charity department are allowed a maximum of $4 a week. Persons on the emergency pay roll are paid $3.60 per day for four days a week, but the work is rotated and will provide no more than four weeks work for any man during the winter season.

The city is not in a position to float further bond issues in case the present income is insufficient. Mayor Nash has expressed himself as not favoring a Federal appropriation except by expediting Federal roads, buildings, etc., using local labor, and I believe that that represents the general sentiment here.

Very truly yours,

PETER FOLEY, *Executive Secretary.*

SHELTON

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Chairman Committee on Manufactures, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in December, 1931, over 1930 is about 100 per cent; over 1929, unknown.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The amount appropriated for 1931 over 1930 has increased about 115 per cent; 1931 over 1929 was 400 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We estimate that 200 families or nearly 900 persons, will need to be relieved this coming winter in whole or in part.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 25 per cent of the emergency burden will be taken care of by private charity organizations.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount given weekly for the average family is about $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is in a position to float bonds if necessary for public improvements only.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not feel the need of Government aid for this community.

Very truly yours,

F. W. CROFUT, *Mayor.*

WEST HAVEN

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is to acknowledge the receipt of your recent letters regarding the unemployment situation in West Haven. It is very difficult to answer your question in specific figures, as in many cases they would only be approximate. In a general way I would state that the number calling for work is about the same as last year. Up to the present we have issued no bonds but expect to go into the market for same in the near future.

I am opposed to any type of Federal aid. The problem of taking care of West Haven's poor is West Haven's problem and must be met by West Haven.

Trusting this will answer your inquiry, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOHN W. CURREN, *First Selectman.*

FLORIDA

DAYTONA BEACH

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of December 11, I am happy to reply that unemployment in Daytona Beach is being taken care of in a very satisfactory manner through plans laid down under the general direction of the President's unemployment relief committee. Our city of 17,000 people is employing a special crew of men numbering 65 who are paid $1.50 per day, working five days per week, 7 hours per day. These men are married and have families and have lived in our community for at least a year. Preference is given to taxpayers. No transients or hitch-hikers are employed. The men are alternated week by week by different crews. I do not believe there are more than 500 unemployed men in our community.

Very truly yours,

B. B. BAGGETT, *Mayor.*

DE LAND

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your communication of November 27 relative to the unemployment situation in this city, we beg to advise as follows:

Florida annually has a heavy influx of northerners during the winter months, and included in this number are many itinerants, dependent upon the community in which they reside for their means of livelihood. This community each year has this condition to meet. We early organized a local unemployment council for the relief of local unemployed composed of representatives from the various civic, commercial, and charitable organizations in this city. This council has handled our local situation in a most commendable way. They have assigned 294 to positions, which constitutes every physically able person registered.

We had no unemployment situation to contend with during the winters beginning December, 1929 and 1930.

The city has not appropriated any fund for the relief of the unemployed from the general tax revenue of the city, but all employees and officials of the city give a percentage of their monthly salaries to the unemployment relief. In this they are joined by the Florida Public Service Co. and other local corporations.

In reply to section 6 of your letter, we beg to advise that De Land is retiring much of its bonded debt. We have never defaulted in the payment of interest or principal, and therefore have an excellent municipal credit rating and believe we would have no trouble in floating a bond issue should this be necessary. However, we do not anticipate doing this.

Replying to section 5, we advise that we have given no cash to families, but through relief agencies have furnished them with clothing and food supplies as have been necessary. Clothing is usually donated, and $3 is the greatest amount given to a family of the size mentioned for food supplies.

In regard to section 7, we do not feel that we are competent to answer this section, as, in our case, we have no cause to anticipate relief from funds other than those raised locally. We do realize that many of our larger cities and some smaller cities as well in colder climes have much more serious problems than should ever be the case in Florida. Not having such problems facing us as exist in other sections of the country, we should not like to express an opinion in this matter.

Trusting that this rather rambling reply may be of some value to you, I beg to remain,

Most respectfully yours,

E. W. BROWN, *Mayor.*

FORT MYERS

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: This reply to your letter of November 27, in regard to unemployment is based on the experience of the employment council in this city and does not take into account the activities of the regular municipal welfare association.

During the months of September, October, November, and December, the employment council has spent approximately $1,500 to provide temporary employment for 100 men. The men were given public work at $1 per day, some men having worked three or four weeks on this basis. This is the first and only year that such activity was necessary in Fort Myers, a city of 10,000 population. No such need was apparent in 1929 and 1930 although the situation might have existed on a smaller scale. Money for this work was donated at 25 cents per week by persons having employment.

In past years, the load was never too heavy to be carried by the welfare board which is supported by municipal appropriated tax funds. The situation here has improved 60 per cent with the approach of winter due to the fact that citrus and vegetable growing are active during winter months and further due to arrival of tourists which provides some employment.

We expect the unemployment situation to cause trouble again next summer and early fall. Our situation is the reverse of that in the north. During the winter months our unemployment situation is reduced to a minimum. The amount of relief given to average family has been $6 per week through dollar-a-day work. In larger families this was augmented by donation of grocery staples and some clothing.

Respectfully,

JOSIAH H. FITCH, *Mayor.*

FORT PIERCE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent reduction; 1929, 50 per cent reduction.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Thirty per cent of our regular population, not including transients.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. One dollar and fifty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; because we have reached about our limit, but do not approve of Government dole.

MARIE M. MEREDITH,
St. Lucie County Welfare Association.

HIALEAH

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: You are right about conditions warranting every consideration possible to the unemployment situation, and the Federal Government, in my opinion, is the only agency to whom anyone can look for absolute relief of the situation. The Federal Government must assist the States and municipalities in meeting part of the burden necessitated by this emergency if real disaster is to be averted.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fortunately for us, we can answer your first question by stating a considerable increase in employment at this time has been effected by the fact that a local race track expended considerable money in improvements and employed a large number of idle men, although by no means did this absorb the whole unemployed. It did, however, afford some relief, to which we were very grateful, as we had a terrible situation on our hands. This is a new territory, practically a pioneering area; little, if anything, for the workingman to do, as there are no industries, and unless the Federal Government undertook some work or other means of affording relief our situation itself would be disastrous. The temporary relief of the building of race tracks is merely on the surface, and while the present winter 3-month tourist business here also affords some relief, the whole situation will again become aggravated and the unemployed again face disaster the same as all through last summer as soon as the next few months are over unless other things come up in the meantime to offset it.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city has been issuing notes for the past several years to pay employees, and this year had plenty to do with trying to meet this situation, let alone making appropriations for the relief of unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 100 persons in this little city—that is, 100 families—will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Appropriations from private sources now care for all of the unemployed so far as it can be done, and with limited amounts raised from dances and other charity events, and these have been increased 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $5 in groceries alone.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; we now have a million-dollar bond issue, on which we are in default one year on both principal and interest.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I believe the seventh question can best be answered by you after you have summed up the answers you will receive from your inquiry; but personally I believe the Federal Government is the only source to which anybody can look to solve the problem.

Most respectfully yours,

ROBERT W. MARSHALL, *Mayor.*

MELBOURNE

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. An increase of 85 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. $200.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

R. L. ROWE, *Mayor.*

MIAMI

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: With reference to your form letter of November 27, concerning unemployment, I wish to advise you that the city commission of Miami, by resolution, in response to question No. 7, has expressed itself in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting emergency relief requirements.

Mr. W. H. Green, in charge of the unemployment fund committee, has previously sent you a communication informing you of the unemployment situation in Miami. I might add that because of our position as a leading winter resort and because of our climatic health advantages, Miami is every year burdened with an increasing number of indigent persons from all points of the United States and it adds a tremendous, and possibly unfair, burden to the city, financially and otherwise, in coping with this situation.

In answer to question No. 6, I would say that the city is unable to float further bond issues for any purpose. It has been suggested that an Army camp be established somewhere in the State of Florida—accepting short-term enlistments on the theory that the cost of support would be less per individual in this manner and that possibly some constructive work could be accomplished by these forces. I do know that the city of Miami has expended and is at present continuing to expend considerable sums for various military purposes in the way of clearing and providing landing fields for both lighter and heavier-than-air aviation purposes.

The city of Miami appreciates your interest in this subject.

With best wishes, I am, cordially,

L. L. LEE, *City Manager.*

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reference to your letter of November 27 regarding the unemployment situation, beg to inform you as follows:

The employment conditions in this city are usually reversed as to seasons than conditions in the North; in other words, the time when help is needed most is between March 1 and December 1. However, during the months between December 1 and March 1 of 1929–30, the comparison with conditions as they are at present would be as follows:

Present time, 40 per cent more unemployed than in 1929 and approximately 30 per cent more unemployed than in 1930. The past summer saw approximately 5,000 heads of families out of work. This has been materially reduced due to the fact that our winter season has begun, vegetable canning factories operating, and the farming industry has picked up.

The city's appropriation for the poor has been increased approximately 40 per cent over the years 1929–1930.

Approximately 400 additional persons will need relief during the next four months and will undoubtedly increase to three or four thousand during the spring and summer.

Due to lack of funds the private relief agencies are unable to take much part in assisting the unemployment situation with the exception of the unemployment committee which is endeavoring to raise funds and give work to those who are in need. This committee does no charity work, and its goal is to be able to provide work for every able-bodied man and leave the sick and indigent to the official city charity division.

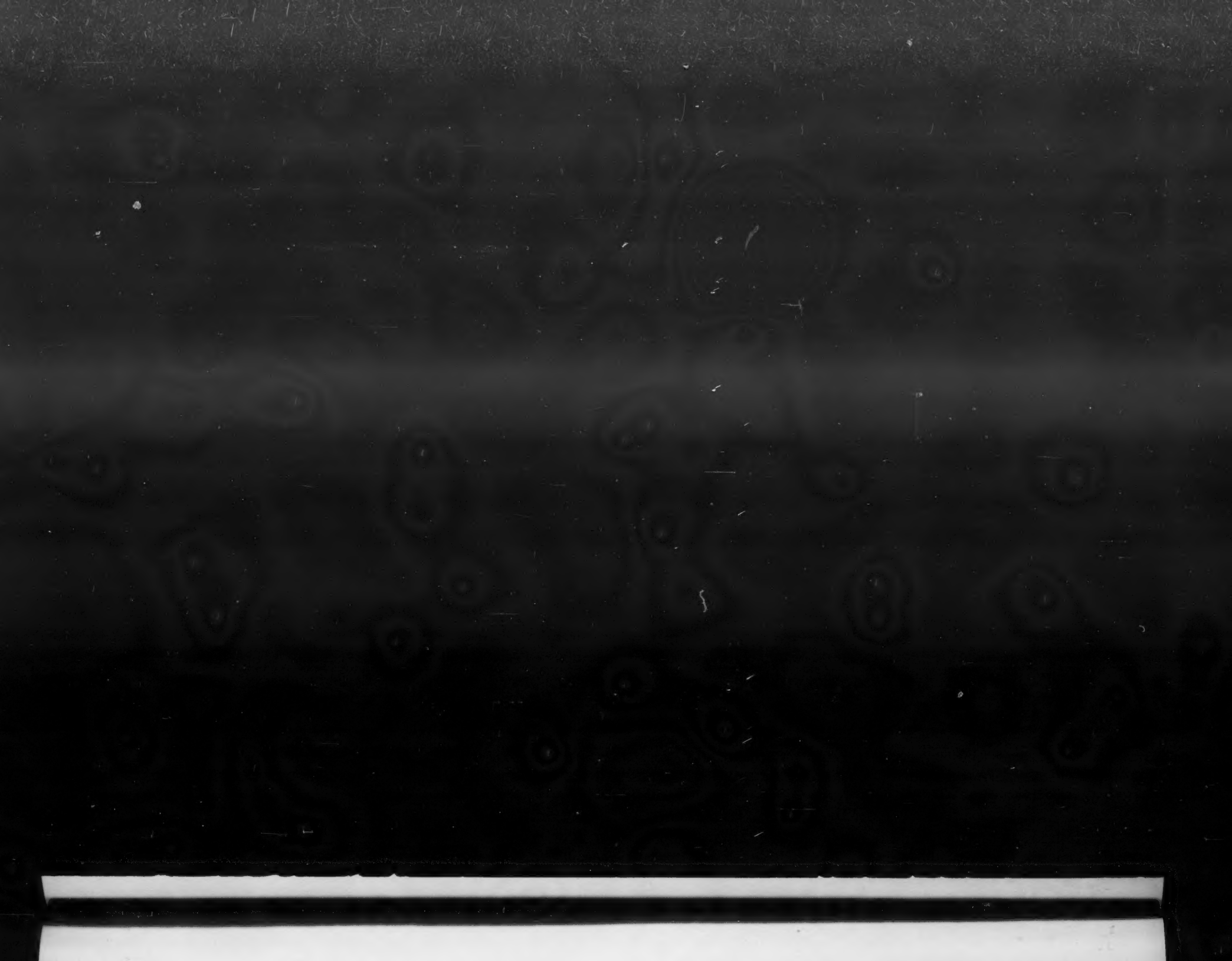
Under our present plan the unemployment committee has been able to give two weeks work per family head at the rate of $15 a week, but our funds have not permitted us to work a man a greater length of time than above stated.

The city of Miami, due to its present bond indebtedness, is unable to float further bond issues to assist in the present situation.

It is believed that in the event that a municipality is unable to meet the situation due to local economic conditions, that a Federal appropriation to assist in carrying on the work would be of great benefit and should be made in proportion to the ability of the local community to raise funds of its own and not a direct appropriation regardless of the community's efforts; in other words, it is not believed that an arbitrary appropriation be made by the Federal Government to relieve the community's obligation to make an honest effort to procure the funds necessary to carry on their program.

Yours very truly,

W. H. GREEN,
Chairman Unemployment Committee.



ORLANDO

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 27, concerning the unemployment situation and the need for emergency relief in this city.

It will be necessary to secure information from the various organizations handling either the unemployment situation or emergency relief work before I can fully and completely answer the seven questions contained in your letter, but I hope to make a complete report in a few days.

Respectfully yours,

JAS. L. GILES, *Mayor.*

PENSACOLA

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Replying to your inquiry of November 27, the answers, as nearly as I can ascertain them, are as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. An increase in 1931 over 1930 about 40 per cent. From 1929 to 1931, 75 or 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has made appropriation of only $1,200 for unemployment relief, 1931. Less than for either 1930 or 1929, owing to the fact that the city's credit has been exhausted, and it is having trouble in meeting current obligations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 500 more will need relief during this winter than last, possibly 800.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 90 per cent of emergency relief is furnished by private relief agencies. Their expenditure in 1929 was some $31,000; 1930, $27,000; 1931, $42,000 has been subscribed.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The relief given to the average family is $2 per week, cashable at wholesale rates. About 140 families received this. Provision has been made for the employment by emergency relief committee of 100 heads of families for 16 weeks at $6.40 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. As indicated in answer to question No. 2, our city is not in position to float further bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Personally I should feel a hesitancy in favoring Federal relief, except as a long-time, low-interest-bearing loan. If there is not a resumption of more active employment, there is hardly anything that I should not welcome as relief.

Our community is in relatively a much better position than some others in the South and most in the industrial North. My apprehension is much deeper for the social results in States of much greater population.

I have just read a statement of Senator WAGNER's proposition to authorize two billion for public-works program. If anything is more sorely needed to hasten a recovery more than this, I can't think of it. It would heartily meet my views in disposing of a bad situation.

Please pardon my remissness in replying so late to your inquiry. I appreciate thoroughly the endeavors you are making for humanity.

Very truly yours,

H. CLAY ARMSTRONG, *Mayor.*

ST. PETERSBURG

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your circular letter of November 27 regarding the unemployment-relief program.

Answering your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed December 1, 1931, is approximately 2,000, including common labor. This is practically the same as a year ago. We have no figures for 1929. Only about 200 families are wholly dependent upon the city or private agencies for direct assistance.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for direct relief are no larger this year than last, but the city has organized a clean-up squad of 80 men which operates five and a half days a week and covers a total enlistment of about 120 men.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There will probably be no additional persons who will need relief during the winter months unless the influx of "floaters" from the North is greater this year than last. We have made an effort to inform people without means and without employment that we will give preference to our citizens when any employment is available and that they would better remain in their home communities.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 40 per cent of the burden is carried by private relief agencies and 60 per cent by the city and the Salvation Army.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $6 per week in food.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. The general sentiment of this city is that the relief of local distress is a local matter which should be cared for by the citizens of this city and county. With Federal expenditures already running at the rate of nearly $2,000,000,000 per year above the Federal income, we can not believe that any community should seek to shift its own burden to the shoulders of the Federal Government. I can understand that communities which would receive, under Federal appropriations, more money than they would be later called upon to repay in the form of additional taxes, might favor your proposal, but I can not see any justice in such a procedure, and I sincerely hope that your proposal (which I believe is a renewal of the suggestion which you made a year ago) will not be adopted.

Yours very truly,

H. W. ADAMS, Jr., *Mayor.*

TALLAHASSEE

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of 11th instant, addressed to the mayor of Tallahassee, Fla., and wherein you request an answer to your letter of November 27, concerning the unemployment situation, has been delivered to me for attention.

It seems that the aforementioned letter of November 27 has been misplaced and I therefore am not in position to answer in detail the questions asked therein. However, I shall give you a summary of conditions relating to unemployment as they now exist in this community.

As near as we can determine from available information, about 1,000 people in this county do not at this time have steady employment by which they can earn a decent existence. Of such number, possibly 250 are without means of support entirely and are dependent upon local relief agencies for assistance.

We have no large groups of industrial workers here and the unemployment situation as it exists with our local citizens is the result of a decrease in business which required employers to decrease their overhead; and also because farmers have not realized any profits from their efforts in 1931 and consequently are unable to retain their portion of hired laborers. The sawmill and naval-stores business also employ a large number of laborers around here and the adverse conditions affecting such businesses has added to the list of unemployed.

At this time there is no serious unemployment problem here in so far as our own local citizens are concerned, but if conditions grow worse it will be serious very shortly. We are trying to care for our own as best we can by asking for and encouraging a distribution of employment among as many families as possible.

If further information is desired, kindly advise.

W. T. MOORE, Jr.,
Chairman of Local Welfare Association.

TAMPA

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have received your communication of November 27, 1931, relative to local unemployment conditions. I am forwarding your communication to Maj. Philip G. Murphy, superintendent of the local unemployment council, Chamber of Commerce Building, Tampa, with the request that he furnish you with the information requested. You will doubtless hear from him soon.

Thanking you for your inquiry and interest, I am

Yours very truly,

R. E. L. CHANCEY, *Mayor.*

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter dated November 27, addressed to the mayor of the city of Tampa, has been referred by him to me in accordance with his letter addressed to you on December 11.

The answers to the seven questions propounded by you in your communication of November 27 are given on the sheet attached. These answers are based on our best opinion, and, as you realize, are not based on absolute statistics.

Very truly yours,

PHILIP G. MURPHY, *Director.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed persons assisted in the city of Tampa, December, 1929, was comparatively small, only slightly exceeding normal charity requirements. December, 1930, showed a considerable increase, and a great many people were assisted in various ways. December, 1931, we have approximately 6,000 people, with 16,000 dependents, a total of approximately 22,000 people who need some degree of assistance. Of this number we have assisted this month about 1,600.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed and poor increased this year about $12,500 over 1930 and about $20,000 over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 6,000 additional people will need some relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The proportion of emergency burden being carried by private relief agencies is good. However, their expenditures have decreased rather than increased because of the difficulty in securing contributions.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two or three children is about $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Tampa is not in position to float further bond issues in the event our present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In my opinion, a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief programs is very necessary, especially to communities in sections of the country remote from financial centers. I feel that such an appropriation would be an aid to local governments in giving more adequate relief to the needy and would lessen the burden on the taxpayers.

PHILIP G. MURPHY,
Director Tampa Cooperative Unemployment Council.

GEORGIA

ALBANY

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your questionnaire of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed has increased approximately 50 per cent over 1930 and 150 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city appropriations have increased approximately 50 per cent over 1930 and 100 per cent more than 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is very hard to estimate the additional persons for whom relief will be needed during the winter months. The laboring class can be very easily taken care of, but the relief program is not reaching bookkeepers, etc., who are out of employment.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. Expenditures have increased approximately 100 per cent over 1930 and 150 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Relief given weekly to the average family in the way of groceries will amount to approximately $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city will not be in position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I doubt the wisdom of the Government making appropriations for the unemployed, except in the matter of road building, etc., that would furnish jobs.

Trusting this is the information desired, I am,

Very truly yours,

C. Q. WRIGHT, *City Manager.*

AUGUSTA

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 asking certain information concerning the unemployment situation received. In answer to same under:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of families assisted during year 1929, 367, average of four to a family, making a total of 1,468; for 1930, 800 families were assisted, or 3,200.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Total appropriation for city in 1929 amounted to $6,359.63; in 1930, $10,378.50.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Between 4,000 and 5,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Figures not available, as committee just organized.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Not over $2 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No reason to float bonds at present.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; if it becomes necessary.

Several months ago our citizens formed an unemployment emergency committee and collected funds from the public at large. About $25,000 was secured for relief of the unemployed and work is being furnished as rapidly as can be found.

Yours very truly,

W. D. JENNINGS, *Mayor.*

BRUNSWICK

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Proportion, about 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $2 to $5.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Federal relief not necessary.

COLUMBUS

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In answer to your letter of November 27 in the interest of the unemployed:

I am taking the liberty to forward you copy of letter written November 27 to the governor of our State.

The situation in Columbus is not acute and we will be able to meet the emergency without outside assistance. I believe that every community should do this.

I do not favor State or governmental aid at this time. I believe that something constructive should be undertaken to help those in crowded industrial centers to get back to the soil. I am very much afraid that liberality on the part of Government and the States and municipalities will have a tendency to encourage idleness.

As a temporary measure, we will find light work for the able-bodied who wish to work. And if a fellow can work and won't work, we make him work. We are taking care of the unemployed through our regular charity agencies, particularly the family welfare bureau. This fund has been subscribed by the public to the community chest and any additional funds will be furnished by the city and county.

As suggested in my letter to Governor Russell, we are moving in a circle. However, something constructive should be undertaken.

Yours truly,

J. H. DIMON, *Mayor.*

COLUMBUS

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Jr.,
Atlanta, Ga.

DEAR GOVERNOR RUSSELL: A few days ago there came to my desk a questionnaire regarding the unemployed situation. Sometimes in filling out questionnaires it is rather difficult to express oneself intelligently, rather difficult to give the exact status, without an actual survey. Furthermore, it is difficult to express one's viewpoint as regards a situation and suggest a remedy.

I do not think that the Government and the States and communities have done anything very constructive, although much money has been spent in organization, etc.

It is all right to drive for funds to meet an emergency—this is absolutely essential. It is high time, however, that something constructive be undertaken. A great number of those who have drifted to the industrial centers and large communities must, of necessity, go back to the soil. Scarcely any of them are able to make the move. The thought is that those who are worthy and really want to work must be helped.

A cooperative scheme by Government, State, and municipalities, setting up a revolving fund which could be supplemented by foundations and wealthy philanthropists for the purpose of helping those who are worthy and really desire to work, should be considered. The amount loaned may not be large, but sufficient to induce many to at least strive to produce what they consume. The beneficiaries should be obligated to pay back the amount loaned in a way that could be determined. If only a few met the obligation, the financial loss would be less than the present method of feeding and taking care of the unemployed.

We are simply traveling in a circle. We need to do something that is constructive and helpful. It would cost less in the long run, and instead of encouraging idleness those who are thrifty and want to work would be given a chance.

This whole scheme could be worked out in a most helpful and constructive way. There has been much criticism of the farm-loan plan.

Pardon these suggestions.

As to the local situation, the number of unemployed is comparatively small, when we check with reports that come from larger communities, as Atlanta, Birmingham, and others. We will be able to take care of the situation locally in a humanly sort of a way.

We are, however, not getting anywhere, and will not accomplish very much until some constructive plan as indicated or some plan that may be worked out by which we can help the fellow who really wants to help himself, at least make the trial.

If your department for the unemployed desires the questionnaire filled out, please forward duplicates.

Cordially yours,

J. H. DIMON, *Mayor.*

EAST THOMASTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Believe none.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. None so far.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Can supply.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

A. A. HARDY, *Recorder.*

MANCHESTER

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Not having kept a record of those things we can not say.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations for charitable purposes made.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 75 to 100.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of it.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and 2 children)?

Answer. We can not.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. If necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriations would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not.

THOMASVILLE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

This community undoubtedly has more unemployment than in many years past, if not ever before, and efforts are being made to handle the situation locally, and are doing so to some extent, as we realize that it would be disastrous to depend on outside help.

D. ROY HAY, *Mayor.*

TIFTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930?

Answer. About 75 per cent increase.

2. How much have the county appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. About double.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Hard to say.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?

Answer. All except salary of welfare officer is carried by private subscription.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $1.25.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; but it would be well if something could be done to make it possible for those that usually employ labor to resume operations.

TOCCOA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. From 10 to 15 per cent, and growing worse.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. About 15 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 150 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1930, increased from 8 to 10 per cent; with 1929, about 5 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No, I can not. The associated charities might give you this information.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; bonded to the limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. It seems to me that it would be a good move. I do not see how some of the poor families can get through the winter. Nothing to live on and no money to buy wood with.

B. P. BROWN, *Mayor.*

IDAHO

BOISE CITY

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Replying to your letter of November 27, I will undertake to answer the questions in their order:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed in Boise City has increased more than three times during the past year. In the winter of 1930–31 there were about 300 registered. This winter there are about 1,050.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations by the city have not been increased, but private donations have been considerably increased.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. My judgment is that we are furnishing relief to at least one-third more people this winter than last, and that we furnished help last winter to at least one-third more than we did the year before.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Except for an appropriation of $200 per month all the emergency burden is being carried by relief agencies. The city appropriated the same amount in 1929 and in 1930. The amounts used by private agencies for relief work have increased considerably during the last two years.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. It is difficult to say what the average amount of relief given to a family of four is. It depends on whether full support is given to them or not. Most families in need are assisted in part. We also operate a welfare store, where clothing and staple food supplies are distributed. These supplies are received from donations.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. While the legal bond limit of the city has not been reached it is doubtful if Boise could, without amendment to our State law, float a bond issue for unemployment relief. The city could not appropriate any substantial amount from the general funds of the city for the reason that the statutory limit is 15 mills for general purposes, and we have difficulty now in keeping within that limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Boise is in an agricultural community. As I understand it, the number of unemployed and the needy is not as great here as in other, and particularly industrial, communities. Large supplies of foodstuffs are available, and the city, as well as private agencies, have stored considerable quantities for use this winter. Expressions of responsible people here are generally to the effect that Boise can take care of its own unemployed and needy. However, Federal aid would be of great assistance, and so far as I am concerned I think appropriations from the Federal Government could well be made for this purpose instead of for other purposes, such as increasing our military and naval forces. Boise will be able to handle the situation this winter, but if conditions should be worse next winter help from the Federal Government will be needed.

Very truly yours,

J. P. POPE, *Mayor.*

COEUR D'ALENE

DECEMBER, 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27 with reference to the unemployment situation, herewith statistics as per your request from the city of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase in unemployed persons assisted in this city compared with December, 1930, of 100 per cent. No available figures for December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930 by 200 per cent. No figures for 1929 available.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. From our list of registered unemployed and needy this year as compared with 1930 shows a 150 per cent increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are able to provide 25 per cent of the total emergency burdens in this city and the expenditures of such private relief agencies have increased 100 per cent compared with 1930. No figures available for 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children) is variable, ranging from $5 per week up, depending upon the conditions of the family with respect to illness, and so forth.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is not in a position to quote any further bond issues this year.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I grant that any Federal appropriations to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens will of a necessity come through taxation. Nevertheless, it does seem to me that in this particular district where we are confronted with the great many miles of mountainous roads that emergency relief could be extended by allowing certain reconstruction and highway improvements to be made by force account or direct day labor, rather than to acceed to the methods now in use by contractors and contractors' associations, wherein the said contractors invariably import their labor from States other than in which they are working, as well as doing a large percentage of actual construction by machine labor, and so in answer to question No. 7 I can say yes; that with the application of cooperation on the part of the Federal Government to the same degree as that cooperation is being given by local citizens that it will be but a matter of a very short time until we have some semblance of a program that will fulfill our immediate needs and place us in a position to command the respect of our fellow citizens once more.

Yours very sincerely,

JESS RAY SIMPSON, *Mayor.*

EMMETT

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1929, 10; 1930, 50.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation by city, public subscriptions; 1929, none; 1930, $1,100; 1931, $980.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. 1929, none; 1930, 50; 1931, 100.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Relief is met entirely by public subscriptions.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not; but I think that better judgment might be used by the State officials in the construction of public highways, instead of giving the work by contract to a large contractor with steam shovels, drag lines, and tractors, which is almost, if not altogether, as expensive to the State, when the contractor has added all the extras to his contract price, while the laboring men are both anxious and willing to do the work for the State with picks, shovels, wheelbarrows, or with horses. Our county commissioners have just adopted this plan during the past week, which is going to help the situation wonderfully.

Yours for better government,

——— ———, *City Clerk.*

LEWISTON

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27 I wish to advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Lewiston has no appropriation for this purpose.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Forty-five to fifty per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There are no private relief agencies in Lewiston. All relief is administered by the community chest, through the Red Cross, and Salvation Army.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

I trust this information will be of service.

Very truly yours,

RAY J. WHITE, *Mayor.*

FAYETTE

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27, in which are seven questions. I am unable an answer all of the question with any exactness, as there has been no record kept of the unemployed nor the amount of help which has been extended.

Without any doubt our problem has been greater this year than it has been for some time past, and the citizens of the community are coming forward in a very fine manner, and we feel we are going to be able to get through the winter with more than the usual amount of relief work to do.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I would say that the increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted has been about 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations have not increased.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This question is perhaps answered to some extent in No. 1.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. (a) Private agencies are carrying probably 75 per cent of the load. (b) Their expenditures have increased over 1930 and 1929 probably an equal amount, due to the fact of a determination on the part of our local welfare association that a good many people should have more than just the bare necessities.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family is probably receiving in the neighborhood of $8 to $10. You will appreciate, of course, that in an agricultural community a great deal more can be placed at the disposal of the average family for this amount of money than can be done in the city.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income in insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation, as I do not feel that an appropriation would provide more adequate relief for the needs and in the long run would not lessen the burden on local taxpayers.

Yours very truly,

I. R. WOODWARD, *Mayor.*

PRESTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 20; in 1929, 60.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, 60 per cent; over 1929, 20 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-half; 60 per cent; 20 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Six dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

L. E. HANSEN, *Mayor.*

ILLINOIS

BATAVIA

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your letter of November 27, 1931, addressed to me as mayor of the city of Batavia, Kane County, Ill., I am submitting the following information and replies to your inquiries:

The population of Batavia is approximately 6,000, and we have just had a complete unemployment survey and canvass made. We have 281 unemployed in this city at this time. We have no exact figures for the previous year, but in my opinion we had approximately 150 unemployed in December, 1930, and 100 unemployed in December, 1929.

We have no city appropriations for unemployed or poor, but we have a community chest in Batavia, and the quota for local relief is $5,000 for the current year. The quota was $3,000 for 1930 and $2,000 for 1929. In my judgment 500 persons will need relief in Batavia during the winter months of this year. The average relief given weekly to a family of two adults and two children is approximately $12.

Our city has no bonded indebtedness as a municipality and has considerable cash in reserve.

We would favor a limited Federal appropriation to assist local governments, although we are of the opinion that relief in Illinois could be made available by the passage of a State income tax law and the passage of legislation designed to make the payment of personal taxes in Cook County effective in the same manner as exists throughout the remainder of the State.

Very truly yours,

J. ALFRED ANDERSON.

BEARDSTOWN

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 27th, addressed to me as mayor of the city of Beardstown; the city through its council appropriated $6,000 to be used to take care of the needy from October 1, 1931, to May 1, 1932, acting in conjunction with the supervisor of Beardstown Township and Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad; the last mentioned are asking their employees to give 1 per cent of their monthly wages, and they are giving relief to only unemployed employees of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.

The city has not as yet deemed it necessary to put on a campaign, asking the citizens of the town to donate monthly a certain per cent of their monthly wages, but should the relief get too heavy this campaign may be found necessary in the early part of 1932.

Answering your questions, which are as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 49 families taken care of by Beardstown Township; neither the city nor railroad had any relief in that year. In 1930, 58 families taken care of by Beardstown Township; 200 families taken care of by Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad; in 1931, 33 families taken care of by city; 76 families taken care of by Beardstown Township; 130 families taken care of by Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, none; 1930, none; 1931, the city appropriated $6,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The additional families to be taken care of by the city will probably amount to 76 or 80 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, 130 families; Salvation Army, 11 families; churches of all denominations, 20 families.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. For average family, $3.20 per week (2 adults and 2 children).

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is not in a position to float bond issues for such purpose.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor Federal appropriations to assist the local governments, as this should be taken care of by each local community or government; as it seems to be the sentiment that

such an appropriation made by the Federal Government would tend to encourage a dole system, which would ultimately result in increased taxation on the taxpayers.

Yours truly,

F. M. CONDIT, *Mayor.*

BENTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No increase in numbers, but increased needs.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No effort made by private agencies; all done by the charities and city.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $1.50 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

BLUE ISLAND

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 20 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 200 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent; 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 150 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; we have only $40,000 bonded indebtedness, legal limit, $300,000, but because of condition peculiar to Cook County municipalities paper is not readily salable.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

FRANK KASTEN, *Mayor.*

CARLINVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 12 inquiring regarding the unemployment situation in this city received.

I wish to state that we have an organization of all the social agencies of the city, which we think is adequate to take care of the situation in this city. I do not believe that it will be necessary for us to call on any outside help.

Respectfully yours,

P. O. LANDON, *Mayor.*

CANTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Eight thousand.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Six hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-third.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burden, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

CENTRALIA

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1930, 165 families; 1929, 27 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $3,000; in 1930, $6,000; in 1931, $9,000, approximately.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 50 per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad; at present 91 families; in 1930, 71 families; no relief in 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $3.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. City has power to float bond issue by vote of people, but do not think necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The present winter will decide that question. If the communities work hard and intelligently to meet the crisis, and it does not grow worse, the Federal Government will not be needed. Let us hope this will be the outcome of the dilemma.

Owing to pressure of much work the above has been delayed. Thanking you for this inquiry,

I remain,

JOHN MCNEIL, *Mayor.*

CHARLESTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50; in 1929, 25.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent; in 1930, 50 per cent; in 1929, 25 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. County, $2; city, $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. Certain areas hit by the drought, grasshoppers, etc., may need Federal aid, but believe each locality should work out its own salvation.

D. C. H. HARWOOD, *Mayor.*

BOLTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Two hundred per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 100 per cent; in 1929, 200 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and forty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent; 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?
Answer. $7.
6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?
Answer. No.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. Yes.

DOWNERS GROVE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930?
Answer. About 30 per cent over 1930, or more.
2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?
Answer. No appropriation by village. We are now making a house-to-house call for funds.
3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?
Answer. Maybe 50 to 60 per cent.
4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?
Answer. We do not know, but maybe 25 per cent. Our records are not complete enough to show the increase.
5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?
Answer. This varies much. Our principal line is potatoes, corn meal, oatmeal, coffee, canned milk, and canned goods in general.
6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?
Answer. No.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. Yes.
No record of 1929.

Yours truly,

W. C. BARBER, *Mayor.*

EAST ST. LOUIS

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of November 27 addressed to the mayor of East St. Louis has been submitted to me as chairman of the community fund campaign for answer.
I am answering only your question No. 7.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. We, as a community, do not favor Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their local relief burdens. Our city is almost entirely an industrial one with ownership away from the locality. We have, however, been able to meet our situation through local gifts.
We believe that it would be an additional burden upon taxpayers to ask Federal relief.

Sincerely yours,

DUNCAN C. SMITH,
Chairman Campaign Committee.

EDWARDSVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

YOUR HONOR: Replying to your letter of November 27, 1931, regarding unemployment in municipalities and the necessity of aid by the Federal Government to municipalities, beg to submit the following answers to your questions of the same number:
1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?
Answer. Increase has been more than 100 per cent.
2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?
Answer. Appropriations have been increased more than 100 per cent in the city and more than 200 per cent in townships over 1930. Practically no provision had been made in December, 1929, as the fiscal year begins in May.
3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?
Answer. More than 100 per cent, or about 300 additional.
4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?
Answer. (a) About one-half. (b) Double. (c) Triple.
5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?
Answer. Not to exceed $5. This is not sufficient but must be distributed.
6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?
Answer. No.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. Yes; especially if money was immediately available and could be expended in furnishing employment for local work of a nature not competitive with regular employment.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES E. GUELTIG, *Mayor.*

ELGIN

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: I have your letter of December 11 and wish to advise that the employment situation in Elgin is probably worse this year than it was last year. However, we have raised in this city about $35,000 more than last year.
If conditions do not get any worse we will probably be able to take care of the local situation without any outside help. Of course, the majority of the unemployed would rather not be under charity but would like employment. Anything Congress can do in the way of legislation for public improvement will be of assistance to this army of unemployed.
If there are any other questions which you wish to ask about the local conditions, we would be only too glad to answer them for you.

Yours very truly,

WM. J. LORANG,
Chairman Unemployment Relief Committee.

ELDORADO

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 has been handed to me by the mayor of our city, and I have been asked to answer it. I have been the city clerk of the city of Eldorado, Ill., for the last six years, but was let out May 1, 1931, but I now have charge of the charity and relief work in the city of Eldorado. I am the secretary of the relief committee.
MR. LA FOLLETTE, I do not understand your letter very well as to just what you plan to do, but, however, I feel that it is urgent and necessary that the Federal Government should do something at once to relieve the starving children all over the country.
We have a relief fund here, but also have 175 families registered for relief, and they have in their families from 1 to 12 children, and with the business depression as it is, we are going to be unable to keep some of the children from going hungry this winter, so if there is anything the Federal Government can do to relieve this situation, surely something should be done at once.
Please let me hear from you as soon as possible as to what is to be done by the Government.

Yours truly,

ROSCOE COLBERT.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?
Answer. About 100 per cent increase.
2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?
Answer. About 25 per cent.
3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?
Answer. I have now 175 families registered for help.
4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?
Answer. All our subscriptions for relief have come from private help.
5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (2 adults and 2 children)?
Answer. $1.50.
6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?
Answer. No.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency-relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. Yes.

ELMWOOD PARK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?
Answer. About 300 families.
2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?
Answer. Village can not appropriate any money.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 250.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930?

Answer. About $3,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Figures unknown.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

EVANSTON

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The mayor of Evanston turned your letter over to our association, as we are taking care of the emergency burden in this city brought about by unemployment.

There are no municipal funds available for the care of the unemployed, so that our agency has administered privately solicited funds and also the county funds.

Our agency's fiscal year begins the 1st of October. In October, 1930, we had 162 families under care. In October, 1931, we had 703. The increase in families applying to us for aid has been exceedingly rapid—168 last month. In the fiscal year 1928–29 we spent $6,427 out of our private funds for relief and $5,141 from the county funds. In the year 1929–30 we spent $8,314 from our private funds and $6,370 from the county. In our last fiscal year, 1930–31, we spent $54,563 from our own funds and $27,353 from the county. The amount raised privately for relief work in Evanston this year is $74,788. On the basis of a 20 per cent increase in demand over last year we would be able to spend on the average only $3.02 per individual a month. Our demand has already exceeded by 50 per cent the allowed 20 per cent increase.

There is no doubt that we will have to be seeking extra funds from some source. Whatever the Federal Government could do in assisting the States and municipalities in some way to meet this increased relief burden would be most timely.

Respectfully yours,

ELIZABETH E. WADE, *Superintendent.*

FAIRFIELD

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is in reply to your inquiry of the 27th.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We expect a 100 per cent increase in unemployed in 1931 over 1930. 1930, 100 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city does not appropriate for relief work.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Depends entirely on our factories.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent. No data. Expenditures so far have been very small.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average to date has been $1 per person in family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Will not be necessary to float bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not believe the Federal Government should appropriate funds to assist local governments except in case of extreme necessity, such as disaster, etc.

Since I have made an effort to answer your questions, won't you please give me your views on the operations of the Farm Board? Do you believe the Farm Board plays a substantial part in prolonging the depression? Will it be necessary for the Federal Government to appropriate another $500,000,000 to keep the Farm Board intact for another two years?

Respectfully,

L. A. BLACKBURN, *Mayor.*

FREEPORT

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry of November 27, I will say that I have taken the matter up with our supervisor and we made a survey of the existing conditions in Freeport in regard to the unemployment situation in the city, whose limits happen to be the same as the town limits, and we find that there will be a great deal more relief needed this winter than ever before and we are going to run far short in the amount necessary to cope with the situation. I am mailing herewith a copy of a letter from Mr. Ferd H. Gibler, the supervisor, and we have endeavored to answer your questionnaire from the survey we made, and the answers will be found immediately following your questions, and if you see fit to do anything for Freeport we will sure appreciate the favor.

Yours very cordially,

JAMES W. NELSON, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 30 per cent; 1929, more than 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, $12,000; 1929, $25,000.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?

Answer. No relief being given by private agencies this year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

FREEPORT

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your questionnaire on the attached sheet has been answered very briefly. Our relief for indigents from March 1 to November 1, 1931, is 32½ per cent more than it was during the corresponding period of a year ago, and the relief requests are very much on the increase.

My last tax levy is just double the levy of 1929, and for the balance of the fiscal year December 1, 1931 to March 1, 1932, I will be compelled to borrow from the banks, with the understanding that the money will be paid out of the next tax levy.

This condition has never existed before.

Any legislative relief will be greatly appreciated.

Very respectfully,

FERD H. GIBLER,
Supervisor of the Poor.

GILLESPIE

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is in answer to your letter of November 27 relative to Federal aid.

I submit the following replies to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, 50 per cent; increase over 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, $500; increase over 1929, $1,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 200.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None, compared with 1930; with 1929, none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. From $2 to $4 a week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; yes.

Very truly yours,

W. E. BROWN, *Mayor.*

GRANITE CITY

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In answer to your inquiry dated November 27, in reference to the unemployment situation, I can give you the following answers:

As to the number of unemployed persons, I am not able to give you the exact number, for the reason we have not taken a census of the unemployed, but our best information is that the number unemployed now is approximately 50 per cent higher than last year.

Under the State law of Illinois we are not permitted to make appropriations for relief out of city funds, and the only contribution that our city has made in any way for this purpose was to employ a few extra men on our street work, for which we set aside the sum of $1,500 only.

The above answer will also answer your question as to who is carrying the burden of unemployment relief. The city under the laws can not, and the only funds we have available are from private sources. The expenditures are running approximately 50 per cent higher than for the same period last year.

Our city is not in a position to float any bond issue for relief purposes, neither is it in a position to levy any taxes for these purposes under the State law. The only relief funds that are available locally from taxation sources is a small amount from township organizations in the county.

In answering your last question, I say that it is my opinion that we will not be able to raise sufficient funds from private sources to take care of the relief problem, and we certainly need assistance from the Federal Government. The county and State governments have not offered any assistance as yet for this purpose, and apparently will not.

I hope this information is what you are asking for and will be satisfactory.

Respectfully yours,

M. E. KIRKPATRICK, *Mayor.*

HARVEY

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: Referring to form letter of November 27, 1931, my reply to your questions is as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No assistance was given to the unemployed in 1929. Four hundred and fifty families were assisted in December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city of Harvey did not make an appropriation for relief in 1929 and 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We expect to take care of about twice as many families in 1931 as compared to 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All relief is being carried by private relief agencies. The increase in 1931 as compared with 1930 amounts to 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The relief given to the average family per month is as follows: Groceries, $14.50; coal, 1 ton; clothing as needed.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. My answer to that question is "No."

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I feel that the repeal of the prohibition law will help the condition a great deal.

Yours very truly,

F. W. BRUGGEMANN, *Mayor.*

HIGHLAND PARK

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: In answer to your inquiry of November 27, we submit the following details in regard to the relief work in Highland Park, Ill.

Highland Park is a city of about 14,000 people, about 25 miles from Chicago. Our committee is, outside of the local churches, the only organization active in relief work in this community, and it has been in existence since November, 1930.

We estimate that we are giving relief to four times as many people this year as we did in 1930. This work costs us in the neighborhood of $4,000 a month at the present time, and it will, therefore, be necessary for us to have available for use about $24,000 between now and June 1.

While the city does not give us any funds to aid us in our work, our mayor, Mr. E. B. Metzel, is taking a very active part in assisting us, as chairman of the relief committee, which has just succeeded in raising about $20,000, through pledges, which amount we hope will carry us through the winter, with the other contributions which come in from time to time.

As far as possible, we avoid giving "charity," preferring, rather, to give our people the chance to help themselves, through providing work for them. This we accomplish in various ways; by a community wood pile, street work, and other jobs for the men, and by a sewing room for the women, paying the workers with food orders, checks for rent, light, gas, etc., instead of with actual money. This works out very well, although, of course, it does not prove adequate to meet the great demands being put upon us at this time; hence our need of additional funds to draw on.

There is, of course, no doubt that a Federal appropriation would be of great help, and would lift, considerably, the burden being placed on local taxpayers.

Sincerely yours,

HIGHLAND PARK SOCIAL SERVICE COMMITTEE,
By H. F. KELLY, *Chairman.*
By Mrs. NELLIE P. FLEMING, *Secretary.*

JOHNSON CITY

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One thousand.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About double.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Our unemployed and needy are being helped by a community fund and by lodges, schools, and other orders giving plays for their benefit. We also have a soup house these orders are giving to.

Our city is not able to help itself, let alone helping others.

Yours truly,

E. B. NOLEN, *City Clerk.*

JOLIET

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your recent letters to Mayor William F. Hennessey, relative to unemployment and relief, would state that same have been referred to me as chairman of the distribution committee for relief of unemployed in Joliet.

At the present time we are handling our own local situation through a fund raised by the citizens of Joliet called the citizens' community fund.

At the present writing we have something over 1,600 families who are receiving relief through the various relief organizations in this community, and these are being financed by the citizens' community fund and are all being taken care of in very good shape at the present time; however, we are not at all positive what the winter will bring forth.

Our unemployment situation is about the same as in all larger populated centers in the Middle West.

Your original letter in some manner or other was misplaced, and due to the writer being out of the city part of the time was not answered as promptly as it should have been. I trust you will pardon the delay, and any further information you desire I will be glad to submit.

Very respectfully yours,

CITIZENS' COMMUNITY FUND DISBURSEMENT COMMITTEE,
W. J. MURDOCK, *Chairman.*

KENILWORTH

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am making my reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, as brief as possible on the assumption that you prefer it that way for convenience in tabulation.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1929 and 1930, no unemployed assisted; 1931, 16 persons now registered in free employment service inaugurated September 9.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1929 and 1930, no tax appropriations for charity or unemployment; 1931, $738.20 spent since September 9 for labor in "made-work" program, including odd jobs furnished through our free-employment service.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 10 additional families (40 persons) will probably need relief before the winter is over.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Entire emergency burden (except "made-work" program and free-employment service) is carried by private agency. Amount spent calendar year of 1929, $213.84; amount spent calendar year of 1930, $1,199.04; amount spent January to September, inclusive, 1931, $1,286.57; budget, October 1, 1931, to October 1, 1932 (including $215.83 spent in October and November), $3,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars' worth of relief per week, including cash and necessities of life, in average relief per family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No relief bond issues have been floated, since our problem is comparatively small. There has been no demand for a relief fund bond issue, but we have some unused bonding power if authorized by referendum.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Kenilworth, being a high-class residential suburb of Chicago, is not faced with the acute relief problems extant in manufacturing communities. When the relief problem in any community becomes greater than the local householders or taxpayers can pay for out of current revenues, it is my opinion that such communities should have assistance from the outside instead of being required to mortgage their future for such a purpose, but I have not formed an opinion as to whether such assistance should be by Federal appropriation, by Federal unemployment legislation, or by recognition of responsibility for unemployment by industry itself.

Sincerely yours,

F. L. STREED, *Village Manager.*

KEWANEE

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have received from you a letter or two with reference to the unemployment situation in our community.

Kewanee is a manufacturing town of about 17,000 population. Here are located the Walworth Manufacturing Co. and the Kewanee Boiler Corporation, a subsidiary of the American Radiator Co. Both plants are operating a very small per cent of their capacity. There has been a large number of men of all stations in their employment discharged.

In this city we have about 300 families who are dependent for relief upon the distribution by the supervisor and a voluntary committee. The situation is growing worse for the present, due to the fact that unemployment is gradually growing worse. Of course, we are hopeful, but there is no sign now in the horizon which gives us any warrant for immediate recovery from the depression. We are going through the worst panic we have ever had in the city of Kewanee in the experience of the oldest inhabitants here.

My own judgment is that we require Federal relief of some kind to assist our people, whether it be called a dole or something else. A very large number of our people are out of work without their own volition, and it occurs to a good many of us that times are more or less artificial and the result of injustice in legislation.

Of course, this is the center of a very fertile farming district, and the farmers in a large majority of cases are in failing circumstances. The result is that our merchants are failing. Three of the largest banks here have failed. Two are still operating, but deposits have fallen to 20 per cent of their former total in this community.

If we are able to give you any information that will be helpful, we shall be only too glad to cooperate.

Yours truly,

JAMES H. ANDREWS.

LA GRANGE

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senator from Wisconsin, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Your circular letter of November 27 requesting information regarding unemployment relief was read at the regular meeting of the board of trustees of the village December 7 and that body has requested me to reply as follows:

In cooperation with the unemployment relief commission this work in our community is being taken care of by a committee representing various civic organizations who are raising the necessary money by subscription. Plans were made and a budget of expense prepared after a careful survey. It is estimated that we will spend several times as much money as last year when the work was handled in a similar and satisfactory manner.

We are unanimously opposed to municipal, State, or National Governments assuming additional obligations which involve the increasing of taxes of one kind and another. The building up of deficits is an evidence of poor management and the practice of our various taxing bodies to continually seek new methods of taxation in order to get their respective organizations more money to spend in various and devious ways is absolutely wrong and will inevitably lead to more and more trouble. The mere fact that a governmental organization has authority to tax or issue bonds is no reason for the unlimited exercise of those rights to the ultimate detriment of the people and the country at large. A government should, at all times, live within its income and should set an example of good management and economy to its people individually and to its industries.

As a municipality we have a good deal of bonding power which is not being used and which we think it would be most injudicious to use at this time and for the purpose you suggest. We are living within our income without looking for new means of taxation; in fact, we are reducing expenditures in order to balance our budget, occasioned by reduction in tax income. We consider this a logical, business-like way of conducting our village business which could be emulated by national governmental bodies.

Yours respectfully,

WALTER P. SAUNDERS, *Village President.*

LANSING

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No record.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over, 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two times the amount of last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars and seventy-five cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I believe it would be wise.

LIBERTYVILLE

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned has been instructed to reply to your letter of November 27 regarding the unemployment relief.

This village, through the activities of the chamber of commerce, is providing employment and assisting the needy throughout our entire community. This is being done entirely by popular subscription and we believe that it will not be necessary to assist by means of taxation.

Very truly yours,

O. J. BOEHM, *Village Clerk.*

MACOMB

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 to the mayor of this city has been referred to me. I will endeavor to give what information I can upon the questions asked in each paragraph of your letter.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent more persons are being assisted in unemployment relief this year as compared with December, 1931. In December, 1929, no relief was given.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city makes no appropriation for unemployed or for the poor. The burden of poor relief was formerly upon the county, which spent about $14,000 during the year July, 1930, to July, 1931, in the city of Macomb. The State law has been changed, placing that burden upon the townships. The city of Macomb is also a township and a township levy for the current year in the amount of $10,000 has been made.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 75 to 100 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. As mentioned above the township of the city of Macomb is taking care of pauper relief with its $10,000 levy, while

the Macomb community chest is handling unemployment relief with a fund of about $7,500. In 1930 the unemployment relief fund expended about $5,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. At present one adult in the average family is being given two days' work a week, amounting to about $4.80.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is not in a position to float bond issues for such a purpose, and in my opinion it could not legally be done.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It is the feeling of local officials that a Federal appropriation such as you suggest would be very helpful and would assist in answering the need for more adequate relief.

Yours very truly,

EDWIN L. HARRIS, *City Attorney.*

MARION

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Approximately 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 15 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies?

Answer. All.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $2.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

C. H. WHITCOMB, *Mayor.*

MATTOON

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Chairman Senate Committee on Manufactures.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your questions regarding unemployment in this city, I wish to make the following answers. Of course the answers are only approximate, as there are no means for me to make a definite comparison.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930 we had 10 per cent more unemployed than in 1929; in 1931 we have 20 per cent over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have made no appropriations and are in no position to do so, due to the fact that we are at the present time heavily in debt.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We will have about 150 more people to take care of this winter than last.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Approximately one-half of the relief in this city is carried on by private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount that each family receives from the local government would be about $3.50 to $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We would be unable to float a bond issue for relief due to the large amount of bonds now issued by the city.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I can not give an intelligent answer to question 7.

Trusting that I have been able to convey the information you want, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

R. D. BILLS, *Mayor.*

MOUNT VERNON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Two hundred families.

2. How much have the charity appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, none; 1929, $10,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty families more than now.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1930, none; 1929, $10,000; all private relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. One dollar and seventy-five cents for food; also coal and clothes. Family earnings supplement this.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; our organization can handle it.

T. HAL SMITH, *Mayor.*

NAPERVILLE

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It is not a function of cities in Illinois to support the poor, that being delegated to the towns (townships).

Yours truly,

OLIVER W. STRUBLER, *City Clerk*
(For the Mayor).

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Don't know.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No such appropriation.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not in a position to state.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Not in a position to state.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We have no bonds outstanding and have $69,000 in the treasury.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not in favor of Federal aid—believe that situation should be left to local governments and agencies to handle.

Sincerely yours,

OLIVER STRUBLER, *City Clerk.*

OAK PARK

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter regarding the unemployment situation:

In the village of Oak Park, following is the information asked for in your questions as far as it is possible for us to answer them.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The village of Oak Park is a suburb with a population of 63,982, just outside of the city of Chicago. We have no definite record of the number of unemployed in the village. We have a great many applications for employment, and I would say these applications indicate probably 20 or 25 per cent more unemployed in December, 1931, than in December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The village of Oak Park has no direct appropriation for the unemployed or the poor. This is handled principally through the agencies of Cook County.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The Family Welfare Association of Oak Park, which is maintained by subscription, took care of about 200 families last winter and expect to take care of 400 families this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The expenditures of the Family Welfare Association in 1929 were about $12,000; in 1930, approximately $18,000; and for 1931 it is estimated, $28,000 or $29,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We have no information on this.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. If any bond issue is necessary, it would be made through the county of Cook.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours very truly,

WILLIS MCFEELY,
President of the Village of Oak Park.

OTTAWA

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of December 11 received. Owing to an oversight your previous communication of November 27 was overlooked.

In answer to the information requested, I submit the following data:

This community is principally dependent upon glass, sand, and clay products manufacturing. At the present time there is an absolute shutdown of all these industries mentioned.

As president of the United Relief Association, I can give you the following information of the comparison of unemployed between the year 1930 and the present year, 1931, the only two years that we have been called upon to function as an organized body.

In December, 1930, the relief association was caring for approximately 347 families. At the present date, December, 1931, it is caring for approximately 700 families.

The city makes no appropriation for the unemployed situation, which is carried through the township pauper fund. In 1930, $11,000 was levied for this purpose in this township, and for 1931 an emergency levy of $50,000 has been spread for the same purpose.

Answering the question, "How many additional persons will need relief during the coming months," would estimate probably 200 families, in addition to the 700 families now on the list, or a total of practically 900 families. Figuring 5 persons to a family, which is a fair average, this will show relief being extended to approximately one-third of our total population of 15,000.

Owing to favorable weather conditions, the cost of relief is not as high as it will be in colder weather. We are maintaining the average family of four persons with food supplies at a cost of approximately $1.30 per week.

The city is not in a position to float bond issues for relief purposes, as the city is located in and comprises most of the township territory. I do not believe we generally favor a Federal appropriation for relief purposes except in the line of funds expended for necessary public works.

I wish to apologize for the delay in furnishing this information, and anything further in that line requested will be promptly taken care of.

Very truly yours,

H. J. HILLIARD, *Mayor.*

PARK RIDGE

JANUARY 5, 1932.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your questionnaire dated November 27, 1931, I would suggest that you communicate with the Park Ridge Welfare Board, who has charge of the welfare work to which you refer.

The city of Park Ridge has not appropriated any money for the care of the unemployed, as this work is taken care of by the welfare board.

The people of Park Ridge give liberally to the community chest and a great part of the money collected goes to the support of the welfare board.

Therefore we do not need any assistance from the Federal Government.

Yours very truly,

WM. A. MCKEE, *Mayor.*

PAXTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930?

Answer. Very little.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. Decreased both years.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This will increase some.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Proportion of emergency burden carried by private relief agencies, 10 per cent or less. Expenditures increased compared with 1930, none; with 1929, none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars or less on average.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Have no bonded indebtedness; will need no bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not around here.

RAY W. FLORA, *Mayor.*

PEORIA

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, I have the following to offer:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Present unemployment in Peoria, 6,000; unemployment in December, 1930, 4,500; unemployment in December, 1929, 1,000.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There have been no funds appropriated by the city budget to care for the unemployed either in 1930 or 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Our local relief agencies figure that they must be in a position to take care of a total of 8,000 or 10,000 people during the coming winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private agencies such as the community fund, Salvation Army, associated charities, etc., are carrying all the burden except that amount which is appropriated by the county board. In other words, the private relief agencies carry 80 per cent of all relief burden. Their budget for 1929 was $175,000, for 1930 it was $195,000, and for 1931 it was $220,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Relief-agency executives advise us that the average weekly relief for a family of four is $3.50. This is entirely foodstuffs bought on charity discounts.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city could float a bond issue should relief needs become acute.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A Federal appropriation should be considered only in the event that both private and community efforts of relief collapse. In speaking of adequate relief for the needy a sensible answer is that any amount appropriated will be spent. There is no such thing as lessening the burden of the local taxpayer by national relief. The local taxpayer pays it, wherever it comes from.

Yours very truly,

HOMER L. AHRENDS, *Mayor.*

PRINCETON

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following are estimates of approximate numbers, etc., in answer to your circular letter of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in the number of unemployed persons now assisted in our city, compared with December, 1930, is at least double, and perhaps triple the number of December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Under our system of local government the city does not appropriate for the unemployed and the poor. The township makes such appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our judgment, relief must be given for four times as many people this winter as have been taken care of in former years, and the condition is growing worse from day to day.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. It is difficult to state the relative position of the emergency burden carried by private relief agencies, but the proportion is large, and will be larger this year than in former years.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I think the amount of relief given to the average family (two adults and two children) approximates $5 a week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is carrying considerable local indebtedness and some bond-issue debt, but as above stated is not obligated under the law to care for the poor. However, the city of Princeton is in condition to take care of its needy people and meet all of its community requirements, so far as relief is concerned.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not believe that it is best for the Federal Government to make appropriations to assist local governments in meeting emergency relief burdens. I believe that if the Federal Government were operated more for the benefit of the middle classes, who are the producing elements of society, with an attempt to revive business interests, people in general would earn their own living instead of requiring charity to furnish them food and clothing.

To summarize, permit me to say that I think local government should be permitted to take care of local conditions, and that the business of General Government should be to promote the general welfare of the whole country.

Very respectfully,

CLAUDE BROWN, *Mayor.*

RIVER GROVE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Mr. R. M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27 regarding unemployed, etc., in our village, we are pleased to submit the following information in the order in which you ask it:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed in 1929, 45; 1930, 65; 1931, 195.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. A statement of the unemployed persons was sent in by the welfare department. This was taken care of county-wide and the county made a report to the president's commission on the unemployment for the entire county.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 195 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Up to this time we have been taking care of all our needy other than what the county took care of through our local organization—New Progressive Social Club.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $3.75 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am highly in favor of Federal appropriation to assist us in our work among the needy of River Grove.

Yours very truly,

F. A. CONBOY, *President.*

ROBINSON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 10 per cent over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifteen to twenty-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures inincreased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We did not help any in 1929. Private relief provides for all.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I can not.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes. Our city is debt free; does not owe a cent.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Up to this time I do not favor Federal relief. I think it should be the last resort.

Respectfully,

L. S. HEATH, *Mayor.*

ROCHELLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Two hundred per cent.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Thirty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. Appropriations taken from general fund.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

ROCK ISLAND

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication of November 27 relative to the Federal Government assisting States and municipalities in meeting part of the increased burden caused by continued unemployment and general business depression.

In Rock Island I would say that the number of unemployed persons increased 25 per cent over December, 1930, and about 50 per cent over December, 1929.

About $75,000 is used each year for relief of unemployed, part of which is provided by taxation and the balance by contributions. I am not familiar with the amount of money required to give relief to the average family and would suggest that you get in touch with the township authorities of Rock Island, who have this burden of relief placed upon them by State statute.

The city of Rock Island is not in a position to float any bond issues to meet adequately the relief needs of this community, and I do not feel personally that it is the purpose of the Federal Government to provide appropriations to assist local governments in meeting such relief burdens, but do think that the State and county should provide the funds to take care of this emergency.

I am heartily in favor of the Government increasing its appropriations for construction work throughout the Nation, to the end that more people can be legitimately employed. I think we all agree that the American people want work and not the dole.

Yours very truly,

CHESTER THOMPSON, *Mayor.*

STAUNTON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your letter of November 27, 1931, regards unemployed:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, we took care of about 40 families; December, 1930, we took care of about 70 to 108 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has not appropriated funds for relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I figure there will be at least 250 families needing help this year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. It has been all carried by relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can not at present give you amount of relief given family of two adults and two children.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in no position to float any more bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor a Federal appropriation to meet the emergency relief. The local taxpayers can not take care of the burden alone.

I am inclosing you a copy of our relief work last year. I remain,

Yours respectfully,

GEO. H. LUKER, *Mayor.*

SUMMIT

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with December, 1930, 40 per cent, and with December, 1929, 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Forty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred in this town.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1930, 40 per cent, and with 1929, 25 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

R. P. LAMBERT, *Mayor.*

JACKSONVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 10 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Four thousand dollars; for health, nothing.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and fifty all told.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1930, 10 per cent; and with 1929, 5 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; public works is best way.

TUSCOLA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your favor next attached; please note that I have made pen notations in reply to each question.

This being an almost exclusive agricultural district, we are of the opinion that some measure or means that would increase the price of farm products would afford immediate relief.

We have a township charity organization which raised in 1930, by popular subscription, $2,500 in cash, and about $1,000 in other household supplies.

Due to the fact that the Illinois pauper relief law now places the burden upon the township supervisors, permitting them to anticipate on future taxes, we are asking for no cash this year, by way of contributions, but are receiving donations of clothing, and the city is listing the male unemployed for the construction of public improvements, consisting of sewers and any other employment that can be created.

We do not favor a Federal appropriation for the relief of unemployment, as the township plan is adequate for our needs.

Very truly yours,

C. S. SKINNER, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Not any.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fifteen dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

WHEATON

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 28 regarding the unemployed situation here in Wheaton.

Last year we had about 70 people on our unemployed list; this year at the present time we have 68 men and 15 women.

The city makes no appropriation for the unemployed and poor. Funds, however, have been raised by popular subscription which produces at the present time about $1,000 per month.

The emergency burden is carried entirely by a bureau of employment and relief. This bureau was elected at a mass meeting of citizens, and functions in cooperation with the mayor, city clerk, private relief agencies, and citizens who subscribe funds to its operation. A large part of its income is from those who are employed and donate a certain portion of their pay each month to the bureau. Most of these donations are at the rate of 1 per cent of monthly income.

Our people who have employment to offer, whether this be steady work or odd jobs, telephone to my office and workers are assigned from the unemployed list in the order of urgency of cases. Employment from this source, however, does very little toward relief of the situation.

The major part of relief accomplished is in use of the unemployed to perform work for the city—work which needs to be done, but which in this year of numerous delinquencies in tax payments, we have been unable to finance from our corporate fund. This work is done under the direction of our regular city employees by workers from the bureau's list of unemployed and paid for by money raised by the employment relief bureau. The supervision by the regular city employees, of course, is paid for out of corporate funds, leaving the relief fund entirely unencumbered by overhead charges.

With the funds thus made available we are able to give employment in this manner to 10 men per week.

At the present time we are taking advantage of the local situation to further increase the number of men who can be given employment. In working out the city's forestry program for the past two years a large number of trees were marked for removal, either by reason of improper location, undesirable species, decay, or other reasons. These trees are now being removed by workers furnished by the employment and relief bureau and cut into firewood lengths and the firewood sold to a number of our citizens, who welcome the opportunity to furnish work for the unemployed and at the same time get a supply of firewood at approximately the current market price. This work at the present time is employing 10 men and will probably keep them employed until the first of the year. The income from the sale of firewood produces approximately the amount of income necessary to pay the workers who are removing and cutting up the trees, and the city, of course, benefits by the improvement. This work is done under the supervision of the city's expert, who is a salaried employee and therefore is paid from the corporate fund.

In addition to relief given through employment there are some cases, of course, where it is necessary to give direct relief, although up to date there have been very few such cases here. Our standard basket for an average family of two adults and two children costs $3.75 and is planned as a 6-day supply for the family. We have had so far this year 13 cases where the standard basket was furnished. In addition, we sent out some special Thanksgiving baskets. There have also been probably a dozen cases where it was necessary to furnish fuel.

The city has never floated a bond issue for relief needs, and to float such a bond issue we would have to call a special election, as

this would have to be approved by popular vote; and I would hesitate at this time to predict the result of such an election.

A Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burden would, in my opinion, be of material assistance, provided a practical method could be worked out whereby such an appropriation could be apportioned to the municipalities for relief within municipal limits and to the townships or counties for relief outside of municipal boundaries. I believe the municipal, township, and county organizations are more closely in touch with the various local situations and in much better position to secure prompt and effective results than would be the case if the distribution of funds and handling of individual cases were placed in the hands of a State or National commission.

Yours very truly,

HARRY N. OSGOOD, *City Clerk.*

WILMETTE

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Attached is statement covering the information requested in yours of the 27th instant. It seems to me that one of the curses of this country is these unlimited Federal appropriations.

Trusting this is the information desired, I remain,

Very truly yours,

C. P. DUBBS,
President of the Village of Wilmette.

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE,
Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, relative to unemployment and methods of relief.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There were no unemployed that required assistance in December, 1930, nor in December, 1929.

We now have approximately 25 unemployed being assisted by the public.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase of 100 per cent over 1930 and 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is estimated that 150 persons will need relief during the coming winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Approximately 75 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by the private relief agencies. The private relief agencies have increased their expenditures approximately 100 per cent as compared with 1930 and 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given weekly to the average family of four is $4 per week for food only.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The village is in a position to float further bond issues if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local government in meeting the relief burden. The relief given is adequate.

Yours very truly,

C. M. OSBORN, *Village Manager.*

WEST FRANKFORT

NOVEMBER 29, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I received your questionnaire on the unemployed in our community, and in reply will say the data I give you will only be estimated, as we have not got an exact estimate to furnish you.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is something like 300 families more to be taken care of this year than 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has not appropriated anything this year; neither did it last. We are not situated financially until we can appropriate for relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I would estimate that there would be some 2,500 persons to look after in this community the coming winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All the work is being done by private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family of four receives about $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor the Federal Government making an appropriation to assist the local relief agencies in their burden of looking after the unemployed.

Yours very truly,

W. M. MARTIN, *Mayor.*

ZEIGLER

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 75.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

INDIANA

AURORA

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Chairman Committee on Manufactures,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your questions set out in inquiry of November 27 I find it a pleasure to cooperate with you in this emergency and to answer as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Less unemployed to-day than there was in December, 1930. But there would be 40 to 50 more unemployed at this time than in December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city has been fortunate in taking care of its unemployed and needy without any fund whatever being created for that purpose. In 1930 the city spent something like $1,000 or more on extra street labor, but this was more than offset by reduction made in the appropriations for materials, supplies, etc., used in the various departments of the city.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The 75 to 100 persons needing relief this winter in Aurora will be taken care of by township trustee, church, fraternal, and civic organizations.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies in this city have found conditions much better this winter than compared to last. Treasurer of the Associated Charities had a balance of cash on hand from last year to meet the early needs this winter. Mild weather and factories working part time has made it such that the relief-agency expenditures have been less to date this year than they were in 1929 or 1930.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Aurora, a city of the fifth class, with a population of 4,369, has cut its tax rate for 1932, has only $2,500 in outstanding bonds, and to offset this small amount of bonded indebtedness there is a balance of $2,729.86 in the sinking fund to meet the above bonds and coupons when they mature. For the next year there will be no tax assessed for sinking fund, as same is not needed. From this you can see that in an emergency this city could float a bond issue for the total limit of its bonded indebtedness.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. I think that each city and State is able to meet their own emergency relief burdens and that the appropriations that are needed by the respective cities and States should be handled by them at once before want and suffering showed its head. The large industrial cities are the ones which should act, and act promptly, in seeing to it that the wives and children of the unemployed are properly fed and clothed.

Assuring you that it is a pleasure for any of the officials of this city to assist your committee in any program it might see fit to sponsor, I am,

Yours very truly,

HAM G. RICE, *Mayor.*

BLOOMINGTON

DECEMBER 13, 1931.

Regarding unemployment in Bloomington, Ind., will say that we are taking care of about 300. We are using them in doing work for the city, all worth while. We raised a fund from citizens, and this is being spent under supervision of committee. We are getting worth-while results. All welfare agencies are cooperating through this committee.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH H. CAMPBELL, *Mayor.*

BLUFFTON

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 to the mayor of our city has been referred to me for reply.

In answer to questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase is about 20 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City does not appropriate any money.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All relief work is carried on, and through, by a citizens' committee and money donated by citizens to the amount of $8,000, and township trustee adds to this about $3,000 and works through committee, thus saving duplication and making the dollar go farther. This was begun in 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. It will average about $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not believe it necessary, as each community can as well take care of itself by appropriation as by taxation.

Very respectfully,

JAS. R. SPIVEY,
Director of Finance,
Bluffton and Wells County Relief Committee.

CLINTON

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senate Committee on Manufactures, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Following are the answers to the questionnaire you sent me a few days ago:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929 unemployed persons received no aid, except miners, and the only aid they had was from the miners commissary. In 1930 about 1,200 unemployed heads of families received aid from different sources.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriations are possible for the relief of the unemployed and the poor.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Perhaps about 1,400 heads of families will need relief during the winter. Last year's number has been increased by the closing of another coal mine.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The largest proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies (clubs, sororities, lodges, etc.) and the Red Cross. The only source of local governmental relief is through the township trustee, and his expenditures have been greatly curtailed recently. The emergency burden for 1931 has been greater than for 1930, but has not been borne so efficiently as in 1930, because such sums are not available. Last year's expenditures were about $75,000, including trustee expenditures, Red Cross relief, and local agencies' relief activities. Our business men are faced with failing business and constantly decreasing business that they can not give to local relief as generously as heretofore and trustees' funds have been cut off by the county commissioners as a means of keeping down taxes and also in accord with the State auditor's program of economy.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family of four receives food to the value of $1.50 every week from the Red Cross or $2.50 every two weeks from the township trustee. Clothing and fuel are secured in part by the trustee and in part by gifts to the Red Cross and to the organization of the unemployed. Sufficiently rendered aid is entirely lacking.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city can not float any bond issues now. Operating expenses of the city are met through credit and the municipal government can do nothing.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not feel that a dole is the remedy, but the Federal Government must do something to relieve the situation. It is fast approaching a serious crisis.

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY OWENS, *Mayor.*

CONNERSVILLE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

The city of Connersville, Ind., has a population of 13,000 and there are about 1,000 unemployed. Several hundred are employed part of the time.

Thus far there has been no real suffering, as we are meeting the emergency through charity organizations.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM DUNLINGER, *Mayor.*

CRAWFORDSVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About the same.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Eight thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer, About 15 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have pooled all our agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three days' work, $2 per day.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

ELKHART

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We have about 2,000 unemployed.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief, 50 per cent; 1930 increase, 30 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent. Our Associated Chairties does wonderful relief work with funds raised by subscription.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.





7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

W. P. KEAN, *Mayor.*

GREENCASTLE

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 200 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No increase.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About same as last winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About twice.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I can not.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We have no bonds outstanding.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not necessary here to have Federal aid. See Hon. C. C. GILLEN, Congressman.

W. L. DENMAN, *Mayor.*

JEFFERSONVILLE

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The number of unemployed in this city and the necessity of relief is approximately the same as last year.

We have an organized relief committee here, with Col. F. W. Van Duyne as general chairman, who with able assistance is now ready to begin operation of relief under the plan proposed last year by the writer and which proved so successful by experience that the committee unanimously adopted the same plan.

The law of this State does not provide for assistance to the poor or unemployed through acts of the city government. However, the township trustee in each township is empowered to assist the poor, commonly classed as paupers, by a tax levied for that purpose, which has been greatly increased in nearly every township in the State during the past and present winter.

The relief extended here is in accordance with the advice of the President's committee on unemployment relief, and the funds for the purpose have been received from voluntary subscriptions by the residents of this community.

The amount of relief extended will be proportionate to the number in each family, as follows: Single person able to work will receive provisions of the value of $1.20 and will be required to work on public work four hours. A person with one dependent will receive double amount of provisions and, of course, will be required to work eight hours on public work, and larger families will receive provisions and be required to work in like proportions. Families without able bodies will be assisted in like proportions.

The city purchased 600 tons of coal, which will be supplied to the unemployed in return for the benefit of the labor furnished the city by the relief committee, and I believe that we will be able to care for those of the unemployed requiring assistance.

The city is and has been indebted to the maximum as provided by the law for over 50 years, and consequently can not issue any form of city bonds.

I do not favor Federal loans to local governments for purely relief purposes, but, to the best of my knowledge and understanding, I do favor the published plan of President Hoover, which will, in my humble opinion, do more toward bringing back normal conditions than any published plan to date.

Permit me in closing to express my opinion that the majority of fair-minded citizens of this great Nation are in favor of some substantial relief and stand ready to assist and defend President Herbert C. Hoover in the same spirit as they did our deceased Presidents in all previous emergencies.

Yours respectfully,

ALLEN W. JACOBS, *Mayor.*

KENDALLVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1930, about the same. December, 1929, double the amount.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, 1,200; over 1929, 2,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least one-third more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Expenditures were about the same for 1930, but doubled for 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. All the money used is raised by the Welfare Council.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I think we can care for our people here; besides the money we raise here the township trustee has a fund of about $3,000 raised by taxation for poor fund. We work together. He furnishes the fuel, we the provisions.

Sincerely yours,

W. C. AUMAN, *Mayor.*

LAWRENCEBURG

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your questionnaire of November 17, 1931, pertaining to unemployment and poor relief in our city.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Nineteen per cent increase in unemployment compared with 1930. Twenty-six per cent increase in unemployment compared with 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have made no appropriations from funds raised by taxation or bonds for unemployment. We have made extentions and improvements to our municipal utilities in the past two years to the amount of $60,000, from earnings and depreciation reserve, which has helped the condition in our city.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our opinion there will be 150 families requiring relief this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have been unable to determine the proportion of the burden being carried by private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given by the local relief emergency committee exclusive of private relief was $2.20 per family during the year 1930.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is able to float about $14,000 in bonds in the event that conditions absolutely necessitate this procedure. Due to the depressed condition of the bond and security market we do not feel that this is a good move to make at this time. We have a sewerage program mapped out which would require about $110,000 to finance. This work would take a lot of slack out of the unemployment situation. The Government seems to be able to borrow all the funds which are required at 2 per cent; why not have the Government at this time float a large issue of bonds and in turn loan it to municipalities at this low interest rate?

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation at this time, but, just as soon as Congress can, revise the Federal income tax law so as to place the burden of taxation and relief upon the man with the large income where it rightfully belongs.

Sincerely yours,

JACOB SYMNOGEL, *Mayor.*

LA PORTE

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Answering yours of November 27, I am pleased to make reply to your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929 records show unemployed persons assisted in this city, 49; in 1930, 103; and in 1931, 550.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city makes no specific appropriation for this fund, but there has been expended out of public funds, including township, city, and county, plus funds raised by public subscription, in 1930, approximately $70,000. In 1931 the amount will be from $35,000 to $90,000. In 1929 we had no unemployment relief organization, and are accordingly unable to furnish figures.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Our organization estimates we will be compelled to offer relief to at least 100 more families during the winter of 1931–1932 than during the past winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Amount raised by unemployment relief organization by voluntary donations of our citizens in 1929 was none; in 1930 and up to the present time, about $28,000. For the coming year, from November 1, 1931, to November 1, 1932, a fund has been subscribed in the same manner in the sum of about $42,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We approximate the amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children at about $7.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city has never floated a bond for the purpose of unemployment relief funds, but same has always been taken from our street and general funds. During 1931 this fund was exhausted by November 15, and the entire relief work from that time and up to January 1, 1932, is being conducted by the unemployment relief organization, which is a voluntary organization of our citizens, by funds raised as mentioned.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequately relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In our opinion, with this extraordinary burden continuing, it will doubtless become necessary that the Federal Government assist the local communities and voluntary organizations if the same manner of relief is to be continued. The local taxing bodies are strained under the present conditions, and unless the strain be relieved it is doubtful if they will be able to continue.

Respectfully yours,

A. J. MILLER, *Mayor.*

LEBANON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars per family, plus coal.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

JOHN C. PERKINS, *Mayor.*

MARION

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of December 11 relative to your letter of November 29, I will answer same by dealing in generalities regarding the unemployment situation in this community instead of answering your questions.

Conditions in the city of Marion are not improving, and I believe that the number of unemployed is no greater than it was at this time last year. It is my belief that the peak has been reached in this crisis. The unfortunate thing at this time is that many people who heretofore have had a little money laid by have now exhausted this supply and are in great danger of losing their homes and other things that they have accumulated during good times.

We have tried this year, and also last year, to create work programs and have paid for same by bond issues, and we now have reached our limit with this. It is my belief that this is only fooling ourselves in trying to cure this great ill, and it is time for the National Government to come to the rescue of the unemployed in some way, as it certainly is a shame to be the greatest and richest Nation in the world to have the suffering that is going on.

Hoping that this information will be of some assistance to you, and I will stand back of you in my small way in anything that you might propose to do in getting something started in the way of this condition. I am,

Yours very truly,

MERRILL JACK EDWARDS, *Mayor.*

MARTINSVILLE

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your letter under date of November 27, 1931, wherein you submit a questionnaire regarding the unemployed situation in our community will say:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With Decemaber, 1929?

Answer. There will be no increase in unemployed persons in 1931 as compared with December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in city appropriations for the unemployed in 1931 over 1930 or 1929. In 1930 the city did $12,000 sewer-construction work, taking care of 168 men three days a week each. We took care of the situation splendidly until January 1, 1931, then formed a welfare organization, raising $4,500, taking care of the situation very nicely for the balance of the winter.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I don't believe we will have as much call for help this winter as we had last winter, having practically no call for help up to date, but I intend calling a meeting of the welfare committee early in December to formulate plans for January, February, and March.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930 about 60 per cent of the cost was carried by private relief agencies. So far we have no increased expenditures over 1930 or 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children for the winter months of 1930 was between $4 and $5 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to make a bond issue in event anything of this kind becomes necessary, but we are also in a position to raise money by private subscription to take care of our relief needs of this community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local government to meet their emergency relief burdens, as I think every community should take care of their own problems, and I believe that 95 per cent of all communities can do this. For the Federal Government undertaking to give local government assistance in their emergency relief burdens, the cost would be enormous and I believe widely abused.

Our local situation here to me looks much better, as last summer we had abundant crops, there was a splendid year for fruit, everybody was urged to can foodstuffs, and I believe this was largely done, and as a consequence we are in better shape to go through this winter than last winter.

Thanking you for your letter of inquiry, I am,

Sincerely yours,

GEO. F. SCHMIDT.

MITCHELL

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Approximately same at present time.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. No appropriations have been made.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930?

Answer. One hundred per cent in 1930; 50 per cent in 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are not bonded to the limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you

feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

LYLE ROOT, *Mayor.*

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, following are the answers to the questions asked.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No increase in unemployed compared with 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has not appropriated any funds for the unemployed and the poor during 1929, 1930, and 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We do not anticipate any increase in number needing help.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 40 per cent of burden is being carried by private relief agencies. No increase over 1929 and 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Amount of relief given weekly to family of four from $2.50 to $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; we can borrow funds if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do feel that Federal aid is necessary in our community.

Yours truly,

E. F. BAMBERGER, *Mayor.*

PERU

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 received.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Practically 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent. At this date the expenditures have increased in proportion to the additional help rendered. We do not know the exact amounts.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount varies, as the head of the family is able at times to contribute to their relief.

6. Is you city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. It is the opinion of our city attorney that the city itself can not float bonds for poor relief; that the laws of Indiana makes the trustee of the townships the official to give poor relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting their relief burdens, and I do feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing a greater relief for the needy and lessening the burden of local taxpayers.

It is the National Government who determines the internal taxes that we must pay, the amount of income tax we shall pay, and directly and indirectly we hold the National Government responsible for the present-day financial condition.

Therefore the Government should assist in taking care of the conditions which now confront us. It is no fault of the local government that our men are unemployed.

Yours truly,

Dr. JOHN E. YARLING, *Mayor.*

PRINCETON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase compared with 1930, 100; with 1929, 600.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, none; 1929, none.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Seventy-five or 100.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All about same.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not unless advanced on loan basis at low interest rate and handled by local individuals instead of Federal agents, who are strangers to our people and our community.

O. T. BRIGETON.

SHELBYVILLE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Inclosed please find blank answering your inquiry regarding labor situation in this city, which I trust will be satisfactory.

Very truly yours,

L. E. WEBB, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase compared with 1930, 50 per cent; with 1929, 75 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Proportion of emergency burden carried by private relief agencies, 90 per cent. Expenditures increased compared with 1930, one-fourth; with 1929, one-half.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $3 federated charities; $2 trustee.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

L. E. WEBB, *Mayor.*

TERRE HAUTE

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We estimate the increase of unemployed assisted in our city, as compared with December, 1930, and December, 1929, to be about 3,000.

The city's increase in appropriations in 1931 over 1930 was $20,000.

In our judgment, about 2,000 more will need relief this winter.

About 50 per cent of the emergency burden is carried by private agencies, and their increase in expenditures over 1930 and 1929 is about $20,000.

About $3 in provisions is given weekly to the average family.

Terre Haute lacks more than a million dollars of being up to its bonded limit.

I prefer to see all the different cities work out their relief problems. Where this can not be done, I favor a Federal appropriation to assist them. Certainly such an appropriation will provide more relief for the needy and lessen the burden on local taxpayers.

Yours very truly,

WOOD POSEY, *Mayor.*

VALPARAISO

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All; in 1930, don't know; 1929, none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

HAROLD J. SCHENCK, *Mayor.*

WABASH

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 150.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Trustee handles this. Some increase.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Another 150 families in Wabash.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all, other than trustee from township funds.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Would help, of course, but do not favor a dole system. Every able-bodied man who applies for charity in Wabash does some work for it.

HOWARD SHOWALTER, *Mayor.*

WASHINGTON

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of November 27 just reached me, and it is with extreme pleasure that I am answering the same.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriated for unemployment $10,000. Poor increased this year over 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 300.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 35 per cent. About 25 per cent over 1930 and 30 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5; should at least be $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is without debt. Have already appropriated $10,000 to unemployment. I feel we are doing our part.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; I am absolutely in favor of an appropriation by the Federal Government creating a fund that will give to the loyal, honest workmen an opportunity of employment. The workmen of this city are not seeking alms, but work.

I certainly trust and hope that you and your coworkers in this great problem will in a short time arrive at some way by which this menacing proposition can be properly settled.

With every good wish to you in the great work you are doing and have done for the betterment of the people of the Nation, I am,

Yours very truly,

JOHN W. MCCARTY.

RICHMOND

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, regarding poor relief, to Windsor B. Harris, our mayor, which was referred to me, we have the following to report:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been a 75 per cent increase as compared with December, 1930, with December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City makes no appropriation for poor relief; the township trustee makes a tax levy for relief in township. Our total relief this year will be approximately $200,000; for 1930, $90,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We will probably have 300 additional families this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 5 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by our social service bureau.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our average is about $1 per head per week for food; also fuel, clothing as needed, and rents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. As our present funds come from taxation, we are allowed by special legislation to meet our needs.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor Federal aid at this time.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY B. REEVES,
Wayne Township Trustee.

RICHMOND

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry under date of November 27 has been received.

Beg to advise that I am submitting the same to our township trustee, whose duty it is to provide for the poor and unemployed in our community. Most of these questions he can answer from his books, and it is to his office that the poor and needy of our city look for relief.

This is a paramount issue in our civic life, and I am trusting that through this means you can best be served.

Yours very truly,

WINDSOR B. HARRIS, *Mayor.*

WEST LAFAYETTE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All the burden is carried by private agencies; increase, none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

WESTMINSTER

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Can not say.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About the same.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Do not need any.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

GEORGE E. MATTHEWS, *Mayor.*

IOWA

AMES

DECEMBER 26, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Replying to specific inquiries outlined in your letter of November 27 concerning relief conditions in the city of Ames, I would advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in number of employed persons in December, 1930, over December, 1929, is not great; perhaps 10 to 15 per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No direct appropriations have been made by the city for relief work. The local funds raised by private subscription, together with a work program initiated by the city, will take care of all needy cases.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 50 additional persons will need relief in Ames this winter over previous ones.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all of the emergency burden will be carried by private relief agencies. The local subscriptions for charitable relief were much larger this year than past years. This city oversubscribed the amount fixed by the Social Service League as being necessary for charitable relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of weekly relief given weekly to the average family varies somewhat, but probably averages $2.50 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is in a financial condition where bonds could be issued adequate to take care of any relief program of sufficient proportion for several years.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not feel that governmental aid is necessary to assist this city in caring for its relief burdens. I believe ample funds to meet the situation locally can be secured through voluntary subscription, and where this is possible it appeals to me that it is preferable to any governmental assistance.

Very truly yours,

J. H. AMES, *City Manager.*

BOONE

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is in reply to your letter of November 27 regarding the local unemployment situation. We have taken it for granted that the President was right in taking the ground that it was mainly up to the cities to look after their own unemployed by dividing up the city work.

This administration has given part-time jobs to a number of men who were out of employment and, under the lead of the chamber of commerce, our citizens have been solicited to make jobs for the jobless with results that are satisfactory.

To the best of my knowledge at the present time no family in this city is suffering for the necessities of life.

Respectfully yours,

H. H. CANFIELD, *Mayor.*

CEDAR RAPIDS

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Nil.

2. How much have the county appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Forty thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One thousand five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Expenditures increased compared with 1930, $100,000; with 1929, $100,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $6 weekly, or about $25 per month.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Think communities must solve this problem. National appropriations for farm or other relief is not appealing.

CHAS. D. HUSTON, *Mayor.*

COUNCIL BLUFFS

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of November 27 received, but due to press of business and along with other matters, our work in preparation for the care of the unemployed, an answer was delayed. Answers follow:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, 25 per cent; over 1929, 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have made no appropriation for either 1929 or 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Our estimate is 250 families over those cared for in 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent, the rest being cared for by the county board of supervisors. Increase over 1930, 100 per cent; over 1929, 200 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $3 in orders on stores or fuel firms, and we redeem these orders in cash.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Federal aid would no doubt help us in rendering more adequate relief, but we do not favor it; we will care for our own.

Respectfully,

O. H. BROWN, *Mayor.*

DENISON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation. No increase.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few in addition to those now receiving relief.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Emergency burden carried by private relief agencies, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. It will not be necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

DES MOINES

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Replying to your communication of November 27, 1931, will say that I am not overly sold on the idea of the United States Government assuming the obligation of furnishing employment at the expense of the taxpayer unless the work done is of a character that needs immediate action.

In answer to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Forty per cent increase of assistance to unemployed for December, 1930, over December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriation for the unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 1,000 additional families will need relief.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 90 per cent emergency burden carried by private agencies, 10 per cent by the county. Expenditures for 1932 over 1930 will be about 225 per cent. Expenditures for 1931 over 1930 were 125 per cent. Expenditures for 1930 over 1929, 40 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Amount of relief given family of four ranges from $7 to $35. Average expense being about $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is not in a position to float further bond issues. We are financially sound but are up close to the bond limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am not in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens. In my opinion, to increase the taxpayer's burden would prolong the depression and increase unemployment.

Respectfully yours,

PARKER L. CROUCH, *Mayor.*

FORT DODGE

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your circular letter of November 27 is at hand and I am furnishing you the most reliable information obtainable.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The unemployed persons assisted in Fort Dodge have been increased 100 per cent compared with December of 1930 or 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The Iowa law does not permit cities to make appropriations of public funds for the care of the unemployed and the poor. The funds that are available for that purpose are county funds raised by direct tax, and this amount is supplemented by a part of the funds raised through the community chest. The amount raised by the county by direct taxation has not been increased since 1929, because the county has been levying the maximum amount for the past three years. The amount donated to this cause through the community chest is about the same as raised in 1929 and 1930. This year some community programs are being put on that will probably raise four or five thousand dollars. The first one was a community football game that netted the funds $1,700.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We have an appointment with the board of supervisors Thursday of this week to urge upon them the necessity of employing another person. That will make a total of five persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We do not have any private relief agencies. Naturally a number of our people are aiding their neighbors.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The local welfare association appropriates $5 a week and milk for a family of 4—2 adults and 2 children.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Fort Dodge is not up to the statutory limit in the amount of bonds that could be legally issued. I know of no way to take care of an emergency of this sort by a further bond issue under the statutes of Iowa.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I have not favored a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting their emergency relief burdens. I know there are those who advocate Federal aid and State aid, but I have not been won over to that method of furnishing aid to the needy. I believe it is a local problem.

Yours very truly,

C. V. FINDLAY, *Mayor.*

GLENWOOD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 75 per cent; 1929, 95 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, 75 per cent; 1929, 85 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies, 85 per cent; 1930, 75 per cent; 1929, 95 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

FRANK W. CHOATE, *Mayor.*

KEOKUK

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering yours of November 27, will say that we have not been disturbed with the unemployed problem until last winter. Our unemployment fund has been increased about 50 per cent this winter over last winter, because about 50 per cent more persons will need relief.

Of the emergency funds, last year $9,300 was raised by private subscription. This was paid out for labor to the unemployed at $2.40 per day. To supplement their work the city paid for teams and trucks spending therefor about $5,500; so that you see the total last year was about $15,000. We expect this year that it will be at least $20,000.

We have not attempted to float any bond issues and expect to get through this winter without so doing.

I have not been favorable to a Federal appropriation for this emergency work for our State, though I realize in many localities the State authorities might need assistance from the Federal Government.

Sincerely yours,

FRED W. LONG, *Mayor.*

MAQUOKETA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIRS: In reference to the inclosed letter allow me to say that this is an agricultural city and therefore the number of unemployed is small.

In fact, we have a certain few every year, the same ones, and they are on the county; some won't work.

Sorry we can't use the money if you are passing it out.

Respectfully,

J. B. HARRISON, *Mayor.*

MASON CITY

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About doubled; 100 per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City does not directly appropriate for poor relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The peak will come in February; probably another 50 per cent increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. County is only public unit legally authorized to handle poor relief. Would say county two-thirds; private agencies one-third. Private increase two and one-half times 1930.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but can not legally give direct aid; would have to be done indirectly by providing work to be paid from some legal fund.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If it can be fairly done, but I do not believe that Federal relief will ever meet the problem. It belongs to industry, and industry will not accept it.

P. F. HOPKINS, *City Manager.*

MUSCATINE

JANUARY 1, 1932.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry in regard to unemployment and relief received, but up to this time we had no definite data to forward to you.

This city will have the following increases over the year 1931, viz:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in number of unemployed, 350.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase in appropriations, approximately $6,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Additional during winter to above, 100.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Funds raised by private relief, $10,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average relief provided per family, $6 per week.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. I heartily favor a Federal bond issue or any other means to feed the destitute men and women of America who are being starved through deflation in order that huge sums may be loaned to foreign governments and foreign industrialists.

For instance, the Thompson Motor Corporation, of this city, of which I am president, has thousands of orders on file for our cars, which we manufacture in this city, and could employ hundreds of men at a good wage scale, but our company, although fully equipped, has not the capital to buy the raw material, and no bank will loan us the money; in fact the banks are in desperate straits themselves, and therefore hundreds of men must walk the streets while our city and Nation are compelled to feed them.

Why not provide in some one of the bills appropriating millions for relief, reconstruction, etc., that industrial plants with equipment and orders may obtain a loan sufficient to purchase the raw material to put idle men to work?

That would be a permanent constructive program.

Yours very cordially,

HERBERT G. THOMPSON, *Mayor.*

NEWTON

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The unemployment situation in Newton is being handled satisfactorily by the local committee.

The local factories are working a small force three days each week, and local agencies are furnishing work for three days each week to care for those not employed otherwise. Funds have been raised to secure food and clothing for those in need.

We have no bread lines and no one is suffering for the necessities.

Yours truly,

T. A. PICKENS, *Mayor.*

OELWEIN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Slight increase since 1930.

2. How much have the county appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Approximately $20,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty-five to fifty families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. A large share of clothing; no food or fuel.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Have no figures.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. All relief is carried on by county.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Believe any such aid would be spread too thin to be very effective. If large enough to be effective, might retard recovery. Favor paying as we go, if possible.

Yours,

LEON C. KNAPP, *Mayor.*

OSKALOOSA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In my judgment, none.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent. No increase.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

SAC CITY

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 27, I am compelled to say that I can not give you all the statistics that you desire.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in the number of unemployed is not large. The best estimate I can give is about 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city of Sac City does not appropriate anything to help the poor. We have no fund that can be used for that purpose.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The county has a poor fund that is used when necessary. The number helped from this fund is approximately 100.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average weekly aid given is $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city could float a bond issue for lawful purposes, but not to assist the poor. The law does not permit that.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I have asked several officers and business men if they favor Government aid. So far I have not found a person who does. Personally, I do not. Nothing should be done to increase the tax burden of the people. No relief can be given from the Public Treasury without taxing the people to replace it. This should never be permitted.

Yours very truly,

J. B. TOURGEE.

VALLEY JUNCTION

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Two per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 30.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars per week.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

KANSAS

ABILENE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent; 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, 50 per cent; over 1929, 200 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private agencies carry all. Increase over 1930, $5,000; over 1929, $3,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Six dollars and forty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but do not favor it.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Our city does not need it, but I believe there are those that do.

ANTHONY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About the same.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No more than formerly.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies carry about 50 per cent. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

W. M. MOORE, *Mayor.*

ATCHISON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Five per cent over 1930 and 10 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five to ten per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief carries 75 per cent; compared with 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three to six dollars.

6. Is you city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; by a vote of the people.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Based on our needs to date, it will not be necessary for Atchison.

A. E. MIZE, *Mayor.*

BAXTER SPRINGS

Wish to advise there is no special program for relief outside the welfare association. However, so far the condition is being handled locally.

C. S. BENDURE, *Mayor.*

CHANUTE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: This is to acknowledge receipt of yours of December 11, also November 27, asking for information concerning unemployment in this community.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed has been increased at least 75 per cent from a year ago.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our county takes care of the poor. The city has no fund and uses no fund for that.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The number of persons needing help in the way of employment or otherwise is double to what it was a year ago.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. I would be unable to answer. There is a number of private and club relief agencies over our town.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I could not answer without consulting the county commissioners.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes. Our city is in a splendid financial condition and could, if necessary, float any reasonable amount in a bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist any local government. In my judgment, every locality, community, or city should take care of any and all problems and can do so if they get right down to business and are willing to make a sacrifice, and in that respect I am glad to state that so far we have taken care of our unemployed in the way of civic improvement projects. We have street work, storm sewers, etc., and expect to do more.

You will pardon me for not replying sooner to your first letter.

Yours truly,

H. W. LOY, *Mayor.*

DODGE CITY

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 regarding unemployment in this city has been received. December, 1929, there was no unemployment here. In 1930 there was not a great amount, but now the chamber of commerce has listed about 500 men who are out of work in this town of 10,000. The city has not increased its appropriation for 1931 to take care of this situation, not having found it necessary, but have done some extra municipal work in order to create labor, and believe that after 90 days the unemployment situation will be relieved in this agricultural country.

The county has taken care of the bulk of the charity work, and have exceeded their appropriation about $7,000 at present.

All county and city officials are opposed to any prolonged relief which would be in the nature of a dole. I do not believe there is any sentiment in favor of Federal appropriation to assist local organizations in meeting this situation, as we believe it is too temporary for that.

Very truly,

H. A. HART, *Mayor.*

EMPORIA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Have no way of knowing, but would guess in 1931, 100 more.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City makes no appropriations for unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred or one hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All; no comparisons with 1929 nor 1930; no relief agency those years.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city, so far, has not borne any part of expense for relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

C. A. BISHOP, *Mayor.*

GALENA

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Reply to committee's letter of November 27, 1931, requesting information on unemployment, beg leave to advise for Galena, Cherokee County, Kans.:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930. With December, 1929?

Answer. Galena, population approximately 5,000. Chief industry mining of lead and zinc. Only one factory, a smelter, located here and which is now closed down and has been for some time, employs approximately 100 men when in operation, which is about one-tenth of our labor. The remaining work in the ground within the tri-State district (Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma). On account of the low price of ore, operating companies are unable to continue operations, and until such time that prices reach a profitable level the mines, most of them, will remain idle or only work part time.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Until this year the number of unemployed fluctuated up and down; this year it has been down, and the prospects for employment is anything but encouraging.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The city bonded indebtedness prevents the issuance of any additional obligations. The various city funds are depleted and have been for practically two years on account of taxpayers being delinquent. We will be doing exceedingly well if we meet actual running expense and bonds and interest falling due. It is becoming more difficult for the city to finance its various needs, as the banks are becoming more and more stringent and have informed us that they would be in the near future unable to carry us. Consequently, we are unable to finance any new enterprises, improvements, etc., in order to take care of our unemployment situation.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Recently a President's emergency committee has been organized here, and we also have a relief board. These two organizations are working hard to relieve the situation, but are not equal to the emergency. We are unable to finance anything, and we therefore are in favor of Federal aid, as suggested in your letter, and may we say that it can not come too soon.

Respectfully yours,

D. D. CROWELL, *Mayor.*

P. S.—We heartily indorse the above and foregoing letter.

A. D. SCHREINER,
Chairman of the President's Emergency Committee.

HERINGTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Sixty per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. Increased 70 per cent over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred. Population of our city is 4,500; about 170 out of employment now.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?

Answer. Sixty per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can not.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; bonded about the limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. This is a difficult question for me to pass on. I mean, as to what method the Federal Government would use. However, something must be done soon by the Federal Government in the way of relief. Failing to do so, the Nation will suffer, we fear, disorder from starvation.

HORTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Probably 5 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Thirty-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Emergency burden carried equal to one-third; expenditures increased compared with 1930, one-third; 1929, one-half.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars and fifty cents per family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but not needed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No Federal help needed in this part of country; in fact, I think we are overdoing it here.

F. M. BALDWIN, *Mayor.*

INDEPENDENCE

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR HONORABLE CHAIRMAN: Yours of December 11 at hand concerning unemployment conditions in this community.

As chairman of the local employment committee for the years 1930–31, I say conditions at present are much worse than in the past. This having been brought on by recent shutdowns of our manufacturing industries, mainly brick plants, cement plants, oil-field manufactures, and allied industries.

We are doing our very best to take care of our unemployed by public contributions and other sacrificial movements, all of which are returning 100 per cent results.

The condition in this territory is serious, but so far the Lord has blessed us with open weather and is placing the situation greatly in our favor. Personally, I would hate to see national legislation necessary to remedy this condition.

Yours truly,

RALPH C. MITCHELL, *Mayor.*

LIBERAL

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your circular inquiry regarding unemployment sent to our city officials, I will answer the questions as propounded.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of unemployed this year possibly 5 to 8 per cent more than either of the preceding years.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930 we had a fund of $2,500, which was not a city fund but welfare fund, raised by public subscription; this year we raised $3,500; in 1929 we had no such fund. This money is spent in addition to funds spent by the county on old or regular pauper upkeep.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Locally possibly 5 to 8 per cent more people will need aid, and in addition to that we are feeding regularly many transients which are coming through, going back and forth from one place to another. These people are fed out of the welfare fund.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Question 4 is answered in second paragraph.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average family here receiving $3.50 per family for groceries.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; city not in position to float bonds for this relief in any way.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; we favor Federal aid in the caring for these people; but one of our biggest items of expense is the feeding of transients, and we think there should be some national move to stop the bums, who have now been raised to the class of unemployed, traveling from East to West, then back, and receiving aid all along the line. This must be stopped in some manner, and it should be at least a state-wide or nation-wide movement, as this sort of thing will continue each winter, and individual towns or communities alone will be unable to stop the practice. If at the end of this temporary depression we can get the railroads to cease hauling these fellows and a concerted effort of towns and cities to cease feeding them, it would be a material relief to all towns and communities like this. We are not a manufacturing center, purely agricultural country, and our problem here locally is not a serious one, but as long as conditions exist as they now do we would favor the proposition of Government helping with unemployed and paupers.

I trust this is to a great extent what you desire, and if there is anything else I can give you regarding the matter, would be pleased to do so.

Yours very truly,

RAY KENNEDY,
Secretary-Manager Liberal Chamber of Commerce.

OTTAWA

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Absolutely no. Look at England's experience.

FRED P. MARTIN, *Mayor.*

TOPEKA

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am transmitting to you the information you requested in a letter of recent date. It is as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. According to our present form of unemployment registration and the relief extended in comparison with this time last year there appears to be an increase of about 50 per cent. Our system this year is so much more comprehensive that it may be the cause of inviting additional registrations for assistance. The actual figures at present show over 3,000 men and women registered for employment assistance compared to about 1,200 last year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. For the winter of 1930–31 relief appropriations, both through taxes and voluntary subscription, amounted to approximately $122,000. This year, for the winter 1931–32, the charity-tax appropriation was increased from $90,000 to $106,000, and the voluntary relief committee is attempting to raise $130,000, in comparison with some $32,000 the preceding winter, making a total of $236,000, as compared with $122,000 of last year. In addition to this individual charitable organizations have greatly increased their work. In addition, the city has launched a street widening and improving program as an emergency measure, which will entail over $300,000 expenditure.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This does not seem to be quite clear on what you mean by additional persons, so will state that I believe some four or five thousand people will need some form of assistance during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. I believe that the answer to question No. 2 more or less clarifies question raised in No. 4.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. In our program we are intending to give work rather than charity. We are attempting to give two days' work per week to the married man with one or two children, and we hope to eventually give three days for the married man with five or six children. This work is based at the rate of 40 cents per hour or $3.20 per 8-hour day. Where the relief is strictly charitable the family is given barely enough to exist upon. The county poor fund allows $2.40 in groceries per week to the totally improvident families. In the case of another private organization, which is a beneficiary of part of the city's charity tax fund, information reaches me they have been caring for some improverished Mexican families at the rate of $1.19 per month per family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. So far as I can learn, the city has no authority to issue bonds for strictly charitable relief. All bond issues other than a restricted amount for street widening and improving must be voted by the people. However, our credit is such that if the people desired to float a bond issue I believe it could be done.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The answer to No. 7 involves the question as to where the money from the Federal Government would come from. Unless the Federal Government acquired from those who are in a position to pay it the raising of tax money would be no different from raising it in the local communities. If it would be possible for the Federal Government to secure this appropriation from the higher brackets of the income tax, I would say I favored it. There are some communities that are capable of taking care of their own problem very nicely, and I think our own community will do that very thing if we are able to convince those with wealth that the need is urgent and serious.

I trust this information will be of benefit, although it has been hurriedly compiled and may not be absolutely 100 per cent accurate. As I stated in a recent letter, I am in complete sympathy with the many things which you and your progressive colleagues are sponsoring in the United States Senate.

Assuring you of my desire to cooperate and with best wishes for your continued success, I am

Cordially yours,

OMAR B. KETCHUM, *Mayor.*

KENTUCKY

CATLETTSBURG

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 200.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. Three dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Red Cross and county and city.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars per week for each.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

H. C. DAVIDSON, *Mayor.*

CUMBERLAND

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter is hereby acknowledged of the 27th instant, related to the unemployed situation in this city.

In the year of 1929 the depression did not affect our citizens at all, but in the year of 1930 it struck us very hard. In the early winter I organized a community chest and received help from all the churches and business concerns in the city, although the general business depression became so large that we were forced to call on the Red Cross.

The unemployed numbered around 300 or more in December, 1930, and in my own personal judgment there will be not less than 500 needing relief here this winter, and, there being no private relief agencies here, we are compelled to call for aid, and up to this time I am unable to say where this aid is coming from.

Our allowance per family of five last year was from $2 to $3 a week, which had to include rent and fuel.

Our city has floated an $8,000 bond for the purpose of building a bridge, which will not give us any help until early spring, as it will be impossible to build it before that time. Our present income is not sufficient to meet adequately one-fourth of the relief needs in this community.

I and my city are heartily in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and this method appears to me the only way the burden can be lessened on the local taxpayers.

Trusting that if I can be of any further service to you and the committee on this subject, you will demand it,

Respectfully yours,

L. M. DAVISWORTH, *Mayor.*

EARLINGTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifteen to twenty-five families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Doubled.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

We are certainly in need of help. As mayor of the town, our finance is exhausted for this purpose.

P. T. KING, *Mayor.*

HOPKINSVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase, compared with 1930, 10 per cent; with 1929, 20 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None; on account of not having sufficient funds for this relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 300.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent carried by private relief agencies; expenditures increased, 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 20 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. We are up to our constitutional limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. I most assuredly do.

L. M. CAYCE, *Mayor.*

LEBANON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Less; good crops.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No increase; all private donation.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $2.50 to $3 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Private charities working with Red Cross; ladies of community work twice a week making over garments for needy.

J. E. EDMONDS, *Mayor.*

MADISONVILLE

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: A few days ago I received your letter making inquiry as to the depressed condition in this section of Kentucky.

As you know this county is in the middle of the coal-producing section of southwestern Kentucky. Coal mining and farming are the principal industries in this section of the State. During the past three or four years the coal business has been in a very depressed condition. I understand this is general all over the United States for the reason that there are too many coal mines and too many coal miners depending upon this industry for a living. The coal operators claim that they are unable to market their coal on account of the differential in freight rates against this section of Kentucky.

I have no definite figures, but I would estimate that there are at least 1,500 people in this county that are now in actual immediate need of food and clothing; many of them are practically on starvation. The weather is now beginning to get cold and there will necessarily be much suffering if something is not done immediately.

During this year Hopkins County has donated to charity in the neighborhood of $16,000; during the year the city of Madisonville has spent around $10,000 for additional work that could have been deferred for a long time, but this money was spent this year in order to give a few people labor who were in need.

The Red Cross is doing considerable work in this county, especially in the way of gathering up old clothing for those in need. The county health department is continually doing a wonderful work among the sick who are unable to pay for such services.

The great majority of these people do not want a dole, but only want work. However, there is no possible way to furnish work for these people in this county during this winter, and it is imperative that something be done for them in the very immediate future. We are now beginning an organization with a view of starting a campaign and working out some way to assist these people for the time being.

If Congress is to do anything, I think it should be done at once in order to tide these people through the winter months. It seems to me that this assistance might better be distributed by the Red Cross; but if the Red Cross should refuse to undertake this work, then my next suggestion would be that a committee be formed composed of the county judge and the mayors of the various towns in the county.

During the past five months the Red Cross has distributed over $6,000 in money and supplies in this county.

Yours very truly,

B. N. GORDON, *Mayor.*

MAYFIELD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Five per cent carried by private relief agencies; increase in expenditures 1929, 15 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No; $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; we need relief in some way; city doing all it can; private donations are slow.

W. T. VAUGHAN, *Mayor.*

MIDDLESBOROUGH

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of yours of the 11th instant advising that you had written a letter on the 27th of November concerning our unemployment situation in our community.

Beg to advise that this letter evidently went astray, as I can not locate it.

This matter is being handled very satisfactorily by our unemployment relief committee, which is composed of our best citizens. A collection was made for this purpose, and the donation was oversubscribed.

If you will be kind enough to send me a copy of questionnaire, will answer same at once. I am,

Very truly yours,

M. S. HOLLINGSWORTH, *Mayor.*

RUSSELLVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, *Jr.*,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Answering your inquiry of the 27 as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Aided less in November, 1931, than in December or November, 1930 or 1929; less funds available.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. $100 more over 1930 and same over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Thirty-five per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent. Winter not yet begun account open fall, but the outlook account unemployment very dark. It appears that there will be much more need than in 1930 or 1929, however, to-day, November 30, relief has been less than either 1929 or 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $2.50 aid to family of four.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. City unable to further bond itself as it is now up to constitutional limits.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; we believe in a Federal appropriation to aid the local municipal or county governments in the matter of relief needs, providing same is restricted in legal manner as to make such appropriation usable only in and through a work-relief program, believing that the communities will be able and willing, following such work-program establishment, to provide all necessary charitable funds to that section of the people who are unable to work from disability, sickness, age, etc.

I trust that this will give you the required information.

Very truly yours,

P. C. ANDREWS, *Mayor.*

SHELBYVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, $100; over 1929, $100.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Most of it. Slightly. Slightly.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but probably unnecessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. It is a tax in Washington or it is a tax here.

PAUL P. SCHMIDT, *Mayor.*

LOUISIANA

ALEXANDRIA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: I have your letter of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, we had no unemployment here. December, 1930, we assisted about 600 families by the city and about 600 by the Red Cross, making a total of 1,200 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Up to present we have only been taking care of our usual poor in the city. No rationing has been started. We have so much public work here I have hopes we can get along without rationing whatever. The Red Cross have advised we need not expect any help from their office.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Can not say at the present time. We have the usual Christmas needs which will be taken care of locally.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All emergency relief this year will be cared for from private funds. We have been assured by the Red Cross and President Hoover's committee we need not expect any help from them.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our usual rations, $1.80 per week. This also includes vegetables, potatoes, etc., that are given to us. The $1.80 covers staple that we have to purchase out of the stores.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. If we can not get private funds sufficient the unemployed will be compelled to seek other ways of getting the people to come across. This I very much fear, for the majority of our people with means have given nothing. What we get is from the little fellow. The big ones fold their tents and let the relief work be carried on by donations from the poor themselves.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I most certainly do. If we could get the funds that are now being spent by your unemployed committee distributed to the poor, it would be a great relief. Hardly a week passes I do not get literature printed in Washington telling us what to do and how to do it. What we want is funds to help those in need and distress, and not so much advice. Truth of the business is the advice we are getting is worth nothing to the average official in charge of a large city. Their experiences have taught them more than the President's committee could ever suggest.

We have our problems and are doing our best to meet the needs, but it would not surprise me one bit to see the people take this situation in their own hands and get relief for their own who are hungry and poorly clothed.

I am not an alarmist, but I am giving you the whole truth as I see it. We have a city of about 30,000 people and I am active in every movement that is for our people's betterment.

We trust you will pardon my long answers, but felt you wanted this information.

Yours very truly,

V. V. LAMKIN, *Mayor.*

FERRIDAY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $7.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

E. W. VOGT, *Mayor.*

LAKE CHARLES

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I appreciate the circular letter under date of November 27, and hasten to reply. I shall answer your questions seriatim.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in unemployment, 25 per cent. This is, of course, an estimate, but may be depended upon.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city has been unable to make any appropriations for unemployment and for the relief of the poor. The mayor's committee, known as the central board, raises money for the civilian relief, coordinates all charitable activities, and assists in the matter of unemployment.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is my opinion that double the number of persons as compared with last year will need relief during the winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of our emergency burden is borne by private and semipublic relief agencies. The expenditures have not doubled those of last year, which increase is needed, but lack of funds, difficulty of obtaining the same, together with the fact that the rigors of winter have not set in accounts for our not extensively increasing expenditures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to families ranges from a $2.50 order for groceries to $5 for provisions and fuel.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is unable to float any bond issues for relief. In fact it would be impossible to float bond issue of any character.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am in favor of Federal appropriations or Federal loans to furnish necessary funds for relief of the destitute and the unemployed. If some plan could be devised for extensive employment, our situation would be no longer acute. Some method of adding to our circulating money by the restoration of borrowing power would, in my judgment, raise values and start the wheels of industry.

Very truly yours,

LEON LOCHE, *Mayor*.

MERRYVILLE

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: This is in answer to your questions of November 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None assisted during December, 1929; 60 families assisted during December, 1930, and January, 1931.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has been unable to assist on account of reduced tax collections and unable to float bonds.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly 60, double the number of last winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Last winter about 25 per cent this winter so far. All last winter the National Red Cross assisted us through the month of January.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars and fifty cents per week to a family of five.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

In conclusion, this town is composed of laboring people who worked at the two saw mills here. These mills were partly down from January 1 to November 1, 1930, when they went down entirely, leaving our people without employment. I answered yes to your number 7, but we don't want the dole system if it could be avoided. Our people would rather have employment and earn their own living. But we are in great need of assistance, and this need is urgent in whatever way it may be obtained.

Yours truly,

JAS. C. MEADOWS, *Mayor*.

PINEVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None; all by private relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

MAINE

BREWER

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No increase compared with 1930; 50 per cent increase compared with 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. To date about $2,000 more than 1930; and about $2,860 more than 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 50 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 10 per cent; no increase compared with 1930; 60 per cent increase compared with 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $15 weekly.

PORT FAIRFIELD

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: I have your circular letter dated November 27, regarding the unemployment situation here, and can perhaps best reply by answering the questions you have asked by their numbers.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Up to December 1 the number of unemployed persons assisted has increased 75 per cent over the similar period of 1930. For the same period in 1929 no unemployed persons received assistance.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Town appropriations for the present fiscal year (begins March 15) up to December have been 66 per cent greater than for the same period of 1930, and 1930 was greater than 1929 by 12½ per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 300. A survey is being made at the present time.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The proportion of relief being furnished by private agencies is 1 in 40. This expenditure has increased 150 per cent over 1930. In 1929 no private relief was furnished.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount given weekly by the town to the average family of four is $7.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Technically, yes; but as a practical measure must be our very last resort.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A Federal appropriation to furnish employment would be a far wiser thing than to furnish relief directly, although so much time has passed since unemployment became acute that the latter will undoubtedly have to be resorted to. As a concrete instance, however, of what might have been done, the Federal Government three years ago purchased a site here for the building of a customhouse. Nothing further was done until two months ago, when a survey was made of another parcel of land for the same purpose. My point is this: As a customhouse is to be built in the town of Fort Fairfield, the present would be most timely, thus providing employment, which is so much better for the moral health of a community than direct relief without employment. The Canadian Government has just let contracts for three customhouses in this area, one to be built at the Fort Fairfield-New Brunswick boundary, work to start immediately.

We can not escape the fact that we are in a serious predicament here. Potato farming is our chief industry, all others being interdependent. Many of our farms are mortgaged to the limit; farmers can not pay their taxes, and many of them, formerly the

backbone of our community, are in actual need. We try to be optimistic, but optimism will not cure this malady of distress, and unless the price of potatoes materially increases during the next month or two, our condition will be acute. It would, therefore, seem that we must have Federal or State aid of some kind.

Respectfully yours,

F. D. FARNSWORTH, *Town Manager.*

ROCKLAND

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One hundred fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent, including expenses for extra street and road work.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-third clubs, church welfare, social welfare.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $11, average.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not favor dole, but do favor Federal aid to employ labor.

SACO

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Double.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Double.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Five per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

J. D. FERNALD, *Mayor.*

SOUTH PORTLAND

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your circular letter of November 27, 1931. The city of South Portland, situated on Fore River, has 6 miles of water frontage on Casco Bay and forms the southerly side of Portland Harbor, opposite the city of Portland.

Population, 1930, 13,840; valuation, 1931, $12,356,039.

Answers to your questions as listed:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1930, 68 families; 1929, 26 families; present, 71 families. Inmates of city home increased 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, $3,500; 1929, $5,000. Shall exceed appropriation of $10,000 probably by several thousand dollars. Have some income at city home. Last year, total cost, $20,603.23.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 200.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Probably 35 per cent. No tabulated figures available.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Sixteen dollars and twenty-five cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Am heartily in favor of this proposed legislation. Owing to the mild weather so far this fall demands for aid have not reached their maximum. Local Kiwanis have an unemployment bureau, where registration is made and dinner furnished free each day. Lions and Family Welfare very active. Any other information desired, be only too glad to furnish.

Very truly yours,

JOSIAH F. COBB, *Mayor.*

WATERVILLE

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Kindly pardon delay in answering yours of the 27th ultimo. I will endeavor to give you the information you seek, in so far as I am able to do so. Taking up the questions in order, I beg to give you the following information:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I should say that about double the number of men are unemployed at the present time as compared with December, 1930. I can not give you figures relating to December, 1929, but in the fall of 1929 the situation in this city was nowhere near as acute as it is now.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our disbursements for support of poor in 1931 will be somewhat in excess of $50,000. In 1930 they were $34,500. Our disbursements for 1929 for support of poor were $24,354.62.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We are now taking care of 124 families in this city. I should say that we will probably have to help about 25 more families before the winter is over. In addition to this, our local unemployment committee, with funds raised from popular subscriptions, have 150 men working 3 days a week on sewer projects, with an additional hundred needing work.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are helping to some extent, but most of the emergency burden is being taken care of by our unemployment committee.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family of four in November was $6.03.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Under the Maine law, I do not believe that a municipality can float bond issues for purposes of relief needs. In any event, this city is in no position to do so.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. While I had at first believed that the local government should take care of their own situation without Federal aid, I have gradually changed my mind, and feel that the emergency is so acute that this is a matter in which the Federal Government should render assistance.

Trusting that the foregoing information may be of assistance to you, and with best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

F. HAROLD DUBARD, *Mayor.*

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am herewith making reply to your questionnaire concerning the unemployment situation in Baltimore. I trust that these are the facts desired. If there is any further information that I can give, please call upon me.

Following are the replies to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. During the week ended December 19, 1931, the social agencies of Baltimore City gave material relief to 5,100 families, comprising about 22,000 persons. Unemployment was the cause of distress in all these cases. The number is four times as great as that for the corresponding week of December, 1930, and about sixteen times as great as that for the corresponding week of 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed and the poor (considering only items that might be called emergency appropriations and eliminating such regular items as support of hospi-

tals and other institutions) amounted to $337,800 in 1931. In 1930 this figure was $28,405, and in 1929 there were no such appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The consensus of opinion among social agencies seems to be that the number of persons needing relief will increase steadily until February or March, at which time it may be nearly double the present number.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. For 1931, about three-fourths of the emergency burden was carried by private relief agencies. This proportion is expected to be larger in 1932. Their expenditures are at present running about four times as great as in the corresponding period of 1930, considering emergency relief only. Comparison with 1929 is very difficult, since the expenditures were not then considered as emergency expenditures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family is about $7. The Jewish social agencies bring this average up from a level of about $6, which is the average amount granted by the agencies serving the great majority of the needy families.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am consolidating 6 and 7, as I had taken the stand that the problem of meeting emergency relief is one for private charitable agencies rather than of a governmental obligation. The appropriation of public funds for relief purposes caused by the business depression would have to be borne by the taxpayers, and this, to my mind, would create unequal distribution of the public obligation toward relief due to the fact that many well-to-do residents of Baltimore are not owners of real estate on our tax books.

Trusting that the above information is that desired, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

HOWARD W. JACKSON, *Mayor.*

FREDERICK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. $3,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Seventy-five additional families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1930, one-half; 1929, 200 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Forty families taken care of.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We do not feel it will be necessary to float a bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

SALISBURY

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am returning you herewith your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, with my answers set opposite.

Very truly yours,

W. H. INSLEY, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. This question seems a little premature, as we have no records yet for December, 1931.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We are expecting a double appropriation.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 75.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About $2,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; I am opposed to any relief in the way of a dole by Government. Let each municipality take care of itself.

MASSACHUSETTS

AMESBURY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 150 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, $25,000; over 1929, $47,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Unknown.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

ARLINGTON

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your favors of recent date are hereby acknowledged.

The situation in Arlington, Mass., is not as acute as in industrial communities, there being no industries of any considerable size located in this strictly residential town.

The town has recently at a special town meeting appropriated various sums to be expended on public works which will provide work for approximately 300 unemployed on a part-time basis for about three months.

The demands on the welfare department have increased and the amount expended for the year will be substantially $65,000, compared with $50,000 in 1930 and $49,000 in 1929. During the next three months the number of persons seeking assistance from the welfare department will probably increase at least 50 per cent, after which there will be a tapering off.

The private charitable organizations will show about the same relative increase as the town.

The town is not in a position to float any bonds for emergency relief.

We believe that both the public and private relief organizations will be able to handle our local problems of relief.

Very truly yours,

JOHN A. EASTON, *Clerk.*

BEVERLY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. January, 1931, about 650 unemployed; at present time there are about 250 unemployed.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, spent $84,822.26; 1930, spent $116,595.81; 1931, spent so far $145,236.44.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $6.50 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

BOSTON

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In response to your questionnaire of November 27, I beg to submit the following:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. During November, 1931, the department of overseers of public welfare aided 6,034 families because of the unemployment

of the head of the family. During December, 1930, 3,072 such families were aided, and December, 1929, 573 such families were aided. The increase in November, 1931, as compared with December, 1930, amounted to 2,952 families, or 96 per cent. The increase as compared with 1929 amounted to 5,451 families, or 951 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1931 appropriation (approximate estimate), $7,000,000; 1930 appropriation, $3,671,000; 1929 appropriation, $2,485,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is impossible to estimate this number. Applications for assistance to this department have been at the rate of 175 per day for the past two weeks.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. It is estimated that the city is carrying 95 per cent of of the present burden resulting from unemployment. It is impossible to state just how much private relief agencies are expending. It is, however, common knowledge their expenditures have materially increased during the current year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount allowed to a family of this size is $11 per week and, in addition, fuel during the winter months, which costs on an average of $2 a week, making an expenditure at this time of $13 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Amounts disbursed by Boston for unemployment relief are secured through the general tax levy; in other words, by direct taxation upon the personal property and real estate of its citizens. This city has never resorted to bond issues for securing revenue for use in the relief of the unemployed and the needy. Under State law the city has the right to take such action if an emergency should develop which could not be handled through the tax levy. At the present time the funds raised by taxation appear sufficient to meet current demands.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Federal appropriations for public works are favored in order to supply increased means of employment. Federal appropriations which partake of the dole, however, are not favored.

Trusting that the above answers to your questionnaire will prove of value to you, I remain,

Respectfully,

JAMES M. CURLEY, *Mayor.*

BROCKTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, about same; 1929, doubled.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, $80,000; 1929, $100,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent carried by private relief agencies. Expenditures increased, 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

CHELSEA

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: The unemployment situation appears to be getting worse in this city. In addition to the hundreds of unskilled or laborer class of people we have many white-collared men who can not secure a day's work anywhere.

At the present time we are aiding 356 families and 150 unmarried individuals through our welfare department.

There is no definite way to ascertain the actual number of unemployed men in this city for the reason that all of them will not register at the unemployment bureau.

Very truly yours,

JOHN J. WHALEN, *Mayor.*

CLINTON

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In regard to your letter of November 27, we have tried to answer your questions as we have understood them.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Eighty families, representing 337 persons, aided in December, 1929; 220 families, representing 1,054 persons, aided in December, 1930; 317 families, representing 1,536 persons, aided in December, 1931.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Total appropriations in 1929 for relief, $39,292.56. Total appropriations in 1930 for relief, $62,400. Total appropriations in 1931 for relief, $114,000, run out November 23, 1931; $20,000 asked for balance of year until January 1, 1932. Finance board approved. Failed to get two-thirds vote at town meeting November 23, 1931. Select men declared emergency. Welfare department working on said emergency.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Expect increase of 20 per cent at the rate aid has increased since December 1, 1931.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No private agencies in the town except one Catholic women's council. Other societies are doing some. Impossible to find out correct amount. The council has spent about $1,000. Can not say how much others have spent; $600 given to welfare department to be used for aid by three different societies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $12 when family has to be aided complete.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation for local governments, but would favor the Federal Government reimbursing local governments for all aid and relief given soldiers.

Very truly yours,

JOHN H. BRODRICK, *Agent.*

FALL RIVER

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your questionnaire of November 27, I take pleasure in replying as follows to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No increase in unemployment at present compared with 1930. Perhaps 10 per cent more than 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our welfare expenditures this year have increased $80,000 over 1930 and $320,000 over 1929.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Perhaps 500 families temporarily.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. A special drive for funds for relief to supplement the city welfare relief has just closed; $110,000 was raised and will supplement funds of $25,000 previously raised by private charities. The total amount that will be expended in this way by the end of the winter will probably be $135,000 to $140,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Weekly relief will average about $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float any further loans for relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Personally I feel that this is an expenditure that should be taken care of by the States and cities and towns, as it is at present. I think the Federal Government should not be burdened with this expenditure, as I feel that if the Federal Government appropriated money for this purpose that a large percentage of aid would never reach the people for which it was intended and



might add a heavy burden to the expense of the Federal Government.

Trusting that this will answer the purpose of your questionnaire, I remain,

Very truly yours,

DANIEL F. SULLIVAN, *Mayor.*

GARDNER

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

The Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In reply to your letter of November 27 I wish to make the following answers to your specific inquiries, giving you the following information: About a year ago an unemployment committee was appointed in this city and an employment agency was established in city hall, where the unemployed could register and where we attempted to have a clearing house for the available jobs in the city.

The number of unemployed on the first registration was around 400, but through the six months during which the office was operated we received a great many registrations that were not the normal unemployed, such as children who were going to work for the first time and members of a family who had not previously worked but who were now desirous of adding to the family income.

We also found that the local employers of labor were not, in fact, cooperating with our employment bureau in filling their jobs with the registered unemployed, and in many cases we were providing part-time work for men who were also receiving short-time work at the factories. The bureau was discontinued in June and since that time everything is being handled through our public welfare board.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Any definite figures are not available, but I would say, generally, that the increase, if any, is a very slight one.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. About $100,000; (b) about $80,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 50.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 10 per cent. I have no means of checking on the exact figures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $8 for food and a reasonable rent allowance where necessary, and clothing provided where it is available.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I would say we are in a very excellent condition.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor a Federal appropriation for relief if the Federal Government is going to expend large sums of money on bureaus and other large overhead expense. I feel at the present moment the National Government in attempting to stimulate the giving of aid by the local concerns is only causing a lot of trouble for the municipalities. By way of example, I can point to the so-called unemployment committees that every city is urged to form. The formation of such a committee would accentuate the distress of the times and, in my opinion, makes the recipients of aid all the more conversant of their own pitiable condition and in addition draws to the committee a lot of cases that would ordinarily work out their own existence.

I might add that our present plan now is concerned primarily not with giving jobs to men, as it is our experience that the jobs are of little actual value and rather costly to the city.

Our first concern is to see that the family is clothed, is warm, and is well fed. After that if the man or other members of the household are able to work, we attempt to locate him a job, even though it may mean the doing of unnecessary work.

Our aim here is to provide the man with something to do to keep his body and mind busy, and while we can not pay him in accordance with his earning power, we are able to give him something in most cases, and I believe that the families are happier within themselves under this plan.

Respectfully yours,

GEO. C. SWEENEY, *Mayor.*

HOPEDALE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

We have never had an unemployment fund in this town, and the way the situation now is, won't need one.

Very truly yours,

FRANK EDMONDS, *Town Clerk.*

HUDSON

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES,
United States Senate.

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your inquiries of November 27, 1931, and in answer to questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929 we aided 57 families; in 1930, 86; and in 1931, 100.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our appropriation in 1929 was $20,000; 1930, $25,000; 1931, $43,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The increased aid for the winter is an unknown quantity. When the outside work is finished we expect quite an increase in applications for aid.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The welfare board carries the burden of assistance. The Red Cross, Salvation Army, and the Community Christmas Association help out in various ways. We have an employment fund drive on, but have only about $175.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We allow about $18 to a family of four persons.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We will have the use of the 1932 appropriation after January 1.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A Federal appropriation would help decrease the tax burden on local taxpayers.

Respectfully yours,

PATRICK H. GILL,
Agent of Welfare Boards.

LEOMINSTER

DECEMBER 22, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 11th. We are sorry that there has been such a delay in answering your previous letter, but due to the press of business in our welfare department, to whom we referred your questions concerning their work, we did not get the necessary information until to-day.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. It has been estimated by the above-named department that there is a 20 per cent increase over 1930 aid to the unemployed, and a 50 per cent increase over 1929. This applies to relief given in December of each year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Welfare appropriation for 1931 (to date) has been $109,000. In 1930 it was $85,476.42. In 1929 it was $55,755.49.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is estimated that there will be an increase of 50 per cent in additional persons aided during the balance of the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We would say that about 10 per cent of the relief is carried on by outside relief agencies. The comparison with 1929 and 1930 is not known.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fourteen dollars per week is allowed weekly to the average family (two adults and two children).

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are in a position to float further bond issues should it become necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. At the present time the opinion of the writer is that it would not be best to assist local governments by means of Federal appropriations.

If there is any further information we can give you will be glad to do so.

Yours very truly,

FREDERIC T. PLATT, *Mayor.*

LYNN

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I regret that reply to your request for information regarding our welfare work has been delayed so long.

The questionnaire was handed to another department for information and in some way became mislaid.

I hasten to give you the information at this time and hope it will reach you in sufficient time.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, $18,799.19, approximately 650 cases; December, 1930, $36,722.33, approximately 1,100 cases; October, 1931, $58,681.07, approximately 1,700 cases.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, total appropriation, $250,259.41; 1930, total appropriation, $313,219.45; 1931, appropriation to date, $525,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We expect to carry 2,000 families throughout the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Amount of relief burden carried by private welfare agencies which come under the community fund would be about one-twelfth. The city carries eleven-twelfths of the burden. Increase in private agencies' relief work, 1930, 40 per cent; 1931, 15 to 20 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight to nine dollars, which includes fuel, but does not include medical care, which is extra.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes to both questions.

Very truly yours,

J. FRED MANNING, *Mayor*

MANSFIELD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Around 25 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation for unemployed. Increased welfare, $7,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Twelve dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not know enough about this item to answer same.

MARBLEHEAD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with December, 1930, 147; with December, 1929, 217.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, $13,880.81; over 1929, $17,900.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly 50.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars for groceries and fuel.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

RICHARD TUTT, *Town Clerk.*

MARLBOROUGH

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: In your inquiry of municipalities to his honor, the mayor, please be informed as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1931, 453 persons were assisted by giving them employment in the various city departments. In 1929 no figures are available.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $40,150; in 1930, $69,490.41; and in 1931, $94,350, in welfare department. Increase over 1930 was $24,850.59 and the increase over 1929 was $54,200.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 350 more than 453 are unemployed.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No figures are available.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Relief given to average family was approximately $7 each.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and to do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. His honor, the mayor, in this city is in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their relief burdens.

Trusting that the above figures and information will assist you, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS J. BERTRAND, *Secretary.*

MEDFORD

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Thirty-one.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1931, $95,000; 1930, $68,335.15; 1929, $51,456.23.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty families more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Four hundred dollars expended by Medford Visiting Nurse Association for fiscal year ending 1931.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Thirteen dollars per week, with fuel, physician's services, and medicine.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

MELROSE

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of recent date in regard to the unemployment and relief situation in this city, I beg to say that we have an emergency committee organized to take care of this work. They are conducting a drive to raise funds for their work among the citizens.

Until this committee was organized the city's appropriation for relief work had increased nearly 10 per cent over 1929 and 1930. The amount of relief given weekly varies with each individual case.

The city of Melrose is in a position to float further bond issues in the event that the present income is insufficient to meet adequately these relief cases, but I do not believe this will be necessary. I am not in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting emergency relief burdens.

Trusting this gives the desired information, I am,

Very truly yours,

ROBERT A. PERKINS, *Mayor.*

MILFORD

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The selectmen of Milford, Mass., have answered the inclosed set of questions, I hope to your satisfaction.

Yours respectfully,

DENNIS J. SULLIVAN,
Clerk of Selectmen.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty thousand dollars for relief of poor; no increase for unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No great increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are assisting in relief; unable to state to what extent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

NEEDHAM

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your communication of November 27, with regard to unemployment:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Departments have never kept account of unemployed.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, $16,000; 1929, $18,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1930, $16,000; with 1929, $17,000. Local Red Cross is only private relief agency.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children,)?

Answer. Eight to ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Trusting the above will fill your needs,

Very truly yours,

D. B. ELDRIDGE,
Clerk to the Board.

NEW BEDFORD

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am submitting herewith answers to questions contained in your communication of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 7,881; 1930, 9,546.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriation for 1929, $477,176; for 1930, $530,000; for 1931, $720,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifteen hundred persons.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $7 per week, including fuel, doctor, medicine, shoes, etc.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; not under present conditions.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Very truly yours,

LAURA C. BESETTE,
Secretary to the Mayor.

NEWTON

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to yours of the 27th I beg to reply to your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase of unemployed this year over 1930 is 25 per cent; over 1929, 79 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city charity department expenses have increased this year $8,000 over 1930; $29,000 over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is difficult to say how many more people will need relief during the winter months, but for a guess the figure will be about 20 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. Their expenditures have increased quite materially over 1930, and were, of course, at a minimum in 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of weekly relief given to the average family of two adults and two children is $12 a week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is in a position to borrow in case income is insufficient to meet the relief needs of the community. I do not favor borrowing for such a purpose, however, and believe it should come from the tax levy.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local government in meeting its emergency burdens. In my judgment, this relief problem is a local one and each community should look after its own unemployed. To transfer the obligation to State or National Government on the theory of relieving local pressure is a fallacy, because taxes must be paid, whether paid to city, State, or Nation, and, as I see it, the job can be better done by local agencies.

Very truly yours,

SINCLAIR WEEKS, *Mayor.*

NORWOOD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About the same number helped (200); although more registered each year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Total expended, 1930, $37,494; 1929, $29,826; 1931, $49,002.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Impossible to foretell.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No way of knowing.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $10 to $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; for public works.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Very much in favor of Federal aid.

C. A. JINGHANS, *Town Manager.*

PITTSFIELD

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your inquiry re unemployment emergency:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 170 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $28,360; 1930, $52,109; 1931, $176,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Estimated 1,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $50,000; 1929, $20,000, in addition to above figures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Six dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but not much.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Assistance is necessary; Federal aid preferred.

Yours very truly,

J. P. BARNES, *Mayor.*

QUINCY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-three per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars for food.

ROCKPORT

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. $3,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $12.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Decidedly not.

In my opinion the Federal Government should keep its nose out of the private affairs of the municipalities and States. I believe that half of our troubles are from the Government's butting in where it has no business.

Let the Government taxes be for costs of governing, and let business and uneconomic organizations take care of themselves.

Where do our lawmaking bodies think the money they raise for fallacious purposes comes from?

ROY H. LANE,
Chairman Board of Selectmen.

SPRINGFIELD

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your inquiry of November 27, I am inclosing a letter from our agent of the public welfare department answering your first five questions. In answering No. 6 would say that the city is well able to finance itself; and No. 7, it depends entirely upon the program laid out by the Federal Government.

Trusting this will give you the desired information, I am

Yours truly,

DWIGHT R. WINTER, *Mayor.*

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

DWIGHT R. WINTER,
Mayor City of Springfield, Mass.

HONORABLE SIR: We are answering the first five questions of Senator LA FOLLETTE as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Approximate number of families of the unemployed receiving assistance from the city in December, 1929, 265; December, 1930, 915; December, 1931, 1,573.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929

Answer. The appropriations by the city for the relief of the poor and unemployed have been as follows: 1929, $167,396.93; 1930, $350,600.48; 1931 $880,000. Our books for the fiscal year do not close until December 10 and we are, therefore, unable to give you the exact figure for the 1931 year. The figure given above is close to what the actual figure will be. Practically the entire increase in 1930 over 1929 and the increase in 1931 over 1930 have been chargeable to the relief of unemployed people with dependent families. The money appropriated by the city government and expended under the direction of this department for outside relief, other than mothers' aid, for 1929, 1930, and 1931, is shown in the above table of figures. A great deal of this expenditure has been for work relief provided on works of a public improvement nature which have been created for the present emergency by the mayor and the city council. These work projects have provided an outlet whereby able-bodied men seeking relief have been given employment in return for the relief expended on their account. In that way we have hoped to conserve as much as possible the self-reliant spirit of the individual. The giving of straight relief without any work in return would act as an encouragement to chronic dependency.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Our estimate is that, should the winter be severe, we will have between three and four hundred additional applicants for relief with the average number of people in each family running between four and five members.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The proportion of the emergency burden carried by the private relief agencies has been about 8 per cent. The expenditure of the family welfare association, the largest private relief agency in the city, has been as follows: Year ending September 30, 1929, $29,000; year ending September 30, 1930, $51,414; year ending September 30, 1931, $62,330.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly in cases which have been continuing for a period long enough to become practically entirely supported runs from $12 to $14 weekly. During the severe winter months this figure is increased at least 10 or 15 per cent.

Questions No. 6 and No. 7 we are leaving to your honor to answer.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN F. MADDEN, *Agent.*

STOUGHTON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter on unemployment, I herewith submit the following answers:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The town of Stoughton has provided employment for 125 additional men on sewer construction done by hand labor.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Sixteen thousand to forty-eight thousand dollars (all branches); 200 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $8.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you

feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. The public pays in the end, and it makes little difference from which pocket you take it.

Very truly yours,

BURTON L. WINSLOW, *Town Manager.*

TAUNTON

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: The following are the figures as near as we can give you in answer to your letter of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 272 families aided; 1930, 382 families aided; 1931, 450 families aided.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1929, $74,857.38 expended, $379.62 balance; 1930, $99,316.37 expended, $3,934.99 overdraft; 1931, $140,659.80 expended, $4,219.98 overdraft.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably about 75 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 10 per cent; about 75 per cent over 1929; about 100 per cent over 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average about $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Respectfully yours,

ALICE T. FEARNS,
Secretary and Agent.

UXBRIDGE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Approximately 40 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, approximately one-third more; 1929, one-half more.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 25 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

WALTHAM

Answers to questionnaire of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of unemployed, 1930, 823; 1931, 1,624. Have now at work building sewers, starting November 27, 1931, 150 men per week, or 50 men every two days. This will be more than doubled next month, when we will have an appropriation of $80,000 for laying water mains. We have been laying water mains and building sewers and drains and forestry work since I have been mayor, in January, 1930, and I shall try to continue the sewer and drain work and water work during the balance of the winter.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations for unemployment relief, 1930, $111,836.43; 1931, $182,535.87. Appropriations for relief of poor, 1929, $80,500; 1930, $134,000; 1931, $202,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Certainly not fewer than last year; probably about the same. Do not expect any substantial increase in number of unemployed over last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Have just started an emergency committee for unemployment relief and have raised approximately $25,000; the objective is $50,000. Of course, we are an industrial city of a little less than 40,000 inhabitants. Would say that private relief agencies have not carried, to date, one-tenth of the burden borne by the city, although the private relief agencies' expenditures have increased substantially during the last year and a half.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. From $9 to $12 per week, and occasionally we give work in addition.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our borrowing capacity inside debt limit is about $126,000, but it can not be used for relief purposes unless extraordinary conditions arise.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Federal Government, like the State government, has been from the beginning imposing taxes on inhabitants of cities and towns, taxes that must be paid. Of course, any aid given by the State or Federal Governments would aid the local taxpayers, who are now crowded to the limit. I would make the fellows with the big incomes, and they certainly have big incomes (some of them at least) from the recent stock-market crash and also from deceased friends and relatives, under a properly graded inheritance tax law, pay for the carrying on of the Government.

PATRICK J. DUANE, *Mayor.*

WELLESLEY

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 27, 1931, in regard to a proper Federal policy in the handling of the unemployment situation in the numerical order in which you enumerate your questions.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Practically none to both years.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None for both years.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None so far as we are able to estimate now.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We know nothing about this. We have only to do with municipal aid.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to average families varies with each case and depends solely upon the needs of each family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Very truly yours,

SELECTMEN OF WELLESLEY,
By JOHN MCINTOSH, *Secretary.*

WESTFIELD

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Committee on Manufactures,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am acknowledging receipt of your letter of December 11, 1931, with reference to a previous communication making inquiry about industrial conditions in this city, and thank you for same.

The reason I did not reply to your letter of November 27, was because it was of a circular nature and did not appear to be addressed to anyone in particular. This perhaps was wrong on my part and deserves your reprobation. You will pardon me, I am sure, confession being as good for mayors as for Senators. I notice they sometimes acknowledge their faults and give reasons—on compulsion.

I am glad you are so much interested in what concerns the people. I know it must be so. You inherit the instinct. I have

the very kindest recollection of your esteemed father, who was staunch for the public good. If ever you get weary of your tasks, remember this, the people depend on such as he. It is their wisdom and independence which safeguards their interests and keeps them on the highway of good government.

Please be advised that business conditions here are quite particularly bad. Factories are running from one to three days per week and with reduced forces. Many citizens are entirely out of employment and have endured much privation for a long time. I am not naturally of a gloomy disposition, but it appears to me that the people are ripe for revolt against conditions for which they are not entirely blameless, but from which they deserve relief.

Appreciating your very definite interest in the situation and wishing you success in your efforts for alleviation, I remain,

Very truly yours,

LOUIS L. KEEFE, *Mayor.*

MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your inquiry relative to relief work in this city, I will say that in 1929 we assisted 17 unemployed; in 1930, 59; in 1931, 246.

Last winter about 1,100 men registered for work, which was supplied. We carried through last winter approximately 100 families. The percentage of increase compared with the last of 1929 is 1,337 per cent.

Between 500 and 600 will need help this winter. The city will probably spend $50,000 by appropriation for relief work, and the family welfare bureau will spend $9,000 from community fund of $60,000.

The average family relief for a family of four is $9.

As to bonds, we are bonded to the limit.

As to a Federal appropriation, it would depend upon whether it is a gift to the needy, or a loan to the city, and with or without interest.

Yours truly,

H. WIRT NEWKIRK, *Mayor.*

BAY CITY

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Answering yours of recent date regarding condition of unemployment in this city, will endeavor to answer your questions in the order in which you have asked same.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase of unemployed persons compared with December, 1930, 25 per cent; with December, 1929, about 200 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase in appropriations over 1930, $130,000; over 1929, $140,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Additional persons needing relief during winter months about 2,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The proportion of emergency burden being carried by private relief agencies I am unable to state account there being so many in this work.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Amount of relief given weekly to average family, $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens.

Yours very truly,

J. HARRY NELSON, *Mayor.*

CLAWSON

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter inquiring into the need of Federal aid, several questions we are unable to answer, as in Oakland County relief is handled by the county rather than city and villages and their statistics do not consider village limits. However, I am glad to give you several outstanding facts.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in unemployed over December, 1930, is approximately 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Clawson makes no appropriation for poor relief as this is handled by the county board of supervisors.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Clawson has now approximately 75 families receiving county aid and at least 200 families receive aid from other sources, which number is increasing rapidly.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fully 75 per cent of emergency relief is being handled by private relief agencies. This has more than doubled during the past year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. To the family of two adults and two children the county furnishes fuel and $3 worth of groceries.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I doubt if any municipality in this area would be able to float a bond issue to meet the relief needs of its community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We most emphatically favor a Federal appropriation to assist local government in meeting this emergency and fear that unless some aid is received either from the State or Federal Government, local agencies will be unable to handle the situation.

Very truly yours,

H. W. WEDGE, *Village Manager.*

DETROIT

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, October, 3,962; November, 6,730; December, 10,890. In 1930, October, 27,280; November, 38,275; December, 47,502. In 1931, October, 14,843; November, 15,602.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Budget, 1929–30, $4,500,000; 1930–31, $12,500,000; 1931–32, $7,000,000 (limited by financial situation), budget estimated $13,000,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Between 50,000 and 75,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929, October, $9,825.95; November, $12,729.09; December, $20,704.61. In 1930, October, $16,862.33; November, $19,310.82; December, $25,222.93. In 1931, $16,261.02.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars and fifty cents for groceries; rent and sundries given in particularly necessitous cases.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; if not to be disbursed as a dole.

EATON RAPIDS

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As one of the city commissioners of this city your circular letter of November 27 last was referred to me for reply, and in answering desire to say:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted by the city as compared with a year ago.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There is no increase in the appropriation over a year ago.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There will not be an additional number of persons needing assistance.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Most of the emergency relief is furnished through a welfare fund created by voluntary subscription.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I can not furnish you with definite information as to the average family relief.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in position to float further bond issues, but it will not be done, as it is not necessary. Our city is entirely out of debt and we will keep it so.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation or any other proposition socialistic in its nature. I trust, Senator, that you realize that every step in this direction brings us that much nearer socialism and the condition that now prevails in Russia; it is useless to disguise the facts, at the moment you encourage one to live off of the public the more the inclination it is for that person and others to do so without effort on their part. Through a generous policy adopted by the English people toward their soldiers immediately following the war they find themselves now committed to a policy they realize is likely to ruin the nation through socialism; yet they are, as yet, unable to make a change, and the ultimate result will be that all the property of England will be confiscated in taxes, if the circumstance is allowed to grow as it has in the past.

Senator, I hope you realize the damage of any such socialistic doctrine.

This country has heretofore enjoyed prosperity at different times far in excess of that of any other country in the world, and it has not been brought about through socialistic tendencies, and prosperity will not return through socialism.

Very truly yours,

G. E. McARTHUR, *Commissioner.*

EAST GRAND RAPIDS

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Senator LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The request for unemployment information sent to me in my official capacity has been given to our city manager, Mr. J. Henry Gork, to supply the data required. It should be sent along to you shortly.

As to the policy of the Federal Government providing a just share of the relief for localities, can only say that this is probably a matter that the city commission would not go on record upon. Senator VANDENBERG is advocating that the localities provide their own relief funds, stating that if Michigan were to be compelled to pay for relief supplied by the National Government it would not receive in return the amount that it expended—the difference going to the low paying tax States—assuming that it was supplied by the Federal Government upon some pro rata basis. That is my interpretation of a public statement of the Senator.

My own idea is that the Federal Government should provide a very handsome contribution for relief of direct nature, and that the income tax should be hiked in the higher brackets and the estate and inheritance taxes and similar taxes that strike home to the big profit makers, and the concentrated-wealth holders should be compelled to pay the shot in proportion to their capacity and advantages from government. The accumulation of wealth and power and control in the hands of the tiny few evidences to me the inequality of the business system and the economic system. We draft men in war emergency. The economic emergency is akin to war—let us draft dollars in similar fashion. Dollars were left out of the war draft, it is sad to contemplate.

I do not think that this community has seen or felt much, if any, of the so-called contributions of the Federal Government toward depression and unemployment relief. The President's message to Congress is a sad disappointment to me in its lack of getting to the real economic situation and suggesting its remedy. How can there ever be economic welfare for the masses with the present concentration of wealth, profits, power, and control in such a few hands. The Government seems to be all too much concerned with the moneyed classes and their problems. We think that a new governmental party—seeing and looking more from the view of common welfare is necessary.

It further seems to me that something going further than Sherman Acts, Clayton Acts, and trade commission acts is necessary to remedy the real unbalanced economic condition. We believe the problem of chain mergerism must be handled—which it seems is only contributing more and more to centralization of profits, money, and power, and control, and more and more disturbing and disintegrating the local community.

We note the President is opposed to the dole. So is about everybody, but if we fail to provide an effective substitute—which provides the employment and the relief that must be had—how shall we escape the dole? The country is in such a bad condition that it seems to me the only thing possible to do now is to tap the sources of profit, concentration, and wealth, and that very effectively.

The Federal Government has been as slow as a snail in everything about our current necessities—slow in recognition, slower in action, and slower in recognizing the real situation and the real necessity.

We think that our hope lies in more dominance of the progressive stripe of national politics.

Yours very truly,

HARVEY C. WHETZEL, *Mayor.*

P. S.—Sales taxes only add to the burden of the lower strata of wealth and small taxpayers—already overburdened—and in our opinion should be avoided.

ESCANABA

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am inclosing your questionnaire recently received, with questions answered as nearly as possible.

Yours very truly,

W. H. NEEDHAM, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 310; 1929, none; 1931, 1,090.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $12,948; 1929, $4,025.03; 1931, to December 1, $61,783.85.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 100.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $2,485.33; 1929, $7; 1931, $2,886.08.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

FERNDALE

JANUARY 30, 1932.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of January 5 with reference to unemployment in this territory. Poor relief in Ferndale is handled through the county agency. In order to obtain any information, it has been necessary for me to take this up with the county poor commission. The figures which I will give you cover poor relief in the city of Ferndale, city of Pleasant Ridge, city of Royal Oak, village of Huntington Woods, village of Clawson, the unincorporated territory of Royal Oak Township, and a part of Troy Township.

In answer to your questionnaire:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, 400 families were being cared for. December, 1930, 800 families; and at the present time, 1,500 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The amount of expenditures for January, 1930, in this district was approximately $15,000. For January, 1931, this expenditure increased to $44,983.50.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At the present time 1,500 families are being cared for through Oakland County Poor Commission in the Royal Oak branch. This apparently is a peak load. I do not believe it will increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The county poor commission is taking care of food, fuel, and hospital care. They are leaving the matter of clothing, rents, water, and lights to be cared for by private agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. An average family, consisting of two adults and two children, is allowed a food order of $3 per week, fuel order of $1.50 per week, milk order of 63 cents, and a kerosene order of 36 cents, making a total of $5.49.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Ferndale can not float any further bond issues at the present time. Our tax delinquency is approximately 50 per cent, and according to the existing State law we can not issue any more bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you

feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I certainly believe that some outside aid will have to be given in Oakland County. The population of Oakland County consists largely of employees of the motor industries in Detroit. As a result this county is limited largely to taxation on the homes of these workingmen. Under these conditions it will be impossible for Oakland County, or for the cities in Oakland County, to carry the load of poor relief very much longer.

If there is any other information that I can secure for you, I will be very glad to do so.

Yours very truly,

JAY F. GIBBS, *City Manager.*

FLINT

DECEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your questionnaire relative to welfare relief for the city of Flint, Mich., at hand, and the answers below cover the November 1 to October 31 period of each year

Since November 1, Flint has shown a distinct improvement as to employment, so that at the time this letter is written we have shown a reduction in those receiving help from the city of approximately 22 per cent in the last eight weeks. The following is in answer to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed families helped during 1929 was 657; 1930, 3,998; and 1931, 5,501.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The expenditures were: 1929, $138,389.49; 1930, $369,375.16; 1931, $601,785.51.

NOTE.—The variation between the number of families in question 1 and the expenditures in question 2 is due to the length of period these families were helped.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 600 families, or 2,460 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are carrying approximately 10 per cent of the emergency burden. This is 20 per cent more than 1930 and 42 per cent more than 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children has been approximately $4.75.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Flint is emphatically not in a position to float further bond issues, in the event that our present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments to meet their emergency relief burdens, and we do feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy and the lessening of the burden on local taxpayers.

Yours very truly,

CARL J. HATFIELD, *City Poor Commissioner.*

GRAND RAPIDS

DECEMBER 24, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: I am very glad to furnish you with the information requested in your letter of recent date, as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Total number individuals under care April 1, 1929, 5,297; total number individuals under care April 1, 1930, 7,110; total number individuals under care April 1, 1931, 19,295. This total includes men working or applying for work, which was 6,546.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations made 1929–30, $49,795; actual expenditures, 1929–30, $95,216.84; appropriation made 1930–31, $55,870; actual expenditures 1930–31, $255,906.88; appropriation made 1931–32, $55,870; expenditures April 1–December 23, 1931, $556,609.32.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not possible to say.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Small proportion, comparatively. Less in 1930 than in 1931, owing to decrease in pledges.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average relief for family of two adults and two children for week is from $3.50 to $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Have this matter up with the attorney general of the State at the present time as what can be done in way of further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Believe this is absolutely necessary, as most cities have gone as far as they can.

Yours very truly,

JOHN D. KAREL, *Mayor.*

GREENVILLE

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of November 27, I wish to say that Greenville is located in Montcalm County, and the poor relief and unemployment situation is being handled by the county and not by units. Therefore the figures which I am able to give you are not exactly correct. After talking with the poor commissioner I beg to advise you as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930 showed an increase over 1929 of about 40 per cent, and 1931 about the same as 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation made by the city. In 1929 the county appropriated $35,000 and showed a deficit of $5,000. In 1930 they appropriated $45,000 and showed a deficit of $14,000, and in 1931 have appropriated $50,000 and will no doubt show a deficit.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Persons needing relief will remain about the same as last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There are no private relief agencies aside from the General Welfare Association.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float bond issues if absolutely necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. As far as we are concerned up to date, I am of the opinion that we can handle our own situation without aid from the Federal Government. I make this statement in view of the fact that in my opinion the Federal Government has plenty to take care of without this added burden. Of course, Federal aid would be appreciated, but if the rest of the political units are willing to work their way out we are.

Very respectfully yours,

WYMAN C. BACK, *Mayor.*

GROSSE POINTE

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am answering your letter dated November 27, 1931, and in doing so I wish to excuse myself for not having been able to do so sooner.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Up until December, 1929, we had about 50 families where the head of the house was unemployed. From December, 1929, to December, 1930, we are helping an additional 70 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Up until 1929 we had appropriated $12,000 for the unemployed and poor. For 1930 our appropriation was $28,000.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We figure about 50 additional families will need help.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There are no private relief agencies helping us in this work.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We give a family of four persons the amount of $5 a week. Where it is absolutely a necessity we pay rent to the extent of $15 per month. We also provide coal.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are not in a position to float any bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am very much in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting our emergencies.

Very truly yours,

EDMUND C. VERNIER, *Supervisor.*

HAMTRAMCK

DECEMBER 26, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of December 11, 1931, to the mayor of Hamtramck was referred to this office two days ago for reply.

The unemployment situation is such that it will be necessary for me to go into slight detail concerning conditions, so that you may have some picture of what actually exists in the city of Hamtramck.

The city of Hamtramck is a community of 56,283 people, as shown by the last United States census. We are totally and completely surrounded by the city of Detroit. The residential portion of the city consists of at least 95 per cent of the so-called laboring class. By that I mean men who earn their livelihood by hard manual labor. Most of the men conducting businesses in the city of Hamtramck do not maintain a residence here. Practically none of the officers, directors, or office workers of any of the factories in this city live here.

Although there are approximately 310 teachers in the Hamtramck school system, I dare say not over 15 of them live in the city of Hamtramck. The others live either in Detroit or Highland Park. Most of the professional men who maintain offices in the city of Hamtramck live elsewhere.

My reason for calling this to your attention is to show that the city of Hamtramck has practically no residents of the so-called white-collar class. The residents are mostly people of Polish extraction, and, as I have said before, earn their livelihood by hard manual labor. The result of all this is that when there is a period of unemployment the city of Hamtramck is affected immediately. A very large percentage of the unemployed are dependent upon the welfare department, especially since the failure of several large private banks in which the Polish people had a large percentage of their savings. The drain on the welfare department has been terrific.

Last winter a survey was made in the city of Hamtramck to ascertain the actual number of people unemployed. The survey showed the following conditions: Out of 10,335 families interviewed it was found that the heads of 3,956 of such families were unemployed, 3,783 were working part time, and 2,646 working full time.

In other words, only 26 per cent of the heads of families in the city were working full time, 36 per cent were working part time, and 38 per cent were unemployed.

Out of 5,749 persons of working age interviewed who were not heads of families it was found that 3,130 were unemployed, 1,500 working part time, and 1,119 working full time.

In other words, only 19 per cent were employed steadily, 27 per cent working part time, and 54 per cent were unemployed.

Our welfare department expended $288,385.45 for relief during the year 1930 and $445,604.21 during the year 1931.

There are a number of factories located in the city of Hamtramck, the largest of which is the Dodge Bros. division of the Chrysler plant. The factories pay approximately 70 per cent of the city taxes. Of the 30 per cent assessed against the home owners, I dare say not over 20 per cent of that amount has been paid. The failure of the home owners to pay their taxes, together with the great amount required for welfare relief, has created a very serious financial situation in this city.

In order to alleviate that condition the administration issued refunding bonds to cover the amount of bonds maturing during the fiscal year and also issued emergency bonds to raise funds for welfare relief. However, due to the condition of the bond market, the city was unable to sell the bonds.

In November, 1931, after much negotiation, the bankers of the city of Detroit agreed to purchase the said bonds upon condition that the city should comply with restrictions made by said bankers as to the amount allowed for welfare relief and general administrative expenses. The story in connection with our dealings with the bankers is so involved that I do not wish to go into it at the present time, but would be glad to furnish you that information if you should desire it later.

The amount allowed by the bankers for welfare relief was $30,000 per month for the months of November and December, 1931; $30,000 per month for the months of January and February, 1932; $20,000 per month for the months of March and April, 1932.

The amounts spent by the welfare department for welfare relief during the first four months of the year 1931 were as follows: $61,909.02 in January; $46,303.13 in February; $48,838.54 in March; $38,960.13 in April.

You will note that the amount allowed by the bankers for welfare relief during the first four months of the year 1932 is approximately one-half of what was actually spent for relief during the first four months of the year 1931. This might seem a large amount of money to be spent for welfare relief in a city of 56,283 inhabitants, but, due to the fact that practically all of the citizens are of the laboring class, we have a much larger percentage of unemployed than any other community that I know of. The figures of our survey made last winter speak for themselves. The situation this winter is no better.

You might also be interested to know that, in order to attempt to keep within the $30,000 per month budget, it was necessary for the welfare department to cut off from its list all those families in which there are two children or less. This works a great hardship. The situation, so far as the city of Hamtramck is concerned, is absolutely drastic. Private agencies and organizations are doing all in their power to help conditions, but words can not adequately describe the misery and suffering that exists here. It is true, perhaps, that no one has starved to death in this city, but it is also true that there are thousands of people who are not receiving food in sufficient quantities to give them proper nourishment. We might best sum it up by saying that the majority of them "do not live but merely exist."

I trust that the information that I have given you will be of some benefit in your work in the Senate, and will result in legislation which, in some way, will help relieve the unemployment situation not only in Hamtramck, but in the entire United States.

The situation, particularly in Hamtramck, is such that, in order to give you a complete, accurate picture of what this city faces, it will be necessary to explain our financial difficulties which are directly caused by the unemployment situation.

If you should desire more complete information, in detail, relative to the unemployment condition and the financial situation which hinges upon the unemployment situation, I shall be glad to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM COHEN, *City Attorney.*

HIGHLAND PARK

JANUARY 2, 1932.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Your questionnaire as requested has reached me and would advise that I am answering the questions on a separate sheet, numbering the answers to the questions as per your sheet.

Respectfully,

O. J. DARLING,
Commissioner of Public Welfare.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of people assisted: 1929, 480; 1930, 1,664; 1931, 1,416.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Amount appropriated for relief: 1929, $27,800; 1930, $30,000; 1931, $71,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred people.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Part 1: Five per cent; part 2: $3,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $5.25.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. If absolutely necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Of course a Federal appropriation would help to lessen the burden of the local taxpayer, but we do not feel that any further drain should be made on the Federal Treasury unless it is absolutely necessary. We feel that if the State government cuts its ever-increasing expense, much of which at this time is unnecessary, it should be able to take care of those needing assistance within its borders without calling upon aid from the Federal Government. Therefore I do not favor an appropriation of this kind at the present time.

HOLLAND

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: There are approximately 25 per cent more unemployed this year than there were a year ago, and in 1929 there was

very little other than seasonal unemployment, so it is safe to say that there are ten times as many unemployed now as there were in December, 1929.

The city appropriations for welfare work are 100 per cent higher this year than in 1930, principally because there were a large number who were able to help themselves out of their savings last year, which have now been exhausted. The 1929 appropriation was minimum.

I am of the opinion that we are at the peak of our relief work right now and doubt if there will be any material increase during the winter months.

There has been very little private relief work done in our city in the past, probably not over $1,000 spent by such agencies in any one year, whereas for the winter months of 1931 we have raised and expect to spend $20,000, which will probably be about 25 per cent of the total emergency burden.

We are endeavoring to provide $6 per week for the average family.

We will have to float further bond issues in order to take care of this need this winter.

I very much favor Federal appropriation, especially if it can be given in the form of a work program.

Sincerely yours,

EARNES C. BROOKS, *Mayor.*

JACKSON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 3,000; 1929, 3,500; 17 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No increase from city tax funds.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In 1929–30, 6,770; probably the same in 1930–31.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent by private relief agencies; in 1930–31, 68 per cent increase over 1929–30.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Total cost $5.64 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Can sell about $90,000 emergency bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

KALAMAZOO

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your inquiry bearing date of November 27, 1931, would say that Kalamazoo has a very low bonded indebtedness and could easily bond for any amount necessary to care for her own people. However, no such emergency seems imminent.

The appropriation from the city funds to care for the poor during the year 1930 was approximately $150,000. The amount appropriated and to be appropriated for the year 1931 will reach approximately $200,000. Very probably the year 1932 will not be less than this amount, as we look for this winter to bring a still greater demand on our treasurer.

The Kalamazoo Welfare Association raises a budget each year of about $135,000, of which about $100,000 goes to care for the poor. These amounts, together with personal gifts, care for our poor quite adequately; and we are not now and do not expect to be in need of assistance from the Federal Government.

The number of Kalamazoo citizens who talk of Federal appropriations is sadly in a minority, and for the most part is confined to those who have communistic leanings. We feel that conditions are slightly better throughout the State and that a large part of the unemployment problem will be solved by one year from this date.

Very truly yours,

L. C. WRIGHT, *Mayor.*

LANSING

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, 300 families; December, 1930, 1,000 families; December, 1931, 1,700 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Two hundred and thirty thousand dollars over 1930; $315,000 over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably at least 300 more families.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our average family is 4.1 persons; the average per week per family is $6.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We can issue $102,000 more in welfare bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

R. E. SANDERSON,
City Comptroller.

LINCOLN PARK

DECEMBER 29, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your recent communication relative to the assistance being rendered to families residing in this city.

I beg to submit the following figures under numerical headings the same as listed in your communication:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, 69; December, 1930, 150; December, 1931, 180.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. July 1, 1929, to June 30, 1930, $6,983.17; July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1931, $13,139.42; July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1932, $23,994.20.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. A generous estimate of the proportion of the emergency burden being carried by private relief agencies would be about 5 per cent for 1929, 1930, and 1931.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given weekly to a family of four is about $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. It is quite improbable that the city would be able to float any further bond issues for the purpose of meeting relief needs. This is borne out by the fact that the electorate of this city rejected a similar proposal about a year and a half ago, in spite of the fact that a great deal of publicity was given to the necessity of a favorable vote upon the question.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Due principally to the slow tax collection, it would appear to me that a Federal relief program would be quite necessary and desirable. It is, of course, a fact that the burden of expenditures for city government must be borne by means of real-estate taxes, which increases the burden upon the property owner to an extent that he becomes doubtful whether it would be desirable for him to attempt to hold the property in spite of the heavy taxes imposed thereon or whether a continued assessment of such a tax might not become confiscatory, thus causing him to lose his property in the end. I would favor a Federal appropriation to aid in meeting this emergency, since the burden then would not fall entirely upon the property owner, but would reach those who are not owners of real property but whose incomes might readily bear some part of the expense of this emergency program.

Trusting the above will bring you the information desired, I beg to remain,

Respectfully yours,

A. P. ZIRKALOSO, *Mayor.*

LUDINGTON

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27 relative to the unemployment condition of our city wish to advise replying to the questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The same as 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About the same as last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies are doing about the same as past years; giving clothing and some food.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The city has not given relief to able-bodied men or women, but we have and do get them some form of employment to earn at least $5 per week, and we have and do furnish fuel in some cases.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We can not float further bonds, or have we floated any bonds for relief work for unemployed, but we have arranged to get all able-bodied men work, that they may retain their independence, and we aim to do the same this winter, and feel that we can, but no added cost to our taxpayers, but have employed men at odd jobs at homes and factories.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

I would say that about 200 men are out of employment in our city, some still have funds to care for their families, and about 100 will need aid, and we hope to melt these men into factories, and at homes for odd jobs, the old and unable to work will be cared for from our city poor fund.

Trusting that I have explained, I beg to remain.

Yours very truly,

K. L. ASHBACKER.

MASON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 20 men unemployed; 1929, 10 men unemployed; 1931, 50 men unemployed.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $300; 1929, $281.88; appropriation for 1931, $3,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifteen.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-half; no increase so far this season.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average $6 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not agreeably.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

S. A. WILEDEN.

MONROE

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

GENTLEMEN: Our city is in good condition to care for all of its unemployed.

Very truly,

C. B. SOUTHWORTH, *Mayor*.

MT. PLEASANT

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In regard to your questionnaire, Mt. Pleasant is a small city of slightly over 5,000 people. However, we happen to be very fortunate and there is not a great amount of unemployment.

The city appropriates nothing for the unemployed, who are taken care of by the county at large.

Amount expended last year for the poor was about 30 per cent over 1929 and it will be approximately the same this year as in 1930.

None of the emergency burden is being carried on by private relief agencies.

The city is only bonded for about 10 per cent of its legal bonding limit, and it does not contemplate issuing any additional bonds.

We do not favor any Federal appropriations, as it merely puts a premium on shiftlessness and graft. We feel it would be a mistake for the Federal Government to attempt to provide relief for what we consider a purely local matter, as it would then become a matter of who has the most pull, the biggest grafters getting the most help.

Yours very truly,

EDW. O. HARRIS, *Mayor*.

MUSKEGON

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Answering your communications re unemployment, will say that there are 2,000 families living on the city at an expense of $50,000 per month.

The industrial condition is very serious. A large percentage are out of employment and we contemplate that the number of people who will need aid will double in the next 60 days. There are 8,000 of our population dependent on the city for a living. When you take into consideration that our city has only 47,000 population, this is quite a percentage, and the number is increasing daily.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 1,400 families aided in 1931, or about 7,000 persons receiving aid, 1931. About 200 families received aid in 1930. None in 1929, except regular number receiving aid, not due to unemployment.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriation for 1931, about $480,000; appropriation for 1930, about $50,000; appropriation for 1929, none, except regular appropriation for indigents, not due to unemployment.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly another thousand.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little; about one-tenth. No increase over 1930 and 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We consider five an average family, and allow an average of $7 per family per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Legally, yes; but doubt the taxpayers would support it.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The Federal Government should not assume the responsibility of financing relief due to nonemployment. However, I do believe that the Federal Government should make it possible for cities to borrow money for relief at a low rate of interest, to be paid back to the Federal Government in more prosperous times. It is just as necessary to handle our economic problems for the protection and preservation of our Constitution as it is to take up arms. I do not believe at this time the Federal Government should ignore its responsibility in this matter.

J. R. ELLISON, *Manager*.

NILES

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 90 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 60 per cent; 1929, 95 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent; 1930, 66 per cent; 1929, 90 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Will average $12.50.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

OWOSSO

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Do not recall receipt of letter.

We have some 800 men out of work in our city of 15,000, and sure will need help from some one by January 1.

I am much in favor of supplying work where possible, but we are going to run out of work about the first of the year. I do not want "dole" if it can be avoided, but I am not afraid of it, as some seem to be. Some are trying to foment a prejudice against the word "dole." I would rather take a "dole" from my Government than from private charity. It's the rich who are opposed to a "dole," because they fear they'll have to pay.

W. A. REEGMILLER, *Mayor*.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, one-third; in 1929, two-thirds.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, one-third; in 1929, two-thirds.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Four hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, one-third; in 1929, two-thirds.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

PONTIAC

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 1,000; 1929, 2,000.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. County appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months

Answer. Five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little by private agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Food, $4; fuel, $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes, if salable.

PORT HURON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930 no increase; 1929, 50 per cent, approximate.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 200 per cent; appropriations made by county.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four to five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

FRED J. KEMP, *Mayor.*

RIVER ROUGE

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am pleased to submit herewith answers to your communication regarding unemployment.

The following answers will correspond to the questions as outlined in your communication:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 12 families, 74 persons; 1930, 87 families, 325 persons.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $7,475; 1930, $14,793; 1931, $23,525.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 25 to 30 new applications per month.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Good fellows and other sources, approximately $2,500. Expenditures as follows: July 1, 1930–June 30, 1931, total welfare expended, $53,208.59; July 1, 1929–June 30, 1930, $10,209.93.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars to $4.50 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Trusting that the above information will aid you in this work, I am,

Very truly yours,

R. J. PETERS, *City Clerk.*

ROCHESTER

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 25 per cent; 1931, 50 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In 1930, 148 families; in 1931, 200 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Nothing to speak of.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fuel and food, $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

J. W. MCCONOR, *Village Clerk.*

ROGERS CITY

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We have your letter of November 27 requesting information in connection with unemployment and relief work, and the answers to the following questions are as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There was an increase in number of unemployed in December, 1930, compared with December, 1929, and I believe December, 1931, will show a still larger increase in number of unemployed; however, people in this community are accustomed to industries that operate only during Great Lakes transportation season, from April 15 to December 1, each year, and, therefore, these seasonal lay offs are not felt in this community as the people are accustomed to living 12 months on 8 months' pay, which is considerably different from where people are accustomed to 12 months' work.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city has never appropriated any money for the unemployed or the poor, as we participate in the county poor fund, which was $22,000 in 1929 and $24,000 in 1930. We do not expect any increase in this latter figure to carry us through this year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. After giving a great deal of attention to the matter it is our judgment that any additional people needing help this winter will be taken care of through funds which have previously been wasted through carelessness and duplication of effort. Being better organized to meet the situation, we expect our relief dollars to go much further than they have in the past years, and we venture to say that this same result could be accomplished in many other communities and even in the functions of our Federal Government.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Our estimate is that private relief agencies are doing about 10 per cent of the work required and that their dollars will also go farther this year for the reasons mentioned above.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Practically all of our cases are individual cases, and we have not set any weekly relief standards but estimate the food bill for four people might be $1.25 per day.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. With practically no bonded indebtedness, it might be said that we are in a position to float bond issues for relief needs, but I do not believe there are 10 voters among the 2,000 of a character that would even think of doing this.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Our people are a conservative people, with grit, and I might even say with a kind of patriotism that would not favor any kind of a Federal dole system. The relief should be in the way of productive Federal work, such as roads, building, harbors, etc., and any such programs as that where something can be accomplished we feel would be appropriate and beneficial.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to furnish you the above information and to express our views on the questions asked. We hope the information will be useful to you.

Very truly yours,

R. B. HENLEY, *Vice President.*

ROSEVILLE

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 has been taken up with the village commission, and I was instructed to write to you as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase of unemployment at present about 25 per cent over December, 1930, and about 50 per cent over December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Poor relief is a county function. Village does not participate directly.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We believe that the maximum relief is needed immediately.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About half the relief is caused by private agencies whose expenditures have doubled.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. County relief for a family of four, about $2.50 a week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. It would be impossible to float further bonds; in fact, we can not dispose of bonds issued a year ago.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We are in favor of a Federal appropriation for emergency relief; there is no question that this would provide relief for the local taxpayers.

Hoping this is satisfactory, I am,

Very truly yours,

MAX VAN DE GREYN, *Manager.*

ROYAL OAK

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry of November 27 relative to the problem of unemployment in the city of Royal Oak has been referred to me for reply. It is believed that the general business depression has more seriously affected this district than any other part of the State of Michigan. The problem of furnishing relief to the thousands of unemployed in southeastern Michigan has become acute, and unless there is an improvement in conditions in the near future it is quite likely that the local government agencies will be unable to furnish the necessary financial aid for the temporary relief of the unemployed.

The responsibility of poor relief in the city of Royal Oak rests with the governing agency of Oakland County, who levy the appropriations and operate the welfare department. The amount levied by Oakland County for temporary poor relief for the period of October 1, 1929, to September 30, 1930, was $223,000; the levy authorized for the period of October 1, 1930, to September 30, 1931, was $1,350,000, and the levy for 1931–32 was $1,425,000. Of these amounts, the city of Royal Oak's share amounted to $22,275, $123,750, and $136,800 for these respective periods.

According to records obtained from the office of the Oakland County superintendent of poor, the number of families in the city of Royal Oak who obtained aid through this agency since October 1, 1929, was as follows: October 1, 1929, to October 1, 1930, 268 families, or approximately 1,340 persons; from October 1, 1930, to October 1, 1931, 592 families, or 2,960 persons; from October 1 to December 1, 1931, 326 families, or about 1,630 persons.

The city of Royal Oak's appropriation for temporary relief for the year 1930 was approximately 550 per cent greater than the appropriation for 1929, whereas the estimated appropriation for 1931 indicates an increase of 10 per cent over that of 1930.

It is the opinion of those who are close to the unemployment situation in this area and who are engaged in administering relief that there will be from 20 to 25 per cent more persons applying for aid during this winter than there were during the past winter of 1930.

There are a number of private relief agencies operating in the city of Royal Oak, such as the Royal Oak Branch of the Detroit Community Union, the Salvation Army, God's Society of the Poor, numerous smaller organizations of local women's clubs, and several service clubs who are quite active in raising money for the relief of indigent families in the city, and it is rather difficult to furnish you an accurate figure as to the exact amount of financial relief given through these agencies. In addition to the above agencies, there has recently been formed an organization to solicit and distribute milk for the undernourished children of southern Oakland County. It is estimated that $15,000 will be needed to furnish milk to the undernourished children for the balance of the winter. At the present time approximately $8,000 for this work has been raised.

The amount of relief which is given weekly to an average family of two adults and two children is a $3 order of groceries. Fuel is also furnished as needed, averaging 1 ton per month per family, at a cost of $6.

In the event that the present appropriation is insufficient to meet the relief needs of the city it would be practically impossible for the city to float further bond issues to further this work. It has become a difficult matter to continue the operation of the essential services of the municipal government on account of the large tax delinquencies which have accumulated during the past two years. For the present fiscal year only 40 per cent of the general tax levy has been collected.

If local conditions do not improve in the near future, and unless there is a sharp drop in the number of unemployed in this area, it will probably be necessary for either the State of Federal Government to assist the smaller local government units in meeting their relief burdens. It will not be possible for the taxpayers in this area to adequately shoulder the burden for the relief of the needy if the present situation should continue for any length of time.

It is hoped that this information will be of some value to you in your study of this momentous and important question.

Very truly yours,

E. M. SHAFTER, *City Manager.*

SOUTH HAVEN

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR HON. SENATOR: Referring to your form letter of the 27th instant, requesting certain information from municipalities with reference to unemployment, we are replying thereto as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in unemployment this year over December, 1930, or December, 1929; as a matter of fact, considerable decrease.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city's appropriation or rather the relief committee for unemployment and poor has decreased over 1930 or 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Our relief requests should decrease in spite of the fact that cold weather is forthcoming, owing to the fact that we have recently made an appropriation for the building of a sewage treatment plant, and we are just starting the laying of our interseptic sewers, which will afford employment for this community at large.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have organized our own relief committee and requested all of the employed people to donate 1 per cent of their monthly salaries to this relief, and the firms or employers likewise, giving 1 per cent. We have no paid employees in our relief department. Everyone works gratis, and we have had tremendous success. In addition to this we have secured a lot of clothing and food for the needy, and I might also mention that all the clothes are cleaned and pressed and delivered in splendid condition, as well as the shoes being repaired before they are given out. In 1930 we collected in the neighborhood of $1,700, and up to and including July 1, when this committee finished its work, they spent approximately $1,400. The balance was used this year to begin the work early. Their work in 1929 was considerably less than in 1930. Funds and relief were solicited by the committee personally, and no drive was necessary. The number of needy in this community is comparatively small.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fortunately, we have no families that are entirely dependent on our relief committee, so we can not give you the cost of relief given to a family of two adults and two children. This, too, is brought about by the fact that the State of Michigan started their relief work early by giving work on the widening of roads and shoulders and giving each man three days' work, alter-

nating him so that the next three days would be given to some other one. With this help plus our own local work we have been able to provide for everyone who is willing to work and do his share.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in good financial condition and will not be necessary to float bonds, nor has it been necessary in the past to float bonds to meet our relief needs in this community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We would be entirely against a dole system or system of Federal appropriation to assist local governments to meet their emergency relief burdens. The majority of the cities are raising their own funds and have been very successful, considering conditions, and I doubt very much that Federal appropriation would lessen the burden on local taxpayers.

Trusting that this will give you the information you desire, and if I can be of any further assistance it will be a great pleasure to have you call on me.

Yours very truly,

A. D. DUBUISSON, *Mayor.*

TRAVERSE CITY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Not any.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city makes no appropriation—handled by county.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. As stated above, relief is handled by the county.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not for us.

WAKEFIELD

NOVEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have a copy of your circular letter of November 27 requesting information in reference to the unemployment situation at Wakefield.

We are pleased to give you the following information covering present and past conditions at Wakefield:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The approximate increase in the number of unemployed persons in comparison with December, 1930, and December, 1929, is 50 per cent and 100 per cent, respectively.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed were increased $30,000 over 1930 and the same amount over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our judgment, approximately 200 additional persons will need relief in this city during the present winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The greatest proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by Gogebic County.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We would suggest that you communicate with John Luxmore, jr., county clerk at Bessemer, Mich., for this information.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Wakefield is entirely free of bonded indebtedness at the present time, and if necessary we would be in a position to float a bond issue for community relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We would be in favor of Federal assistance where necessary for the purpose of aiding local units in relieving the present unemployment situation.

At the present time the city of Wakefield is making arrangements to raise $30,000 in addition to its authorized levy in compliance with an emergency provision in our charter. This will probably take care of all departments for a few months. An emergency relief unit has also been organized which will be supported by private subscriptions and directed by the poor commissioner of this district.

The county of Gogebic has employed two full-time men for the purpose of investigating conditions and relieving the situation through equal distribution of labor and other assessments. We would suggest that you communicate with W. H. McNamara, county relief director, at Ironwood, Mich., as we believe that he can furnish you additional information which will be of benefit in your present efforts to compile these data throughout the country.

Very truly yours,

WM. JACOBSON, *City Accountant.*

WYANDOTTE

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, the public welfare in the city of Wyandotte, Mich., cared for 94 families in the month of December, 1929; 265 families in the month of December, 1930; 297 families in the month of November, 1931.

The amount spent by the public welfare in 1929, was $17,077.32; in 1930, $40,911.46; and for the first 11 months in 1931, $76,450.65.

At the present rate of increase we feel we will approximately reach 350 families during the winter.

Approximately all relief such as food, fuel, rent, and hospitalization, is cared for by the public agency in Wyandotte. However, clothing, aside from part of the school children's shoes, is cared for by private agencies. Their expenditures in that respect have increased at the same ratio as have the public welfare.

For a family of two adults and two children, we are allowing $4 weekly grocery order and 7 quarts of milk, rent at the rate of $10 per month, and 1 ton of coal monthly.

We advertised for a $75,000 loan on December 22, but up to this date have received no response.

I do feel such appropriation would provide more adequate relief for the needy.

Hoping that I have given you the information desired, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOS. A. SMITH, *Mayor.*

YPSILANTI

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Your letter of December 11, 1931, at hand regarding unemployment question for the city of Ypsilanti, Mich.

The questionnaire as received from the Michigan committee on unemployment would advise that we have given same attention and have answered questions asked, and forwarded same on to committee at the Detroit address.

The city of Ypsilanti, through its welfare department, registered the unemployed about October 1, 1931, which was about 500, of which 95 per cent were men and 5 per cent women. Since that date about three-fifths of the unemployed have obtained other jobs or part-time work.

For the unemployed that were in need the city has provided work, through the construction of waterworks department, garage and shop building and storm-sewer improvements that will continue on to February 1, 1932.

For the unemployed, scrip is used in payment for labor. From 50 to 60 men have been employed by dividing the work up in three shifts, giving each work for two 8-hour days a week at 30 cents an hour.

Also, city employees have volunteered to have deducted from their salaries a sum of about $400 a month for welfare work.

Through the Community Service League and funds raised through other sources, we feel assured that we will be able to go through with needed welfare work until May 1, 1932, without additional funds having to be provided for in the budget.

If each community looks after their own welfare problems, no doubt they will be solved in a way that will be of most benefit to the taxpayer.

Yours very truly,

H. C. HOLMEN, *City Clerk.*

MINNESOTA

AUSTIN

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,

DEAR SIR: Our community has been touched very lightly as regards the unemployment situation and we have put a man at city hall to keep the record of relief given by the different charitable organizations, and also to record and register anyone desiring work of any nature.

His duties are to arrange for odd-job work, prevent duplication of direct relief, keep a card record of all employees, and new regular jobs that open in the city of Austin.

We are handling the conditions very satisfactorily so far, and from my observation will not need any assistance from the Federal Government.

If legislation should be enacted, which I believe is necessary in many localities, this city will be glad to forward any information on our arrangements which seem to be working out very fine.

Respectfully,

JACK C. BECKER, *Mayor.*

BLUE EARTH

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Chairman Committee on Manufactures, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to yours of November 27, re unemployment relief:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed have about doubled over 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. From nothing in 1929 or 1930 to about $200 in 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 25 families out of our population of 3,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Recently organized general committee representing the city chest fund and all other relief organizations of the city will from now on handle all relief except transients. Transients will be handled by the police through the general fund of the city. So far this year about 1,000 transients have been handled by the police, at an average cost of about 12 cents per head for food and lodging. Nothing like this done in 1929 or 1930. The general relief committee will spend about $1,000 this year, as against from two to three hundred dollars spent for all relief work of either 1929 or 1930. All money used by relief committee is obtained by donations.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $3 per week per family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but the present council will not do so, believing any such money needed should be by donations.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Generally speaking, no. We believe that every community should organize their own relief, and outside help only given in extreme emergency. We believe the Federal as well as all other Government agencies should go very careful on appropriations and expenditures.

Sincerely yours,

W. G. SIMS, *Mayor.*

BRAINERD

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am returning your questionnaire in regard to unemployment conditions in our community. I wish to state that I am in very close contact with the situation in our community. I would further state that if you could get in touch with the Hon. HAROLD KNUTSON Representative of the sixth congressional district of Minnesota, that he could enlighten you as to the situation in our district. He has been to Brainerd many times and knows our town as well as his own town, St. Cloud, Minn.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent and twenty-five per cent, respectively.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Forty per cent over 1930 and 60 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent being cared for by community relief fund. Increase over 1930, 40 per cent; over 1929, 60 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars, plus milk.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not at the present time.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor relief in case the situation becomes more difficult. At present we can take care of our own.

Respectfully yours,

H. W. CREGER, *Mayor.*

P. S.—I do favor a Federal appropriation that might make work for the unemployed.

CLOQUET

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: Herein inclosed is the questionnaire sent to this city, with the answers to same.

I wish to explain that due to the fact the local industries have divided up their crews so that they have placed as many men at work as there usually are, this has had a tendency to keep up our employment, but has cut down the earning power of the employed by 20 per cent, after a wage reduction of from 10 to 20 per cent, so that most of our employed people are hardly able to make their living expenses. I state these explanations knowing that I could not bring them out in specifically answering your questionnaire by the order of questions therein.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 50.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, $9,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars and fifty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Pay this community its just debt and it will take care of, better than any other way, its own needs in way of relief. The people in worst condition are the older inhabitants, who are unable to get employment any more through age disability. Pay the fire sufferers' claim in full.

Yours truly,

FRED C. JOHNSON, *Mayor.*

DETROIT LAKES

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About doubled.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We are under the county system of poor relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About double the number now receiving aid.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. United charities helping where possible. Over 1930, 100 per cent; over 1929, 200 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $7.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but the tax-levying authority for this purpose is vested in county board.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. It would be too expensive to administer.

D. A. KNUDSON, *Mayor.*

DULUTH

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Mayor S. F. Snively has turned over to me your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, to answer. It is very difficult for us to get at reliable figures, but the best estimates we can give you are as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We think there has been an increase of about 100 per cent in the number of unemployed persons receiving relief assistance now as compared to a year ago and, perhaps, 140 per cent as compared to two years ago.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. During the year 1930 the expenditures of the county poor commission in Duluth increased 100 per cent. For example, in 10 months of 1930 the county poor commission expended $59,174, as compared to $118,846 in 10 months of 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Again it is very difficult to estimate how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months. It seems to us that the bottom has about been reached. We are hoping that any change will be upward.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Our three private family societies have expended $55,926 in the first 10 months of 1931 as compared to $118,846 for the poor commission. It will, therefore, be observed this expenditure is about 47 per cent of the public expenditure. The expenditures of the private societies have increased about 25 per cent compared with 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I can not give the amount of relief given weekly to the average family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Duluth is well prepared to handle the local situation. Last fall the city adopted a $250,000 bond issue to furnish work for the unemployed by advancing municipal construction. The city has not reached its limit on bond issues. The county poor commission is meeting the increased demands made upon it. The private agencies are financed by the community fund, which had a most successful campaign. The fund went out for $303,482, which was an increase of $18,671 over the amount raised the previous year. The fund has actually raised $320,000, or an increase of some $35,000 over the previous year. All of this increase and a small additional amount in savings from agency budgets are available for relief.

It should also be mentioned that the fund is bearing the major part of the homeless-men load. Some 450 homeless men are now being taken care of nightly. These men formerly worked in the woods in winter and railroad construction work in summer. There has been little of either in the past two years. In 11 months of 1931 the fund has expended $17,302 for the care of homeless men.

Very sincerely yours,

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT,
By S. A. BOWING, *Executive Secretary.*

ELY

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: This is in reply to your circular letter dated November 27, 1931, regarding poor and unemployment relief. The following paragraphs will answer your inquiries in order.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Persons otherwise unemployed assisted with "made work" by the city: 172 more than in 1930; 185 more than in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city makes no appropriation from public funds.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 250 additional persons will need help during the coming winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Heretofore, all charity and poor relief has been handled by private agencies. This year all such agencies are banded in a single public relief organization supported by subscription. Relief expenditures were practically nil in 1929. This year they will be three times as much as in 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average relief given weekly to an average family of four, $7.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is in a position to float a bond issue if it is found necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A Federal appropriation certainly would relieve the local burden, but would scarcely be available in time. Also such an act by Congress might easily act to disturb further the unbalanced economic condition and to postpone the return of normal industrial activity. Personally, I do not favor it.

Yours very truly,

W. P. WOLFF, *Mayor.*

HASTINGS

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your questions as outlined in your letter of November 27.

The situation in Hastings with reference to unemployment is slightly if any worse than in 1929 and 1930. The municipality has not appropriated funds for relief for the reason that private agencies and the county poor funds have met all requirements.

The Government is letting a contract to cut all timber on flooded areas caused by construction of the Hastings Dam, and this will give employment to all workers out of a job.

Personally I would not favor a Federal appropriation unless the distress was very general and entirely beyond the power of local government.

Trusting that this information may assist you and your committee, I am,

Sincerely yours,

E. J. KING, *Mayor.*

INTERNATIONAL FALLS

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The city did not assist the unemployed in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has no authority to make appropriations. The relief committee is in charge.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 500.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Considerable increase.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

LAKE CITY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None, so far.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About the same.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. None, so far.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Do not need any.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not need it.

MARSHALL

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, in regard to the unemployment condition, I would state that unemployment has increased, compared with 1929–30, I should say, about 20 per cent, and 1931 about 25 per cent; and, if conditions do not change, we will have more before the winter is over. This city is operating under the county system. Therefore, the relief is supplied by the county. Outside of that, we have the Red Cross and some local agencies to help where it is needed, and as to Federal appropriation, I believe it would help considerable if properly divided through the locality where it is needed and to help build up the weak condition through the country.

Very truly yours,

G. J. HARDY, *Mayor.*



MINNEAPOLIS DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of November 27 was received during Mayor Anderson's absence in Washington, and I am taking the liberty of sending along to you the material requested. I trust the form in which it is submitted will be useful to you and your committee.

I would like to add that there is considerable uncertainty about the tax receipts in various Minnesota counties for the reason that there is a great deal of delinquency, and much of the money that is anticipated from taxes can not be collected.

We are very much interested in the work of your committee, and I hope as the work of the committee continues you will keep us informed on the progress you are making and command us if there is anything further we can do to assist you.

With kind regards and every good wish, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
O. W. BEHRENS,
Secretary to the Mayor.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of heads of families unemployed and single persons unemployed.

	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Duluth	State of Minnesota[1]
Number of heads of families	32,000	14,000	6,000	74,073
Dependents of above	100,000	42,000	18,000	213,231
Number of single	12,000	6,000	4,000	59,947
Total estimate unemployed (and dependents)	144,000	62,000	28,000	[2] 347,251

[1] Including tri cities. [2] Not including farm population.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Amount private organizations, including Community Chest drives, tried to get for unemployment relief, $1,635,800, Community Fund, Minneapolis.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Amount actually raised for unemployment relief, $1,635,800, actually raised, Minneapolis.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Allowance per week for unemployed for 2 adults and 1 minor, for 2 adults and 2 or 3 children.

The amounts given families vary as do the conditions in which the families live. The general average is as follows:

	Per week
Two in family	$3
Three or four in family	$4–$5
Five or six in family	$6–$7
Seven or eight in family	$7–$8
Nine plus in family	$8 plus

The total expenditures by the public-relief department of the city of Minneapolis for grocery relief for the month of October was $30,161. The number of families assisted was 2,184, making an average of about $14 per month allowed per family. About 20 per cent of the families are given rent help, averaging about $14 per month. Fuel assistance runs to about $5 per month for about half the number of families assisted during the winter months.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Amount that should be spent for adequate relief this winter.

No one knows how much will be needed or will be spent for relief in Minneapolis or the State of Minnesota this coming year.

We can say this, however, that to feed the 74,000 families in the State who have exhausted their own resources it will cost at least $23,000,000. This is based on a low subsistence average for food.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Amount city and State will spend for unemployment relief, 1932.

	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Duluth	State[1]
Community funds	$1,635,802	$1,000,000	$313,000	
Public funds	2,507,382	300,000	250,000	
Grand total	[2] 4,143,184	1,300,000	563,000	[3] $20,000,000

[1] Including three cities.
[2] Represents 256 per cent increase over 1931, or same per cent increase of 1931 over 1930.
[3] Estimated.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Amount Federal Government must pay to insure adequate care for the unemployed.

Relief organizations are taxed beyond their limits to furnish food and some fuel; and are giving less and less clothing (only private relief agencies in Minneapolis give clothing) and only very small contributions toward rent to less than one-fourth of the relief clients. This leaves families in constant fear of being ordered out and mortgages foreclosed.

MONTEVIDEO

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 75 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. Local charity organizations and county funds are taking care of the situation for the present. City funds will be available if needed.

J. G. BROWN, *Mayor.*

MOORHEAD

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MOST HONORABLE SENATOR: In reply to your inquiry of November 27, we are happy to summarize the entire situation as far as this city is concerned in reference to relief necessitated by general business depression by saying that since we are almost altogether dependent upon agriculture for our livelihood, and having received a fair crop the past year, our unemployment situation is very nearly normal.

We answer your questions in order, as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been a 20 per cent increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in our city, compared with December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed and the poor in 1929 was $9,600; 1930, $5,300; 1931, $3,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred additional persons will need relief during the coming winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-fourth of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies, which is normal with previous years.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fifteen dollars is the amount of relief given weekly to the average family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city will not need to float further bond issues, as our present income is sufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of this city.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting its emergency relief burdens, nor do we believe such an appropriation would be advisable in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers.

Yours very sincerely, C. I. EVENSON, *Mayor.*

PIPESTONE

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No record; slight increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We make none for that particular purpose.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 25 per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All; has increased slightly.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No record.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Do not expect to issue any bonds—too many in country now.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not favor bonds. I believe demands can be met locally, with help of Red Cross and other organizations.

Respectfully,

THOS. LOWE, *Mayor.*

ROBBINSDALE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 10; 1929, 8; 1931, 50.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $1,500; 1929, $1,000; 1931, $8,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $125 per month; 1929, $100 per month; 1931, $650 per month.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Very truly yours,

CLINTON F. WILSON, *Manager.*

ST. CLOUD

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 27 regarding the unemployment situation, I beg to advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in December, 1931, over 1930 is approximately 200 per cent. The increase in 1930 over 1929 is approximately 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The appropriation for 1931 was tripled as compared with 1930. In 1930 it was doubled over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 1,500 to 2,000 additional people will require relief during the coming winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The private relief agencies are being supported by the community fund and will carry approximately one-half of the burden. The increase in expenditures of these organizations will be in the same proportion as the city's.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5 per week, without shelter.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The bond issue for made work was voted upon and failed of passage. The city, however, is in very good condition, as its bonded indebtedness is practically nil.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. At the present time we have been able to cope with the situation locally. However, if conditions do not improve and become more serious day by day and if it continues for another year a Federal appropriation would seem to be necessary.

Yours very truly,

JOHN H. MURPHY, *Mayor.*

ST. JAMES

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 15; 1929, 30.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $700; 1929, $1,200.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fifteen dollars per month.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

ST. LOUIS PARK

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.

DEAR SIR: Yours of November 27 in re unemployment situation in St. Louis Park, Minn., has been handed to me, chairman of local relief committee, for reply. Answering your questions numerically, would state as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of unemployed in 1929, 3; in 1930, 9; in 1931, 48.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Village levied for 1929, none; for 1930, $1,358.63; for 1931, $1,544.05, assisted by community fund of $8,250.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Additional persons to assist this winter, probably 25 or 30 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agency instituted last fall; none in past years. Private relief, about 80 per cent this year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our plan calls for monthly allowance for groceries and meats of $27.50 for family of four—80 per cent for groceries and 20 per cent for meat. Fuel is additional.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. Our only recourse would be more private donations, additional 10 per cent from our general fund, or relief from county agencies.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Sincerely yours,

H. E. BROWN,
Chairman Village Relief Committee.

STAPLES

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your circular letter of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. This city being a railroad town, some 100 men have been unemployed for the last two years but have gotten along

on their credit. Most of these and an addition of 30 are asking and receiving aid now.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Forty families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent. Relief agencies' expenditures increased 5 per cent. The rest of the burden is falling on the city.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Remarks: This city for the last couple of years has suffered from the depression caused by the poor crops of the Dakotas reflected in a drop of railroad business on the line and in the shops of this city, upon which the city is absolutely dependent.

Yours truly,

ART AHLBRICHT, *Mayor.*

SOUTH ST. PAUL

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,

DEAR SIR: Am answering your questions of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We think our need for aid will be about 25 per cent greater than last fall, or about 60 families and a few single persons. Last year we had about 45 families. In 1929 they were in better condition to care for themselves, some money ahead, some credit; this has since been spent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City's appropriation 25 per cent higher in 1930 than in 1929; budget not made for 1932.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We expect about 25 per cent of increase, as stated in question No. 1.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 85 per cent increase so far this fall over 1930. It is too early to estimate the expenditures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No. This relief is given by several different organizations.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; only by vote of people, which is out of the question.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Absolutely not. This would not lessen the tax burden to the people; while the finance of this country is handled by millionaires and multimillionaires. When these people are taxed as we are taxed and our Government stops using the Andy mode of figures—one million, two million, one hundred million, one billion, etc.; the money spent in trying to enforce a law that has long since been admitted by all honest people to be impossible; the money spent helping other countries and foreign people; the money spent handling the manufacturing of legal non-taxed whisky and alcohol—when some of these things have been adjusted, we will not need a bond issue for the needy or unemployed; there won't be any.

Yours respectfully,

T. H. PRINCE.

VIRGINIA

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, JR.

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I will attempt to answer your inquiry of November 27 in the best manner possible from available information, which I am sorry to say is not sufficient.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase of unemployed over 1930 is 30 per cent; increase of unemployed over 1929 is 40 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase of appropriations over 1930 is 15 per cent; increase of appropriations over 1929 is 30 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Perhaps 400 more will need some help this year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are carrying about 5 per cent, and I have no available figures at hand on their increase.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family of four receives about $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; we are in a position to do so, but it is a very poor policy to use only in case of dire calamity.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I certainly feel that this relief program is more a Federal duty than it is local. This condition is not accounted for by any local action and, because of the fair distribution, can only come through Federal legislation. There is no actual wealth here, it being all owned in the East.

Yours truly,

P. E. BARKER.

WADENA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 25 per cent; in 1929, 40 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 20 per cent; in 1929, 30 per cent.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifteen per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little private relief being rendered.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars and fifty cents per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am in favor of Federal appropriations and believe such would materially assist in adequate care for the needy and lessen the tax burdens of the local taxpayers. It seems as though some of the funds being appropriated for prohibition enforcement could be advantageously used in this connection during the emergency, as millions are being needlessly spent in that direction.

G. PRETTYMAN, *Mayor.*

WASECA

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Two and one-half times.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This is hard to say, but we think we can take care of those living here but we do not want any additions.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About doubled.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We think we can get along without having to issue bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

F. A. WOOD, *Mayor.*

WHITE BEAR LAKE

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In replying to your circular inquiry of the 27th regarding the conditions in White Bear Lake, I am pleased to reply as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been and will be some increase in unemployment this year compared either with 1929 or 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The municipality has never made any appropriations for purposes of this kind.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 10 per cent more families than normal will need direct help this winter. The normal requirement seems to come every year regardless of conditions.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Our relief work is being carried on by a voluntary committee which has raised by subscription approximately 50 per cent more this year than last.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The committee aims to supply the needs of the family fully. There is no stipulated allotment in any case.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. White Bear Lake is now suffering from too much bond issue with a burden of taxation that has well-nigh wrecked the community. I am very glad to state that no further bond issues could be floated.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor Federal appropriations for the purpose of local relief. I believe that every community is in duty bound to take care of its own people. I believe that the great majority of communities, and I know our own, will do so.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. E. BUCKBEE, *Mayor*.

P. S.—Incidentally, there are a good many of us who begin to feel that relief from farm relief would be a great help, and depreciate so much publicity in the newspapers on this subject of unemployment. We appreciate the need for constructive action, but believe there should be less newspaper talk about it.

MISSISSIPPI

CORINTH

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Civic association.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (2 adults and 2 children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

W. L. SWETT, *Mayor*.

GREENVILLE

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

In reply to your recent letter, I am glad to give you the answers to your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in the unemployment over last year due to the large cotton crop which has kept common laborers busy picking.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Provisions are made by a volunteer contribution, and the amount is about the same as last year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We expect to have less than we had last year, due to the better growing season, people raised more things to eat.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of the relief work is done by a local relief committee. Expenditures are a great deal less than last year up to this time.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Last year relief committee gave each family $3 worth of groceries, wholesale prices, per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city charter will not permit us to float bonds for relief purposes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am not in favor of the Federal Government participating jointly in the relief work with the municipalities. I am in favor of the Federal Government issuing enough bonds for highway purposes and at least $500,000,000 for the improvement of waterways at once, putting as many unemployed men to work along these lines as possible. We would thereby relieve the unemployment, build something of value for the present and future generations, and it would also put some of the burden to pay for these improvements on the users thereof. In other words, I am not in favor of handing out alms, dole, or any other relief along that line, but I am heartily in favor of paying a good stiff tax and put these people to work.

Yours very truly,

FRED SCHELBEN, *Mayor*.

LAUREL

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 27th asking for information regarding the unemployment situation, wish to advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in the number of unemployed in 1931 over 1929 and 1930. We expect a decrease rather than an increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has been no city appropriation for the unemployed in any of the above years.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We contemplate no additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of our emergency relief is being done under the direction of a volunteer committee and with private donations exclusively.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief going to the ordinary family of four is about $2 per week. Of course, the mildness of our climate enables us to hold this to a minimum.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. There will be no necessity for the floating of bonds to meet our local situation.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. To this inquiry my answer would be very emphatically, no. I think it possible, and certainly wise, that the situation be handled locally by all communities. I would certainly regret to see any kind of a dole system by the Government.

Assuring you that I am always glad to give you any information possible, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

M. W. MCLAURIN, *Mayor*.

MERIDIAN

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to yours of November 7:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 1,250 people, and they have had to be helped every two weeks during the months of December, January, February, March, and April.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City proper, $4,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. More than double.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Between 75 per cent and 85 per cent. I can not answer this because I can not get in touch with the secretary.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $2 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. Our charter will not permit us to issue bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do.

We have three organizations doing relief work, but there is no duplication, because each one is assigned a certain number and they keep in touch every day.

Meridian, Miss., is a small city in eastern part of the State near the Alabama line, and has a population of about 35,000 with two suburbs: Bonita and a community known as Bailey, which are both really a part of the city but not in the corporate limits.

If further information desired, please write me.

Yours very truly,

W. H. OWEN, *Mayor.*

PICAYUNE

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Upon my return I find your circular letter as of November 27, which came to me as mayor of the city of Picayune.

While the general business depression has been felt in our little city, as it evidently has in all other towns and cities, yet perhaps we have suffered less than many others.

You will be surprised to know that while the wages paid here this year are less than half of the wages paid in 1929 and 1930, yet the amount that has been necessary to collect and distribute to take care of the unemployed and those applying for help is only about 30 per cent of what it was in 1929 and 1930.

The industries of our town are mainly two sawmills, which employ about 1,200 people, and they have only operated a little more than half time this year.

We appealed to the people in the early spring to put in gardens, to reshape their budgets and live within their income. At this time most of them are fully prepared to go through the winter. Of course, there are some who will have to be helped, but we are unable to determine at this time as to just how much the burden will be increased during this coming winter.

We are putting forth every effort to develop thrift and economy, and we feel that we have made a splendid start. The best evidence of this is that our people are really getting by with very little assistance and living almost as comfortably as they have heretofore. It is true that we have had splendid cooperation. We have had considerable land developments where very small wages were paid, but the industries, merchants, and all have agreed to forego profits and operate for the benefit of the community.

We believe that the plan we have set up here will work successfully in many other sections. We do not believe that any community should throw themselves on the Government for aid until they have exhausted every resource that they have, as such a step would be very weakening to the structure, unless it was absolutely necessary. I feel certain that we will not ask the Government for anything toward taking care of our people during this period.

I appreciate the businesslike manner in which you have gone about the compiling of your information. I also realize the magnitude of the task that lies before you and your associates at this time.

Yours very truly,

L. O. CROSBY, *Mayor.*

TUPELO

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, 25 per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, $125.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Ten per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent; increase, 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars and fifty cents, which is only part of their expense.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Do not think it necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

J. P. NANNEY, *Mayor.*

YAZOO CITY

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, I will state that our municipality is not in a position to float a bond issue to assist any relief needs of the community.

A Federal appropriation appears to be about the only solution to the relief problem, provided the English dole system is avoided.

Our local problems have been handled heretofore by cooperation of the local chapter of Red Cross with the chamber of commerce, churches, and other organizations, so I am attaching a letter from the Red Cross office which I believe answers your questions for this locality.

Hoping that these figures will be of assistance to you, I am,

Yours sincerely,

D. M. LOVE, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in number of unemployed persons assisted in city and county in December, 1930, over December, 1929, about 8,000.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City did not appropriate anything to the Red Cross relief program in 1929. From June, 1930, it appropriated $25 per month and county appropriated $50 per month.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 17,000 will be in need of clothing this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent of emergency is carried by private organizations. Increase at least $25,000 in 1931 over 1929. The Kings Daughters relieve only in city; the Red Cross has both city and county relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Amount relief given average family of four in food every two weeks in 1930–31 amounted to $4.

People are asking more for clothing than for food. Last year the reverse was true.

NETTIE M. HUTCHENS,
Executive Secretary.

VICKSBURG

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your kind favors of the 27th ultimo and 11th instant concerning unemployment in this community, beg to state that the questionnaire was misplaced, hence the delay in answering same. I am inclosing the questionnaire herewith, which I have answered to the best of my ability.

Trusting same safe to hand, I am,

Yours very truly,

W. J. HOSSLEY, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Small increase, if any.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None; 1929, none.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred may need relief.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. (a) All at present; (b) none; (c) none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $1.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but would not advise it.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more

adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

MISSOURI

CARTHAGE

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Same number.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Have raised $6,400 by public subscription for relief work.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Will not be needed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Our city in position to take care of this condition nicely.

CAMERON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; in 1929, 10 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief, 75 per cent; 1930, none; 1929, 10 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. None needed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

M. L. PETERS, *Mayor.*

CLAYTON

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, on behalf of the city of Clayton, Mo., beg to advise that approximately 12 families are being assisted in the city of Clayton at this time, which is the first year that any assistance to speak of has been necessary in our city. This emergency burden is carried on by a private relief committee appointed by myself, and we have never made any city appropriations at any time for this purpose.

I further wish to state that Clayton is not in a position to float a bond issue at this time to meet relief needs. I do not believe it necessary, therefore, am not in favor of the Federal appropriations to assist local governments in meeting their relief burdens in so far as the city of Clayton is concerned.

Yours very truly,

ED. F. STOCKHO, *Mayor.*

COLUMBIA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: In answer to your letter of inquiry under date of November 27, I have the pleasure of giving you the following information:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929 we assisted 100 families; in 1930 we assisted 178 families; in 1931 we assisted 511 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, by private subscription only, $7,000; in 1930, by private subscription only, $7,500; in 1931, by private subscription only, $16,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 25 per cent more than in 1931.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All our relief is done by private relief agencies. These funds are handled and administered chiefly by our public welfare society.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float a bond issue, but it will not be necessary, as our welfare society will have ample funds to take care of the situation.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Absolutely, no.

For your information I will say that our year in handling this work is from October 1 to October 1 of each year. We have already raised our fund of $16,000 for the period October 1, 1931, to October 1, 1932. This city will take care of its own unfortunates without assistance from the outside.

Yours very respectfully,

JAMES GORDON, *Mayor.*

FARMINGTON

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No increase to speak of.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent private relief; about the same.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Do not know. We gave about $600 in cash and lots of clothes and provisions of all kinds.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. This community is not industrial and we do not have calls that come to the average community. Feel that we can get by O. K.

STE. GENEVIEVE

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: In answer to your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, will state that the city of Ste. Genevieve will be able to take care of the poor persons in this city and county. This is principally a farming community. The only manufacturing industry here where people are employed are the lime manufacturing industry, which employs about 400 men; but so far the companies give the men work on an average of four days per week. As we had an abundant crop of all grain, fruit, and vegetables, all but a few stored and canned enough to carry them over winter. We also have three societies here that work together. These societies provide for the needy and poor here. Eighty per cent of the people are Catholics and they have the St. Vincent De Paul Society and Queens Daughters. These two societies are taking care of most all the needy. Besides that, the city and county and Red Cross help, so we have no one who suffers.

I am opposed to the Federal appropriation, because some people would only depend on the Government; and if they could get work, would refuse to do so as long as they get help.

I do not understand why there are so many poor and needy and starving people when we have plenty of everything going to waste. There was enough fruit this year to feed all, and it was given away free—all people had to do is to get it. I am talking of small cities in Missouri and Illinois. But some people would not can or put up any fruit or vegetables after it was given to them—they left it to rot, and those people are the ones now hollering for help and something to eat. When work was plentiful they did not care to work, and if they did work lived in luxury and saved nothing, so it will not hurt if some have to suffer a little. Maybe it will teach them a lesson in the future.

We are helping or relieving about 12 families. The majority are widows with small children. So with all our oversupply of crops I believe each community will be able to take care of its poor and unemployed.

Respectfully,

JOHN W. SCHWENT, *Mayor.*

HIGGINSVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 2 per cent; in 1929, 1 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 2 per cent; in 1929, 1 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 5 per cent; in 1929, 8 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

INDEPENDENCE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, with reference to our unemployment and general business conditions, I submit the following answers to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase in the number of unemployed persons this date, as compared with December, 1930, of about 30 per cent. In comparison with December, 1929, about 55 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. It has been necessary to triple our appropriations for the unemployed and the poor this year, as compared with 1930. We increased our appropriation in 1930 about 50 per cent over the year 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At the present time about 25 per cent of our family heads are out of work and will need relief. It is my opinion as the winter progresses that perhaps this percentage will be increased to 33⅓ per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All relief agencies are combining with the city in carrying out our relief program. The 1931 expenditures of these relief agencies have increased about 25 per cent over 1930 and the 1930 expenditures increased about 25 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our relief association estimates that a family of four must have weekly relief in an amount not less than $9.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float additional bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I would favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting the relief burdens, as the resources of both the city and county governments are being severely taxed because of increasing demands.

Very truly yours,

ROGER T. SERMON, *Mayor.*

JEFFERSON CITY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $300; 1929, $1,300.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. From 1,000 to 1,200.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Doubt the advisability when making comparison of present expense

LEBANON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 25 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Five hundred dollars. In 1930, none; 1929, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars, food only.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

LOUISIANA

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Thirty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Ten per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

J. W. CREWDSON, *Mayor.*

MARYVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 20 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and twe children)?

Answer. Not at this time.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Do not deem it necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency-relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Only to the extent of employment.

——— ———, *Mayor.*

MOSELEY

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Hon. R. M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Committee of Manufactures, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, the replies in numerical order are as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 25 per cent; in 1929, 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent; 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 15 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours very truly,

OTTO A. SWOBODA.

POPLAR BLUFF

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 10 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Decreased $2,500 from 1929–30.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $2.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I think it is the only solution due to the exhausting of available local funds.

Z. LEE STOKELY, *Mayor.*

RICHMOND

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 75 per cent; in 1929, 90 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 60 per cent; in 1929, 90 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Sixty per cent over 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent; 1930, 60 per cent; 1929, 95 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Would not approve it; no.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I think each community should carry its own burden. I am not in favor of Federal relief.

E. T. M. FAUGH, *Mayor.*

SEDALIA

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Yours of the 27th misplaced. Our local employment situation is being taken care of, temporarily, at least, with a publicly subscribed fund, which is being expended for labor on various public improvements within the city.

Very truly yours,

S. B. KENNON, *Mayor.*

SPRINGFIELD

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to yours of recent date concerning the unemployment situation in our community, I beg to state that I am herewith inclosing an outline on the questions contained in your request in accordance with my judgment in said matter.

Trusting this information will be of some value to your department, I am,

Yours truly,

T. H. GIDEON, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of unemployed assisted in 1930 increased approximately 25 per cent over the year 1929; consequently at this time an estimate of 75 per cent increase for year 1931 over year 1930 may be safely estimated.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $4,000; 1930, $4,000; 1931, $5,000. Appropriated by city council.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent increase over past two years.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In my judgment, increased considerably.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. An estimated amount of $12 to $15 weekly. To wit, 3 pounds sugar, 12 pounds flour, 5 pounds meal, 2 pounds lard, 2 pounds salt meat, 10 pounds potatoes, 2 pounds beans, rice or oats, 1 package; 1 quart sirup, one-half pound coffee, 5 cans Pet milk, baking powder, soda, and salt, 1 package. Occasionally cabbage and other vegetables; and in case of illness in family, soups, fruits, and such other things as are recommended by physicians for patient's diet.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Bond issue in amount of $200,000 to be voted upon in this city December 23, 1931, for the construction of sewage system, which we hope will carry in order to aid the unemployed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Federal appropriation will be a temporary help, providing it is placed in the proper channels so that it will reach the needy.

TRENTON

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Answering your questions per sheet attached:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No funds available for the purpose.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly 200.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief furnished here by the Charity Union, except the Rock Island Railroad Co. have a fund which takes care of all their unemployed, which at the present time consists of 32 families.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. See inclosed list showing amount furnished each family by railroad company.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

By writing to the chairman of the city Charity Union organization a more complete and correct line of information could be obtained.

M. L. ELLEDGE, *Mayor.*

WARRENSBURG

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is in reply to your letter of November 25.

Warrensburg is not an industrial community, and it is rather difficult for me to answer your letter. Furthermore, so far this year we have not had any bad weather to speak of, neither have we kept any actual records, therefore, my answer to this letter will be as near correct as it is possible, but are not actual figures. Furthermore, last year there was a lot of work here due to the fact that two big pipe-line companies operated in our community almost all winter. This gave work to almost everyone that needed it.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has doubled the appropriation over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We are expecting to have to take care of a lot more people than we have ever had to take care of before; would say, in my judgment, possibly 25 more families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Here in Warrensburg we have organized a central welfare committee. One member from every relief organization in our town is serving on this committee, and it is handling everything, the other organizations subscribing thereto. The expenditures so far this year show no increase over 1930.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; however, do not believe that it will be necessary, because we are confident that the funds which we have already raised will take care of all cases which come up in our city.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Please bear in mind our community is an agricultural one, and I do not feel qualified to answer this question, but my personal opinion is that it really looks like every locality should be able to take care of their own problem.

Trusting that this information will be of some benefit to you, I am,

Yours very truly,

H. R. GARRISON, *Mayor.*

MONTANA

ANACONDA

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letters of November 27 and December 11, relative unemployment situation in this community, I will state that conditions have been gradually growing worse since December, 1929.

The city has given no direct relief, with the exception of a few days' employment on the streets to a few deserving cases. No city appropriations have been made to relieve the situation.

A welfare emergency relief fund has been raised through popular subscription to take care of the needy this winter, and this fund has met with hearty support; this should take care of local needs for the time being. There are upward of 200 families in the community who are being cared for at present, and this number will be greatly increased before the winter is over.

In 1930 this condition was taken care of in the same manner, but funds were solicited from only a few who were in better circumstances; this year every person in the community who is working has been asked to contribute 2 per cent of his wages each month.

For the present, I do not believe Federal aid is necessary, but if conditions do not improve, we may have to appeal to this source.

This community depends entirely on the mining industry, and employment has dropped off 50 per cent in the past two years.

The relief association is giving groceries and fuel to the extent of $10 per week to the average family.

Yours respectfully,

E. A. QUINNEY, *City Clerk.*

BOZEMAN

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Mayor Purdy has asked me to reply to your letter of November 27, relative to Federal aid to municipalities to aid care of unemployed.

Your attention is called to the fact that Montana law places the care of the poor in the hands of the county government, and municipalities of the class to which Bozeman belongs may not levy a tax to provide funds to care for the poor. The county of which Bozeman is a part has continuously for many years made such a levy and, so far as we can inform ourselves, the county commissioners have done as good a job as any organization can reasonably be expected to do. They are aided in these matters by the regular truant or delinquency officer and they are also in cooperation with the district judge in this work. There is no justification for interference in any way on the part of the city.

In view of these facts you will see that there is no reason why we should have gone to the expense of securing the facts necessary to answer the first five questions asked in your letter and that you should secure the desired information from the commissioners of Gallatin County.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I can say that the city is in position to float any sort of bond issue for any legitimate purpose whatsoever, so far as its financial condition is concerned. It is my opinion that the purposes for which any Montana city may issue bonds are too closely limited to permit of an issue of the sort contemplated, at least so long as the county government functions with reasonable efficiency.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments, as you suggest. We think that the administration of relief funds can only be handled effectively and efficiently by local organizations, that a necessary condition to the effective and efficient administration of such relief funds is a very close connection between the administering and the taxing units and that the administering unit needs to be very definitely responsible to the taxing unit, and better if one unit performs both functions.

We do not believe that Federal aid would supply these necessary conditions, but the very contrary.

We think if there is any problem in government which is a strictly local problem and which should be handled by a local governmental unit it is just this problem. We do not think the best interests of the Nation are served by the assumption of problems of this sort by the Federal Government. We think there is such a thing as State rights and also such a thing as State duties. We think the best interests of the Nation are best served when there is reasonable regard to a sensible delineation of the rights and duties of the State on the one hand and the rights and duties of the Federal Government on the other hand. We think Federal aid in this instance is not such a sensible delineation.

So far as we are informed, there is no State in the Union which is not financially able to adequately meet the present emergency. Possibly there are some of the lesser units (such as counties or cities) to which the State has delegated this duty which are not financially able to meet the obligation. Our opinion is that there are practically none of these except some large cities where there have been inexcusable wastes of public funds, and it is these very places where there seems to be the most insistent demand for Federal aid. We think there are none of these places which can not and will not, if their unreasonable demand be met with a firm refusal, find ways and means to care properly for their individual needs.

We feel that to extend them this Federal aid will not only place an unwarranted burden on those communities which have avoided such incompetency, but will tend to encourage the sort of practices which have created the condition of bankruptcy or questionable solvency. If these communities can not sensibly administer the funds raised under their own taxing powers we question if decent administration of Federal aid funds may be hoped for.

So far as we know, the only units of government in the United States which are in serious straits are certain large cities and the United States Government itself. We are of the opinion that the reason for this lies in the difficulties engendered by size and the resultant inability to combat political graft. We do not believe the public outside of those cities should be penalized to make good this incapacity.

We think this need (unemployment) should be met by the most efficient method—funds raised and administered by local taxing units—rather than by asking for additional taxation by a taxing unit whose proper function is efficient handling of problems entirely foreign to the one under discussion.

We note the alarming deficit accumulating in the United States Government. We note also the taxing proposals to meet the

deficit. We do not know what method of taxation will be adopted to meet the deficit, but we know whatever method is adopted the burden will prove serious to some industry or interests, and the fact that new taxation must be adopted will be a deterring factor in any improvement in conditions, and since you have asked our opinion, we will say that we think the United States Government should balance its Budget before taking on any additional burdens which, in our opinion, lie entirely outside its proper sphere of activity.

I think this fairly represents our reasons for being opposed to Federal aid to States and municipalities to care for unemployed.

Respectfully,

G. O. ARNOLD, *City Manager.*

HELENA

DEAR SENATOR: Pardon my tardiness in not advising you of the fact that your former letter had been passed over to the supervisor of the Red Cross activities here and was returned to me with the information that he could not answer the questions propounded therein. For your information, wish to say that we are taking care of our local requirements very nicely.

With kindest personal regards and regrets that we could not be of more service to you in this connection, I am,

Most respectfully yours,

GEORGE P. ARNOLD, *Mayor.*

MILES CITY

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of November 27, I beg leave to state that:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In reply to paragraph No. 1, beg to advise that there has been a very material increase in the number of unemployed, possibly 5 per cent to 7 per cent in 1930 as compared to about 16⅔ per cent in 1931.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In reply to paragraph No. 2, beg to advise that only a small city appropriation was necessary in 1930, but in 1931 we have used all of our available resources in promoting new and additional work to utilize unemployed labor as far as it was possible for us to do.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In reply to paragraph No. 3, we believe that the peak of the winter months will find us assisting perhaps double the number of people we are now assisting.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In reply to paragraph No. 4, would state that the major portion of the emergency burden is carried by the local associated charities, their expenditures being double in 1931 what they were the previous year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. In reply to paragraph No. 5, beg to advise that we are only giving out the bare necessities in the way of groceries and provisions, approximately $15 per month for the size of the family mentioned.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. In reply to paragraph No. 6, beg to say that the city is not in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We believe that there should be some Federal appropriation to meet the emergency relief burdens, and we believe that if some development could be brought about that would provide work that this would be in all respects the best relief that our people could get. Possibly additional highway work that would minimize the use of large machinery and increase the amount of man power required would, in our territory, assist a great number.

In answering the above paragraphs we have compared 1930 with 1931. In 1929 we were in fair condition in this country, and the number of unemployed was not a large percentage. Our livestock interests were in fair condition and our railroads were not in the distressed condition they are in to-day. This town is a division point on the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railway, with a fair-sized railroad shop here and normally employing many of our men. These shops have reduced their force very materially, and the result is that we have a large number of idle men in our community.

The writer understands that the percentage survey of unemployed in Montana is about 10 per cent, while the Government survey throughout the United States is about 16⅔ per cent. I am satisfied that the unemployed in Miles City would be close to 16⅔ per cent, and with very little in sight to modify that during the winter months. Our men are anxious to work, and would very much prefer work to any charity that could be given them. Of course, in many cases they have had to appeal to charity to keep body and soul together, but through it all there has been a desire to get work, even though at modest wages, to tide them through the present winter.

If the Government could see fit to develop any additional work in these Western States it would be a wonderful relief to our people.

Yours very truly,

FRED W. WOOLSEY, *Mayor.*

MISSOULA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Not any; under Montana State law no funds allowed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Ten per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Thirty-five per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

Delay due to illness.

W. H. BEACOM.

RED LODGE, MONT.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The county and local Red Cross have taken care of all needy. City not in financial shape to care for poor.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Hard to say.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Can not say.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Believe in providing work for all unemployed. The more you give the more you will have to give. Employment is what people want.

E. W. ALLEN, *Mayor.*

NEBRASKA

AURORA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of November 27 will say this, that we do not have very much unemployment here in this city. We have some all the time; they will not work. Does not make any difference what the times are. The answers to your letter are:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Will say is about 2 per cent over 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city turns this over to the county. The poor have increased 3 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 12 to 15 at home (most transient).

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About one-half private relief agencies. The expenses have increased about 40 per cent over 1929 and 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The answer is about $10 for necessities.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; we can not float any bonds; it is up to the county to do this charity work in this State.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor Federal appropriation any more than has to be as there are a lot of them that will not work if they had it to do. We have a wood pile and they pass it.

Hope this will help you some, I am yours truly.

J. A. PENCE, *Mayor.*

BEATRICE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer Double over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. This is taken care of through the welfare, Salvation Army, and chamber of commerce and county.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 2,000, all told.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All, by including county.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Each organization is separate, but all needy are fairly well taken care of.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; the city does not do this. It is done by public donations.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. We think and hope we can care for our citizens fairly well, but the transient is a question.

Respectfully,

W. I. REED, *Mayor.*

CHADRON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your circular letter asking for information relative to unemployment, and replying will state:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One-third more.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Twice as much as in previous years.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I believe there will be about 50 more persons than in previous years.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Nearly all. Nearly twice as much.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. From two to five dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I hardly believe Congress will make any appropriations for relief of the poor. If they would, in my opinion, it would be fine.

Respectfully yours,

O. E. COLLINS, *Mayor.*

CRETE

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter regarding the unemployment condition in the city of Crete, I wish to advise that we have very few in this community who are unemployed. In fact the city has expended less than $25 during this year, which amount was paid for groceries and coal for a few families who were unable to get work for a short period.

During the past five years the city of Crete spent less than $100 per year for coal and groceries for families who were unable to get employment, and so far this year the expense has been very small.

We are able to take care of the situation in Crete without any outside help and no additional appropriation will have to be made in our city budget to meet this expense. We realize we happen to be very fortunate in this particular community and are pleased to advise that we are in a position to take care of the unemployment condition in Crete without making any special appropriation.

Yours very truly,

F. J. KOBES, *Mayor.*

FALLS CITY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent for both 1929 and 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About half by private relief agencies. Same as answer No. 2.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $8.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not only in extreme cases, think local communities with few exceptions can handle much better.

GRAND ISLAND

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 27th and am unable to give you the exact increase in the number of the unemployed compared with one year and two years ago, but it is very much larger than it was at either time owing to lack of construction work, curtailing forces, and large numbers laid off by Union Pacific, which have extensive yards and shops here.

While I have appointed a committee on unemployment this does not handle any relief funds but that work is handled by the county, which operates a small grocery store in the courthouse and by the Red Cross, who have collected about $7,000, and other smaller relief agencies.

Herewith inclosed please find statement of city free employment agency and synopsis in reference to the unemployment situation here, taken from the survey which was recently made. This survey, which I have, contains the names of all those having three days or less work, who had jobs prior thereto, and who want work at this time. If a married woman was employed regularly for one day a week prior to the survey and was then out of work and desired work, she was listed as unemployed, and the same way with minors, if they had been employed regularly and were out of work at the time of the survey and wanted work they were also listed as unemployed.

We have made a very determined effort here to find jobs for unemployed and the city has expended large sums for necessary public work, as you will see by the inclosed statement; in fact, we have expended more than all the rest of the people in the city combined, not including other public work. Now, the problem will be what to do, or what can be done, to help in the future when our funds available will be exhausted and bond issues for public works can not be carried.

Yours truly,

O. A. ABBOTT, Jr., *Mayor.*

HASTINGS

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of your letter of November 31, on my return home to-day from the East, having spent some six weeks along the Atlantic coast and in States east of the Mississippi.

Would say that the conditions in Nebraska are much better than those in the East. I am attaching your letter of November 27, and have answered these questions as nearly correct as possible.

These figures have been received from the charitable institutions and organizations of the city. Trusting same will be a benefit to you and with kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM MADGETT, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Four hundred per cent increase, 1930 over that of 1929; and 100 per cent increase, 1931 over that of 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Four hundred per cent increase, 1930 over that of 1929; and 400 per cent increase, 1931 over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 50 families; increase, 25 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private agencies carry two-thirds of relief work; 400 per cent increase relief expenditures over 1930; 400 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five cents per person per day; 20 cents per family per day.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but they won't do it.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Raising taxes is not popular in Nebraska.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM MADGETT, *Mayor.*

NORTH PLATTE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the unemployment situation here, it is perhaps not as bad as the average city of this size, but is really bad; part of the trouble is due from the men laid off the Union Pacific Railroad, which always occurs at this time of the year, although business is slower than usual.

The banking situation is the great problem in restoring confidence; too much money has been withdrawn from circulation and will not be put in active use again until confidence in the banking situation is restored. Some method of guaranteeing non-interest-bearing deposits should be worked out by Congress; the banks can afford to contribute to such a fund where no interest is paid. Interest-bearing deposits should be treated as any other investment. This would take money from the banks and place it in commercial channels and at the same time strengthen the banks, as too large an amount of interest-bearing deposits forces the bank to get the money loaned out, and frequently on unsafe loans.

Yours respectfully,

F. L. TEMPLE, *Mayor.*

SIDNEY

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

SIR: This is about the conditions in our town.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred people—about this number.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The emergency burden is carried on now by private agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $7.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We have not floated any bonds for this purpose.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We feel like the Government ought to help some.

Sincerely yours,

H. SCHANOLN, *Mayor.*

SOUTH SIOUX CITY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About double.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Doubled.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Forty or fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have a welfare bureau supported by the county.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency-relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

WAHOO

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, 2 per cent; over 1929, 5 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None here.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All; none; none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars in food and clothing.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

A few counties in the northern part of our State are in great need—we sent them one carload of food.

The citizens of our town have formed a club to relieve the unemployed by free-will donations of money, clothing, food, etc.

O. H. PERSON, *Mayor.*

NEVADA

ELKO

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your circular letter of November 27, 1931, relative to unemployment and relief, will answer as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Counting all sources of relief, approximately 100 per cent over December 31, 1929, and December 31, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations, 50 to 100 per cent increase. Elko Community Chest, organized November, 1931, is taking care of the greater part of relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty families and 20 to 30 single men. This does not include itinerants.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No private relief society in 1929 or 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $10.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes, if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Personally feel that a Federal appropriation to take care of itinerant jobless men would be of great assistance to taxpayers of Elko and Elko County.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID DOTTA, *Mayor.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE

BERLIN

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 11th received and am inclosing copy of report giving information which you ask for.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase as compared with December, 1930. In 1930 there were about 45 families assisted. In 1929 there were about 15 families assisted. In 1931 about 230 families being assisted.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriation in 1929, $14,000; 1930, $22,000; 1931, probably $80,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 250 or 300 people.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Do not know.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average given to family of five, $8.50 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. With the assistance of the State aid which we are now receiving for emergency relief work, believe we can carry on without Federal aid this winter.

Very truly yours,

W. E. CORBIN, *Mayor.*

KEENE

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The city of Keene has raised by subscription $6,000 for the relief of unemployed and the chamber of commerce is taking charge of the registration of those who will need assistance from this fund. This is entirely outside of the work usually conducted by the public-service organizations and the churches. The city of Keene during the year has built a dam and cleared land, raising $50,000 by bonds and employing 40 extra men who were heads of families. The city is just starting to build a sewer extension on a $15,000 bond issue. The largest part of this amount is being paid out for labor and aiding from 50 to 75 jobless men. We are sorry not to more fully cover your inquiries at the present time.

Very truly yours,

FRANK H. WHITCOMB, *City Clerk.*

LACONIA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, will answer as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One hundred and fifty families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City, $3,000; Belknap County, $50,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and fifty families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; if money could be borrowed at a reasonable rate.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. CARROLL, *Mayor.*

NASHUA

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to yours of November 27 would say that the following information is largely estimates:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. From 1929, 10 per cent increase; from 1930, 15 per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent increase; in 1931, 100 per cent increase.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 100 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. (A) Forty per cent. (B) Not much. (C) Not much.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars per week (purely an estimate).

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Could, but consider it unwise.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Believe each community should do the best it can for the relief of its own.

The Government should furnish money for needed improvements, thus becoming employers of labor.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM F. SULLIVAN, *Mayor.*

PORTSMOUTH

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Replying to your letter of November 27, which arrived at a time when I was swamped with work connected with our unemployed-relief duties.

The poor department expended the amounts named in the years indicated: In 1928, $10,386.34; 1929, $13,013.33; 1930, $15,396.59; 1931, $25,000, estimated. Up to October 31 for this year, $19,910.68.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase over 1929 and 1930 is about 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. For food, rent, and heat, $8.50 per week is the average amount paid for each family. Some are less and some are more, according to the size of the family.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. An increase of about 350 people will have to be cared for in this city during the winter months. Two-thirds of these are workmen laid off at the navy yard.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Eighty per cent are being cared for by funds collected privately by our unemployment committee.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount given for relief of two adults and two children is $8.50 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; the city is in a position to float a bond issue if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I favor the Federal Government appropriating funds to carry on State and Nation wide emergency work. A large majority of unemployed in New Hampshire could be taken care of by sending sufficient work to the Portsmouth-Kittery Navy Yard and furnishing the railroad with sufficient capital to rebuild some of the lines with new bridges. Our national parks and forests should be improved, and there are millions and millions of dead trees and underbrush that could be taken away. There is work enough, but no funds. Rivers and harbors in our own State could be improved, enlarged, and made better.

Very truly,

F. W. HARTFORD.

NEW JERSEY

AUDUBON

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Committee on Manufactures,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The following answers, I think, will cover questions asked in your letter of November 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Two hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred and fifty dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-fifth.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fifteen dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours very truly,

EDWIN C. HAND, *Clerk.*

BEVERLY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, five or six.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, not any; 1929, $50.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies, 60 per cent; 1930, none; 1929, not organized and therefore no record.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (2 adults and 2 children)?

Answer. No continuous help necessary, so no records for this question.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Do not need to consider such a question.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

———— ————, *Mayor.*

BOGOTA

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Mayor McCaig has handed me your letter to answer.

In 1929 we appropriated $200 for poor relief and it was not entirely expended.

This year we appropriated $550 and it is all gone, and we estimate that we will need $2,500 before June 1.

It is estimated that we will have 135 persons needing relief before the winter is over, while heretofore we seldom had more than 10 or 12.

Private relief organizations are giving for the most part clothing, etc.

The overseer of the poor averages about $7 per week per family for food.

We are in no position to sell bonds, for the reason that there is no market for same; Bergen County advertised an issue this week with no bids.

We would welcome assistance from the Federal Government, as I am sure would all of the municipalities in this vicinity.

Very truly yours,

HARLAN P. ROSS, *Borough Clerk.*

BORDENTOWN

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Replying to your letter of the 27th instant relative to unemployment condition in the city of Bordentown, N. J., while we are feeling the pinch in Bordentown I do not think it is as bad here as it is in many other places, and am convinced that we can take care of the situation locally, with such aid as the State has already provided for in laws recently passed.

Taking your questions in their order:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed, December, 1929, 100; 1930, 200; at present time, 200.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $377.80; 1930, $500; 1931, $800; applies to poor relief only.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty; requiring partial relief only.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About $1,500; none; about $500.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. In nearly all cases relief is only partial, as some one in the family is usually making part time. Average relief for provision and fuel would be $4 or $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Yours truly,

O. H. BROWN, *Mayor.*

BRIDGETON

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of the 27th, addressed to me as mayor of the city of Bridgeton, in reference to the unemployment situation. Without going into as many details as you ask in your letter, I have conferred with the emergency relief director of our city and he confirms my opinion that the situation to-day is 50 per cent worse than it was in 1930, and, of course, many times worse than in 1929.

It would seem that about 25 per cent of our male population of the city of Bridgeton is out of a job, and have been for some time, while fully 25 per cent more are working approximately half time.

As to what part the Federal Government should take in this move, of course, is an open question. I am in complete accord with Senator Borah's statement in the paper a few weeks ago in which he said if the millionaire interests of the country would not furnish work for the men, then they would have to keep them. Just the method to be devised for keeping them may be an open question. It would seem to me that the most effective way would be for the immediate launching of a big building program by the Federal Government.

There is another point which is not asked in your letter that I want to particularly call to your attention, and that is the fact that the Federal reserve bank will not rediscount municipal paper. I do not know whether this is the law, or the ruling of the department, but if the Federal reserve bank could rediscount for local banks the paper of the municipality it would seem it would materially help the unemployment situation, because then the municipalities could negotiate their paper with local banks to give employment to local labor, and the local banks in turn could rediscount the paper with the Federal reserve. If this were possible it would materially help us in this city at the present time.

Very truly yours,

LINWOOD W. ERICKSON, *Mayor.*

BURLINGTON

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of November 27 in reference to the relief of unemployed received and, without answering any of your questions I wish to state emphatically that I do not favor the Federal Government making any appropriation for relief of unemployed.

I believe each municipality should take care of its own, which I can assure you our city can do.

Yours very truly,

HAROLD V. HOLMES, *Mayor.*

CALDWELL

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 30 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $21,000; 1929, $22,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty families; about $450.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies, 5 per cent; not much over 1930, as it is difficult to raise funds; 1929, 70 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; the Federal Government seems to be in straits itself. The States should care for their own citizens.

S. SIMMS, *Mayor.*

CLEMENTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 2,000 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No increase, or very slight.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four to six dollars for food.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not unless conditions get worse. State aid and local appropriations have been provided.

CLIFFSIDE PARK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, approximately 50 by poor relief; 1930, approximately 75 by poor relief; 1931, approximately 150 by employment.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $1,500 poor, none on unemployment; 1930, $2,000 poor, none on unemployment; 1931, $6,000 poor, $7,500 on unemployment.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In 1931–32 winter, estimate, 400.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No records available; all going to do their bit.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $3.50 to $4 weekly for about 12 weeks.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Prefer to handle ourselves.

EGG HARBOR CITY

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of November 27 received, and am glad to inform you as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 20—from 131 to 151—in 1930. None in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriations in 1930 or 1929. For 1931–32 will be about $5,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Altogether 175 to 200.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent is being carried by private agencies. Will be about the same.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $10.85.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our community, together with the State appropriations, will be able to take care of all relief needs.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not favor Federal appropriation. It is an industrial problem which should and must be solved by local industry.

Sincerely yours,

MYRTILE FRANK, M. D., *Mayor.*

ENGLEWOOD

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The questionnaire of November 27 reached the wrong party and has just been brought to the attention of the citizens' employment committee for answer.

It is rather difficult to answer your questions definitely, as we have no records whatever for 1929. We do have records for 1930. In regard to the first five questions in your letter, we can say that there has been a slight increase in unemployment over last year. Part of this is probably brought about due to the fact that our committee this year has been making a special effort to dig down and unearth all needy cases, especially those cases where the people are really too proud to apply for help. We have also been making a very strenuous effort to secure work for everyone. Our city and State have been very generous with the relief program, and the city has taken advantage of every opportunity to give work. We feel that those who need work and who will work will be taken care of. Relief will be given to the needy, and no one will be permitted to suffer.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is comfortably below the bonded and indebtedness limit. The State of New Jersey and the special legislation have provided for both issues to meet unemployment needs.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burden, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Our city feels that we are in a position to take care of our own needs, and the committee would protest very strongly to any Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting emergency relief burdens. We do not believe the Federal Government or any outside agency can possibly meet the problem before each local community.

Yours very truly,

GLEN O. PIERCE,
Secretary Citizens' Employment Committee.

FLEMINGTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Three hundred per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Thirty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Forty to 50.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private do as much as municipality.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Varies greatly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

S. L. BODINE, *Mayor.*

FORT LEE

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of November 27, please be advised that the following are answers to some of your questions with reference to the borough of Fort Lee, Bergen County, N. J.:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. During the current year unemployment has increased 50 per cent over 1930 and at least 75 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. During 1930 and 1929 no appropriations were made for jobless relief, but in 1931 $17,000 has been provided.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 217 additional persons will need unemployment relief during the winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Only a small proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private agencies in 1931, and their expenditures in 1929 and 1930 were negligible.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family of two adults and two children is receiving about $16 per week from the unemployment relief fund.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The State law of New Jersey provides that bond issues for the purpose do not affect the debt limit of the municipality.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS F. HOEBEL, *Mayor.*

FREEHOLD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent in 1930; 75 per cent in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 25 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little each year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

GARFIELD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One thousand six hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One thousand two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None; 1930, none; 1929, $172,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

GLASSBORO

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your letter of the 27th instant:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in unemployed persons assisted, to compare with December, 1930, estimated, 30 per cent; 1929, estimated, 60 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Poor-dependency appropriation, 1929, $75; 1930; $150; 1931, $1,300. For use during winter.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred and fifty more persons will need relief than formerly.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies, 1929, required to do little; 1930, raised $400; 1931, estimate, $800.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $4 for food, clothing, fuel.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Borough is very much overbonded.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It would seem that methods of taxation are exhausted, except from incomes which are beyond the needs of the person of large income. This is a very poor community, and unless considerable aid can be brought in from either State or Federal sources a dire need must exist.

Very truly yours,

W. A. DOWNER, *Mayor.*

HACKENSACK

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Hackensack's reply to your questionnaire of November 27 is as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, none; 1930, 1,000; 1931, 1,300.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $6,000; 1930, $10,000; 1931, $10,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 100 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1929, 50 per cent more; with 1930, 25 per cent more.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We can.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. As far as Hackensack is concerned it is not necessary. We can care for our own.

The above facts are correct. Opinions are those of the mayor's emergency committee chairman.

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE E. ST. THOMAS,
Chairman Mayor's Emergency Committee.

HALEDON

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, has been referred to me for answer. Below please find answers to questions, as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 200 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriated $2,000 for poor relief and $9,778.70 for unemployment relief December, 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 100 per cent increase, from information at hand.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.





6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. I believe a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting emergency unemployment relief would materially lessen the burden of local taxpayers and would assist local governments in meeting their local emergency relief work.

Very truly yours,

JOHN J. KAPP, Jr.,
Superintendent of Public Works.

HIGHTSTOWN

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am pleased to reply to your inquiry of November 27 relative to the unemployment situation in Hightstown. I have answered the questions upon your letter, which is inclosed herewith, and which I trust are satisfactorily answered and will aid you in your good work upon this most important question.

The unemployment condition in our town, while a problem, is well under control, and we feel is being met in a very efficient manner.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. THOMPSON, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $1,000; 1929, $1,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Relief through employment, maximum $12 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Absolutely not.

HILLSIDE

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Receipt is acknowledged of your inquiry dated November 27 relative to conditions in this municipality due to continued unemployment and general business depression.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted by this township. The increase in 1931 over 1930 is at least 200 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The appropriations for unemployed and poor relief have increased this year over 1930 approximately 100 per cent. This increase would have been much greater had it not been for efforts made to create work and to help the unemployed find work outside of the municipality.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment, from present indications, there will be at least 100 additional heads of families who will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

The only private relief agency operating in this township confines its activities to providing milk and shoes for the undernourished and underprivileged child, so that it will be possible for him to attend school. I understand that the association's expenditures will increase from approximately $2,400 to about $4,600 this year, which money has been raised by public subscriptions.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children) is $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The position of this township so far as floating of bond issues in connection with relief needs is not very bright. However, local banking institutions have come to the township's aid each time up to this point.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens would be an aid if such an appropriation will lessen the burden of the local taxpayer. At the present time this municipality is operating under the State of New Jersey emergency relief organization and taking advantage of any relief that may be gained from that source.

It is hoped that this information will be helpful to you.

Yours very truly,

——— ———, *Township Clerk.*

LINDEN

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: In compliance with your request of November 27, beg to herewith submit the information you desire.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No accurate record has been kept of the number of unemployed in 1929 and 1930, but at the present moment we have 1,416 unemployed of a total population of 21,206, which, on a basis of five per family, is extremely conservative for an industrial town. The unemployment is affecting more than one-third of our population.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The overseer of the poor appropriations were as follows: 1929, $12,000; 1930, $17,000; 1931, $60,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I am unable to tell definitely just how many additional families will require relief over the number now being carried, which is approximately 300, due to the length of time that numerous of the 1,416 unemployed have been out of work. Their savings undoubtedly will deplete rapidly, and we anticipate that at least 700 families, if not more, will require actual aid from the overseer of the poor. I may be mistaken in this estimate, as all the men are industrial workers, and their savings may not hold out as long as we anticipate.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have no definite relief agencies operating in this city. The churches and lodges are doing their best, but these are again composed of nothing but industrial workers, most of them out of work or working part time. Their funds are extremely limited, and for that reason the city must carry the major burden at all times. We can, therefore, safely say that 99 per cent of the relief work is handled by the city.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. For a family of two adults and two children we only allow from $3 to $4 per week depending on the age of the children for subsistence. In many cases, however, we pay rent and purchase fuel and clothing, if cast-off clothing does not fit or is not available.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This is a very difficult question to answer as banking conditions change from time to time, but at the present moment we are unable to raise funds in spite of the fact that our bonded indebtedness is not quite 4 per cent, whereas the State allows an indebtedness of 7 per cent. With an excellent financial standing we are unable to float bonds at the present time and unable to get money for improvements to employ unemployed. The only consideration for short-term notes we get from the banks is on tax-anticipation notes and for that reason we are in a rather difficult position. From what our banks tell us, if the Federal reserve people would authorize the rediscounting of municipal notes, everything would be fine, but this, I understand, can not be accomplished, and, therefore, the scheme to borrow money for the purpose of employing unemployed for municipal improvements is not workable at the present time and we hope some change will soon be made.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I certainly would favor any appropriation which may assist the local government to meet the present emergency relief burdens, particularly because the present plan for the State of New Jersey is inadequate to take care of our city. I presume you are acquainted with the fact that the State aid will be

allowed on the basis of $1 per capita, provided the municipality matches the same amount for unemployment relief which gives us $42,412 including the city's share of $1 per capita; and 80 cents per capita is allotted for dependents' relief. You can readily see that for over 1,400 men unemployed this amount is negligible.

In connection with the Federal aid, may I mention a possibility whereby not only the city of Linden but also the city of Rahway and the borough of Carteret would benefit, that is the dredging of the Rahway River. At the present moment Congress authorized a survey made and the Army engineers approved the survey. I understand the survey is now being made and is to be completed some time around the first of the year. If the Federal Government would grant the appropriation to dredge this river, it would open vast areas of meadow lands for industrial purposes in three municipalities and would put these municipalities in a position to have therein constructed industrial plants requiring water frontage and at the same time would give employment to several people dredging the river and filling lands. Anything you may be able to do to authorize this work will be highly appreciated by the municipalities affected.

As a matter of general information, the city of Linden has a population of 21,206, is an entirely industrial community with numerous large industries without a wealthy residential section who could be called upon to contribute toward unemployment. As above stated, one-third of our population is affected by unemployment, one-third is on part time at reduced pay, and the remaining one-third is again of industrial character whose earning power is limited and who themselves need aid in case of any sickness in the family and for that reason are entirely unable to contribute.

We can in no way compare with cities of residential character whose unemployment problems are extremely light and can be taken care of by private donations from their wealthy residents. We are a step-child, so to speak at this moment, as practically in its entirety this city is a storehouse for labor for the industries.

I trust you will be able to carry out your aims in aiding needy municipalities as promptly as possible, because all our unemployed are anxious and willing to work and resent charities. It certainly is for a preservation of morale and self-respect to allow people to work rather than have them live on charity.

Very truly yours,

JULES VERNER, *Mayor*.

MAPLEWOOD

DECEMBER 24, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 17, inclosing a copy of your letter of November 27, and would advise you as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. During the month of December, 1931, 146 unemployed men were put to work by the township on municipal work. During the month of December, 1929, and 1930, there were no unemployed men put on by the township.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations for care of the poor for the past three years were as follows—there were no appropriations for the unemployed:

1929	$2,400
1930	2,400
1931	3,500

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is estimated that 80 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have no record of any emergency work done by private relief agencies or of their expenditures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We have no poor cases requiring relief on a weekly basis.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The township of Maplewood is in a position to float further bond issues if necessary to meet the relief needs of this community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. So far as Maplewood is concerned a Federal appropriation to assist in our emergency relief burdens is not necessary at the present time.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD R. ARCULARIUS, *Clerk*.

MAYWOOD

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your questionnaire of November 27, I am glad to give you the following information:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The unemployment record of this borough follows: December, 1929, no record; December, 1930, 6; November, 1931, 53. (These figures were obtained through registration at our municipal building. There are unquestionably cases of which we have no knowledge.)

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Poor appropriation: In 1929, $50; 1930, $100; 1931, $500. In the last two years the expenditures were considerably more than the amount shown in budget appropriations because of relief rendered through the Maywood Community Relief Association, which expended approximately $800 last year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We believe at least 40 families in this borough will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929, no expenditures; 1930, about $500; 1931, about $700.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No moneys given to families; but food, fuel, and clothing were furnished and urgent bills in arrears were paid.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Can only float a bond issue because of recent legislature of the State of New Jersey exempting a flotation of this sort from all debt limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Believe the Federal Government could very materially decrease unemployment by proper legislation.

Referring to your last question, I have certain definite ideas along these lines, and if you would like to have my views I shall be glad to give them to you on receipt of your advice to that effect.

Very truly yours,

HERBERT R. HARTLEY, *Mayor*.

MERCHANTVILLE

DECEMBER 26, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27, concerning which you wrote further on December 11, was not received by this committee and your later letter reached us only a few days ago, having originally been delivered to another quarter.

In this township (Pennsauken) there has been a total unemployment registration up to December 19 of 648 persons, of whom less than 50 are women. Work has been found for a number of women.

Approximately 200 men are given not less than two days' work each week at $3 per day on township work under the State plan while others have been assigned to county road work in the township, and a few to State work carried on in the township. You are no doubt familiar with the New Jersey plan of matching dollar for dollar on certain forms of municipal work up to a specific amount, based on population, and of an allowance of 40 cents on each $1 raised or budgeted locally for relief work. Crews of men are alternated on the work program laid out by this committee in conjunction with township authorities so that all may have the opportunity to secure some gainful labor.

Working in unison with our unemployment manager are our relief organizations under this general committee of citizens, and every application card filed by an unemployed person provides space for details on family need for food, fuel, or clothing or medical attention. Prompt action is taken on every application, and much action on many cases where no application has been filed. You see the present condition has forced into the ranks of the unemployed many who have never had cause to seek aid and who have held out for a long period without allowing their financial condition to become known. These are proud citizens who seek to hide their true status, and many of these cases come to our knowledge only through the intensive checking of their own neighborhoods by active workers of this committee.

Yours very truly,

THOS. J. YOUNG, *Secretary*.

MONTCLAIR

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: I have before me your communication of November 27, containing seven questions. Here are my answers:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase in the number of unemployed, as compared with the present time, in 1929–30.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent increase.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I must say that there will be some increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. I am unable at the present moment to be sure of any figures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We govern these cases entirely by conditions that exist and try to comply with well-established rules.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The bond situation with reference to our town is in excellent condition.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I must state that I have been consistently in favor of each community taking care of its own problem.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES G. PHILLIPS, *Mayor.*

MORRISTOWN

JANUARY 4, 1932.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of December 11, 1931, in regard to the unemployment to hand.

The unemployed in our community are being taken care of at the present time by the municipality under State legislation, and we also took care of them during the year 1930 and 1931.

I do not believe that the present unemployment situation requires Federal legislation. It appears to me to be a matter for the local municipalities to settle. There has of late years been too much of a tendency of building up governmental functions in Washington that were never intended by the framers of our Constitution. If a curb is not soon put upon this building up of a bureaucratic government in Washington, the people will lose their individuality and become mere puppets in a gigantic governmental bureaucracy.

Very respectfully yours,

CLYDE POTTS, *Mayor.*

NEW BRUNSWICK

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your communications of November 27 and December 11, regarding the unemployment situation in New Brunswick, have been turned over to me by Mayor J. J. Morrison, as I have been appointed director of emergency relief in New Brunswick and Highland Park. Answering your inquiry, we feel that the situation in New Brunswick is being adequately met and that it is not necessary for us to look for Federal appropriation to take care of the conditions here.

Yours very respectfully,

E. H. WEBB.

NEPTUNE

DECEMBER 24, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The budget appropriation of the township of Neptune was $3,500 for each of the years of 1929, 1930, and 1931. During the winter of 1930–31 a relief committee, appointed by our chairman, raised and disbursed the sum of $1,896 to aid 447 families, consisting of 1,818 adults and 781 children, in addition to the regular township appropriations. Other local organizations gave direct aid to needy families of which we have no record.

In conformance with the State emergency relief program, the township committee anticipates expenditures in the amount of $21,250 to provide work for the unemployed during the present winter.

At this time we have over 425 registered for this work and there are probably 100 more who have not yet applied. In cases of dependency relief, poor orders in the sum of $4 are given to needy families. This amount varies according to the results of an investigation conducted by the overseer of the poor.

The township of Neptune can legally raise more funds in the event that the present program is not adequate to take care of our local demands.

If there is any further information I can give you on this subject I will be only too glad to do so.

Very truly yours,

JOHN W. KNOX, *Clerk.*

NORTHFIELD

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to yours of the 27th in re unemployment situation in Northfield.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase of unemployed compared with December, 1930, 25 per cent, and with 1929, about 80 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase of city appropriations for unemployed in 1929, $600, in the budget for relief of the poor, of which but $292.50 was expended. In 1930 an appropriation of $600, of which all was expended, and in 1931 an appropriation of $1,000, which will all be expended, and an additional transfer of $1,000 this month. We are using this by putting a force of unemployed at work on our streets, cleaning up, regraveling, etc.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Registered of unemployed to date, 70, which means, with the average family of 4, approximately 280 who need aid.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies carried practically none of the burden prior to this year, but in 1931 they have expended approximately $500 so far.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Direct relief, approximately $5; unemployment three days at $2.80 per day, or a total of $8.40.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; except for the purpose of providing employment, where possible, on Federal projects, from which the Nation could secure an adequate return for the money invested. In other words, I am not in favor of so-called made work, which has no lasting benefit.

Very truly yours,

A. K. LITTLEFIELD, *Mayor.*

OAKLYN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Eighty-six.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $1,500; 1929, $2,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Seventy-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $1,000; 1929, $1,500.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5 or $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Any appropriation must come from taxes and I feel the cost of administering would be too great.

CLIFFORD D. STRING, *Mayor.*

RIDGEWOOD

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your circular letter of November 27, 1931, I beg to make the following answers to your inquiries:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 75 per cent; 1930, 60 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $1,900; 1929, $1,900.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 75.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No record.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Nothing.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

W. J. TONKIN,
Commissioner of Revenue and Finance.

ROSELLE PARK

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: This is in reply to your circular letter dated November 27.

Unless the mayors answering your questionnaire think to state the populations of their municipalities the information they send will be of little statistical value. Our municipality has 9,000 population.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. (a) Probably 50; (b) probably 100.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. (a) About 200 per cent; (b) About 300 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. A total of perhaps 100.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Until November 1, all by local social service. Their outgo has increased (a) 200 per cent; (b) 300 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. At present, perhaps $18.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are in a position to float additional bonds, but that would burden the very people now needing help. They already are overburdened with annual tax bills.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A lot of trouble would have been forestalled had the system been for the National Government to transmit to the municipalities, say, 20 per cent of the national revenues to be used for municipal purposes. Not having this money to waste, the National Government might have saved itself a deal of trouble now evident.

A prolonged economical depression discloses that the Government (National, State, and municipal) owes more than the taxpayers can afford. Directly and indirectly the only support there is for the colossal structure of Government are the taxpayers. When industry is in difficulties the bulk of the citizens (taxpayers) are in financial difficulties—they can not afford longer to support and pay for what they have purchased or contracted for in the way of public plant, structures, personnel, and services.

To an ordinary mayor, with plenty of problems as such, and who contributes his services to the public gratis, it would appear that National and State government in the future must have less of "bloc" and "vocal minorities" response. It appears to me that the national deficit and most of the other difficulties the Government finds itself in have followed from yielding to self-seeking, loud minority groups.

Very sincerely yours,

D. MCNICOL, *Mayor.*

TEANECK

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: With reference to your inquiry of November 27 concerning poor relief, and the follow-up letter of December 11, may I give it as my humble opinion that the United States Senate will be discharging its full duty if it lends its best efforts to securing a balancing of the National Budget, leaving the question of poor relief to the individual States and municipalities.

Yours very truly,

PAUL A. VOLCKER,
Township Manager.

TENAFLY

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your circular of November 27 relating to emergency relief, I beg to say that in so far as I can determine conditions in and about my locality, I do not believe the Federal Government should undertake any additional relief unless it be in the form of construction of Federal buildings, roads, etc.

Those needing help in the State of New Jersey will be well provided for by the State and by public subscriptions. Full provision has been made to enable men to earn $20 a week until about June 1.

I am not informed as to conditions in other parts of the country.

Very truly yours,

GUY C. FOSTER.

TRENTON

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter and questionnaire of November 27, the following information is submitted:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The registration of the citizens' committee on employment for the year 1930–31 approximated 7,200. The registration of the citizens' committee for this year up to the present time totals 7,404 for the city, and a total of 8,741 for the city and surrounding territory represented in the unemployment movement of this district. The figures given for the year 1930–31 constitute the registration for this entire area.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In order that the city appropriations may not be increased, at least in any great amount, the citizens' committee on employment is contemplating the greater portion of relief to be administered in this district.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We find that due to unemployment there has been a great increase in requests for welfare relief in this district. At this writing approximately 50 per cent more demand is being made than was made at the same period last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In welfare relief work the private agencies are cooperating with the citizens' committee on employment and contemplate all relief work in excess of the city budget. To this date this year's relief work has increased approximately 50 per cent over last year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Relief is administered to families in dire need in proportion to the number of persons in the family. We have rationed our food relief based on the Army ration per person.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We hope that it will not be necessary to float further bonds to cover the expenditure needed for welfare work. In the event that it is essential, however, the city will have no trouble in floating bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In reply to your seventh question and in accordance with the views of Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly, Trenton feels that the responsibility of welfare relief work and unemployment is Trenton's problem, and therefore is unwilling to ask for any aid other than that given and supported by the citizens of this community.

Trusting this will answer your questions and be of some service to you, we are

Cordially yours,

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT,
F. J. KROESEN, *Secretary.*

VERONA

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It gives me pleasure to assist you in any work you can do to alleviate the problem of unemployment. Although Verona is largely a residential borough of people, who, in most cases, are home owners, the amount of unemployed and the number of people needing aid is alarming.

It will probably assist you in compiling information if answers are numbered as your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no assistance given to the unemployed by the borough of Verona in 1929 and 1930. In 1931 it is expected that 70 citizens will be given employment.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929 poor relief amounted to $956.79 and in 1930, $2,284.57. In neither of those years was money appropriated for unemployment relief. This year poor relief will amount to approximately $3,700. An appropriation of $28,050, of which $7,163 will be State aid, will be made this year to relieve unemployment for the balance of this year and the first six months of 1932.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment there will be approximately 50 additional persons needing relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. It is a rough guess that private relief agencies carried one-fourth of the emergency burden until the present time; in other words, to the extent of $1,000 or $1,500. With our proposed relief appropriation, this proportion will be reduced to a minimum.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children) is $20.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our borough is in a position to float further bond issues in the event that the present income is insufficient, but at the present time the marketing of the bonds is very difficult. This, of course, may be temporary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I certainly favor a Federal appropriation, and believe that it would be an aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy and lessen the burden on local taxpayers. The Federal appropriation must be a means, though, for carrying out a nation-wide construction program or a project which will be advantageous to the Nation, if not immediately, but of great benefit in the future. On such grounds, I believe a Federal appropriation justifiable.

If I can be of further assistance at any time do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

DAVID H. SLAYBACK, *Mayor.*

WALLINGTON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry of the 27th instant, the following pertains to the borough of Wallington in answer to your questions as numbered in your inquiry:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Three hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No increase; although a mayor's relief committee with funds received from private sources augmented the work done through the poormaster's department.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent; 1930 was first year the mayor's relief committee functioned.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a posit'on to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

If more detailed information is desired, kindly inform me and I will be glad to forward it to you.

Yours respectfully,

LEO STRZELECKI, *Mayor.*

WEST NEW YORK

DECEMBER 29, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your recent request, we are listing herewith the figures requested in the questionnaire on unemployment relief.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase of unemployed assisted in West New York over December 1930, is approximately 1,700; increase over December 1929, approximately, 1,100.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1939?

Answer. The city appropriations for unemployed and poor increased about $9,500 over 1930 and about $6,500 over 1929.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 50 per cent additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little of the burden is being carried by private relief agencies. We have no way of knowing what their expenditures are and how they have increased over 1929 and 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About 500 families are given weekly relief amounting to about $5 per family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our town could float further bond issues within reason, for relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We should think a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in this crisis would be the best and most logical step.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK EFFERT,
Chairman Unemployment Relief.

WEST PATERSON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer, From 75 heads of families to 200 heads.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Have taken advantage of 1931 emergency relief program (State law).

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Dependency relief, 12; employment relief, about 100.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have no private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Dependency relief (food and clothing), $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This is decided by borough auditor (a registered municipal accountant).

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. This might be good in addition to the State aid as passed special session of State legislature.

SIDNEY T. EDGE, *Borough Clerk.*

WESTWOOD

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: In answer to your communication of November 27, 1931, with reference to increase of outlays for relief purposes this winter under the unemployment situation, wish to advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We had no reported unemployment in December, 1929. In December, 1930, we had 45 registered unemployed, of which we helped about 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929 appropriated in budget for poor, $200; in 1930, $200; in 1931, $300. In addition to the above, we created an organization in November, 1930, to take care of the increased demand for relief; spent in 1930 approximately $500. This organization has been continued permanently and we expect to spend about $1,500 for the year 1931. Under the new emergency relief program in the State of New Jersey we have applied for $30,000 to be used between December 1, 1931, and June 1, 1932.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We have 115 registered unemployed on December 5, 1931, and expect to take care of 80 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929, none; 1930, approximately $500; 1931, $1,500.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5 weekly, in addition to clothing, fuel, etc.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Very truly yours, E. G. RINGROSE, *Mayor.*

WHARTON

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: Your communication of November 27 at hand. We are pleased to note that you are taking an interest in the unemployment situation, which has become much more serious as time goes on. The following are the answers to your questions, Nos. 1 to 7:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of persons assisted through employment and direct relief in excess of last year is 140.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed and the poor have increased this year over 1930 the sum of $17,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our judgment 150 families, averaging four persons to a family, will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There will be about $2,000 raised for direct relief through private and relief agencies; increase over 1930, $1,800.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of direct relief given so far averages about $5 per family. The amount of employment relief averages $9.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our town is not in a position to float further bonds, as we have a total gross debt as of October 13, 1931, of $229,200, covering bonds for water system and school buildings. In addition to that we have appropriated $17,000, which is not included in our 1931 budget, to give some measure of relief during the winter, which will not be at all adequate.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; we favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their relief burdens. As in our own case, we will be about $30,000 short of meeting the present need in our community, and we feel that such an appropriation would be of wonderful aid and should be authorized.

We sincerely hope that when Senate convenes you will further this cause with all the determination at your command.

Yours very truly,

J. H. WILLIAMS, *Mayor.*
FRANK FISHBOURNE, *Director of Relief.*

WOODLYNNE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your questions regarding emergency relief:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Forty unemployed persons helped in 1929; 76 in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Estimated that 120 persons will require assistance during the coming winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All emergency relief is being taken care of by private subscription.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. From $3.50 to $8.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Very truly yours, JOHN J. HECK, *Mayor.*

NEW MEXICO

CLOVIS

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter to Mayor Ned Houk, of Clovis, has been referred to the chamber of commerce for answer, inasmuch as this body is functioning with relief agencies in the city.

In reply to your first question, there is an increase in unemployment of about 50 per cent over last year. This big increase is partly due to the fact that the depression reached this region later than other parts of the country, and we will, through the same reason, perhaps, feel it months after other eastern regions have felt relief.

The city has made no appropriations for relief work. This is all carried on by private subscriptions, and an increased amount was asked for relief this year over the amount used in 1930.

Out of a population of 8,500 we will have about 500 who are badly in need of employment this winter.

All of the emergency burden of relief is cared for by private subscription so far and the burden is one-third heavier than 1930.

We are issuing clothing and food to adequately take care of the needy now, but the burden will be increased as winter progresses and it may be a real problem before the winter is over. This is not an industrial center and our problem is not as serious as in the cities. Our agricultural conditions are good, as to crop yield. Our farmers have plenty on which to live. Chief relief need is in the city.

We can not float a bond issue for this purpose.

We favor Federal aid if it can be secured without placing further tax burdens on the people. Taxes are already confiscatory.

Yours very truly,

JACK HULL, *Secretary-Manager.*

DEMING

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.,

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter addressed to the city authorities has been brought to me for reply.

Deming citizens appointed a relief committee which began functioning the 1st of November. The city and county have no sources from which they could draw additional funds, consequently the issue was facing the local residents. A survey was made, and it was found that we have 140 families dependent upon us for support or work of some kind. This is not a large community, yet it is located on the southern continental highways over which there flows an endless stream of persons seeking aid, going, so they tell us, to some relative, sometimes east, sometimes west, yet their requests are a constant drain upon our local funds. Subscriptions were made and they amount to $560 per month. We are issuing script for a day's wages, at $1.50. We find that our people are willing to do the work provided at this small wage, but on account of the limited funds it only amounts to about three days' work a month. Out of this amount, $560, the transients cost us for November $183.91. This you can readily see would have provided another day's work for our local people. We are endeavoring to raise the amount of our subscriptions, so that it will be possible to give our local people one day's work each week. We feel and know that we can handle our local problem, but this army of people going through is the drain upon the Southwest towns. What little we can help only sends them on to the next place, where the same problem confronts that community. We have made arrangements for the transient men to be given a bed and meals at the jail. Most of them are given a few hours' work around the jail yard to discourage the professional bum, and it has its effect. However, from November 8 to 31, 563 meals were served to them. If they were all adults we could perhaps harden our hearts and herd them out of town, but in most cases babes in arms and wee tots under 5 years are involved, and not many of us can turn these little ones away unfed. At least I can not.

We estimate that we must carry on relief through the months of December, January, and February, perhaps a little longer, depending principally upon the season.

For 1930 from October to middle of February, 1931, when we had a soup kitchen established, we fed and lodged over 10,000 transients; it would perhaps be just as heavy this year, but the restrictions on feeding causes many to pass us by. If Federal aid could be immediately furnished to stop in some way or provide for the transients, singles, and families, we believe that every community could and would devise means and plans to solve the local one.

Very truly yours,

DEMING RELIEF COMMITTEE,
GEO. D. ROBINSON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Have no fund.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Have no funds.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and forty families, representing over 700 hundred persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, all; 1929, all.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $1 at present, which is not enough.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Letter explains.

GALLUP

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of the 27th ultimo in reference to unemployment:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Locally there is at present an increase of 15 or 20 per cent in unemployment over December, 1930. This is considering total unemployment. The increase in part employment can be rated somewhat higher.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No extra appropriations were made for the unemployed this year, although the city has established a soup kitchen and flop house for traveling needy. As the expense is unknown as yet, it will have to be taken care of out of appropriations for the next fiscal year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We estimate that there has been an increase of 50 to 60 per cent in persons needing relief in our community during the winter months. Counting the transient population, we would estimate 100 per cent increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. McKinley County Welfare Association is the only relief organization in the county. The city government is caring for transient men as stated above. An average of 75 men per day receive food and lodging at the flop house. The McKinley County Welfare Association was not organized until the summer of 1930, so the expenditure increase can not be compared with either 1930 or 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The weekly amount of relief given to the average family can not be well estimated, as much relief is given in the form of clothing donated to the organization. Our Mexican families live on an extremely low scale. Many can buy enough food for an existence but can not purchase other needs.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is not in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It seems to be the consensus of opinion that no Federal appropriation should be made to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, but that all Federal building programs should be set ahead on the calendar. Especially is this true in the programs outside of Washington, D. C. In our own community a post-office building was authorized in 1929. Outside of clearing the site, no local labor has been employed on this project to the present time.

Yours truly,

G. A. ROUNDS.

ROSWELL

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your inquiry of November 27, 1931. Answering your questions as set forth:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We have less unemployed at present than in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of the burdens of emergency unemployed are being cared for by private subscription, which is about $5,000, about the same as 1930. We turned this over to the Salvation Army for distribution.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I can't give you the number of families helped, but will say that it is not more than we always have at this time of the year, and I doubt if we have as many.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We can float bonds if necessary, but don't think it will be necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I think each State, county, and municipality should take care of its own indigents and unemployed.

Very respectfully,

R. L. BRADLEY, M. D., *Mayor.*

SANTA FE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 20 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 25 families more than in 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The Santa Fe County Welfare Association and the St. Vincent de Paul Society handle most of the cases. County welfare budget, $6,000; St. Vincent de Paul, $4,000; Elks, about $1,000. I, as local representative of Salvation Army, about $200. This spent mostly on transients, is inadequate. However, I receive cooperation from restaurants, camp grounds, and one hotel is housing and feeding transients.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Not exactly, though St. Vincent de Paul Society based on $1 per week per person; the others what necessary or what we can give.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not think so. However, this is due to local conditions, which we can handle. It might be necessary or desirable in many places.

J. C. MCCONVERY, *Mayor.*

NEW YORK

BABYLON

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None so far.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We have about 100 unemployed.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 20 per cent.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

——— ———, *Mayor.*

BATAVIA

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The mayor directs me to make reply to your questionnaire of November 27.

Taking up the questions in order listed I will endeavor to answer them according to available records:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. An increase of 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Welfare appropriation for 1930 was the same as for 1929. We have overdrawn the 1930 appropriation by more than the original appropriation, which was $22,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The Red Cross, local chapter, expended $1,000 in 1929 and $2,500 in 1930, and the local organization known as the United Welfare Association expended $11,024 during the winter of 1930 and 1931.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. This being the center of a "cash crop" and canning-factory section most families have good supplies of vegetables. This supply is being added to by about $4 worth of staple groceries at the present time; $4 in the present local market will do the work of $6 compared with prices of a couple years ago. Rentals here run from $15 to $20 per month. Fuel, $12 to $14 per month.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; if voters will so authorize; the city has recently borrowed, under the provision of the Wicks Act, $50,000, to be expended in work-relief projects.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Very truly yours,

LLOYD A. CUTLER,
Commissioner of Public Welfare.

BRONXVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27 in reference to Federal assistance in meeting part of the burden incident to unemployment. Answering your seventh question first, I may say that I do not favor a Federal appropriation for this purpose, believing it to be wrong in principle. Answering your other questions, no census has been taken, no appropriation has been made. All of this work is attended to by local charities.

Yours very truly,

H. G. KIMBALL.

BUFFALO

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In preparing to answer your inquiry of November 27, I have consulted various sources of information and have given consideration to such data as are available in all of the various local agencies in order to give you an accurate picture of our situation.

First, I would call your attention to the inclosed tabulation, which shows actual expenditures and the number of cases relieved by public agencies during six fiscal years ending June 30, 1931. It is estimated that the total for relief extended through the agencies maintained by the city will approximate $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932. It is also estimated that the cases will total 20,000 for the several agencies. The reason the expenditures will increase in larger proportion than the number of cases is undoubtedly due to the fact that the load carried by these agencies has become more uniform from month to month. With relation to the figures shown as dependents, it is pointed out that experience has shown that the ratio is about 4½ to 1.

The city of Buffalo has maintained an industrial aid bureau in connection with its department of social welfare since about 1920. The industrial aid commissioner estimates that there were about 35,000 unemployed persons in Buffalo in December, 1929, which figure includes some 15,000 to 18,000 persons who were normally unemployed or who were seasonally unemployed. It is estimated that about 50,000 persons were unemployed in December, 1930. This figure is supported by the Federal census taken in Buffalo in January, 1931, which showed between 50,000 and 51,000 unemployed.

At the present time, December, 1931, it is estimated that there are from 55,000 to 60,000 unemployed persons in Buffalo. All of the above figures include some 10,000 persons who are normally unemployed even when conditions are most favorable.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Answering your question No. 4 the central committee, under which all local public and private relief work is coordinated, advises that in 1929 private agencies were carrying 40 per cent of the burden and in 1930, 30 per cent. From this same source it is estimated that private agencies are now carrying 20 per cent of the burden, but that the increased requirements as the winter progresses will shift this percentage as low as 10 per cent. I am advised that in 1929 private agencies extended relief to 1,027 cases; in 1930, 1,257 cases; and in 1931, 1,776 cases. It is expected that these cases handled by private agencies will increase to 2,500 during the current winter, and it is said that the money is now in sight to handle this number.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. With relation to your question No. 5, our department of social welfare's schedule for a family of four embraces a grocery order of $5 per week and an additional dollar in the event there is a case of tuberculosis or diabetes in the family. The department also supplies milk and shoes to children, supplies fuel and pays rent up to $15 per month. In the event the rent allowed by the city is not sufficient under the circumstances this allowance is usually supplemented by private agencies. The department also supplies drugs, medical attention, and hospital care. The allowance for provisions is based on the number of dependents up to $9 per week. In some cases the above aid is extended even though the head of the family may be participating in emergency employment which brings in some $15 per week. Our department has the visitors system which makes possible relief in accordance with special needs of the family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. With relation to your question No. 6 you are advised that recently enacted legislation by the State pledges reimbursement of local welfare districts to the extent of 40 per cent of the expenditures for home relief during the seven months' period from December 1 to June 1. The city of Buffalo has a margin of some thirty to thirty-five million dollars between its net debt and the amount that may be incurred under the constitution.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Your question No. 7 is similar to one propounded last December by Senator WALSH of Massachusetts, to which I replied: "I am not disposed to favor a grant of aid by the Federal Government because I believe that our State has sufficient resources to handle its own situation, and it is my honest conviction that each State should meet its responsibility in this matter."

In thus stating what I believe to be a sound principle, I do not wish to be regarded as foreclosing my right to form an opinion with regard to any specific or concrete proposition which might be evolved. If whatever you have in mind could be stated definitely, I should, of course, be glad to express my opinion on a specific proposal.

Trusting that the information herein will serve your purpose, I am,

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES E. ROESCH, *Mayor.*

Division of the city of Buffalo budget—Comparative cost of welfare relief by fiscal years from July 1, 1925, to June, 30, 1931

	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28	1928–29	1929–30	1930–31
Social Welfare G. O.:						
Outdoor relief	$243,190.49	$328,666.57	$444,837.84	$469,857.19	$686,449.79	$1,441,865.82
Indoor relief	121,192.41	163,972.46	147,326.14	187,012.96	245,312.84	317,311.50
General	112,861.43	119,312.31	139,133.35	154,757.17	166,278.35	189,765.55
Total	477,250.33	611,951.34	731,297.33	811,627.32	1,098,040.98	1,948,942.87

Division of the city of Buffalo budget—Comparative cost of welfare relief by fiscal years from July 1, 1925, to June, 30, 1931—Continued

	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31
World War veterans' relief:						
Outdoor relief	$45,831.16	$60,805.91	$81,252.25	$95,367.87	$167,837.67	$435,239.09
Indoor relief	12,636.58	11,633.71	11,265.72	13,757.17	21,033.50	33,177.57
General	8,414.58	9,048.10	12,613.14	10,970.97	15,069.60	21,808.20
Total	66,882.32	81,487.72	105,131.11	120,096.01	203,940.77	489,924.86
Grand Army of the Republic and Spanish War veterans' relief:						
Outdoor relief	46,982.72	50,733.26	55,384.12	54,040.23	57,357.80	50,172.63
Indoor relief	5,597.82	7,332.83	6,740.50	10,855.57	7,092.58	8,342.55
General	5,485.65	6,827.36	8,551.21	9,829.34	9,791.93	10,023.21
Total	58,066.19	70,893.45	70,675.83	75,325.14	74,242.41	74,538.44
Employment section	21,855.87	21,726.64	23,936.36	21,175.37	23,464.41	24,572.63
Grand total	624,054.71	786,059.15	931,040.63	1,028,223.84	1,399,688.57	2,537,978.86
CASE RECORD						
Social Welfare G. O.:						
Accounts	1,986	2,614	3,778	3,410	5,250	11,754
Dependents	9,104	12,267	17,002	14,982	23,625	52,893
World War veterans' relief:						
Accounts	557	765	901	884	1,606	3,311
Dependents	1,980	3,443	3,826	3,711	6,400	12,299
Grand Army of the Republic and Spanish War veterans:						
Accounts	370	389	375	260	350	364
Dependents	1,671	1,750	1,163	1,167	1,141	1,633
Recapitulation:						
Accounts	2,902	3,768	5,114	4,554	7,206	15,429
Dependents	12,755	17,460	21,991	19,860	31,166	66,830

CANTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? December, 1929?

Answer. Little, if any.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not many.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

The village of Canton does not have charge of the welfare work. It is all done by the town of Canton.

T. J. ELLWOOD, *Village Clerk.*

COHOES

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, we are very sorry that we have been unable to answer before this late date.

The following are the answers to the questions contained in your letter:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in the number of unemployed persons compared with December, 1929 and 1930, is about double.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Due to the fact that this city is bankrupt and can not under any circumstances borrow money, it was impossible to increase the funds in the department of charity.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Unless work can be provided would state that the number of additional persons who will need relief during the winter months will be about double.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are carrying about double the emergency burden, and their expenditures are about double compared with 1929 and 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $12 per week in work and food, or both, is given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children).

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float further bond issues in the event that our present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; we are in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy and in lessening the burden on local taxpayers.

Hoping that the above answers to your questions are satisfactory, we remain,

Yours very truly, JAMES P. DOOLEY, *Mayor.*

CORTLAND

DECEMBER 22, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: In answer to your letter of November 27, I wish to submit the following information:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been about a 50 per cent increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted compared with December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city's appropriation for the unemployed and poor has been increased about 100 per cent over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I would estimate that there will be about 150 additional persons who will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have no private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family (two adults and two children) receives about $10 a week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am not sure whether I would favor a Federal appropriation or not. An appropriation, however, would be fine to have for the reason that at present the minimum is being given.

Yours truly,

D. B. COLEMAN, *Chairman.*

DUNKIRK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No increase. About 2,800 unemployed.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930, 20 per cent; over 1929, 100 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Expenditures increased 1930, $19,000; 1929, none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you

feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

ELMSFORD

DECEMBER 6, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter of November 27 has been handed to me for reply.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Permit me to say that the number of unemployed in the village of Elmsford has increased since the year 1930 probably from 75 to 100. (There is no record for 1929.)

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The village of Elmsford is not permitted by law to make an appropriation for the care of needy and unemployed people. That is taken care of by the public-welfare officer of the town of Greenburgh, whose name and address is H. F. Graham, Lyceum Building, Tarrytown, N. Y.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is estimated that there are 50 needy families in Elmsford, some of whom are receiving help from the public-welfare officer of the town of Greenburgh.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. During 1930 a private relief committee spent $600 in supplying food, fuel, and clothing to 26 needy families in Elmsford. Recently the mayor of Elmsford appointed a committee on unemployment and relief, which has taken the place of the former private committee and which has secured in contributions $808.21, all of which probably will be used for relief during this winter. No record nor relief work in 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount given to each family during the winter of 1930 did not average more than $2, because it was supplementary to relief given by the public-welfare officer of the town of Greenburgh.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Elmsford is not in a position to float a bond issue for relief work, nor is it necessary to do so.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Speaking for myself personally, I am not in favor of a Federal bond issue or appropriation for relief. President Hoover is right in resisting pressure upon him to encourage or recommend such a measure, and is to be commended in refusing to call an extra session of Congress for, as a wise man once remarked, the country is never as safe as when Congress has adjourned.

Very truly yours,

JOHN GLOVER, *Secretary.*

FARMINGDALE

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed you will find your questionnaire of November 27, with the answers typed after each question.

We have approximately 150 unemployed in this community and between the State and county and local relief agencies are doing our best to meet the situation.

The Nassau County Welfare Bureau can probably give you a much better survey of the situation, as that is their work.

Yours very truly,

WM. A. WESCHE, *Village Clerk.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No statistics.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Can not answer.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No statistics.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but will not.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

FORT EDWARD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Same as usual.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Same.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Do not believe there will be any increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Not any.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No entire families being helped.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Village has authorized issue of certificates of indebtedness for $2,000 and $2,000 will be added by the State.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

E. J. KELLEHER, *Mayor.*

GARDEN CITY

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your circular letter of November 27, I answer your seven questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The probable increase of the unemployed persons in this neighborhood over 1930 is not much in excess of what is customary, even in good times. I place it at about 10 per cent and about 10 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930 Garden City raised $2,200 to care for its unemployed over the winter. This year it has raised $4,500, but so far only $14.50 has been expended.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment, not over 30 people will require help over the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There are several welfare organizations that help out in this vicinity. One is the Catholic Church, another is the Cathedral of the Incarnation, Episcopal, but principally they are taken care of by our industrial aid bureau, which was organized for that purpose.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. So far we have not been called upon to give much relief, but we figure that a family of two adults and two children should have from $12 to $15 a week in the way of aid.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. My answer is no.

Sincerely yours,

G. L. HUBBELL, *Mayor.*

GENEVA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The following number of unemployed families were helped: December, 1929, social service league, 9; December, 1930, social service league, 27; public welfare department, 3; December, 1931, social service league, 42, public welfare department, 50.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There is no city appropriation, as Ontario County is a public-welfare unit.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Between three and four hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1929, private, $7,030; public, $6,393; 1930, private, $8,239; public, $9,910.90; 1931, private, $10,586; public, $13,562.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The social service league plans that a family of four have between $5 and $6 a week for food, rent, fuel, light, and clothing according to their need, the total budget usually amounting to from $15 to $18 a week. This differs in public and private agencies.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Geneva will care for all dependents with outside aid.

M. S. GUZBURD, *Mayor.*

IRVINGTON

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your communication of November 27, relative to unemployment relief has come to my attention, and below I would attempt to answer your questionnaire.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. At present we have an increase of unemployment of about 50 over 1930, and 80 over 1929. Our total unemployed at present is 110. The population of the village is about 3,300.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The village has made no appropriations for the unemployed in 1929, 1930, or 1931. We have, however, appropriated about $350,000 in bond issues and certificates to cover permanent improvements. During 1931, which has taken care of approximately 60 local men on and off, during the summer months. This work is rapidly nearing completion.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 110 persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have organized a committee, known as the mayor's committee on unemployment relief, which is raising funds to the sum of $15,000 to provide work during the winter months. During 1930 relief was carried on for our village by the committee known as the relief committee of the Tarrytowns' and Irvington. They provided work in local industries in the above villages. We have no records of their expenditures in 1930. In 1929 the unemployment was about normal.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We have no record as yet of the weekly relief given to the average family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our village is not at present in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor the Federal Government assisting the local governments in meeting the emergency relief work. However, in view of the condition of the bond market and the difficulty in selling certificates, it would seem advisable for the Federal Government to give assistance to the banks for this purpose. The financial condition of our village is excellent but we have met with considerable difficulty in selling certificates in anticipation of a bond issue on account of market conditions at present.

Respectfully yours,

HERBERT C. DICKINSON, *Mayor.*

JAMESTOWN

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In answering your letter of the 27th instant, would state that the number of unemployed in Jamestown is approximately 3,000; the amount of poor relief, about $50,000 more than 1929 and a considerable increase over last year.

My suggestion is that the Federal Government should reduce the hours of labor throughout the United States in order to provide jobs for all who are now unemployed.

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL A. CARLSON, *Mayor.*

JOHNSTOWN

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your communication of November 27, 1931, relative to local governments and their emergency relief burdens. Our experience last winter showed a small increase in seasonable occupations, which still exists; however, our local citizens' relief committee met the situation with volunteer public subscriptions and this committee will continue through the present winter, having at the present time sufficient money for the present relief burdens. The fact that this committee has been satisfactory to the administration, we have not participated in any State or public appropriation.

Yours very truly,

HARRY A. JENNER, *Mayor.*

LARCHMONT

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Committee on Manufactures,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, this is to advise that the unemployment situation in the village of Larchmont is being taken care of by a committee duly appointed by the mayor, and funds supplied by private subscription; are at the present time ample to take care of the situation.

If Federal appropriations are made, it should be seen that the distribution should be made so that each community getting relief would share in the distribution.

Yours very truly,

EUGENE D. WAKEMAN, *Village Clerk.*

LYNBROOK

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of December 11, please be advised that the village of Lynbrook has at present 275 unemployed listed on their work relief bureau records.

Very truly yours,

H. E. DANA, *Village Clerk.*

MASSENA

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letters of November 27 and December 11 have received my personal attention.

While I am unable to answer some of the questions, I have made notations to that effect.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We have no record of the 1929 December unemployment. In the 1930 December there were approximately 60 unemployed men. Present unemployment is listed at 300, which includes men working 1, 2, 3, and 4 days a week.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The village has made no appropriations for poor relief or work relief, as this is a town function. The town has a separate relief fund.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This information must come from the town, as we have no records.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The civic league has been collecting clothes and small sums of money for this purpose. This is their first year, and no comparison can be made. The Red Cross carried some of the burden last year and again this year. The mayor's milk-fund relief is new this year, and we are putting milk into the schools for children that can not afford to buy it.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Believe that the town allows about $9.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We do not believe that the villages should raise money for this purpose, as the towns have larger assessed valuations and can carry the burden easier.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am unable to say as to the benefits derived from a Federal appropriation to be used for emergency relief work. I am inclined to think that the best solution at the moment is for each local community to try to work out its own problems. Of course, some communities will not do anything, and in that event I believe that the county or State should have some supervision.

While the questions have not been fully answered, I hope that you will receive enough information to help you in making a decision as to the wants of the country as a whole.

Very truly yours,

T. S. BUSHNELL, *Mayor.*

MEDINA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, none; 1929, 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None. Town home relief took care.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty to seventy-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars and fifty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

C. W. GRINNELL, *Mayor.*

MIDDLETOWN

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27, relative to conditions in our city, received.

In answer to the first question, would advise that there were 70 men employed by the city in 1930 over the number employed in 1929. In answer to your second question, would say that we undertook public improvements for our city to the extent of $300,000, to provide employment. We have plans already made to provide work for 200 men during the winter months. We are in a position to finance this with whatever aid we may receive from the State. I do not feel that we should favor any Federal legislation or appropriation to assist in the alleviation of the present emergency.

Very truly yours,

CLARENCE C. VANFLEET, *Mayor.*

MINEOLA

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your communication of November 27, regarding the situation of the unemployed in our village: In view of the fact that until this year we had no committee on unemployment, nor had the village appropriated any funds for that purpose, I am not in a position to answer several of your questions.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Up until the present time there have been no appropriations for this purpose.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I wish to state that, in former years, there was only the usual amount of unemployed which is prevalent in every community due to a number of different conditions, among which people not being overanxious to work. This year I would say the condition is at least 400 per cent more aggravated.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. I might say that up until the present the whole burden has been carried by an unemployment relief committee appointed by the board for that purpose.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $10 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We find no law which would allow the floating of bond issues for this purpose.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I can only give my personal opinion. Based upon past experience, it is my opinion that it cost too much by way of excessive salaries to handle State or Federal appropriations for this purpose. In my judgment, the local relief committees are the proper agencies to handle these relief funds, for which they receive nothing for their services, but when appropriations are made by the State or Federal Government it is hedged in with so much law or systemized to the extent that it requires too large a proportion of the appropriation to handle these funds, and as a result it becomes unnecessarily burdensome upon the taxpayers, and those that are being assisted do not receive the proper benefit. However, I would say that if we could eliminate so much expense in handling the proposition, it would seem to be the proper function of the Federal Government to do something to help local communities in this extraordinary condition.

Yours respectfully,

EDWARD SCHMIDT, *Mayor.*

NEW ROCHELLE

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of Noevmber 27, I beg to advise you that:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 99 families were given relief, of which 51 were due to unemployment; in 1930, 110 were given relief, 61 due to unemployment; of these many were persons who have been on our rolls for many years as having been given relief during the winter months because of temporary unemployment.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The total amount appropriated for home relief, including unemployed in 1929, was $10,674; in 1930 it was $18,952.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment the present winter months will require relief to approximately double the number last winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are carrying a portion of the emergency burden, but most of it will be done through the public authorities. I am not able to state how much private expenditures increased.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given through public sources weekly to the average family—two adults and two children—is $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float further issues, if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Federal appropriation would be most desirable.

Very truly yours,

WALTER G. C. OTTO, *Mayor.*

NEWBURGH

JANUARY 2, 1932.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Inclosed is the questionnaire concerning a survey of unemployment in this community which you sent us on December 24, 1931. We hope that you will find the information of advantage and that you will write us on occasion if you wish any further knowledge of conditions in Newburgh.

Very truly yours,

JAMES D. TWEED,
Chairman Newburgh Unemployment Bureau.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; in 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $44,000; in 1929, $82,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five thousand four hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Six dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

NORTH TONAWANDA

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 was referred to the work relief bureau but was lost in the piled-up work which swamped

them. Your letter of December 11 is at hand, and I submit the following data of present date:

North Tonawanda has felt the pangs of the depression very keenly, as shown by the following picture:

Estimated normally employed, 6,000 to 7,000; estimated number of unemployed, 1,500; estimated number of unemployed in need of relief, 800.

In 1929 the city expended about $2,800 for home relief aid; 1930, about $11,000; and 1931 will find our expenditure close on to $40,000, beside spending about $15,000 in emergency labor during the winter of 1929–30.

The welfare department reported about 89 separate cases in 1929, 229 in 1930, and 384 to the 1st of November, 1931, and are increasing on an average of about five a day since.

Our registration to date of persons who would like work total about 1,100 and is being constantly added to.

The average family of two adults and two children receive about a $4 weekly order.

The city has not reached its bonded limit of debt, but the taxes are average-high now and the taxpayers' ability to meet them is already strained.

It is my opinion that until matters are more serious it is a matter that should be handled between the welfare community and the State.

Yours very truly,

R. R. PULLEN.

NYACK

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: In reply to your form inquiry of November 27, the village of Nyack is not officially and as a village doing direct relief work for unemployment or for charity. We have undertaken several improvements of streets and other properties sooner than we otherwise might have planned, but, as perhaps you know, the New York State law recently passed places relief responsibility on county rather than municipal governments.

Under the provisions of this act, Nyack receives its proportionate share of work and funds raised by the county of Rockland, plus a 40 per cent premium which the State adds.

We would favor any Federal action which would relieve the burden on local taxpayers.

Yours very truly,

WM. E. MOTT, *Mayor.*

OLEAN

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 27 and also your letter of December 11 requesting information concerning unemployment in the city of Olean and suggesting that the information would be used as the basis for requesting Federal aid.

In my opinion, the question of unemployment is a purely local question and any attempt to inject either State or Federal aid into the situation will only result in being a hindrance and not a help. The only possible benefit that I can see would be derived from any Federal aid would be the benefits derived by the States having small assessed valuations. In other words, under any system of Federal aid, undoubtedly the larger States and the more thickly populated States and the States where there are more unemployed would be called upon to assist out of proportion the States with the smaller populations. In addition, of course, any system of Federal aid would necessarily mean Federal supervision and increased expense of administration.

Yours very truly,

EARL C. VEDDER, *Mayor.*

ONEIDA

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One thousand five hundred dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Not over 5 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average was about $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

JOHN M. MEAD, *Mayor.*

ONEONTA

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, I am pleased to answer as far as possible the questions contained in your letter.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Would think about 25 per cent compared with December, 1930, and about the same compared with 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations have increased 25 per cent over 1930 and 1930 increased about 50 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment, 100 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. Entire relief so far has been carried by the city.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Should say the amount of relief given weekly to the average family would be about $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float further bond issues in the event that our present income is insufficient to meet relief needs that come in.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am heartily in favor of this question. Local governments in a great many ways have been very much overburdened in meeting emergency relief burdens.

Yours very truly,

B. C. LAUREN, *Mayor.*

PATCHOGUE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The situation in this village is being well cared for.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Emphatically no.

——— FOSTER, *Mayor.*

PELHAM MANOR

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am instructed by the mayor to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 27th ultimo. In doing so permit me to answer your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. As far as we are able to ascertain there has been no increase in unemployment in the village of Pelham Manor.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The village has appropriated nothing for the unemployed and the poor increased this year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. If any money is being expended in the village for unemployment relief it is done entirely through private agencies of which the village has no knowledge.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. None.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Very truly yours,

G. H. KERR, *Village Clerk.*

PERRY

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of November 27, would say that we have a few more unemployed in Perry, N. Y., this year than we had in 1930, but our factories are running fair.

I do not believe in bonding, for every town and city is bonded too much now and the taxes can not be lowered much until the bonds are paid. "Pay as you go," is my slogan instead of paying interest. Let every town and city take care of their own because the loans are never distributed even.

Yours truly,

JOSEPH IRELAND, *Mayor.*

PLATTSBURGH

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Reference the above, the unemployment situation is about the same as it is every year. There has been an unusual amount of construction work going on during the past two years, but the work now under way is very near finished. After that I can not say just what the situation will be. The two paper mills and the wallpaper mill are operating about four days a week and seem to have sufficient orders to warrant sufficient work until the new season opens.

JOHN H. MCGAULLEY, *Mayor.*

PLEASANTVILLE

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: I have your letter of November 27, relative to unemployment and relief.

Due to the fact that we have just made a canvass of our community to take care of existing conditions, I am unable to give you very much information at this time. I will, however, be very glad to keep you posted just as soon as our committee starts to function.

I am very much opposed to paragraphs 6 and 7 of your letter. I feel the United States Government has all it can carry to take care of deficiencies without attempting to float bond issues to meet this condition. I think each community should take care of its own unemployed.

Very truly yours,

PLEASANTVILLE COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF,
ARTHUR C. HOYT, *Chairman.*

PORT JERVIS

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to yours of December 11, reference to information concerning the unemployed in our city. I can report about 400 men and 100 women out of work at this time. We have started a labor program of increasing our water mains, which we hope will relieve the situation in a small way; that is, we are alternating the workmen in weekly relays, so most of them will get part-time employment.

Up until the last month we have been able to keep most of our men busy the last two years on a large paving program in our city, which was completed the 1st of November.

Trusting this gives you the required information and thanking you and your committee for the interest taken in Port Jervis, I am,

Yours truly,

T. J. CONMY, *Mayor.*

RENSSELAER

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter of December 11 and your previous one of November 27, asking information concerning unemployment in our community:

We are unable to furnish accurately the statistics requested in your letter. However, we might advise that we believe that we have 100 per cent more unemployed at this time than we had a year ago.

The city of Rensselaer is working with the temporary emergency relief administration of the State of New York. The city has appropriated $15,000 for unemployment relief, and the State has advised that they will furnish $8,000 from money appropriated for that purpose to apply to our city. To date 250 unemployed men have registered with this bureau, and we have been able to place 90 on city projects and possibly 10 with outside firms.

In addition to this we have our regular charity department, which has funds to the extent of $12,000. This department is also working with the State agency and will be reimbursed to the extent of 40 per cent for all money spent, which means that our charity work will be considerably greater than in previous years, and it must be.

We know that this does not fully answer your original letter, but it is the best information we can furnish at this time.

Yours very truly,

H. M. VAN ALSTYNE,
Chairman Work Relief Bureau.

ROCHESTER

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Upon receiving your letter of November 27 I requested the city comptroller to procure for me the information you desire and received from him this morning the inclosed letter and table, which I think covers all the facts you want. If there is anything further, please let me know.

Yours truly,

ISAAC ADLER, *Vice Mayor.*

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

MR. I. ADLER,
Rochester, N. Y.

DEAR MR. ADLER: The following information and data are sent you in connection with Senator LA FOLLETTE's letter forwarded to me by you:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of cases receiving home relief, October, 1931, 8,453; number of cases receiving home relief December, 1930, 5,921; increase 1931 over 1930, 42 per cent, or 2,532; number of cases receiving home relief, December, 1929, 2,939; increase 1931 over 1929, 187 per cent, or 5,514.

The analysis of cases has not been separated as to unemployment; however, the abnormal trend of expenditures in 1930 and 1931 is caused by economic conditions and resultant unemployment.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. I am attaching a copy of a table showing the expenditures of the city of Rochester for the years 1925 to 1930 and our estimate for 1931. While the estimate for 1931 was made some months ago, more recent figures show that the amount of $4,265,000 is the approximate expenditure for the year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. While it is the hope that the local emergency plans to relieve unemployment will have some effect on the city's welfare load, there is little evidence that our expenditures for 1932, particularly in the winter months, will be any less than they were in 1931.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Approximately 6 per cent of the local relief burden is being carried by private agencies. You are aware of the fact that the city has had to take many cases previously handled by the private agencies. Increase, 1930 over 1929, $9,000; 1931 over 1930, $66,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. A family of two adults and two children require about $19 a week, which includes food, milk, clothing, fuel, light, and gas, etc. This figure varies somewhat according to ages of children and standards of living of the family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. While the credit position of the city of Rochester is good, there is a very serious question as to whether poor-relief bonds can be floated. This type of security is not particularly attractive to the investor, and in addition they create a new debt to be paid by local real estate, which is already overburdened.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. There is no question that the municipality, which is limited in its taxing powers, can not continue to carry the welfare burden. The burden is beyond the ability of the cities, and unless the State government assists the cities, either by giving State aid or by tax law changes, it seems inevitable that the Federal Government must help on this problem.

You may feel free to change my comments or elaborate on them.

Yours very truly,

C. E. HIGGINS, *Comptroller.*

Relief work, Rochester, N. Y., years 1925–1931

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931 [1]	1931 [2]
Bureau of Charities:								
Public Welfare	$187,053.60	$197,781.80	$222,245.74	$296,380.22	$456,244.32	$841,996.01	$1,177,000.00	$2,250,000.00
Grand Army of the Republic relief committee	29,251.27	32,657.13	41,566.40	53,440.06	71,031.65	102,712.67	81,161.84	180,000.00
World War relief committee	27,497.62	40,299.75	70,087.38	127,211.09	156,765.22	235,617.60	195,589.83	375,000.00

Relief work, Rochester, N. Y., years 1925–1931—Continued

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931 [1]	1931 [2]
Bureau of Charities—Continued								
Private hospital care—indigent sick	$44,290.16	$39,060.05	$59,206.61	$105,283.79	$94,560.50	$127,282.00	$113,698.50	$200,000.00
Municipal Hospital (70 per cent)			178,773.23	243,619.71	255,430.11	269,287.65	178,375.95	290,000.00
Total	288,092.65	309,798.73	571,879.36	827,934.87	1,034,031.80	1,576,895.93	1,745,826.12	3,265,000.00
Unemployment relief						90,000.00	725,000.00	1,000,000.00
Grand total	288,092.65	309,798.73	571,879.36	827,934.87	1,034,031.80	1,666,895.93	2,470,826.12	4,265,000.00
	NUMBER OF CASES							
Bureau of Charities:								
Public Welfare	567	571	642	986	1,472	3,952	4,289	6,000
Grand Army of the Republic relief committee	191	195	279	290	396	412	473	475
World War relief committee	93	222	229	297	352	651	1,225	1,587
Total number of cases	851	988	1,150	1,573	2,220	5,015	5,987	

[1] To July 31. [2] Estimate for year.

NOTE.—This statement was prepared from figures received from the welfare divisions and from comptroller's reports.

ROCKVILLE CENTRE

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter on unemployment addressed to the mayor of this village has been handed to this department for reply.

The following information is in reply to your communication of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No record kept previous to this year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriation made to aid unemployment. It is being done with voluntary contributions.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This question would be better answered by Town Welfare Commissioner Robert Campbell, Hempstead, N. Y.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Most of the work is being done by authorized public agencies—that is, town and county welfare commissioners—and a committee appointed by the mayor of this city, as above stated, is operating with private contributions.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Refer to Mr. Campbell, as above mentioned.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Very truly yours,

J. H. PATTEN, *Building Inspector.*

RYE

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am inclosing herewith your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, with regard to the unemployment situation in the village of Rye, which has been answered.

Very truly yours,

WM. H. SELZER, *Village Clerk.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Very little.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None that we can't care for ourselves.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The greater proportion; which is where it belongs.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The village has only given employment.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

SCHENECTADY

DECEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have undertaken to give below answers to the questions contained in your inquiry of November 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of families assisted in 1929 was 1,011; in 1930, 1,998; in 1931, 4,532.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor were as follows: Public welfare department, 1929, $50,044; 1930, $74,409; 1931, $158,676 to November 1. Appropriations for the emergency relief bureau, operating in connection with the New York State temporary emergency relief administration, were then made by the city as follows: For home relief, $200,000; for work relief, $300,000. These are the estimated requirements for the emergency period, November 1 to June 1, 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The total will probably reach 5,500.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The proportion of the emergency burden carried by private relief agencies was: In 1929, $3,593 out of $53,637; 1930, $4,396 out of $78,805; 1931, $72,654 out of $231,330. In 1931 the mayor's committee on unemployment, by obtaining voluntary subscriptions, increased the relief from private agencies by approximately $68,000. For the present emergency period, November 1, 1931, to June 1, 1932, it is expected that $5,000 will be provided by private agencies and $60,000 in addition, collected by voluntary subscriptions, benefits, etc. The proportion will then be $65,000 out of $565,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. In December, 1931, the public welfare department assisted 1,006 families at a cost of $24,000; with an average family of two adults and two children, the weekly assistance would be $6 per family. Due to additional assistance being given for rent and light, it is expected that this average will soon reach $7 per family. Work relief is given to one member of a family and is based upon an 8-hour day for a 5-day week at 50 cents per hour, or $20 per week. So far, however, the average has been nearer 3½ days because of rainy weather.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. If it should be necessary, the city of Schenectady could float additional bond issues, but this might not be looked upon with favor by the administration or taxpayers. I believe our present appropriations, plus subscriptions, benefits, and State aid, are sufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more

adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. My observation confirms my belief that work relief and home relief are handled better when they become the responsibility of the local community, and I further believe that local communities are well able to handle problems of this kind that arise in their midst.

I appreciate your kindly interest in our work, and shall be pleased to send any additional information we have which may be useful to you.

Very respectfully yours,

E. W. ALLEN, *Chairman.*

VALLEY STREAM

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to the questionnaire mailed under date of December 24, 1931, we can advise you as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Seven hundred and fifty unemployed in 1931, 450 in 1930, 250 in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations in 1931, $65,000; 1930, $42,000; 1929, none.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 500 persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies help temporarily and the cases are referred to the town relief organizations.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $7 per week to the average family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We have appropriated $65,000 during 1931 for work for the relief of the unemployed, but this amount is sufficient for only 50 per cent of the needy.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We favor Federal appropriations to assist the local government in meeting emergency relief and such an appropriation would be an aid in providing more adequate relief and lessening the burden of local taxpayers.

Any further information you may require, we wish to assure you that we will be glad to furnish it.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES BERGEMANN, *Village Clerk.*

WATERFORD

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 27th ultimo in regard to unemployment relief has been referred to the undersigned by the board of trustees of the village of Waterford.

We beg to advise that our budget is balanced, and with the State aid available we are fully able to take care of our unemployment affairs here without assistance from the Federal Government.

We think it might be a good idea if the Federal Government got its own budget balanced before it went about offering to give money which it does not possess.

Yours very truly,

THOS. O'CONNOR, *Village Attorney.*

WATERTOWN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, double; 1929, 225 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Two hundred and twenty-five per cent; including November, $98,000 was spent in 1931; about that amount was spent in 12 months in 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Carried by relief agencies, 21 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Twelve dollars and seventy-five cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

WHITE PLAINS

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your questionnaire regarding unemployment and relief received, and I would reply as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No city unemployment bureau in 1929. Registered unemployed in 1930, December, 554; 1931, to and including December 17, 206.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriation for home relief: 1929, $5,100; 1930, $22,706; to date, $66,291 (1931).

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 150 to 200 additional families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No private relief agencies functioning that I know of.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The relief given to the average family per week is as follows: One-half ton coal per month, electricity and gas as used, clothing as needed, rent at a maximum of $40 per month, medical care and doctors as needed, also average of $5 and a quart of milk.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; in a favorable market.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments if the municipality does not have to furnish additional set-ups or expend moneys in order to receive or administer same.

Respectfully,

JOHN D. G. GENNERICH,
Commissioner of Public Safety.

YORKVILLE

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The board of trustees of the village of Yorkville has instructed me to answer your recent communication relative to unemployment-relief measures and statistics.

In a village such as ours, at least in New York State, there is no village machinery or facilities for affording relief.

Such matters are cared for by the town board.

The board, however, wishes me to tell you that they are in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in combating unemployment and other relief problems.

Very truly yours,

STANLEY L. CLARK, *Village Clerk.*

NORTH CAROLINA

ASHEVILLE

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your letter of November 27, and in reference to questions—

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent over 1930; 25 per cent December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent over 1930; over 1929, 25 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent. No increase with 1930—10 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two and a half dollars.



6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation, although there may be extreme cases in mining and industrial centers where the Government could provide work so that these persons might earn at least a portion of their livelihood.

Yours very truly,

OTTIS GREEN,
Mayor, Chairman of Unemployment and Relief Committee.

BURLINGTON

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of November 27 received, for which I am thankful to know that some of our Senators realize that there is a great multitude of people in this country who are dependent on the law-making bodies of this Nation to look after their existence for the next few years.

Answering your questionnaire in my way, the unemployment is greater now than it was 12 months ago, confined mostly to common labor, carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians, and the supply companies' help that furnish the above-named lines of material.

The relief agencies for this town and community are cared for by volunteer contributions, together with a small donation by the county which works jointly with the community chest. This organization will only be able to render help to the extent of providing merely existence for the unfortunate and unemployed.

With reference to my city floating further bond issues for the relief needs of the community, it can not be done under our law, as I am a member of the local government commission of North Carolina, that has oversight of all local governments, such as county, city, and school districts. We know from the budgets that have been submitted and the tax rates that prevail, together with the inability of property owners to pay, it would be useless to think or even try to float bond issues for relief needs, and as I see it, the only route would be to reduce maintenance operations and take the surplus as the budget may provide and apply it for relief needs if necessary. However, this method would be appropriating money for one purpose and spending it for another, and I doubt the wisdom of undertaking such an attempt.

The surest way that I see to aid the cities and towns in the United States would be for the Federal Government to pass a law enabling the United States Treasury to exchange or sell Treasury notes against city short-time paper at a low rate of interest for a period of 10 years, and at the expiration of 10 years the cities then sell bonds to retire the loan with the Federal Treasury; by this arrangement credit only being allowed for the construction or extension of revenue-producing utilities owned and operated by the municipalities. In all probability at the expiration of 10 years the earning capacity would be enough to set up a reserve each year to retire the obligations without having to levy a tax to retire the bonds; however, this could not be expected in all cases.

Municipal revenue-producing utilities can cover municipally owned gas plants, water plants, electric-light plants, municipally owned transportation facilities, abattoirs, airports, and I believe that municipally owned canneries could also be termed as a necessity to the people of cities and towns in this country, as the farmers and truck growers could bring in their vegetables, fruits, etc., and carry back with them canned goods at a nominal price, which, in other words, would be profitable to the farmer and would also be a help to the town people. This is an idea I think could be worked out very successfully.

As a member of the governor's committee in this State for the past year, trying to solve a marketing arrangement for the marketing of tobacco so that the farmer could get something in excess of the cost to produce the same, I am convinced that there is no way to handle the excess surplus profitable to the producer as long as it is in the warehouse in our country subject to sale, whether it be tobacco, cotton, wheat, or any other commodity where there is an excess produced. You know and I know that the excess only drives down the price of the entire volume of the particular article. It being in the hands of cooperative marketing, the purchaser knows that it went in the warehouse at a price and it will have to come out at a price, and nine times out of ten the jobber or manufacturer of the particular article will fix a price on its coming out of the warehouse, or the Farm Board will fix a price on its coming out, when they allow so much per pound or bushel to the farmer when same is delivered to cooperative market operators, because this allowance in money will represent a certain per cent of some estimated price at which it is received.

To my way of thinking, I believe that the United States Government should substitute for the present Farm Board a Federal export commission, and if we grow 6,000,000 more bales of cotton in the United States than we consume at home, and 50,000,000 more bushels of wheat than we consume at home, and 400,000,000 more pounds of tobacco than we consume at home, then declare this excess to be an export surplus, turn it over to the export commission to sell on the world markets at competitive prices of like raw materials, or whatever they can get for it; then should a manufacturer of any of these raw materials have to compete on his export products with some foreign manufacturer, then allow him a rebate on the amount of raw material that he has to buy to produce his article equal to the price his competitor has to pay. But in order to get this rebate such exports of finished materials would have to clear through the export commission. By such an arrangement, I believe we would find a market for our excess; we would keep up our standard of living in the United States for all the people instead of a few individuals.

I know one thing it would do. There wouldn't be any cotton sold on the New York exchange in November, to be planted in April, picked in September, ginned in November, and delivered in December; neither would there be any wheat sold in Chicago before before it was planted. Why? Because the excess the brokers have been gambling with would not be available and the prices would go up, whereby the producer of the three crops would have a few dollars above the cost of production, and consequently all other farm products would follow in price. The farmers of this country then would receive their part, as they are really the producers of original wealth, with the exception of the minerals and ores of the earth and the products of the forest. The groups represented here number near on to one-half of our purchasing population.

With kindest regards, I am, yours truly,

EARL B. HORNER, *Mayor.*

CHARLOTTE

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Five hundred and forty-three. We have never made a distinction in our families whether caused by unemployment or other causes.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Seven thousand six hundred dollars; no increase over 1930; 1929, city gave $2,400.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably about 300 over 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all of the burden of relief falls upon the private agencies subsidized by the city; 1930, $10,000; 1929, $17,239.29 increase.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. In total support, food, rent, fuel, etc., $8.50; if medicine and clothing is given it amounts to more.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; but will not be needed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

NANCY L. AUSTIN,
Executive Secretary Charlotte Associated Charities.

CONCORD

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am inclosing herewith answers to the questions submitted in your letter of December 18 relative to the unemployment situation in this city.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been very little increase, as our mills have run exceedingly well.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Five hundred dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Thus far the relief calls have not increased over last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. A fund of $5,200 was raised by popular subscription; of this the city gave $500.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The above varies according to needs.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. A bond issue would not be necessary, as the relief needs here are not great.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. As far as our city is concerned, I do not favor a Federal bond issue, as our relief appropriation will not be a burden to our local taxpayers.

If I can be of further assistance in this matter, please call on me.

Yours very truly,

W. A. WILKINSON, *Mayor.*

FAYETTEVILLE

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your recent inquiry as to the local unemployment situation, due to general business depression, is acknowledged.

As there has not been an accurate survey of our local situation it is impossible for me to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of unemployed in Fayetteville and vicinity. The city budget was adopted last summer, at which time the same amount as last year was included for charity, and I was then of the opinion that we would, with the assistance of the local Red Cross and Salvation Army, together with the county welfare department, be able to care for the needy here without outside assistance, and I am yet in hopes and believe that we can; however, there has been such a large demand recently for assistance in various forms that I have become convinced we are going to have to procure more funds from some source other than has already been provided, or else there will be considerable suffering among the needy.

This week I met with the heads of the three local charitable organizations, and each informed me frankly they would not be able to care for the situation with the funds now at command. Unless the situation is improved materially within the next week or two it is my intention of making an additional appeal to the citizens through the local press.

It is my personal opinion that local conditions are considerably worse this year than last, due largely to the fact that there are so many who have heretofore contributed to relief work who are at present not only unable to give anything but are themselves in need of relief. So many have lost their homes by mortgage foreclosures that the situation to me has become alarming. There is considerable sentiment hereabouts in regard to mortgage foreclosures of farms by Federal and joint-stock land banks, and not a few have expressed the opinion that a moratorium in that respect would be of benefit not only to the farmers, who have been unable to obtain a sufficient price for their crops to pay for the making of same, but would be of assistance to business in general.

It is certainly to be hoped that some way can be found to deliver a business-wrecked and panicky United States from the financial muck and mire it is now in, and in your endeavors you have my every good wish for ultimate success.

Yours very truly,

Q. K. NIMOCKS, Jr.

GOLDSBORO

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 15 to 20 per cent; 1929, 10 to 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 15 per cent; 1929, 30 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All relief by private agencies. Lack of funds; therefore we can not make a fair comparison; gardening and canning have helped.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $1.30, not including fuel, which is furnished by the city.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We could in emergency, but don't want to.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

J. H. HILL, *Mayor.*

HENDERSON

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We beg to advise in answer to your questions contained in yours of November 27 as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We would say, conservative, not less than 10 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Same in 1931 as in 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not less than 100 families in this county out of population of approximately 20,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We do not know of any private relief agencies operating in this county outside of the Salvation Army.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. It has been impossible for us to ascertain this amount.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We most emphatically do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting their emergency relief burdens.

Yours very truly,

C. S. WESTER, *Secretary.*

LENOIR

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of November 27 has been duly received asking for certain information in regard to unemployment relief for our city.

The city did not take any special action last year to relieve unemployment as there was no need for it, as we had only a limited number of cases that were not self-supporting and these were cared for by private relief agencies.

This year the private relief agencies have made better provision for relief than last year and have some funds on hand at present to be used as soon as the necessity arrives. Our little city is rather fortunately situated as we have quite a bit of manufacturing, and most of the factories have been busy for the past eight months, and prospects are that they will be employed in some form of work at least part of the time until the end of the year. Plans are being made to take care of our local situation out of local funds, and we do not expect to call on outside sources for assistance unless something unforeseen should shut down our factories and force a considerably larger percentage of our people out of work than was the case last winter.

Personally we are opposed to the National Congress handing out a dole as we think it is the wrong thing to do, as we do not believe conditions are such, especially in the South, to warrant the States and local governments in asking or expecting outside aid for the unemployed. Conditions at other points may be very different, but so far as our section of North Carolina is concerned we feel the people can take care of themselves with local assistance.

Yours very truly,

L. H. WALL, *Mayor.*

MORGANTON

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No increase. More employed now than 1930; about same 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None unless factories that have been working for past six months close.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, same; 1929, some more.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Those that receive aid are paid in goods; no money; amount about $9.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; if found that it is necessary where there are unusual burdens. I believe the burdens of the weak should be borne by the strong.

Yours sincerely,

E. M. HANFIELD, *Mayor.*

ROCKY MOUNT

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry of the 11th received, and in answer to yours of the 27th of November I beg to submit the following:

Our unemployed have increased this year approximately 20 per cent over 1930; 40 per cent over 1929. We have been called upon to give relief to the poor in approximately the same percentage.

Charity work here is handled through the Associated Charities and the Salvation Army. Municipalities in this State are held to 25 per cent of poll-tax collection for contributions to poor relief; therefore it is necessary to do a major portion of this work by private subscription.

This Government has adopted a policy of accelerating public works where it appears to be of clear necessity, but that runs far short of being sufficient to materially affect the situation.

Our city government has a very comfortable credit margin, but we have rather rigid laws governing the issuance of bonds, and besides taxes have already reached the point where they are a burden on business, and the issuance of bonds would be looked upon with disfavor at the present.

The question is asked for opinion on Federal aid. Farmers in this State and throughout the South are almost hopelessly upon the rocks. If there could be some form of Federal relief given farmers I should think it would be very timely. Landlords will allow the tenant to farm the land whether he gets any rent or not, but the landlords can not continue to furnish guano and lose; if any form of aid were given I should think first of doing it with fertilizer.

Your letter of December 11, was handed to me by our mayor for reply and if perhaps I have not covered the question asked in yours of the 27th ultimo, kindly forward direct to me a blank and I shall be pleased to comply with same.

Yours very truly,

L. B. AYCOCK, *City Manager.*

SMITHFIELD

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase, 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

J. D. UNDERWOOD, *Mayor.*

THOMASVILLE

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 27th in reference to the unemployment situation in our little city has been received.

Below I am giving you a list of answers to your various questions by number:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in our city as compared with December, 1930. We had no unemployed to speak of in December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase in appropriations from the city for the unemployed over 1930. There was no assistance necessary in 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We do not figure there will be any additional persons that will require relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930. With 1929?

Answer. Approximately 60 per cent of the emergency burden is carried by private relief agencies. There have been no increases in this expenditure as compared with 1930. No relief was required in 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The approximate amount of relief given weekly during the three winter months would average approximately $3 per family consisting of two adults and two children.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in position to float bond issues in the event that it should be deemed necessary. However, we do not think this will be at all necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not at the present time favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting their emergency relief burdens. We feel that we are organized to meet present situations in our city, and we do not feel that the burden would be lessened on our taxpayers by receiving appropriation from the Federal Government.

Very truly yours,

JAMES E. LAMBETH, *Mayor.*

WINSTON-SALEM

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry and at the request of the mayor of this city, Hon. George W. Coan, jr., we submit the following information concerning unemployment in this city:

Total population	75,000
White	45,000
Colored	30,000
Total wage earners	28,000
White	16,000
Colored	12,000
Total unemployed	5,500
White	2,700
Colored	2,800
Male	3,500
Female	2,000
Total number families assisted by associated charities year ended November 30, 1931	12,189
Families assisted in January, 1931	1,956
Families assisted in September, 1931	386
Average number families assisted per month	1,016

Yours very truly,

CITY EMPLOYMENT BUREAU,
D. B. ANDERSON, *Manager.*

NORTH DAKOTA

BISMARCK

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Your letter of November 27, addressed to the mayor, has been referred to the writer.

It is my best judgment, as well as the judgment of the mayor, that the following is the information called for in your letter:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in the city, compared with December, 1930, of 20; compared with December, 1929, of 25.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for unemployment and poor have increased $5,000 this year over 1930; $7,000 over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 10 to 15 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically no proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family is $10.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is in a position to float bond issues in the event that the present income is insufficient to meet adequately relief needs.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments.

M. H. ATKINSON, *City Auditor.*

DICKINSON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of November 27 regarding relief matters, I am answering wholly as to our own locality.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been about 10 per cent increase in unemployed persons assisted over 1930, and about the same over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No increase whatever either in 1930 or in 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 10 per cent increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent is being carried by private relief agencies, and their expenditures for relief have increased about 100 per cent over 1930 and 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

WILLIAM KOSTELECKY,
President of City Commission.

FARGO

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is in reply to your inquiry of November 27, 1931, relative to the unemployment situation in Fargo.

There is more unemployment in Fargo this winter than last. How many are now unemployed I can not say, nor does there seem to be any record to show the number a year ago this winter.

The city of Fargo does not give assistance to the needy, but the work is carried on under the direction of Cass County authorities, of which county Fargo is the county seat. In addition to the aid given by the county, the community chest, the Fargo Union Mission, and other institutions perform like services. The quota set for the community chest in Fargo this winter was $80,000 and was oversubscribed $17,500.

The county is at this time providing aid to 355 persons, some of whom are single and some of whom are the heads of families. The county has no record giving the total number of persons being aided through the 355 mentioned as appearing on the records. The county provides aid according to the individual necessity. In some cases it only has to provide rent, in others it provides food, and in others food, clothing, and shelter. One of the county commissioners said that the board appropriated $85,000 this year for poor relief for the county of Cass, about $20,000 more than last year, but that he did not believe at this time that it would take care of all the demands that would be made for assistance.

The weather has been very good so far this winter, which has helped out to some extent. There is no doubt but that with the passing of the holidays many more will be thrown out of employment, but there is no way to base an estimate as to what the number will be.

Very truly,

CARLÓ JORGENSON, *City Auditor.*

JAMESTOWN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Five hundred per cent over 1929 and about 100 per cent over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Eight thousand dollars over 1929 and $5,000 over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 50.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little done locally by private agencies; they help those in other localities.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Families are only partly supported by city. We employ some of the needy.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but is not necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; are able to take care of our needy.

W. G. JOOS, *Auditor.*

OHIO

ALLIANCE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Ninety-eight per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-fourth.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; extra tax levy.

ASHLAND

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. From 200 to 400.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Five hundred dollars over 1930 and $500 over 1929; this outside Community Chest.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-half by private relief agencies; compared with 1930, expenditures doubled; compared with 1929, tripled.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average, $8.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

C. H. GANYARD, *Mayor.*

BARBERTON

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 27, 1931, requesting certain information regarding the unemployed situation in this city and the relief given.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Number of families and persons furnished food and fuel: December, 1929, 76 families and 342 persons; December, 1930, 318 families and 1,328 persons; November, 1931, 512 families and 2,304 persons.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929 expended $7,029.96, including payments to physicians and hospitals; 1930, expended $11,787.95, including payments to physicians and hospitals; 1931, to December 1, expended $10,651, including payments to physicians and hospitals. We reduced the amount expended in 1931, due to a great extent to a municipal garden operated under the supervision of the poor director, who was aided in his efforts by a garden committee appointed from industries and local business men.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Estimated, 1,000, in addition to those cared for now.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies extending relief reported to the secretary of the chamber of commerce and the secretary of the community fund. The following is a copy of their report: "The three relief-giving organizations of the community fund are: The American Red Cross, the Catholic Service League, and the Salvation Army. Expenditures of these organizations have increased from $3,599 spent in 1929 to approximately $9,000 for extra outdoor relief work this year. In 1930 $6,600 was spent by these organizations. Approximately 13,000 contacts have been made

by these agencies this year as compared with 6,500 in 1929. In the year 1931 the community fund contributed $1,500 to the relief of persons recommended by the poor director in addition to other relief expended by the budget committee of the fund." The extra outdoor relief is not limited to furnishing a limited amount of food supplies but most of it was expended in personal services and nursing. The $1,500 referred to was expended for food in the year 1931. The contacts referred to were personal calls at homes and visits to offices for relief other than for food.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The cost of furnishing food to an average family of four is approximately $1 per week. This amount is in addition to the food supplies now on hand and obtained from the municipal garden.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Council of the city passed an ordinance to issue $15,000 worth of bonds for poor relief. This action of council has received the approval of the Tax Commission of Ohio and the welfare director of Ohio and bonds are now being prepared. No other bonds can be issued for poor relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not approve of the Federal Government extending any emergency relief to any political subdivision except in the case of great disaster over which the community has no control. I am inclosing a copy of the report of the poor director of this city, Mr. John P. Mong, who supervised the work in the municipal garden. The quantities stated do not include all of the food supplies which were raised in the garden, as some of it was distributed to those who were working in the garden. Details of the garden project may be obtained from Mr. Harold R. Cross, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Barberton, Ohio. He is also in a position to give information respecting the cooperation of all agencies, organizations, clubs, lodges, and churches in obtaining names of families needing relief and the distribution of food supplies. The low cost per person for relief is due, to a great extent, to the fact that the city purchases all necessary supplies and food products at wholesale and distributes it to those obtaining relief. Information may also be obtained from U. L. Light, superintendent of the public schools, who is chairman of the relief organization, which is composed of one member from each church, lodge, club, organization, etc. We will be glad to give you any further information you may desire in respect to anything done by the city in the way of granting relief.

Very truly yours,

S. A. DECKER, *Mayor.*

BARNESVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Two thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Three-fourths.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

W. S. OUTLAND, *Mayor.*

BELLAIRE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None. No funds; city bonded to limit.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Figures not available.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

A. J. C. MILLER, *Mayor.*

BELLEFONTAINE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: We are very glad indeed to answer the questions in your letter of November 27, and sincerely hope that the replies to your letter will indicate that States, cities, and towns should have Government help this winter.

Our city of 10,000 people always has had a number of families who have been taken care of by the societies of the city. This number, of course, varies in ordinary times from 50 to 100 families.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930 the local charities fed and clothed 183 families, and the city authorities furnished coal free for these families. The total amount expended in this direction in 1930 was in excess of $15,000.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The mayor's committee, which has made a careful survey, reports that Bellefontaine will have to take care of 350 families this winter. The city has agreed to furnish the coal free, and the various committees from churches and societies are endeavoring at this time to raise supplies—clothing, food, and money. It is estimated that it will take at least $30,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our judgment, we believe the committee's estimate of families to be taken care of is low. We believe there will be at least 400 families to take care of.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The committees do not give any money. They supply each family with food, etc., and it is estimated that food, fuel, and other supplies amount to $6 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in position to float additional bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We surely believe that, if possible, the Federal Government should assist in this work.

Sincerely yours,

F. N. JOHNSON, *President.*

BRIDGEPORT

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Street work, 70; 125 published in paper December 2, 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased as compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Increase compared with 1930, 75 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent. We took care of 100 families last winter, average six or seven to a family.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. One dollar and seventy-five cents, average six to seven.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

BRYAN

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Answers to your questions of November 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 30 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city funds have been used; money raised from private funds increased about 25 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not many.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private about 50 per cent, and balance township trustees; increase about 25 per cent over 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Do not know.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; but believe that we are able to take care of our own needs from private funds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not want Federal Government dole system. Believe that each community is better able to take care of its own poor.

Very truly yours,

L. S. HALL, *Mayor.*

CHILLICOTHE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. Five thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifteen per cent increase over 1931.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private agencies have taken care of 60 per cent of total; 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars and fifty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

CLEVELAND

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Attached you will find statement which I have had prepared concerning unemployment in Cleveland. I regret there has been so much delay in sending it to you.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD H. BURTON, *Acting Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in Cleveland is best secured by taking the number of families receiving material relief from the Associated Charities and Jewish Social Service Bureau, Cleveland's principal family-relief agencies, and adding to this the number of persons receiving relief from the Wayfarers Lodge (homeless men) and from the county Soldiers and Sailors Relief Commission. While soldiers and sailors relief is granted to persons living anywhere in Cuyahoga County, 92 per cent of the recipients are residents of Cleveland.

The number of families receiving material relief (food, clothing, shelter, and fuel) from the Associated Charities and Jewish Social Service Bureau in the month of December, 1929, 1930, and 1931, is as follows: December, 1929, 1,788; December, 1930, 6,147; December, 1931, 15,000 (estimated).

The number of homeless men cared for at Wayfarers Lodge is as follows: December, 1929, 1,591; December, 1930, 2,987; December, 1931, 3,000 (estimated).

The number of persons receiving relief grants from the county Soldiers and Sailors Relief Commission is as follows: December, 1929, 371; December, 1930, 634; December, 1931, 1,800.

The totals of these three groups are: December, 1929, 3,760; December, 1930, 9,768; December, 1931, 20,800 (estimated).

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929 and 1930 the city of Cleveland made no appropriation for direct relief of the unemployed and able-bodied poor. In 1931 it issued $1,000,000 of relief bonds under an emergency act passed by the State legislature, known as the Pringle-Roberts Act, and used $970,000 of the proceeds for family relief and $30,000 for milk which was distributed to undernourished children. In addition to this the city of Cleveland provided from its operating fund $15,000 for the care of homeless men at the Wayfarers Lodge and $75,000 for family relief. Therefore, the city appropriations for the unemployed and able-bodied poor have been $1,090,000 greater in 1931 than in 1930 and 1929.

In addition to the above the county of Cuyahoga has made the following appropriations for family relief, care of homeless men, and soldiers' and sailors' relief.

	1929	1930	1931
Family relief			$300,000
Homeless men (Wayfarers Lodge)			40,000
Soldiers and sailors relief	$86,000	$100,000	[1] 400,000
Total	86,000	100,000	740,000

[1] Estimated.

The suburban cities surrounding Cleveland also provided the following amount for relief: 1929, $16,800 (estimate); 1930, $20,000 (estimate); 1931, $50,000 (estimate).

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five thousand additional families, 4,000 additional homeless men at Wayfarers Lodge, 1,000 additional soldiers and sailors, representing a total of about 10,000 unemployed persons over and above the December, 1931, figures.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The proportion of the 1931 emergency burden being carried by Cleveland's private relief agencies ($1,530,000) is approximately 40 per cent of the total.

The expenditures of Cleveland's two principal private relief agencies for the years 1931, 1930, and 1929 total: 1931, $1,530,000 (estimate); 1930, $1,423,032; 1929, $777,212.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars and seventy-five cents per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Under the law of Ohio bonds may not be issued for operating expenses, even for poor relief. The legislature passed a special act permitting limited issues for this purpose in 1931 and full advantage was taken of it here ($1,000,000 by the city of Cleveland and $1,400,000 by the county of Cuyahoga), but such authority will be lacking in 1932 unless the legislature meets in special session and enacts new legislation to that effect. Special tax levies may be made for poor-relief purposes and a 1-mill levy (estimated to produce about $2,000,000) has been voted in this county for 1932. No additional levy can be voted until November, 1932.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Cleveland's feeling and slogan has always been "Cleveland will take care of her own." We are certain that this attitude will continue and feel that the ability to do so will continue to exist; however, if any Federal appropriation to assist any local government should be made, Cleveland would, of course, expect to receive its proportionate share, as we can always use such funds to advantage.

CUYAHOGA FALLS

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Concerning your letter of November 27, I wish to give the following answers to the questions concerning our local community problems.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, 97 families were given outdoor relief, in comparison with December, 1930, of 196 families. In December, 1931, the total will easily reach 250 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed were $2,218.38 for the year 1929, in comparison with $10,970.90 for 1930. To date, in 1931, we have expended $21,000, city appropriation only.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is difficult to estimate the number of persons who will be in need for the winter months; but we are quite safe in saying 325 to 350 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The welfare association has received from private sources, as member of the Better Akron Federation, $8,000 for the year 1929 and $10,000 for the year 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average relief for family of 4, 2 adults and 2 children, $3.50 for groceries weekly, 1 ton of coal per family per month, coal purchased at $3.90 per ton. In some cases house rent, not to exceed $15 per month, with allowance of $2 per month for gas, or in some cases oil.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This community (Cuyahoga Falls) will not be able to float further bond issues in the event that our present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs, unless we are enabled to do so by special act of legislature.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments, and we do feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief and lessening the burden on the taxpayers.

Hoping this is the information desired, I am,

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE D. PORTER, *Mayor.*

DAYTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, 1,022; December, 1930, 3,944; December, 1931, 5,556.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $30,000; 1930, $30,000; 1931, $400,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three thousand.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $92,862.94; 1930, $340,000; 1931, $565,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Six dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

EAST CLEVELAND

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following letter is in reply to your inquiry of November 27 in regard to unemployment and the general business depression as it has affected the city of East Cleveland, Ohio.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. East Cleveland is essentially a residential suburb of the city of Cleveland, with very little industry and only sufficient business district to provide for our own population of 40,000. We have no information on the amount of unemployment inasmuch as all records have been taken for all of greater Cleveland, including Cleveland, East Cleveland, and the other major suburbs. However the increase in unemployment has been very great.

In regard to those unemployed assisted by the city of East Cleveland, December, 1929, 6; December, 1930, 22; December, 1931, 209.

The above tabulation pertains only to persons given work on our city payroll as distinguished from the many that have been taken care of through our community fund or associated charities or other social agencies. These figures again are tabulated for greater Cleveland without a separation into Cleveland and the individual suburbs. The information in regard to greater Cleveland can be obtained from the Cleveland Associated Charities.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for unemployed: 1929, $850; 1930, $680; 1931, $3,400.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The number probably will double or triple. This is not because that many more persons are out of work, but because many of those that have been out of work have exhausted the savings upon which they have been living prior to this time.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. This information can be obtained from the Cleveland Associated Charities.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximate amount of relief given weekly to the average family: Food, $5; rent, $5; clothing, etc., $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. There is no State law or municipal ordinance at present authorizing any issue of bonds for poor relief for the year 1932.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. Such an appropriation would undoubtedly be of material help and lessen the burden on local taxpayers provided some equitable means of distribution can be arranged for, or in other word sprovided that the money will be apportioned on the basis of actual need rather than upon some less desirable basis.

Very truly yours,

CHAS. A. CARRAN, *City Manager.*

ELYRIA

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of November 27, I will give you my opinions according to the numbers in that inquiry.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I believe the increase in the number of unemployed persons in this city is about 70 per cent over that of 1929 and about 10 per cent over that of 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for poor relief for the year 1931 were ten times greater than those of 1929 and about five times greater than 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 150.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The relief work is being cared for about 50 per cent by private relief agencies who derive their funds from the community chest and 50 per cent by the city.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to each average family for food is about $3.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; our city is in a position to float further bond issues, but in Ohio the law does not permit it to do so for relief purposes after December 31, 1931.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. My answer to this is "yes," if the red tape and details are eliminated.

In order that you may get the true picture, let me state that ours is a city of 25,600 population.

Yours very truly,

JAS. A. HEWITT, *Mayor.*

EUCLID

DECEMBER 31, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27 in regard to the unemployment situation in our community, in 1931 we knew of about 550 men who were unemployed. This was an increase of about 350 from January 1, 1931, to December 1, 1931. To-day we can safely say there are over 700 men unemployed in our city.

Trusting this gives you the information you seek, I am,

Yours truly,

J. L. SULLIVAN.

FRANKLIN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 75 families; in 1931, 125 families; in 1929, 50 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1931, $4,000; in 1930, $3,689.44; in 1929, $3,000.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. 1930, welfare association, $3,200; 1931, $4,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; home owner carrying too large a tax burden.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We have found that to give charity without some consideration in return is very bad on the industrial natures of the individual in the general run of men. The honest man doesn't want charity; he wants work. Those seeking out-and-out charity are those that each year have their names on the relief books, while the others are those temporarily in need due to unemployment and these wish to work for their help. Therefore, it has been our experience that work given to the needy on public improvements at the same time relieves the unemployment condition and does not lower the industrious ambitions of the individual. It is impossible for the Federal Government to make an equitable and even distribution of any appropriated relief funds, so I say, if possible, build roads and buildings and not hand out dole.

Best wishes to you.

J. T. RILEY.

FREMONT

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 225 families; 1929, 100 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $3,000; 1929, $5,000; for 1932, $8,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Same as 1931.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies, 50 per cent; 1930, $3,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars, coal, and groceries.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Favor Federal appropriation which will create work.

GALLIPOLIS

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployment increased, but no statistics for comparison.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation; poor cared for by township trustees and Red Cross.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 500.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No figures. Poor fund in charge of township trustees.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Respectfully,

A. J. STORMONT, *Mayor.*

GENEVA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Answering your letter of November 27, we estimate there is probably an increase of 50 per cent unemployment in Geneva in 1931 over 1930, but we do not consider it permanent or beyond our ability to handle. Our village has made ample appropriations for its share of the relief.

Our manufacturers are largely manufacturers for spring trade and we expect relief of unemployment will be given by work about January.

About 50 per cent of the burden of the poor falls upon our well-organized Community Chest work.

Our village is not in position to float bonds, because we deemed it unnecessary. So far as this community is concerned we do not favor Federal appropriations because we believe the community should take care of its own unemployed and we believe it is the duty of the Senate and House of Representatives to help the President in his economy drive to reduce Federal expenditures. If you and the Senate will do all you can to keep from spending money, we believe you will help the country more than to inaugurate a Federal dole.

Very truly yours,

GLENN C. WEBSTER, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent over 1930; 30 per cent over 1929 (estimated).

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City has made no appropriation to this cause.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. (a) All. (b) I have no way of determining.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. One dollar per individual.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I favor Federal help, but until the end of this period of depression is in sight the liberality of appropriations must be carefully guarded for a more urgent future.

GIRARD

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-two families; 112 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Three thousand five hundred dollars; $4,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $1,008.98; 1929, $215.86; 1931, $1,230.40.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars and fifty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

IRONTON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Due to the fact that our city in the past few years has had but little contact with relief work, most of it being

done by private agencies, I am not in position to answer all of the questions in your letter of November 27. I do know, however, that throughout this fall and winter many families will need relief. In years gone by a heavy proportion of this burden has been carried in our city by private relief agencies. During the coming months, however, there is a serious question in my mind as to the proportion of this emergency burden which local relief agencies will be able to bear.

The city of Ironton, Ohio, is not in a position to float further bonds for relief needed. As a matter of fact, its financial condition is such that it is having a hard struggle to keep abreast of its actual operating expenses plus its interest and bond-redemption requirements. It does seem to me that if there is any possible chance for the Federal Government to assist the local government that it should be done. My reason for feeling that way is that this whole depression question is one of national importance rather than a purely local proposition, and that the Federal Government is, therefore, and should be, a party to helping carry on the burden.

I have just talked to the local Red Cross secretary, and she informs me that it is anticipated that this city of 16,600 population will have between 500 and 600 dependent families throughout this winter season. The average allowance weekly to families is $1 per adult and 75 cents per child.

Trusting that this gives you the information desired, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

LEONARD G. HOWELL,
City Manager.

KENT

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, I am pleased to give you the following information:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There will be no noticeable increase in the number of unemployed assisted by the city this year as compared with December, 1930, or December, 1929. We assisted about 100 more people in 1930 and 1931 than we did in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city's direct appropriation for unemployed in 1930 was less than in 1929 and will be no greater in 1931 than 1930. This is largely due to our successful effort to find work among the city's industries and to provide work by necessary improvements, such as installation of water-softener plant, construction of trunk-line sewers, building of addition to city hall, etc.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment the relief question in our city will be just about the same this winter as it was last winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Our private relief agencies increased their relief burden in 1930 about 50 per cent over 1929 and are planning about 100 per cent in the coming winter over the winter of 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Many families partially employed are facing relief need this winter, especially those with large families. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children is $5, with $2 added per child.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is legally and financially in position to float further bond issues but the legal red tape could not possibly be unwound in sufficient time to do us any good in the present winter.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor Federal appropriation and we do not feel that it would lessen the burden of local taxpayers. The burden of Federal tax is already heavy in our locality with every prospect that it must be heavier without placing on it the additional burden of our local relief.

Very truly yours,

ROY H. SMITH, *Mayor.*

LIMA

DECEMBER 26, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: Your letter of November 27, 1931, has been turned over to the Family Welfare Association for reply.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December of 1929 we carried a total family load of 298 families. In 75 of these families unemployment was the principal problem presented. In December of 1930 we carried a total of 592 families, and unemployment was the main problem in 279 of these families. In December of 1931 we will probably carry a total of 992 families, and of this group there will be about 600 families where unemployment is the main problem.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In the year 1929 the city of Lima gave our organization $561.19 as an outdoor relief fund and $2,000 in salaries. This salary was to take care of the administration of the city hospital fund, which is not included in the above figures. In 1930 the city gave our organization $6,416.90 and again $2,000 as a salary item for administering the hospital funds. In 1931 up to November 1 we received from the regular appropriation of the city $8,707.84 and, through a note issuance of the Roberts-Pringle bill, $13,536.49, and additional $2,000 item for salaries.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In November, 1931, we carried 383 families for relief. We will probably carry four hundred and some families for the month of December. I believe that before the winter is over we will be carrying about 600 families a month for relief. Our families average five to a family, which will mean about $3,000 per month.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Until 1930 our agency was a private agency and carried the burden of relief. In 1930, when our agency became hopelessly in debt, the city came to our rescue and gave us sufficient to pay back debts. In 1930 we were not included in the regular city appropriation for any sum for relief. Our community chest budget for 1930 was $12,082. In 1930 we received from the community chest $9,492.51. In 1930 and 1931 community chest we were granted $12,082. However, due to failure of the chest and of collections we received $8,027.84. In the community chest this year we were given a six months' budget of $22,000. Community chest was successful and we have so far received our monthly appropriation.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to an average family of two adults and two children is $2.80 a week for food. This is supplemented by clothing, mostly used, skimmed milk daily, and a donation of vegetables, etc., which I estimate would bring the total weekly to about $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. There is no legal procedure available in the coming 1932 which would enable the city of Lima to float another bond issue, unless the Roberts-Pringle bill is again put into force.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In our particular community I feel that they should meet their own emergency, as I believe they will be able to do so. I realize that this, however, is not true in unorganized communities. If some Federal appropriation could be made to be spent for work payments, through the repairing of national highways, public buildings, etc., it would relieve the tremendous strain of family morale and antisocial tendencies of the unemployed.

I am indeed sorry it has taken me so long to answer your letter. We have been so horribly rushed that I have not had time to sit down and work out the necessary estimates and figures you asked for. I hope our reply is not too late to be of value to you.

Sincerely,

(Miss) DORIS M. CANGNEY,
Executive Secretary.

LISBON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.,

DEAR SIR: Your circularized letter of November 27, 1931, was handed the writer, as one of the trustees of the Lisbon Welfare Association.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase in unemployment so far in 1931 of approximately 25 per cent over 1930, and approximately 50 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. This village has never appropriated any funds for the relief of unemployed. Previous to this year this activity has been handled by the local Red Cross chapter.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This year the welfare association has already assisted 65 families, approximately 325 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All the burden has been carried by private relief, the funds being donated by citizens of the community. In this drive for funds, we found that many Federal as well as State employees

failed to give anything and those who did give only gave a slight percentage of their monthly salaries, although none have suffered the same reduction of income, as those employed in nongovernmental activities. Here you have a source of further contributions still untouched and which should be made available, whether the employee be under civil service or not.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our weekly relief in this small community is at the rate of $3.50 per week for food, in addition to clothing and house rentals in many cases.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This village can not, unless the State laws be revised, float any bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation, for the reason that the amount if properly and equally distributed would be so large as to stagger even the Federal Treasury. We also feel that the cost of such distribution would be so large that the amount of relief reaching the unfortunate would be greatly reduced. As to relieving local taxpayers, they would eventually pay out in some form, if not by donations.

Respectfully submitted.

M. GOLDSMITH, *Trustee.*

MAUMEE

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: You may consider the red-ink replies to your questions on inclosed sheet to be unusual for this year. There is some unemployment in this village of about 5,000 people, but the situation is really better than last year. Circumstances are in our favor. A railroad improvement of some proportions is employing a good number, and we have in view some necessary public work that will help quite a bit. Our people have subscribed very liberally to a community service fund. We shall not be compelled to ask outside assistance.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, no record.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, can not compare.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all of the emergency burden is carried by private relief agencies. Expenditures compared with 1929, no record; 1931 less than 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No fixed amount; each family is investigated every week, and needs supplied.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Will not need to.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No Federal dole necessary. The less the Federal Government (Congress) messes with this, the better. You are too far away and too political.

A. F. FILES, *Mayor.*

MEDINA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No increase in either year.

2. How much have the community chest appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, $1,000; less than 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At present indications are that there will be less.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All by community chest, $1,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; let every community care for its own needy. Such an appropriation is an entering wedge to the dole system.

J. R. MOORE, *Mayor.*

NORTH OLMSTED

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent less.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent local.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

C. A. SELTZER, *Mayor.*

PERRYSBURG

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About the same as last year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No record kept.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our township trustees have the money for relief, thus have enough now.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. The town does not have a relief fund.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Our town can easily take care of the destitute unless there is greater need than we know. Our community league and township trustees take care of the needy. Also churches and clubs help.

W. J. VEITCH, *Mayor.*

RITTMAN

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, requesting assistance in deciding upon a proper Federal policy, I wish to state that we have suffered very little in our village because of the depression. However, it has been necessary to render some aid in the past year.

It is my opinion that we shall be in a position to care for our needy this winter. We are so situated that we can float a bond issue if necessary.

Thanking you for the inquiry, I am,

Yours very truly,

FRANK B. HANES, *Mayor.*

ST. MARYS

NOVEMBER 31, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of this week may I respectfully submit the following:

The unemployment situation in the city of St. Marys is very much worse than it was a year ago. We have found it necessary to almost double our relief appropriations for this winter over a year ago.

My idea has always been that these unemployed men want jobs, not charity; and to that end we have constantly striven to create work by the installation of public works, but we have now reached the point where the city is almost at the end of its resources. Private agencies have stepped into the breach, but even they are going to be taxed to the limit to take care of our unemployed.

Federal appropriations would be most welcome, but I fear that they will come too late to be of much use. The need is immediate, and if the Federal Government is contemplating anything of this kind, may I respectfully urge immediate action.

If I in my official capacity can be of any assistance, do not hesitate to call on me.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM UETRECHT, Jr., *Mayor.*

SHELBY

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Answering your questions of November 20, we are pleased to make the following report:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I should say there are twice as many men out of employment now as there were in 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city made a community-chest drive, giving our association $8,000 for feeding and clothing the poor. This is about double the amount used last year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We are now caring for about 115 families, and we expect this number to reach at least 150 families before the spring opens.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930. With 1929?

Answer. The associated charity board is taking care of all the relief work. We get our funds from the community chest; the expenditures have about doubled over 1929 and 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. For food, fuel, and clothing, a family of four requires about $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in a position to float further bond issues if it becomes absolutely necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Personally I am not in favor of Federal assistance for emergency relief. I believe that each taxing district should care for their own needy, or I am afraid that the Government will get into a very bad angle if they undertake to give either Federal or State relief. The conditions that do exist in a city of 6,000, such as ours, might not apply in a very large city.

Any other information that we may furnish will be gladly given.

Yours very respectfully,

HARRY SOTZEN.

STRUTHERS

Report requested by United States Senate Committee on Manufactures.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed now 1,100; December, 1930, 800; December, 1929, 500.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations, 1931, $11,250; 1930, $6,000; 1929, $2,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Additional persons this winter, 150.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies, 1931, $9,000; 1930, $12,000; 1929, $10,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately, $500.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; and unquestionably.

Respectfully yours,

A. G. JONES, *City Auditor.*

TIPPECANOE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of November 27 was received to-day, and in reply I will say:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been a decrease in the number of people assisted in this year over the number in 1930. As to 1929, there is no comparison to be made with the last two years, as the depression, which is not political and is world-wide, had no effect on the situation until after the beginning of 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Was answered in my reply to the first one.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I will say, judging by the situation now, there will not be as many as there were in the winter of 1930–31.

Your fourth and fifth questions I can not answer, because I have no record which will enable me to do so.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I will say we do not need to issue bonds to take care of the situation here.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. With a deficit now of a billion dollars, which may run to twice that sum before next June, I think it time to call a halt on the wild demands for help from the Federal Government. I don't consider the men who are asking the Government to issue bonds, all the way from two to five billions, are sincere. I think they are playing politics; and I believe, if they are wise, they will get down to the earth and offer something constructive, which would be a benefit to the whole country and help us through one of the worst depressions the world has ever had. We can take care of our unemployed here in this State, and I am sure that most of the States, if not all of them, can do so.

Yours respectfully,

J. WILS FENNER, *Mayor.*

TOLEDO

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 10,000; 1929, 20,000.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $500,000, approximately; 1929, $1,000,000, approximately.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Now 6,500 families; 3,000 more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Five per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars in food, with other relief.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Doubtful.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

UHRICHSVILLE

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 250.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and seventy-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The benevolent society will have about half the money to spend this year that they had last year, 1930. They have been furnishing shoes and clothing for the children and the city feeds them and tries to clothe the older ones.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We have had to cut them down to $1.50 a week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float a further bond issue, as 50 per cent of our people have not paid their taxes, owing to the lack of business and unemployment of our people.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; I do not favor a Federal appropriation. I think it is high time you and the Senate should face the real issue and make laws to take care of the great common people instead of Europe and the big money interests.

Yours truly,

J. W. LYTLE, *Mayor.*

UPPER SANDUSKY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Not over 10 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City has made no special appropriation.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly 50.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Will not be needed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; except in cases of unusual emergencies. We do not want too much paternalism in Government.

WADSWORTH

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The first five questions asked by you are being answered by the community chest officers who have full charge of the relief work in this community.

In answer to your questions 6 and 7, I wish to state that the city is in no position to float bonds, but feel that we are able to take care of any emergency relief without issuing bonds or call upon Federal aid.

Yours truly,

L. EARL RICKARD, *Mayor.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your questions of your letter attached:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. For 1931 over 1930, 47 per cent; 1930 over 1929, 51 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. For 1932 over 1931, 50 per cent; 1931 over 1930, 20 per cent; 1930 over 1929, 66 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 35 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No private agencies doing relief to my knowledge.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. From $3 to $3.75 in groceries.

Sincerely yours,

P. HOFFMAN, *Secretary.*

WARREN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. For 1930, 311; 1929, 668.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. About 200 per cent for 1930 and 400 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of it; 100 per cent over 1930 and 400 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

WAUSEON

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE.

DEAR SIR: Received your questionnaire; take great pleasure in answering same. If there were any way possible to furnish work for the men in our locality instead of just giving them eats and clothing, they would be earning their way instead of calling it charity. If you could tell me of any way I could do this, sure would be fine.

Our town is overbonded at this time. I have plenty of work to do if we could float bonds.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE, I sure thank you for thinking of our small towns in a time like this. Anything you can do will be appreciated by us.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE GEER, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. For 1930, one-fourth; 1929, one-half.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One-fourth.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4 What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, one-fourth donations; 1929, donations one-half.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults two children)?

Answer. Four dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

WELLSVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 125 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 80 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In 1929, 75; 1930, 197; present, 325 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 75 per cent; 1929, 150.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Intermittent.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Just offered for sale $4,500 relief bonds; no buyer. The above amount all that could be issued at this time; small amount can be issued in 1932.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No appropriation, but some real relief in unemployment situation.

WILLARD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, 100.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About the same as last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; we believe such aid is justified.

C. L. WILLOUGHBY, *Mayor.*

WOOSTER

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Chairman Committee on Manufactures,
United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of inquiry of November 27, I beg to advise that the city of Wooster, Ohio, has a resident population of 10,742 people. Of this number there is a possible 200 who are out of employment at this time. Our city welfare department will amply cope with the situation of those who are in need. Wayne County ranks fourth in United States in agriculture and has a population of 47,000 people.

I am, indeed, happy to say to you and your committee that we will not need any assistance in so far as legislation is concerned.

Most sincerely yours,

JESSE W. EBERT, *Mayor.*

ZANESVILLE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

DEAR SIR: We have a great many unemployed, but we are doing everything possible to take care of them. We have close to 3,000 unemployed, as near as we can estimate.

Yours respectfully,

W. H. WEBSTER, *Mayor.*

OKLAHOMA

ARDMORE

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your inquiry of November 27, will say that this city has made no survey that will give you accurate information on the matters about which you inquire. Still, we are keeping in touch with the situation in a general way and are endeavoring to render aid where necessary, especially in the matter of unemployment. We have no factories here and our list of unemployed is not so very great as compared with our total population. I would say that possibly we had one and one-half times as many unemployed this year as we had last year. It is very hard to compare, as we had a most rigorous winter in 1929 and a mild winter in 1930 in this particular locality.

Our city does not contemplate any bond issues to take care of relief needs of this community. I do not favor Federal appropriations to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens.

Yours very truly,

GEO. P. SELVIDGE, *Mayor.*

BARTLESVILLE

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Answering your letter of November 27.

No survey was made in Bartlesville during the year 1929, but I would say that we have approximately 50 per cent increase in unemployed persons this year over 1930. The city has made no appropriation for the unemployed, or for relief of the poor. Bartlesville (population 15,000) has raised $50,000 for this purpose. The county has a small annual appropriation for the poor, which is being used in conjunction with our fund. The major portion of the burden is being cared for by private agencies. Last winter we expended approximately $15,000.

Three dollars or $3.50 weekly will adequately provide food for a family of four. This does not mean that we are contributing this amount of money weekly to each family. In many cases they are able to get work for a day or two and thus cut down the amount.

While the city is in a position to float bond issues, we do not propose to use this method. We are quite sure that this sum of money will be adequate for all purposes during the winter and spring months, and if such is not the case we will probably ask the public for a further donation. In my judgment, however, this will not be necessary.

I am not in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist local governments. This is a problem each community should work out for itself. If outside aid is needed, it will probably be in isolated cases only. The country needs more moral support and less appropriations. I feel that President Hoover's unemployment and relief program is the proper course to pursue.

Very truly yours,

R. J. DAUGHERTY.

CUSHING

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your inquiry of November 27 beg to advise that the unemployment situation in most municipalities is most serious, and I doubt if the officials in Washington fully realize just how serious it is. In this city we have over 400 families who are destitute, with no employment except two or three days per month provided by relief agencies. I shall try to answer your questions in their order.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There was little unemployment during the year 1929, except possibly during November and December. During January, February, and March of 1930 there was considerable unemployment. With the coming of the summer months the situation was materially relieved, and it was not again acute until December, 1930. The situation continued to grow worse through January, February, March, and April, and it required all the resources of the city, the county, and other relief agencies to handle the situation. The county continued their relief work through the entire summer and in August the city again joined with the county in a made-work program. We are doing everything possible, but it is entirely inadequate.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We had no appropriation in 1929. Our appropriation for 1930 was about $5,000 and for 1931 it is about the same. These funds are provided for employment only.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We shall have 50 to 75 more families to care for this winter than last.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. A very small per cent. The only other relief agency here is the Salvation Army, and they have a very limited budget for relief work.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family has been receiving from two to four days' work per month, at $2 per day. This is practically all the greater part of the families have received in the way of relief.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. In December, 1930, we voted $300,000 in bonds for the purpose of building a municipal electric plant and system. The issue carried by a majority of more than 2 to 1 largely on account of the unemployment situation. A greedy and selfish public utility has fought and contested this issue in the courts and by every other possible means and none of this bond issue has been available for unemployment relief and possibly will not be available until the need for relief has passed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Ordinarily I would not favor Federal appropriations for such contingencies; however, it is difficult at this time to determine just how far the Federal Government should go. I seriously doubt if any relief appropriation could be passed in time to give proper relief this winter. It seems to me that the greatest relief that the Congress could give is to correct the evils responsible for this condition and measures that would prevent their recurrence. There is no question but that Federal assistance immediately would be a tremendous help to many communities, but I believe the Government has waited too long to be of real assistance in so far as emergency relief is concerned. What we do we must do now. The matter can not wait.

We are raising additional funds through donations from individuals and business firms to augment the regular appropriations for made work, and we are requiring every able-bodied man to work for what he gets. There are a great many, however, who are unable to work and must be cared for through charity.

I may have replied at too great length, but I have endeavored to give you the facts as they exist in this community. I trust I may have said something that will be helpful to you.

Yours very truly,

J. W. FLINT, *City Manager.*

DUNCAN

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 27 concerning unemployment in our community. Apparently a good portion of the unemployed that were in our city last year have gone elsewhere, which leaves us more fortunate than many other communities.

Answers to your questions follow:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation made for this purpose.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No additional persons will need relief this winter. However, those that were given relief last winter will need more this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The entire burden of the relief is carried by the Salvation Army and United Charities. Last year the Salvation Army's budget was $6,000 and was raised this year to $7,600. We have no information concerning the 1929 budget for this organization. The United Charities do not operate under the budget system.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average relief given weekly to families of two adults and two children is $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to vote further bond issues. However, we have some of our own bonds as an investment that could be sold in an emergency.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We would favor a Federal appropriation for road construction, which would relieve our burdens. Since ours is an oil town, a tariff on oil would do more to relieve our burden than anything else.

Trusting that the above information will be of benefit to you, I am

Very truly yours,

W. H. HOLLINGSWORTH, *City Manager.*

FREDERICK

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington.

DEAR SIR: Reply to your questions of November 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We had very few unemployed in 1929; an increase of 10 per cent in 1930, and this about 30 per cent over last year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We can not make appropriations for the unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our city of 5,000 we will have about 700 persons to care for.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Our merchants were able to help last year, but most of them are not able to give this year. The Red Cross helped last year, but they are not coming back this year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. For two adults and two children we allow about $12 per month.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. A bond issue would be fought for any purpose. Taxes have not been paid on lots of places for two years.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. With the condition as it now stands, I would surely favor a Federal appropriation, because, we are not able to cope with the situation.

Respectfully,

J. J. ROGERS.

HOLBENVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

DEAR SENATOR: Yours of the 27th instant at hand. As to questions—

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Between 40 and 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Owing to the economic condition, there is no appropriation for this calendar year for relief of suffering humanity.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. My register shows at present 250 heads of families, which will make approximately 1,000 souls. This registration only represents about 60 per cent of the needy.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. At present, all.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No. I have no way of knowing, except in my individual case. I average about $15 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; we are bonded to the statutory limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I most certainly do; and any other man who has not had the milk of humanity completely eradicated from his bosom does.

I hope that the answers herein will give you some idea of our condition relative to our poor. And, Senator, if you know of any manufacturing company that wishes to locate in this territory, I will offer site, municipal tax, and water free for a term of five years, and they are neither too small nor too large for us to offer them some inducements to come to our city, and if you care to take time and read the inside of this letter, you can see for yourself that we are a city of vast possibilities.

Yours truly,

A. W. SCOTT, *Mayor.*

PONCA CITY

DECEMBER 29, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Your letter under date of December 24 inquiring concerning work of our unemployment bureau has been turned over to me. I shall answer your questions in numerical order as best I can. You must understand that this work is something new and, therefore, is not well organized, and we have as yet compiled no statistical information. Therefore, it may be considered accurate only in a general way.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed is one-third greater this year than last, and 1930 was 50 per cent greater than 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has made no appropriations for unemployed. The city government, however, is carrying on some public work. Should conditions make it necessary, it will be possible to increase this work by approximately $10,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There are now 700 persons registered in our unemployed office. It is probable that one-third of these will need some sort of assistance during the winter months unless more public work than is now in sight can be provided.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. During 1929 we raised for our humane society from public subscriptions about $3,000 for relief purposes. In 1930 about $11,000 and in 1931 about $13,000. Much of the relief work is carried on for the country. For the last three years approximately $50,000 has been raised for the county home, crippled children, and other charity work. The amount appropriated to the commissioner's district in which Ponca City is located has been from $16,000 to $18,000. This covers food, shelter, clothing, and medical attention. Last year our funds were practically exhausted in March. This year ye have been able to effect economies along various lines that are making appropriations to cover more ground. While we are not able to do the maximum assistance that some might desire, yet we believe we will be able to feed, clothe, and shelter those in distress.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. There is no set amount of help given to any one family. We allow from $2 to $3 a week for groceries and, where necessary, provide house, fuel, water, and lights. Some of this is donated, such as coke and wood for fuel. If all had to be paid for, the cost per month for a family of four would probably run from $30 to $35.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. In case of necessity, the city could vote more bonds. However, taxpayers are reluctant to do this under present conditions. The city has by necessity been forced to decrease its budget and is attempting to balance expenditures against receipts. The city does not levy a tax for general purposes but depends upon income from the water and light plant which it owns.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I would oppose Federal appropriations for local emergency relief as I doubt if the money would be wisely spent, and funds would go to communities capable of caring for their own in distress. I do feel that the Federal Government might undertake a reasonable amount of public work in order to provide employment. Above all we should steer clear of any suggestion of the dole system. Once this form of pension is begun, there will be no stopping. We would be headed, in my opinion, towards economic disaster.

Trusting that this information will serve your purpose, I am,

Very truly yours,

CLYDE E. MUCHMORE,
Chairman Unemployment Relief.

SAPULPA

JANUARY 11, 1932.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed herewith please find questionnaire filled out on the matter of the unemployment. This information is approximately correct.

Any further assistance which I may be able to render you will be cheerfully performed.

Very truly yours,

R. K. ROBERTSON, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Sixty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We can not under our law make such appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 400 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent less.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

SEMINOLE

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Answering yours of the 24th.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I would suggest that in 1930 there were 100 per cent more assisted unemployed than in 1929. Our 1929 assisted people were decidedly more temporary, being just through one month, which was January. In 1930 the assistance carried through probably three months instead of one, and was some heavier than 1929, during the apex.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations either year. Cared for through Red Cross and other charity organizations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We believe that the additional requirements in persons for 1931 over 1930 will not exceed 25 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All emergency work is being carried by private relief contributions through the Red Cross and Salvation Army. We have never appropriated anything through the city government for charity expenditures, as we are burdened to the limit with taxation and actual overhead expenditures that can not be reduced even with the mayor and city council working for five years without pay, which we have done.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The local charity authorities have installed a commissary and are furnishing relief with funds and clothing at a very much reduced price from ordinary sales prices. Taking this into consideration a family of two adults and two children will receive assistance equal to $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Wish to say it will not be necessary for our city to float bonds or use any other methods except those in operation to maintain our charity needs. We believe we are taking care of the situation in a manner satisfactory to the people of the community in a just way, and again will say, following our letter written a few days ago, we believe that charity ought to be taken care of by local private contributions. We believe it can be done if communities will get it down to small units, without trying to deduct and officiate from and through our Federal Government. I am opposed to Federal aid. We believe, in the final analysis, that it comes out of the local communities and requires a great deal of extra expense in operating back and forth at long distances; that there is a lot of lost motion and expense at these distances, and there is undoubtedly detailed care in these matters that can not be had at these distances and can be had effectively in small units operated locally.

Respectfully,

J. N. HARBER, *Mayor.*

VINITA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with December 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 15 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred and 300 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

OREGON

ALBANY

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate:

Your questionnaire in re the unemployed has been referred to me by the mayor. Albany is a city of 5,325 population, 1930 census, and cities of this size are not in the same situation as those of a metropolitan character. Will answer your questions to the best of my ability.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is very little increase over that of a year ago and two years ago.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. An appropriation of $500 out of the emergency fund, placed in the hands of a Salvation Army captain, with a good head, is taking care of the floating situation as well as some of the home trouble. The American Legion and Red Cross are also doing good work. Think there will be no trouble in taking care of the situation in this prosperous Oregon city.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not many more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Most of it. American Legion and Red Cross are the principal agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No. County has regular poor fund; city has none.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No bond issues necessary in cities the size of Albany.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. Local governments should take care of the situation. Probably municipalities like the English that would grasp

for unemployment dole. They should not be given the opportunity. In Congress there is great danger of appropriations in the interest of political fences during these days of narrow marginal political-party divisions.

Memorandum: Congressional agitation will aggravate the present situation, particularly if this is made a major national subject.

Respectfully,

P. P. NUTTING, *City Recorder.*

ASTORIA

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifteen per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation made.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifteen per cent more than last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. No organized relief till this year; all private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars' worth of food per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

BEND

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, and answering by number.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929 the unemployment was not considered seriously and no help was given by the city. In 1930 the number of unemployed men registered with the county for work was approximately 300. In 1931 the registration is approximately 575.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation by the city in 1929. In 1930 we spent $400, the same being donated to the Salvation Army along with other funds donated by the county. In 1931 we have $3,000 in our emergency fund which may be drawn upon in an emergency.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The community chest has registered 539 men for work, which means approximately 2,000 people to feed, etc. The community chest is a county organization, located in Bend. I would say that 500 of the 539 are from Bend and vicinity. Deschutes County population is approximately 14,749, and the city of Bend 8,846.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically no information on private relief agencies, although we know they do considerable work.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No bond issues will be needed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Some say yes and some say no, as to Federal relief. If the red tape were cut and the Federal Government would begin construction of the post office, for which funds have been set aside, this much relief would be provided.

If there is anything further, kindly call upon us.

Very truly yours,

C. G. REITER, *City Manager.*

EUGENE

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter to the mayor of Eugene has just been handed to me with a request that I answer it. In this community we have organized a relief department under the name of Lane County Relief and Unemployment Bureau, and a recent drive for funds has been made. A fund of something over $20,000 is the result of this drive. This money will be used for Red Cross, Salvation Army, St. Vincent de Paul, and general unemployment relief departments. There have also been contributions to charity provided by the city, which we think will be sufficient to take care of needy cases during the coming winter. In the creation of a fund for unemployment, the employees of the city and its water and light department, the teachers and employees of the school district, and the employees of Lane County and Federal employees in the post office have lined up 100 per cent for the plan of giving one day's salary per month for the ensuing five months.

The planning of work for unemployed is under way, and we do not anticipate any difficulty in finding jobs for the unemployed in this community. There is every indication that the situation locally is in good hands and that all the needy in this community will be taken care of satisfactorily.

Yours very truly,

R. S. BRYSON, *City Recorder.*

NEWBERG

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 10 to 1 over 1929 and 2 to 1 over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. About same as 1930, but 10 to 1 over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Anywhere from 200 to 500; associated charities working with the city as long as private funds hold out.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Doubled since 1930; five to ten times over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. A small one.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

SALEM

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the request of Mr. P. M. Gregory, mayor, I am inclosing herewith copy of letter mailed to you under date of December 5, 1931, which, it is apparent from your correspondence, you have not received.

It may interest you to know that the bond issue mentioned by Mr. Gregory as being up at a special election was passed by a large majority at the election held December 15.

Yours very truly,

H. J. BRETZEL,
Secretary to the Mayor.

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The city of Salem has not voted or made any special provisions for the relief of the unemployed. Private organizations are caring for the relief work.

I will answer your questions, as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent over 1930; about 2,000 men registered for work.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent, if donated.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 200.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All; 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two adults and three children, about $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I would say no.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you





feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. By either improving rivers and harbors or highways, as well as all hydroelectric and irrigation projects. In fact, anything that is of value to our people in their respective localities and that will give the most employment. This city is voting on a bond issue December 15 of two and a half million dollars for a municipal water system, and should it carry will be able to furnish employment to several hundred men, as there will be over 25 miles of pipe line into the mountains, to say nothing of the other improvements and extensions. I favor this type of bond issue, because its revenue will pay itself off.

Trusting that you and your committee will be able to give relief to many unemployed and at the same time develop projects of worth to our country, I am,

Yours very truly,

P. M. GREGORY, *Mayor.*

PENNSYLVANIA

APOLLO

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Your letter of the 27th regarding unemployment is hereby acknowledged. Answers are as correct as obtainable.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No accurate figures available, but major industry reports 50 per cent less.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations made. Work carried on by civic organizations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The increase will be nearly 50 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All help carried on by private relief agencies and only 1930 figures are available; $2,000 cash in addition to large quantities of clothing, shoes, coal, fruit, vegetables, etc., donated by local business, approximately $3,000 value.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In my opinion the matter is sectional. If Federal aid was given this community for building roads used by United States mail routes, the construction of two new bridges and two dams in the Kiskiminetas River, the tax load on State, county, and municipal taxpayers would be lightened and would supply sufficient outlet for our local surplus labor. That is if business takes a definite upturn within the next year.

Let the Nation share the burden.

Let that share be distributed through already existing channels, thus saving the usual "high cost of administration."

Yours truly,

S. S. BALDRIGE, *Burgess.*

ARNOLD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Over several hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None appropriated.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred fifty people.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. New Kensington Welfare Council of New Kensington, Pa., have taken care of our relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. One basket of food; no money.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Surely.

ATHENS

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I received your letter relative to unemployment and as burgess of Athens Borough have found that we had a small relief organization to take care of a few people, but not large enough to take care of the winter, as we expect it will be. We, therefore, called an emergency relief organization of citizens who are raising funds, which, with the small amount which the borough can use, is being employed on borough improvements, which we could not otherwise be able to do, such as additional drainage sewers and streets.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Up to date, it would look as though we would have more than twice the unemployment of a year ago and we have no record of 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The borough can not and has no funds to take care of unemployment.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Unless conditions change there will probably be three or four hundred people needing relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The relief organization is trying to see that each family with two children has $8 to $10 income.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is no position to float further bond issues without a vote of the people.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid to providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. An appropriation either from the Federal Government or the State would enable us to continue our borough improvements all winter, as we have a number of projects which would make the conditions much more sanitary and comfortable, which we otherwise would be unable to do in a number of years.

We do not have any great number of people of means, as this is a manufacturing town and is close to a railroad center with a large number of partially employed railway men.

Very truly yours,

A. S. BUCKLEY, *Burgess.*

BEAVER FALLS

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

MR. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your questionnaire as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929 there was very little done, only by our local churches and other organizations, to help the needy.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930 I organized the welfare department and raised money by public subscription and also by entertainments and card parties, until January, 1931, when council appropriated about $1,500 to help us out. We took care of about 1,700 people altogether, including children. This was the first money council ever appropriated.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 50 per cent increase, or 2,500 people, we expect will need relief this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Very little is being done by any other organization in relief work, as we are trying to centralize and stop duplication.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our order for 10 people for one week is $3.38.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our borrowing power is O. K., as we have only $10,000 on temporary loans, but our banks are not loaning any money at this time. "This is the work for Congress." We are putting on a drive for funds at the present time for $20,000, which we feel will be ample for our people, but, if necessary, council will contribute some by appropriation in next year's budget.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor Federal appropriations, as they are the same as State or county, and the cost is too great, and the poor do not get over 50 per cent of money appropriated.

Our workers are all volunteers and unpaid workers. Our county's welfare organization costs more in salaries than it costs us for welfare to take care of all our needy, and I feel each community should take up this relief voluntarily and donate their services free to this worthy cause.

Sincerely yours,

C. W. CALVIN, *Mayor.*

BLOOMSBURG

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27 requesting information on the unemployment situation in our town.

I am unable to answer all the questions which you ask, but I believe that the citizens of Bloomsburg are fully capable of taking care of their unemployed without aid from the Federal Government or the Commonwealth.

In my opinion, aid from either of these agencies would mean more burden on the general public from increased taxation and more opportunity for graft on the part of those in a position to further their personal ambitions.

Yours very truly,

WM. V. MOYER,
President Town Council.

BOYERTOWN

The unemployment in our town is very small, and the few needy are taken care of by local charity.

ALBERT P. LEIDY, *Burgess.*

BRADFORD

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 17th instant I am inclosing questionnaire filled out, together with a chart which was compiled in November, 1931, and which I thought might be of some value to you.

Trusting that the questions as put forth in your inclosed questionnaire have been answered to your satisfaction, I am

Yours very truly,

J. E. GOLDEN, *Chairman.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 14; 1930, 120; 1931, 175.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Poor department, city only: 1929, $5,800; 1930, $10,790; 1931, $37,400.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 600 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Approximately 33⅓ per cent; 1930, 33⅓ per cent over 1929; 1931, 75 per cent over 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Between $6.75 and $7.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city's bonding power is practically used up. Approximately $14,500 could be issued by the council. Voters or taxpayers could issue bonds for $444,500.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. A Federal appropriation, so far as we are concerned, is not necessary at the present time, and if conditions continue as they are, we will be able to handle the situation ourselves.

BRISTOL

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering yours of the 11th.

We are now establishing a bureau of registration for the unemployed and should very shortly have the data you request.

Up to the cold weather our small community has had very little call upon it for charity, and is in no way comparable with the larger cities.

When we have secured the data you request, will forward same.

Yours very truly,

C. L. ANDERSON, *Burgess.*

COLUMBIA

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Relative your first question would say that we are taking care locally at present 50 per cent more than in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city does not appropriate any direct other than supply a room in the municipal building free.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Will have this winter approximately 40 additional families to look after.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The entire burden is carried by public subscription; 1931 will probably exceed 1929 and 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I should say about $9.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. City not in position to float bonds for relief; only public subscription.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I would favor Government help for some of the districts; however, Lancaster County, I think, can take care of its own, as we are some better off than the great majority. I have given you the facts in my own community, and trust it will help to arrive at a remedy.

I am respectfully yours,

D. K. LOCKARD, *Burgess.*

CONSHOHOCKEN

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SENATOR: In reply to your numbered questions contained in your letter of November 27, 1931, relative to unemployment, relief, etc., I submit the following answers:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Do not have accurate information.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The municipality makes no appropriations for the poor or unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Can not tell very definitely.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The entire emergency burden is carried by private relief agencies. Their expenditures have more than doubled as compared with 1930. A recent drive for funds was made, with a goal of $10,000. The fund was oversubscribed.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average is about $4 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not without the approving vote of the electorate.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I favor Federal appropriation for public construction work so as to give employment. There are many communities, this one included, that ought to have a Federal post-office building. I do not favor a straight Federal Government dole.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN D. HAMPTON, *Burgess.*

DUQUESNE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 30 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One thousand.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Emergency burden is all carried by private relief agencies. Expenditures increased over 1930, 40 per cent; compared with 1929, 70 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

JAMES S. CRAWFORD.

EAST M'KEESPORT

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your communication of November 27 in regard to a proper Federal policy on account of the continued unemployment and general business depression, will attempt to answer your questions as I am best able. Census, 1930, 3,000.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed 1931, 100; 1930, 50; and 1929, 25.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations for unemployed: 1929, nothing; 1930, nothing; and 1931, $36,000 for sewer work for unemployed men.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929, nothing; 1930, nothing; and 1931, $800.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours respectfully,

R. C. BESWICK, *Borough Secretary.*

ELIZABETHTOWN

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of the 27th, addressed to our burgess, E. U. Aumiller, has been handed to me to give the information you are looking for, which is as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

Answer. Twenty-five per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No, to the first question, and yet it might be helpful. We have a population of about 4,000, surrounded by a very conservative class of people, who are in a position to care for themselves and render aid to others in time of need; so our borough, as well as our surrounding country, is not hit as hard as many other places have been.

We have had abundant crops this last summer, but the one great calamity, if we dare call it so, is the poor prices the farmer gets for his wheat, corn, oats, and tobacco.

Hoping this will give the information you desire, and wishing you success in your splendid work you are doing for the farmer, we are,

Yours respectfully,

ELIZABETHTOWN WELFARE ASSOCIATION,
S. P. ENGLE, *Secretary.*

ELLWOOD CITY

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter with regard to relief work in this city has been referred to me.

There has been an increase of about 10 per cent in the number of unemployed persons assisted in this city compared with December, 1930, and about 15 per cent increase over 1929. The city appropriation for the unemployed and poor which is made through community chest drive was not increased this last year.

We estimate about 50 to 100 more persons may require relief this winter than in the past. Practically all of the burden of relief is carried through community chest funds, although Burgess Turner's unemployment relief committee has collected and stored fruit, preserves, vegetables, and other foodstuffs, to be distributed to local welfare agents. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family of 4, 2 adults and 2 children, is $3.

Inasmuch as the city has only appropriated $100 all told for relief work, it could probably float a bond issue if necessary. While we favor a Federal appropriation to assist in relief work, as far as Ellwood City is concerned we can care for our own needy without any additional funds until the latter part of March of next year.

Very truly yours,

W. F. KEGEL,
Secretary of Burgess Relief Committee.

EMPORIUM

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No additional.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None; all carried by private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Approximately $10 to $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not necessary, but could if had to.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

DR. L. L. LATHROP, *Burgess.*

FRANKLIN

DECEMBER 22, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: I am pleased if I can be of any assistance to you by answering your questionnaire of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. From December, 1929, to December, 1930, there was an increase of 50 per cent of unemployed assisted by our local charities.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city's appropriations have increased in proportion to the city's needs.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There will be a need to assist at least 20 per cent more during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. This coming winter all relief will be carried on by the Red Cross, assisted by individual contributions amounting to about $35,000 in all. Their expenditures have increased 50 per cent each year since 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. To a family of four the relief given weekly is about $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Franklin is bonded to its councilmanic borrowing capacity at the present time. I believe the city will be able to cope with the situation this winter.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. This question is rather difficult, but I personally believe that the purpose of government is for the people to support the Government and not the Government support the people.

Yours very truly,

H. C. FERRINGER, *Mayor.*

FREELAND

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: The following answers are to questions in your letter of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase has been about 300 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The town does not appropriate for the poor or unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two or three hundred more persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All the relief is being carried by relief agencies and the people in general.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I can not, due to a number of agencies giving.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. My understanding of our Government is that it was formed for the benefit of all our people, therefore I think that a Federal appropriation in this emergency would be in order at once.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS J. LEWIS, *Chief Burgess.*

GLASSPORT

DECEMBER 24, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, 1931, with reference to unemployment and relief work in our community, wish to state that Glassport borough council has authorized me to make the following reply:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Over 250 unemployed persons assisted compared with 1930?

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Have appropriated $5,000 to create work for the unemployed. In addition to this, a relief fund of $7,000 was collected here by the Allegheny County Emergency Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., half of which is to be used for work for the unemployed and the other half for relief to families. There was no appropriation made in 1930, nor 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 150 families more than last year will need relief this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The borough has appropriated $5,000 and the Allegheny County Emergency Association is to spend $7,000. In 1930 only $1,600 was collected by private reliefs for relief work here. In 1929, none.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average relief given weekly to the average family is from $6 to $8.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our borough is not in position to float bond issues for relief work.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours very truly,

N. J. CHAVERINI, *Borough Clerk.*

HANOVER

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

HONORABLE SIR: It is estimated that the unemployment in this city is between 10 and 12 per cent.

A. S. RUTH, *Secretary.*

HARRISBURG

DECEMBER 23, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Gannett, chairman of our unemployment committee, has asked me to answer the questionnaire which you mailed to him December 17 and which is attached.

Yours truly,

CARTER TAYLOR, *Director.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent increase and 600 per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriation made by county twice that of 1930. Appropriation made by county four times that of 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Now about 800 families. Probably our peak will be 1,400 or 1,500 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent by private—about doubled over 1930; six times 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average about $8 a week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Certainly any Federal funds appropriated for a sound program of public building, roads, etc., will relieve to some extent the local relief problems. There is a general feeling in this section against Federal relief. However, some feel that as a strictly emergency measure a reasonable and moderated Federal relief appropriation might be profitable provided some sensible means of expending it is devised.

HATBORO

NOVEMBER, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your communication of November 27, 1931, let me say that the borough of Hatboro is to a great extent a manufacturing town of about 3,000 population, but has been singularly fortunate in having its two industries in part time all through the depression; there is a large percentage of commuting population, who have their business in Philadelphia and reside in the borough; in reply to the seven queries, the following answers are approximately correct:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. As the winter season is just approaching, it will be difficult to make an estimate. Probably 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Never had, or asked for an appropriation.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Will depend upon business conditions; as now indicated, 50 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all, only two families from county are receiving relief and three or four families during the years 1929–30 from the American Legion and occasional cases from the York Road Center.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The Hatboro Relief Association furnishes only food and coal, gives relief only after rigid investigation, discourages any tendency to lay down on the organization by giving the family what necessities that peculiar family really needs, gives no money, specifies just what each family shall have, and encourages or rather insists that they shall make an effort to be self-supporting as well as endeavoring to get them employment. The average food cost per family of four persons has been less than $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Hatboro is bonded up to the neck and then some.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In my opinion an appropriation from the Government under the present condition of the Treasury is ill-advised. It would practically amount to a Government dole which has resulted in almost bankrupting England, one of the strongest financial countries in the world. In my estimation each community understands its own peculiar needs better than any other agency, and relief can be handed out more judiciously, economically, and promptly by local agencies than Government control which means unlimited red tape and high-paid officials.

EZRA P. CARRELL, *Secretary Hatboro Relief.*
By KARL GARNER BURGESS.

HELLERTOWN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 80 per cent; 1929, 150 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Borough does not assist.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Eighty per cent increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 80 per cent; 1929, 150 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

M. J. DIMMICK, *Chief Burgess.*

JOHNSONBURG

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 attached. I have answered your questions on your letter. Hoping that this is what you require,

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE C. SMITH, *Burgess.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Two hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Five thousand dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Seven hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-half.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

KULPMONT

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 200; 1929, 300.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $3,000; 1929, $4,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $1,000; 1929, $2,880.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

KUTZTOWN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 5 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few, if any.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of it.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

HARRY B. YODER, *Chief Burgess.*

LEBANON

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have received and carefully read your communication which came to hand this morning at my office. First of all, both as mayor of my home city of Lebanon, Pa., and also as a newspaper man for many years, I believe that I am able to give you a careful, conservative estimate of the unemployment and industrial situation in Lebanon and environments, etc. I have also conferred with the secretary of Lebanon Chamber of Commerce, of which I am also a member, to gather for you some unofficial industrial statistics in this city.

According to unofficial and inaccurate reports at hand, we have about 7,200 industrial workers in the city of Lebanon. Reports as near as I am able to gather them indicate to me that we have at this time about 1,000 who are working rather regularly and who practically have steady jobs. Of course in some cases, shorter time and some reductions; but no drastic reduction in wages in this city. There are at this time about 3,100 persons who are now working only on part time—anywhere from a half day to four days a week. Of course, included in the total number of industrial workers here, this number does not, however, include clerks and employees of merchants and many other local firms and business men, etc.

Perhaps the greatest number directly hit or affected in Lebanon are the employees of Bethlehem Steel Co., which operates large iron mills here, and also the concentrator plant of this same company. At latter the iron ore from famous Cornwall ore hills is cared for before shipment to furnaces, etc.

All in all, I have found as mayor and as a newspaper man that the larger the cities, centers, or municipalities, the greater the unemployment. Here, of course, a smaller city of about 26,000, we are blessed in many ways. We can draw for business and other commercial and trading purposes from a number of smaller towns throughout this county, where the situation is not quite as bad as in larger centers and cities.

I might also add that for some time the majority of our textile plants, including silk mills, hosiery, handkerchief, pajama, and other products of this kind, these plants have been working rather steadily; and in some cases, of course, with reduction in wages. In fact, because of the activity at this time in this line of trade, it has proven very helpful and beneficial to our city at a time when the iron and steel is very dull, as everywhere throughout the country.

Recently a citizens' committee was named, of which I am a member. We conducted a drive here for funds for the united emergency aid committee, similar to a community chest drive. Our goal set was for $125,000; and, happily, we were able to go over the top, reaching a mark beyond $150,000.

The money contributed so generously by all our citizens, indicates to me that when the American people are aroused for any worthy cause they have never yet failed in responding very finely; and that was the case here and also throughout this State. Philadelphia alone, where there is much unemployment, went over the top with more than $1,000,000.

The money secured here will be used toward financial support of the Lebanon Associated Charities, which handles and has handled for some years all such work in this city. We do not have an official welfare department here. The city of Lebanon contributes or appropriates annually the sum of $2,000 to the charities association. They conduct offices at city hall, from where they dispense food, fuel, and other necessaries of life. We also have a county poor board here which looks after the unfortunate in the county. This board receives annual appropriation from the commissioners of this county.

I have tried fairly and squarely to give you the facts, general situation just as it exists in my home city to-day, without any frills, exaggeration, or wild information. Trusting that this will aid you. If I can at any time give you any additional information to aid you, advise me. Wishing you and yours a very joyous Christmastide and a happy New Year, and with my own personal and official wish that prosperity, happiness, and contentment of all our people may soon follow.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. BRUNNER, *Mayor.*

LEECHBURG

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Certainly was pleased to get your communication of the 27th, and the first paragraph of it expresses the views of practically every person I talk to in so far as handling the local relief conditions are concerned. I will endeavor to answer the questions in the sequence received.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase of 1931 over 1930, 750 permanently out of employment, as the plants are being dismantled.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No direct appropriation by the city; funds raised by subscription. Cash increase, $750 per month; supplies, food, clothing, etc., $500 per month.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. By additional persons I am presuming you are comparing with last year, and it would be approximately 100 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Same as No. 2.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average, $5 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. While the State program of building light-type roads is giving work to the heads of approximately 90 families three days a week, there is a grave necessity for Federal assistance, and while the local agencies and citizenry are doing everything possible, it is such a colossal undertaking that it would appear that Federal aid would be necessary later on and the conditions are only being aggravated by the withholding of such aid at this time.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH M. STANIER, *Burgess.*

LEETSDALE

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.:

In reply to attachment:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 300 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our borough has not to date appropriated anything.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of it so far.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes to all paragraphs.

Respectfully yours,

W. C. MERCER, *Burgess.*

LEHIGHTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 125; 1929, 75.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriations so far.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 20 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

MAHANOY CITY

JANUARY 5, 1932.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: At the request of our mayor, Mr. William Llewellyn, I am answering your questionnaire as best I can.

Mahanoy City's sole industry is, of course, the mining of anthracite coal. We have in Mahanoy City and its environs six large collieries. At the present time all are idle. We are devoid of any help from this industry. The following information for each of these collieries will best illustrate the terrible condition of things:

Name of colliery	Number of men employed	Date of suspension
Buck Mountain and Vulcan	900	Jan. 9, 1930
North Mahanoy	800	Nov. —, 1930
Park Place	1,000	Feb. —, 1930
Tunnel Ridge	750	June —, 1931
Mahanoy City	600	Dec. —, 1931
Mores and New Boston	800	(1)

[1] Works half time or less since 1930.

It can thus be seen that this community, with from 20,000 to 25,000 people, have had but little work since 1930.

Our association is the only public charities organization here and during 1930 and 1931 we have fed from 2,000 to 3,000 people weekly. Also clothed some of them. At the present time we are feeding about 600 families or about 2,800 people.

We are attempting, January 18, 1932, to put on a drive for funds. If we do not succeed we will need a great deal of aid for our main support of this organization. Mahanoy City and Tunnel Ridge collieries, are idle. The men from these two collieries were wonderful in their aid.

Our city is in no shape to float any bond issues and we believe Federal aid will become necessary. Especially do we think aid will be necessary unless our coal companies can be made to divide the time (working) of their operations. We believe that equalization of working time could be accomplished and I have no hesitancy in saying that this town and vicinity is possibly the "hardest hit" town in the region at this time.

Yours respectfully,

IVOR D. FENTON.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 2,350; 1929, 4,050.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriation at any time.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Unable to estimate but there will be a great many.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Our county poor board gives some aid and the United Charities Association gives the rest.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

MANHEIM

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930. With December, 1929?

Answer. About 10 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 10 per cent more than last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Local contributors will take care of all needy.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

MIDDLETOWN

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your query of the 27th as to our attitude on Federal relief:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930. With December, 1929?

Answer. Appreciable increase; no exact figures available for 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriation; all private.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least one-third more than last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Entire burden carried by private contributions, a general relief committee composed of representatives of principal organizations, industries, churches, town council, etc., with myself chairman, as burgess of town.

Our budget for the coming winter provides for over three times the expenditure than in any one year prior to 1931.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our town, due to the fact it owns the light plant which it operates at a large profit has no bonded debt, and community sentiment is strongly against any.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We favor a Federal appropriation secured by tax upon the centralized accumulation of money drained from communities like ours by tariffs, monopolies, holding companies, and other exploitation of the public. A heavy surtax upon these unjust hoards strong enough to put them back into circulation and restore the economic life of the country. We, as communities, can not touch this cause of our depression, and it is clearly up to the Federal Government to take such action as will not only assist in temporary alleviation, but will permanently equalize distribution of wealth to such an extent as to guarantee every citizen a decent living and prevent such panics.

Sincerely yours,

H. V. MCNAIR, *Burgess.*

MILTON

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Milton Borough is able to take care of the poor within its limits, and expects to do so. There may be unusual cases where all of the residents of a town (as in mining districts) are without work, and have no means of raising money by taxation or borrowing to meet the emergency where Federal appropriations would be of assistance, but in my judgment such cases are exceptional. In other cases I think that each community ought to take care of its own poor.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE W. CORBET, Sr., *Chief Burgess.*

MINERSVILLE

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your communication of November 27, we submit in answer to the questions therein submitted that prior to the spring of 1931 we had no organization, city or volunteer, to aid the needy. That, because of the number of destitute people living within our borough, a volunteer welfare association was formed, which has subsisted solely on voluntary contributions.

During the spring of 1931 they cared for 163 people, giving them aid to the extent of about $2 per week for the average family of four, which consisted of provisions that would keep the family for about two days. The contributions this fall to date have decreased, whereas the needs have increased to the extent that we will have about 200 more individuals to take care of this coming winter than we took care of last spring. This increase is due to the fact that several of our coal industries have not worked at all during the past summer or have worked during a very short interval. An increase in the production of coal during the winter months will somewhat alleviate local conditions but we will have over 350 individuals in need of aid.

Our borough is not permitted to float a bond issue for welfare work as it is precluded because of its subsisting indebtedness.

The income consisting of volunteer contributions together with the county aid are insufficient to meet adequately, in our opinion, the relief needs of the community. We believe that Federal aid, suggested in your communication, would help to provide more adequate relief for the destitute this winter.

Respectfully yours,

ALLEN F. KELLAR, *Chief Burgess.*

MORRISVILLE

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is a marked decrease of unemployed persons on our list for 1931 over 1930. None reported in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No moneys whatever.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We do not expect to have to take care of as many families this year as last.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of the burden is carried by private funds contributed to the committee on unemployment and relief. The same policy was pursued last year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We are providing work.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are not contemplating any bond issues for such emergency.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor any Federal appropriation to assist the local government. Federal Government is too paternalistic and the burden is almost unbearable. Local communities should and can take care of their own emergencies.

Yours very truly,

THOS. B. STOCKHAM, *Mayor.*

MOUNT CARMEL

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The unemployment situation in our town fluctuates with the coal industry. At present we have only one colliery, which is and has been shut down for about one year. This mine employs about 850 men who have not had work during that period. The other mines in our immediate vicinity are working about half time. However, they are cutting down on the number of employees, and this cut means about 600 men. This totals the unemployed in our immediate vicinity to between 1,400 and 1,500 men.

Very truly yours,

ELMER J. DELCAMP, *Chief Burgess.*

MUNHALL

DECEMBER 22, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your inquiry of November 27, 1931, and also your later letter of December 11, and answer your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 10 per cent over 1929; 1931, 50 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Not any.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all of it, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Apologizing for delay in replying, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

K. MCL. LEAN, Sr., *Burgess.*

NANTY GLO

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Forty.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Eighty per cent. Borough relief commission.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. One hundred dollars a week to 100 people.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; $18,000 tied up in defunct bank.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Very much. Our borough needs a loan of $15,000 to provide employment for women and girls.

Rev. THOMAS W. EVANS, *Burgess.*

NAZARETH

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Replying to your questionnaire with reference to unemployment relief I would answer question:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 10 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriation.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Entirely private relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor Federal or State appropriation for this purpose. At the present moment Pennsylvania Legislature is considering the Pinchot proposition for State relief, and it seems to be the general opinion that these matters should be provided for locally. I do not think this is a matter for national action, having in mind England's experience with their dole system. Let us try to keep away from a similar situation.

Yours truly,

J. H. FULMER, *Chief Burgess.*

NEW CASTLE

ROBT. M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have your letter of the 27th instant and in reply will state:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. That it has been necessary for us to increase our outlays for relief purposes very much this winter. This increase will be twice as much as in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our city has no appropriation for unemployed. This has to be taken care of through private institutions and the county poor fund, and have increased more than double over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 2,000 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Only about one-fifth of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies and their expenditures have increased five or six times as much as in 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $2 weekly or its equivalent in food.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Hoping this will be of some assistance to you, I remain,

Yours very truly,

WM. H. GILLESPIE, *Mayor.*

NEW CUMBERLAND

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: We are a borough of about 4,500 population and we don't have any way of giving you the information as requested, such as the number out of work and the amount of money spent for relief.

We have a large number of workers on short time, as low as one day a week; these are not classed out of work.

The borough council has not appropriated any money up to this time and I don't think that we will in the future, as the people that have, help those that don't have.

We don't have any departments in our borough that keep any records such as we would like to furnish you.

The conditions in our town are about the same as in the city of Harrisburg, Pa., and Steelton, Pa., as we are very close, and the most of our workers are employed there.

We are getting ready now to take care of the needy, the same as last winter; those that have will give to those that don't have.

I trust that this little information will be of some help to you.

Yours truly,

LESTER B. RIGLING.

NEW KENSINGTON

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Mr. Daniel Burns, the mayor of New Kensington, has requested me to answer your letter of December 11, addressed to him, asking for information concerning unemployment in our community.

Unemployment conditions in New Kensington are very bad. Two plants of the American Sheet & Tin Mill abandoned operations and dismantled their plants entirely within the last two years. The plant of the Aluminum Co. of America is operating with a large reduction in employees and a reduction in wages, probably 50 per cent below 1929.

Our population is approximately 40,000, with half of our wage-earners out of employment or working only part time. Conditions are indeed bad and with little encouragement for the future.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. YODER.

NORTH BRADDOCK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Not available.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None for direct relief; can only be handled through added employment.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 200 families of five persons to family.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all carried by private agencies, and the increase we figure would be about $200 per month.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. For additional work, yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

P. S.—Municipality can not legally appropriate for direct relief, but can schedule additional work to give employment to its idle citizens, which is now being done by North Braddock with the assistance of the Allegheny County Emergency Association. The work done in 1930 by the borough in which labor to the extent of some $4,500 was furnished by the said association, and a schedule is being worked up at this time which it is expected in the neighborhood of $25,000 will be spent for labor alone.

Direct relief is taken care of mostly by the Allegheny County welfare and we assist in every way possible in making investigations, etc., and also carry a small emergency fund for emergency purposes in caring for such cases as may develop after closing hours of the regular agencies or over the week-ends, this fund being maintained by the various employees of the borough.

Any data not answered clearly on reverse side could possibly be obtained from the associations noted.

J. O. JONES, *Borough Secretary.*

OIL CITY

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I wish to ask your pardon for the delay in replying to your letter of November 27, relative to the unemployment situation in our city and immediate vicinity.

Just at the time of receiving your letter we were in the midst of preliminary plans for a campaign to start a drive in raising $150,000 to provide labor for the unemployed. Now that the campaign is over so far as soliciting, and while we are a few thousand dollars short, having pledges and cash in the amount of something over $138,000, with $5,000 additional we think can be secured, we are proceeding to try and reach the goal. This is to carry forward work for over a period of at least four months.

Now in answer to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed over the late 1930 and early part of 1931 has increased from around 350 to approximately 1,000 at the present time.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We had no city appropriation for 1929 and 1930 as it was not needed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This question is rather a difficult one to answer correctly, but with an average of four persons to a family would give us 4,000, and allowing for single persons possibly would reduce the number to between 3,000 and 3,500.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The unemployment burden is being carried by the citizens at large, in the pledging of one day's pay a month for four months from those persons working by the hour or day and on a monthly salary, and larger contributions from those in other walks of life. This is being controlled by an executive committee composed of the leading business and professional men of our city, who meet regularly six days a week, giving of their time, energy, and money to this cause, but receiving no remuneration for their services, giving same in the interest of those unfortunately out of work and for the good of humanity.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The wages to be paid as agreed upon by the executive committee is $3 a day, eight hours, with a graduating scale, giving the men with larger families the preference of a longer period of service, but rotating these men so as all will be taken care of.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We do not believe it will be necessary to float a bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It depends on the method used for the distribution of the Federal appropriation. Personally, I do not feel such a measure is necessary at the present time, as it will require so much detail to get action, and when pro rated, which would have to be done, the amount will be so small for each community I fail to see how it can be of any benefit.

Trusting this will give you the desired information, I am

Very truly yours,

T. L. BLAIR, *Mayor.*

OLYPHANT

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reference to your letter of the 27th of November, I will state that we have here 1,580 unemployed in our town, which has a population of 11,000 people.

We have our community chest, also the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which I am sure will take care of all the needy this winter. I trust this is the information you desire, and I sincerely hope that you men in Washington will do something to relieve this very serious condition. Wishing you the compliments of the season, with kindest personal regards,

I am respectfully yours,

JOHN L. KILCULLEN.

OXFORD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All by private relief. No increase.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. None.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

All our people are employed.

C. C. BAER, *Burgess.*

PHILADELPHIA

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your questionnaire, I have the honor to submit the following information:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in the city of Philadelphia as follows: In December, 1929, 4,313 unemployed families were receiving relief; in December, 1930, 14,168 unemployed families were receiving relief; at present, 40,000 unemployed families are receiving relief; and there are at the Shelter 2,800 men also.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1931 the appropriations from the city tax funds for the relief of the unemployed have amounted to $3,400,000. In 1930 the appropriations from the city tax funds for the relief were $157,000; for 1929, $100,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I find that at present approximately 2,400 new applicants are applying for relief weekly and I also find that the weekly increase of additional families receiving relief is approximately 1,900. If this rate of increase should continue for the next six weeks, it would seem probable that by the middle of January, 1932, approximately 50,000 families in Philadelphia will require relief, in addition to approximately 3,000 stranded men being cared for at the Shelter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. From July 1, 1929, to July 1, 1930, 19 per cent of the expenditures for relief were furnished from the city tax funds. From July 1, 1930, to July 1, 1931, 12 per cent of the moneys expended for relief were from the city tax funds. From July 31, 1931, to November 30, 1931, 90 per cent of the money expended for relief is from the city tax funds. It is estimated that from January 1, 1932, 100 per cent of moneys expended for relief will be from funds derived from the united campaign.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to an average family of two adults and two children is approximately $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Philadelphia is not in a position to float any further bond issue for relieving unemployment. As a matter of fact, our borrowing capacity will not permit any further loans for any purpose for some time to come. Undoubtedly in less than a week's time we will have completed our $9,000,000 drive, which is a combination of general welfare, Jewish welfare, and unemployment relief, the allocations to these respective organizations to be made by a committee of citizens.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy, or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Under ordinary conditions I would not favor Federal appropriations, but there may come a time in this whole perplexing situation when we must set aside former opinions and yield to the demands of suffering humanity. There are times when our duty to serve those who are suffering rises above the cold provisions of statute law or the prohibitions of a constitution. All I can say on this subject is, people must not be allowed to starve. I hope it will not have to be sustenance by means of Federal support; but if so, life must be saved.

Yours very truly,

H. A. MACKEY, *Mayor*.

PHOENIXVILLE

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reference to your letters of November 27 and December 11, 1931, I wish to state there are about 900 unemployed men in the borough of Phoenixville, Pa., at the present time.

Very truly yours,

M. F. HACKETT, *Burgess*.

POTTSTOWN

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following is a list of answers to the questions in your letter of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in our city compared with December, 1930, and December, 1929, is 880 persons.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 400 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The increase in expenditures of private relief agencies was $7,946 for 1929–30, and $12,954 for 1930–31.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family is from $4 to $9.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in no position to float further bond issues.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN K. KLINK, *Burgess*.

READING

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of inquiry relative to the number of unemployed persons assisted in the city of Reading, etc.

In 1930 our enrollment showed 5,000 people unemployed, and we furnished relief to 1,800 families. This year our survey shows that we will have 3,800 families to care for during the coming winter. Last year most of the money was raised by private subscription; $120,000 was raised in cash, clothing, and merchandise, the city furnishing $10,000. Our experience of last year indicated that the relief we were furnishing was not adequate, therefore, we made up a budget of $444,000 for the coming winter; the county to raise $200,000 out of tax moneys and the city $100,000, and $144,000 we hope to raise by public subscription. Very little of the burden is being carried by private relief agencies.

It is our intention to furnish $12 per week to the average family. Our city is in a position to float a bond issue for $100,000, but will not be in a position to float a further bond issue without detracting from public work.

With reference to a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, I am of the positive opinion that this is absolutely necessary, as local governments can not continue to bear this burden. In fact, last October I wired President Hoover asking for a special session of Congress to consider Federal aid.

Hoping this is the information you desired, and knowing your position relative to Federal aid, I hope the present Congress will recognize the importance of helping local governments in this emergency.

Very truly yours,

J. HENRY STUMP, *Mayor*.

RIDLEY PARK

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 27th ultimo on the question of unemployment and welfare relief, wish to reply to your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent increase in unemployment and persons assisted compared with 1930. We had no demand or necessity for community welfare and relief in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have made no borough appropriations in 1929, 1930, or 1931. The Pennsylvania State borough code does not permit the use of borough funds collected for this purpose. The counties in Pennsylvania collect a poor tax for relief throughout the respective counties and each borough, city, or township in these counties obtain some relief from the county poor fund, but very little.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Our demands for relief during the winter months will be about twice that of last winter, or an increase of 100 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of the emergency relief burden is being carried by private relief agencies, Community Welfare of Ridley Park. This money is collected by a door-to-door canvass or drive, in which the American Legion has assisted, and we have collected sufficient money and with petroleum coke, donated by Sinclair Refining Co., we will have sufficient fuel, money, food, and clothing, the latter collected by boy scouts in a door-to-door canvass.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The weekly average amount given each person is 28 cents per day for food, plus fuel, clothing, and, in some cases, the payment of gas and water bills.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The Pennsylvania State borough code does not permit the floatation of bonds for relief purposes. The Pennsylvania State law, however, does permit the collection of a county poor tax, which can be distributed by the county to the various municipalities within the county. This tax is on real estate and is naturally collected from every real-estate owner. This source of revenue is ample to take care of every community in the State of Pennsylvania if exercised and applied.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments. I feel that every community can take care of its own problems without any Federal assistance. Were this a depression or calamity affecting one or two particular sections of the United States or its possessions, it would be a question of demanding Federal assistance, but as this depression is nation-wide and world-wide, it seems to me that every unit of Government, State, county, city, borough, or township should adjust itself to the conditions and look after its own people.

I am afraid that if the Federal Government attempts to assist in emergency relief said relief will not be equally and equitably distributed, and that a precedent will be established which will be hard to combat in the future.

The most of the unemployed our welfare is looking after in our district are ex-employees of such concerns as Baldwin Locomotive Works, steel-casting plants, and corporations depending directly or indirectly upon the railroads for their orders and existence.

Many welfare cases to-day are the results of bank failures. Many have small savings accounts in these institutions that they have been drawing on for existence since the depression. Therefore, I feel that the big job of the Federal Government is to use every effort to assist the railroads in coming back to normal conditions which would stimulate buying of steel and other accessories; and, further, to extend every possible assistance in preventing bank failures and releasing the money now tied up in these closed institutions.

Let the States and their subdivisions of counties, cities, boroughs, etc., look after their own local welfare problems, and let the Federal Government take care of the larger problems that will insure the return of prosperity to our railroads, steel mills, industrials, and other industries of our Nation.

Your very truly,

L. NORRIS HALL, *Chief Burgess.*

SHARON

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your circular letter and questionnaire in reference to general unemployment has been received; and, in order that you may get this information as near right as possible, I have requested the officials of the Shenango Valley Community Chest to answer the same.

I trust that they will give you the desired information.

Very truly yours,

FRANK GILBERT, *Mayor.*

SHENANGO VALLEY WELFARE COUNCIL,
Sharon, Pa., December 2, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Frank Gilbert, mayor of Sharon, has referred your letter of November 27 to me for reply. I am glad to do what I can to answer your inquiry.

As you will note from our letterhead, our activities cover six communities, so my reply will cover all of them. This is an industrial center, and many live in one city and work in another. These cities are known as the Shenango Valley.

Replying to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase of 50 per cent in unemployment since 1930. Relief in 1931 has doubled. Since 1929, relief work by public and private agencies has tripled. Practically all this relief work is due to unemployment. In other words, we will have to care for twice as many families this month as in December, 1930, and three times as many as in December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There is no city appropriation for relief here. Tax funds come from the county and are expended by poor directors. Their appropriation for 1931 was double that of 1930, and it appears that 1932 expenditures must be twice those of 1931, although where this money is coming from I do not know.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is estimated that out of our population of 50,000 in the valley 3,500 or more have no employment, while thousands of others are working only one or two days a week. It is probable that 500 or more will be thrown out of work, and possibly 300 of them will have to seek relief assistance.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Approximately 40 per cent of the relief burden (not counting medical relief) has been carried by the private agencies. Their expenditures have increased 30 per cent above 1930 and 60 per cent above 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given weekly to a family of four is approximately $4. This is when the family is wholly dependent on charity and covers only food and fuel. Our greatest problem is to provide rent, gas, water, and light, and most families are compelled to look elsewhere for these. Secondhand clothing is provided in most cases.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. As stated in the answer to question 2, our public relief is provided through the county. I believe it would require special legislation to permit the county to float relief bonds. It may be that the county commissioners must provide some other way to raise relief money, but with so many losing their property because of failure to pay taxes, our county is hard hit and its income is limited.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I believe that the city or county should be the unit to handle relief, with the aid of the community chests or other welfare agencies. In our case, I think that if our county can not provide sufficient funds for relief, it should be able to look to the State for funds. If any State is too overburdened to take care of its own relief, then the Federal assistance might be given. I feel that in no case should any Federal or State relief organization be set up, except that it work through the city or county authorities. That is, let the State or Nation provide the money for relief, but let those who are in close touch with the local situation administer it.

I trust that this is the material which you desired and shall be glad to be of assistance at any time.

Very sincerely yours,

WILBUR A. FISCHER, *Executive Secretary.*

SLATINGTON

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Your communication of November 27, 1931, and will answer same in numerical order as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We had very few unemployed in 1929. During 1930 the county poor board and local welfare association had 61 families under their care.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The borough has made no direct appropriation for relief work, not in financial condition to do it.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We have recently reorganized the welfare association and from present indications there will be at least 50 more families on the relief than we took care of in 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The county poor board carries about 65 per cent and local agencies 35 per cent of the burden of relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The usual allowance is $4 to the head of the family and $2 for each child per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our borough is not in position to float a bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The relief obtained from the county poor board and the contributions made by our citizens to the community welfare association are barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, and make no provisions for rent and taxes. With heavy losses in rents and exonerations of taxes by borough council the municipal income will be reduced considerably and a higher tax rate will be inevitable to meet the running expenses of the local government. Eventually Federal aid must be the solution of our unemployment problem.

I shall be glad to supply any additional information possible upon request.

Very sincerely yours,

PETER N. SNYDER, *Chief Burgess.*

SOUTH FORK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have given employment on city improvements; resources exhausted.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all by private relief. This is a mining community and no organized relief operating.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Could not state amount, as by collecting from the poor to help the poor is very small.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

SUNBURY

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five families. Forty-one families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Four hundred dollars. One thousand seven hundred dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We are figuring on 25 more families.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. One to six dollars weekly, coal and clothing extra on request.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are in position, but it will not be necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; all help in time of need would surely be appreciated.

PAUL F. MILLER, *Clerk of Poor.*

TAYLOR

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Your questionnaire of November 27, addressed to Burgess Evans Taylor, has been referred to me for acknowledgment.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Regarding increase of unemployment, 1928, one mine abandoned employing 400 men, no relief given; 1929, two other mines working part time, no relief given; 1930, same mines working part time, no relief given. January, 1931, these two mines were abandoned and threw out of employment 1,800 men. September, 1931, a census of the borough was made, which revealed the following: 2,216 families visited; 897 heads of families working; 1,319 heads of families not working; 1,540 children depending on working heads; 2,982 children depending on nonworking heads; 1,638 families asking for aid; 350 young men over 18 not working; 1,669 unemployed. Sixty-four per cent of the men unemployed, and most of the employed only working part time.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Regarding appropriations: The borough of Taylor, population 10,452, has made no appropriations. The poor board has made an increase of $15,000 for the district, which comprises about 90,000 people.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Regarding additional people seeking relief this winter: At present 700 families are assisted in some way or another. End of last month, November 28, 66 new families applied for aid. More will follow because the stores can not carry them any longer. Thrifty people have eaten their bank deposits and sold their insurance policies.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Regarding proportion of burden carried by private agencies: The burden in Taylor is carried by the following: Poor board assists 172 families; average per month, $5. Scranton community chest assists 90 families; average per month, $12. Taylor Welfare Association assists 272 families; maximum per month, $10. Other families assisted by Taylor welfare in food, clothing, shoes, and medical assistance. Can not answer second part. No relief given by Taylor welfare in 1929 and 1930.

Answer regarding amount of relief given weekly:

Taylor welfare to a family of four, $2 weekly.

Scranton Community Chest to a family of four, about $3 weekly.

Poor board to a family of four, about $1.25 weekly.

Scale of relief paid by Taylor welfare, middle and end of month: husband and wife, $1.50 per week; per child, 25 cents per week; family of six (two adults and four children), $2.50 per week; if family is more than six, $2.50 per week. The best we can do under the circumstances is a maximum of $10 a month.

From the three agencies the average family does not receive a dollar a day.

Answer regarding the floating of a bond issue: No. The question of floating a bond has been considered, but it seems some legal technicality prohibits the borough to do so. Furthermore, our present indebtedness and depressed condition of the borough—three abandoned mines—make a bond issue very questionable.

Answer regarding Federal appropriation: There is no other way to solve our relief problem in Taylor but by Federal appropriation or State aid to subsidize these high-cost and abandoned mines so that they can be worked at a fair profit and the people given employment.

Permit me, sir, to give you a faint picture of how the people exist—not live.

Since January, 1931, when 1,800 men were thrown out of work, relief work was carried on by a handful of men, who contributed from their own pockets and got their friends to help out. Schools and churches and various clubs and societies gave willingly. But, in spite of all the charity, we could not cope with it. The burden is too big for charity.

In September of this year we made a drive and organized the above welfare. We were permitted to enter Scranton to solicit for the drive.

Goal of welfare drive, $25,000; realized $11,000. President John L. Lewis promised to make up deficit by assessing the miners. Promise not fulfilled. Relief paid out from this fund, November 28, $3,500; balance in hand November 28 for winter, $7,500.

Gifts by Salvation Army department of welfare, November 7, used garments, 6,282; gifts by Salvation Army, used shoes, 530 pairs; gifts by American Legion, new garments, 53; new shoes, 53 pairs; gifts by miners' union, district No. 1, new shoes, 900 pairs; gifts by various bakeries, bread, average per week, 1,000 loaves; gifts by anonymous friend, fish, average per week, 100 pounds; gifts of fruit and vegetables by farmers, by the bushels.

Charity, thank God for it, but will it last through the winter? Seven hundred families to feed, clothe, and shoe and only $7,500 to do it with. At the rate relief is paid out now, there will not be a cent in the fund to help a single family through the rigors of March.

Believe me, sir, charity is good but not enough.

ELEAZER DAVIES, *Executive Member.*

THROOP

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your questionnaire on relief purposes for this winter, forwarded to me, I will answer as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. No relief organization existed in our borough in 1929 or 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation made by our municipality.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. More than 200 families are in dire need at the present.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All the burden.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Six dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Respectfully,

FRED C. FABRETTI, *Burgess.*

TYRONE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to yours of the 27th instant:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been over 100 per cent increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in our city as compared with December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, $5,000; over 1929, $10,000. These appropriations are not taken directly from the borough treasury, but are the result of charitable drives and are made up of private subscriptions.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 300 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The entire burden is borne by private relief agencies. The proportions were given in a previous paragraph.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars is the average amount of relief given to families of four.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are not in a position to float bonds for relief work.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In answer to the last question, I am not in favor of Federal relief for this emergency, but believe some means should be devised whereby the moneyed interests, who have profited most during the prosperous period of our country, should pay the entire bill. And why not, as the issuance of Federal and municipal bonds for this purpose would be the equivalent of asking the poor man to lift himself by his own bootstraps, and you know that just can't be done.

It is high time that Congress and the Senate took some definite action on this proposition and for once did not make a goat out of the middle classes, who in the past have always had the bills to pay.

While you are at it, what about the Sherman antitrust law? It is my understanding that it is still on the statute books, moldering under a heap of dust from neglect and lack of honest desire to utilize it for the relief of those most in need of that sort of relief. Bust the combine, put capable men on the Interstate Commerce Commission who will make the railroads do business in the interest of the public and cut their large official families as they cut the employee and force them to eliminate graft, then you will have the problem solved, as all the country needs is two good pays and it will be all over. If these same people can raise $50,000,000,000 to help Europe get ready for another war, they can at least help Americans from starvation.

Yours truly,

RAYMOND A. HAGERMAN.

UPLAND

JANUARY 6, 1932.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In receipt of your letter of November 27, 1931, in reference to municipalities and States assistance by the Federal Government, to help in deciding upon a proper Federal policy.

I deferred this matter till now trying to convince myself of a proper answer. The year 1931 was the year that charity was needed the most ever in our borough experience (excepting the last Cleveland administration). Our churches and the fire company, the latter having nothing else to do, gathered up and collected baskets of food, etc., given by those in better circumstances. Our borough has never borrowed or budgeted any money for this work. As aforesaid, this is done by private and organized relief agencies. We forget the amount of cost and go on with the work.

A Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting this emergency relief. Unquestionably, yes; but not to broadcast it, and applicants must have positive proof of distress.

If this meets with your approval, please let me know.

Very respectfully,

J. JOS. THORPE.

VERONA

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We are in receipt of your letter of November 27, 1931, requesting information regarding the unemployment situation in the borough of Verona and wish to submit the following information:

The number of unemployed in our community has increased at least 50 per cent over the year 1930. The borough has been giving aid in the way of jobs as much as they possibly can and the remainder of the relief work is being handled through local relief organizations. Our borough is handicapped in that the number of manufacturing plants in our borough is very small and the ones that are operating are only working part time.

Our borough is not in a position to float further bond issues to take care of the relief needs and the present income is not sufficient to take care of the relief needs of the community.

Our borough would favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens.

Trust the above information will be helpful to your committee, we are, sir,

Yours very truly,

BOROUGH OF VERONA,
By R. C. SIMPSON, *Secretary*.

WASHINGTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Can't give numbers, but there are many, many more men out of work now than in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has been no special appropriation made by the city. This work has been taken care of by relief boards, private donations, children's soup kitchens.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably a lot more; no less.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can't answer. Two well-filled baskets.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Perhaps later—not just yet.

WAYNESBORO

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 75 per cent, increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent additional.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All relief dispensed through one agency, Waynesboro Beneficial Fund Association.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. City does not contribute directly.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. I believe it is an individual, State, and municipal proposition.

We are a city of 10,000 population, and about 5,000 more rural. We have about $27,000, and can get more if necessary.

J. W. CROFT, *Burgess*.

WELLSBORO

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

The Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your form letter of November 27, requesting information on unemployment relief, has been turned over to this office by Mayor H. W. Bailey for reply.

Wellsboro is in a peculiarly fortunate situation in that it is center of the great Tioga County natural gas development, which has attracted widespread attention. It has, moreover, a very large building program under way.

Although definite figures are lacking, I can answer your questions in a general way.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The present year has seen a noticeable increase in calls for relief over the number for 1930. The increase is larger as compared with 1929. The total number of requests has, however, been quite small.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has been no necessity for city appropriations for the unemployed and poor.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We do not believe that many additional persons will need relief during the winter months. There will be a few.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Local relief burden is shared about equally by the county poor fund and by private relief agencies. Almost all of this relief is for chronic cases. There is practically no emergency burden.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Weekly relief to the average family is from $5 to $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. There is no need for this city to float further bond issues to meet relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I believe I can state with safety that local persons do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting emergency relief burdens. Nor do we feel that such an appropriation would be of aid to this community.

I hope that these general answers to your questions will be satisfactory for your purpose. Should you require further information we shall be glad to supply it if possible.

Yours very truly,

ROBERT L. LYON, *Executive Secretary.*

WEST CHESTER

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: Your letter addressed to Mr. George J. Brinton, West Chester, Pa., has been turned over to our association for reply.

We have answered the questions to the best of our ability and are returning it herewith.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, double; 1929, two-thirds increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Double 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Emergency burden carried by private relief agencies, nine-tenths; expenditures compared with 1930, double; 1929, triple.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars and fifty cents, wholesale prices.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Sincerely yours,

WEST CHESTER CIVIC ASSOCIATION,
CLINTON E. MOFFETT, *Executive Secretary.*

WEST HAZLETON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th instant; in reply will give you my answers to the best of my ability:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed amounts to about 30 per cent over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Whereas the community chest total for the year 1930 was $97,000, this year the goal set was $198,000, and $150,000 subscribed, $30,000 less than we endeavored to get.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is my belief that for the winter months we must expect 10 per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. That question is hard to answer as I am not in possession of these figures.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. That varies, because for some people rent and fuel bills must be met; the average may total $5 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This borough is not in position to float further bond issues as our taxes are at their peak, as are our borrowing resources.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; I believe that a Federal appropriation to assist local governments would be proper and just.

Trusting this may be of some value to you or that I may be of any service to you in the future, I beg to remain

Very respectfully yours,

ANTHONY KUBITSKY.

STOWE

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As secretary of school district of West Pottsgrove Township, Stowe, Pa., I was handed the letter, addressed, "The Mayor, Stowe, Pa.," dated November 27, 1931, referring to continued unemployment and business depression. I am therefore answering questions of that letter to the best of my ability and knowledge of conditions in our community. The population of our district is approximately 2,500.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase of unemployment over 1930, approximately 50 per cent; increase over 1929, approximately 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent. In 1929 business depression was at its beginning and many people were able to rely on little reserve funds that they had accumulated during prosperity, but due to its lasting so long, the average workman is now looking for food and clothing.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 20 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Associated charities of another district (Pottstown) carries about 15 per cent; churches, 5 per cent; private individuals' donations, 5 per cent; derived from Montgomery County (our community), 15 per cent; from local industries as helping along some of the more needy employees, 5 per cent. Compared with 1930, expenditures have increased 25 per cent and 45 per cent in comparison with 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. An approximate average of between $1.50 and $2.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; very urgent. If handled properly it sure would relieve and help a great deal in providing for the needy.

H. W. STAUFFER.

WEST VIEW

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Will try to answer your questions of November 27 in the order asked.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with December, 1930, unemployed persons assisted, 50; December, 1929, 100.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None, except that we have been doing more street grading and improvement work.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Allegheny County Emergency Association is expending $5,000 for emergency labor for unemployed this winter in the borough. This is the first year they have helped our town.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No, for I believe Federal appropriations would arrive too late to help this winter.

Might I say I am against any general sales tax.

Sincerely yours,

D. A. ATKINSON, *Burgess.*

WEST WYOMING

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following is a reply to your inquiry on the unemployment situation of West Wyoming, Pa.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed has increased in 1931 about 80 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The population of this town is about 2,800, and about 2,000 of them will need relief during the winter. This town depends on the coal mines, and the mines have not worked a day since May 6, 1931.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies have furnished relief to about 50 families in 1931, as compared to about 10 families in 1929 and 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4 per week is given by the county poor district.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. Our town is bonded to the limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. The people of this town must receive relief from some source this winter. Children are kept from school for want of shoes and clothing. Families will lose their little homes, the result of lifetime savings. What the people want is work and not charity.

Very truly yours,

WM. J. COTTER, *Burgess.*

WILLIAMSPORT

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: The emergency relief committee of Williamsport, Pa., will give you detailed information concerning the matters about which you make inquiries in the inclosed. I have no doubt our people will take care of their own needy without any outside help. Personally I believe this ought to be done without any Federal or State help.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. A small reduction.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One mill.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About the same.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Write the emergency relief committee.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No necessity for such action.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; we will take care of our own needy.

HERBERT T. AMES, *Mayor.*

YEADON

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of November 27 has been received, in which you refer to the unemployment and the general depression in many municipalities.

In our municipality we had a committee on relief last winter and at this time are undertaking a campaign for funds to take care of the unemployment situation this winter. In addition, many other municipalities in eastern Pennsylvania are doing likewise. It is, therefore, questionable if any assistance will be required. At the present time, the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania is in session at Harrisburg attempting to outline some program for relief for unemployment.

Your questions are answered in the order given, as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. It is impossible at this time for us to give the number of those unemployed as compared with December, 1930, and December, 1929, although there will be a considerable increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has not been any appropriation by council for the unemployed for the reason that such appropriations are forbidden by the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is impossible at this time to state how many additional persons will require relief. I am making this statement frankly, so as not to mislead you.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In our municipality the emergency burden is carried on by the borough relief committee, although the churches assist. The past year, $700 was used for relief. This winter, due to an organized relief campaign, we expect not less than $3,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Our relief will be mainly fuel, food, and clothing.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our municipality can not float a bond issue for the purpose of relief as this is illegal under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor Federal appropriations to assist the different States, as, in my judgment, each State, with the various relief committees cooperating in the States, should take care of its own relief and not put this burden on the Federal Government. In addition, the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania is arranging for relief, and there will undoubtedly be an appropriation to be apportioned in the different localities of the State where additional aid is required. If the Federal Government provides appropriation for the various States it will have a tendency for the State and the municipalities to do less and not carry the burden of which they should be capable.

Sincerely yours,

WM. A. JOHNSON, *Chief Burgess.*

RHODE ISLAND

PAWTUCKET

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930. With December, 1929?

Answer. At least 20 per cent in 1931 over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City welfare department about $100,000 increase over 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 20 per cent over last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Community chest covering 13 welfare organizations will have about $160,000 to work with.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. For adult, $1 per day, and each minor, 50 cents per day. (This is allowed under State-aid relief.)

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. There will be no need at present, as State-aid loan to the city will amount to $155,000.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Don't see any necessity for it with welfare agencies and State relief funds, both totaling over $310,000.

PROVIDENCE

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your communication of November 27, relative to unemployment and general business depression, received. The following are the answers to the questions which you ask.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, none; December, 1930, 356 cases; November, 1931, 1,224 cases.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $103,900; 1930, $125,000; 1931, $315,508.95.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Unemployed heads of families assisted in November, 1931, were 1,224. This is an increase of 400 per cent over the same month one year ago.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The private relief agencies carried approximately 50 per cent of the burden up to the present time, but due to a lack of funds, they will be unable to carry but 25 per cent after the first of next January.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight dollars per week (this includes milk, food, and fuel only).

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. After consulting with the banks of our city, no bond issues will be brought for relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor Federal or State appropriations to assist us in our municipal relief needs, as community taxes have increased and the only answer to the present question, as far as Providence is concerned, is that the present plan of the State of Rhode Island and of the Federal Government means a further increase on the real estate or property owners of our community.

Trusting that this is the information which you are seeking, I am, very sincerely yours,

JAMES E. DUNNE, *Mayor.*

SOUTH CAROLINA

ANDERSON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Compared with 1930, there seems to have been an improvement. Compared with 1929, a slight increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. (*a*) About the same so far. (*b*) About doubled in relation to 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About same as 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Most all so far have worked through city and Salvation Army.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Around $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Under present conditions, do not believe citizens would vote bonds for this purpose.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

G. T. MCGREGOR, *Mayor.*

CAMDEN

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, I beg to advise that there is practically no unemployment in Camden. Our local charities are taken care of by the Associated Charities, which is supported by voluntary contributions.

Replying to your question No. 7, I most positively do not favor any Federal appropriation for unemployment. My opinion is that the more the Government confines itself to governing and the less it has to do with local problems the better off we will all be.

Yours very truly,

R. M. KENNEDY, Jr., *Mayor.*

COLUMBIA

DECEMBER 24, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter to the Columbia Chamber of Commerce of November 27, 1931, has been referred to this office for answer.

We are inclosing herewith a hastily compiled set of answers to your questionnaire on relief expenditures attributed to unemployment. We hope that these figures cover the data requested.

Yours very truly,

COLUMBIA COMMUNITY CHEST,
Mrs. A. B. OWINGS,
Executive Secretary.

I. Total actual expenditures in period including winter of 1930–31 for relief needed by reason of unemployment:

1. Part from private contributions, $56,024.

2. Part from public funds: (*a*) City, $11,250; (*b*) County, $11,550; (*c*) State, $23,000.

II. Total expenditures needed for period including winter of 1931–32, $127,700.

1. Portion which can probably be raised through private contributions, $70,000.

(*a*) How much, if any, has already been raised? $79,000.

2. Portion to be provided from public funds: (*a*) City, $13,100; (*b*) County, $12,600; (*c*) State, $23,000.

Have the appropriations of these public funds as yet been made? No.

III. Is the agency set up in your city to conduct emergency relief last winter functioning now, and what is your organization's present relation to it? Travelers Aid, Salvation Army, Associated Charities, all coordinating community chest agencies.

City or area to which above data relate: Richland County, S. C.

Date of this statement: December 24, 1931.

COLUMBIA COMMUNITY CHEST.
WM. M. PERRY, *President.*

EASLEY

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None in either case.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically all. Great increase 1930 over 1929. Decrease otherwise.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Almost nothing.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. No need to.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not for us. Such provision is commendable where it is necessary.

F. F. WILLIAMS, *Mayor.*

GEORGETOWN

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27 with reference to the question of unemployment, and in which you request certain data pertaining to this situation in the city of Georgetown.

The following is submitted in answer to the several paragraphs in your letter:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I do not think the increase in unemployment over 1930 is material.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We make no annual appropriations for aid of the unemployed, hence can not give you an accurate estimate of what is being spent in the city for the above purpose as all contributions made are for emergency cases. Am confident, however, that the demand this winter will exceed that of 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I judge that there will be approximately 20 per cent increase in number seeking aid this winter over 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Possibly 80 per cent of the burden is carried by relief agencies which are being supported by the city government from time to time. I have not in hand the total expended by the various organizations.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Unable to estimate the weekly aid given the average family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city is not in position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. In answer to this paragraph, I would like to offer the following suggestions which I believe would to a great extent solve the unemployment situation in the coastal sections:



The Federal Government has contemplated the closing of the Charleston Navy Yard and the Parris Island marine station as an economy measure, which, on the face of it, seems most absurd with the army of unemployed looking to the various communities for aid. The Parris Island marine station alone could conveniently accommodate from 10,000 to 20,000 civilians who could be fed at the present price of provisions, at a cost not exceeding 30 cents per day per man, which would include housing, water, lights, and medical attention. These men could probably be clothed for around $15 per man during the winter months. Under this plan the Government would be rendering a great service to civilians who are in need of food and raiment. I would suggest also that if such a plan could be worked out that only single men be admitted, thus giving married men an opportunity to take advantage of any jobs that may be available during the time. The Government could give these men in camp such training as practicable, thus affording discipline and employment to men who would be susceptible to the influence of the "soap-box orator" that might lead to communism, anarchy, or other trouble.

Throughout the country there are adequate facilities of the above nature for housing and caring for unemployed men, and I believe a plan can be worked out by which the Government can render constructive aid to these needy unemployed civilians.

If the suggestions mentioned are worthy of consideration, and I can be of service to your committee in formulating plans in connection therewith, I would be pleased to hear from you further on the subject.

Yours very truly,

HAROLD KAMINSKI, *Mayor.*

GREENWOOD

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Many thanks for your inquiry of November 27; in reply to your questions I will answer as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We have about 10 per cent more unemployment for 1930 than we had for 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city's appropriation for the unemployed was not increased during the year 1930 over 1929, but calls for assistance from individuals in the city were about 10 per cent greater.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At this time it seems that we will have to lend additional assistance for relief during the winter months for at least 20 per cent more than the year 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent of the burden is being carried by private relief agencies; about 10 per cent increase of 1930 over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average assistance given weekly to families, two adults and two children, amounts to approximately $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in position, I think, to take care of, with its present income, all relief needs of the community unless we have a radical change from the present time.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It seems that some aid or assistance should be set aside which would enable the unemployed of the city to return to the farm or rural districts where they can have house rent, fuel, and provide food for themselves. This is particularly true of the people who are being thrown out of work in manufacturing districts of the cities and who are interested and want to return to the farm where they can provide for their families without living from day to day on assistance given them by individuals of the city.

I have tried to answer your question to the best of my knowledge and only hope they will be of some assistance to you toward carrying out what plans you have in mind for working out a program that will be helpful to the unemployed.

With very best wishes, I remain

Yours very truly,

W. A. BARNETTE, *Mayor.*

HARTSVILLE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 65 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Over 1930, 12 per cent; over 1929, 12 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. New ones every day.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Red Cross, 80 per cent. Compared with 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 35 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Food about $2.50.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; we can feed them.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Sincerely yours,

R. E. SOWELL, *Mayor.*

SUMTER

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: Your circular letter of November 27, which was addressed to the mayor of this city, Mr. J. A. Rafield, was handed to me a few days ago with the request that I, as chairman of the Sumter County Relief Commission, answer it. I am taking the questions in numerical order and making an effort to answer them briefly:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1929, 40 families; December, 1930, 54 families; December, 1931, about 50 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Total city and county appropriations: 1929, nothing; 1930, $3,000; 1931, $3,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No appreciable increase.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 60 to 70 per cent of all the relief administered here is being financed through private subscriptions to the Sumter County Relief Commission, which was organized in March, 1930, and has charge of all relief work in the city and county.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No; but the average is very small.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor Federal appropriations to assist the local government in meeting relief burdens and we believe that the movement would make it increasingly difficult to hold relief work to a minimum.

Yours very truly,

R. B. WATERS, *Chairman.*

YORK

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Salvation Army by subscription approximately $1,200 per year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I am informed about $3 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing

more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not at this time. Do something to provide employment is the need.

Respectfully,

W. E. MORTON, *Mayor.*

SOUTH DAKOTA

BROOKINGS

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: In reply to your questionnaire of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Approximately 20 per cent increase in number of unemployed persons assisted compared with 1930 and 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Municipalities are not legally permitted to appropriate for poor in this State. County is required to take care of poor. County appropriation for 1931 is $16,000; for 1930 and 1929 was $14,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 30 per cent more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 25 per cent; about 20 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Would say about $8.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. See answer No. 2. City and county have practically no bonded indebtedness. Unless depression continues too long we will be able to take care of the needed relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Greatest need for Federal appropriation is to farmers; do not favor dole.

Yours very truly,

I. B. JOHNSON, *Mayor.*

MOBRIDGE

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your attached communication has been handed to me by the mayor of our city with the request that I reply, and I believe that I can best reply to your questions with a general letter.

Walworth County (S. Dak.) has allowed the city of Mobridge $9,000 as a budget to care for the city's own needy, and as we are a city of 3,500 people and approximately 700 homes you will readily see that there is considerable of relief work to be carried on.

It is nevertheless true that Mobridge has 90 per cent of the poor as the farmer through here is going to get by, and other smaller towns have not the need of relief except in case of old people who need some help.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, approximately 10 families; in 1930, 15 families; in 1931, 45 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There has not been an appropriation directly for the relief of the poor until this year, and, as stated, this is being done by the county.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly 10 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have here an organization known as the Railroad Woman's Club, who last year spent $2,000 amongst their own employees, and they are functioning again this year but will have only about one-half as much to spend. Then we have the Red Cross with about $500. The Hoover relief obtained through the picture shows, $500. The American Legion with some small sum, possibly $150.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I am in charge of the county funds here, and I am feeding a family of four on $24.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in good shape financially, but I hardly think it will be necessary to bond for this purpose, and I doubt if the present city government would consider such bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. My personal answer to the seventh question is no to all parts of the question, but I can not answer for the mayor or city.

Trusting that I have answered your questions, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

V. M. GRAYBILL.

SIOUX FALLS

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In looking over my mail yesterday I discovered that I had not answered yours of November 27. Hope you will pardon this delay.

We have a population of 35,000 people. In 1929 the city did not assist anyone. In 1930 we prepared for an emergency and gave work to about 400 common laborers, such as sewer work, and $110,000 spent on a new coliseum.

We make our appropriation September 1, but the money does not become available until January 1. In 1930 we appropriated $90,000 and for 1931 $120,000 for the benefit of labor. This year we have about 650 on the city pay rolls being paid out of the $120,000 appropriation. By the 1st of February our funds will be exhausted.

We have a community chest fund of $60,000 and our county commissioners have appropriated $50,000 for the benefit of the poor. This gives us a total of about $230,000 at our command.

Our city is in a good position financially to put out bonds if the people would vote for them. In order that you may know how we stand financially, the assessed valuation against Sioux Falls on a 75 per cent basis is $48,000,000. Our bonded indebtedness is $1,000,000, with no floating debt such as outstanding warrants and contracts. We have in our several sinking funds that come due at various times $500,000 to retire such bonds.

It appears to me that the United States Government should appropriate sufficient funds to take care of the down and outers. The situation here at the present time is not serious.

Sincerely yours,

GEO. W. BURNSIDE, *Mayor.*

WATERTOWN

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: This will acknowledge receipt of your letters of November 27 and December 11.

I did not reply to your letter of November 27 for the reason that I covered very fully the same subject in my reply to your letter of December 13, 1930. It would be of no value to elaborate upon the letter I wrote at that time, because in a year's consideration and in view of all of the recent developments, I am fully confirmed in the correctness of the views that I gave you at that time.

For your possible use I am inclosing a copy of that letter.

Very truly yours,

D. C. NOONAN, *Mayor.*

DECEMBER 29, 1930.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: I have your letter of December 13. You have asked me to answer eight questions, which I shall be very glad to do. I point out to you, however, that my answers and explanatory comment attendant upon them are merely my personal opinion based upon observation of and contact with the problems concerning which you inquire. In this letter I am not speaking to you as a city official or as a representative of any civic group or organization. My answers and comment might vary in large degree from that which others in this community might give you had the questions been put to them.

1. Approximately how many people are unemployed in your community?

Answer. I believe that at the present time there are no more unemployed persons in this community than at any similar period in the last 10 years. An estimate of the number would be merely a guess, and I would not hazard an opinion. There are in this city many men who are at present not working, but who should not be classed as "unemployed" in the ordinary usage of the term. These men, farmers, certain classes of railroad employees, laborers, artisans, carpenters, mechanics, and a host of others find lucrative, concentrated, and continuous employment during certain definite seasons of the year, and during these seasons make adequate and necessary provision for themselves and their families for periods of the year, like the present, when there is no demand for their labor or services. Undoubtedly this same situation applies to millions of men in various parts of this country. Some of these men, while not actually in need, being human, would probably not be averse to accepting aid from governmental agencies, if they were convinced by appropriate and organized propaganda that they were not only entitled to it but actually needed it.

2. Question. To what extent has the number of persons whom the city government is called upon to aid increased over the number last year and that of two years ago?

Answer. Our city does not engage in poor relief or its kindred work. Our county is equipped and prepared to carry on this character of endeavor. I am informed that this county has aided no more people this year than last. In fact, the records disclose that there was $2,150 less appropriated this year by the county for charitable purposes than in the year 1929, or a reduction of 12 per cent. This latter statement covers your question 3.

4. What do you estimate will be the increase in the number requiring relief during the winter months?

Answer. I am reliably informed and believe that there will be no increase whatever in the demands upon the county and the many charitable organizations of the city during the coming winter months, over similar periods in the past.

5. Will the assistance of the Federal Government help to extend relief to the needy and lessen the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Emphatically no. I beg your leave to comment briefly on this question and also question 7 at the conclusion of this letter.

6. Briefly state what relief is being extended by private relief agencies. How much has it increased as compared with last year and two years ago?

Answer. As in every community in the country, Watertown has a large number of worthy private relief agencies. Every church, every social, fraternal, and business club, the American Legion, the Salvation Army, the Red Cross, is an actual or potential charitable organization ready, anxious, and willing to relieve the poor and needy. These groups at times distribute food and clothing, assist when necessary with medical care, and the like. These groups are constantly on the lookout for outlets for their activities. My opinion is that their charity has not greatly increased, if at all, this year over previous years.

7. Do you favor the Federal Government appropriating a sum of money that will share with the city and State governments the increased relief burdens that the present emergency has necessitated?

Answer. Emphatically no.

8. A brief statement of the general situation in your community.

Answer. An answer to this question is probably made unnecessary by the foregoing answers.

I have the honor, sir, to be, yours very respectfully,

D. C. NOONAN.

TENNESSEE

KNOXVILLE

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In response to your inquiry of November 27, I am attaching hereto statement containing answers to questions 1 to 5.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Our intake for unemployment relief in 1929 was $335; 1930, $914; 1931, $1,372. We have possibly 5,000 of the laboring class registered with the unemployment bureau.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Comparative expenditures for October, 1930, were $1,876; 1931, $3,694.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I would estimate that our demand will be approximately 50 per cent greater than former years.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There is no private agency providing for the unemployed. The Associated Charities provides funds for the unemployed to an extent. Effective December 1, 1930, we are inaugurating a Penny Club to provide funds for the unemployed. Heretofore the unemployment burden has been carried by the city government of Knoxville.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars per week for groceries and $2 every two weeks for fuel.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is in no position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I heartily favor Federal appropriations to assist local governments in meeting the emergency. The need for unemployment relief seems to be more urgent to-day than ever before.

I have followed your course in the Senate with regard to this matter, and wish to take this opportunity to express my sympathy with your views. I believe the time has come when the Federal Government should extend a helping hand to the many needs of our fellow citizens who are out of work through no fault of their own.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOHN T. O'CONNOR, *Mayor.*

KINGSPORT

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter of the 27th instant, making inquiry as to the unemployment situation here, has been received in this office to-day, and I shall endeavor to answer the questions in their proper sequence as they appear in your letter.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We estimate that there will be 50 per cent increase in the number of unemployed persons over December, 1930, and about 100 per cent increase over December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed poor for 1929 was approximately $1,700; for 1930, approximately $2,700; and for 1931, approximately $3,600.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 100 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Approximately 66 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by the community chest and the balance by the county and municipality. The Salvation Army administers the fund and is closely supervised by an active advisory board of several business men.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The relief given weekly to the average family amounts to approximately $3. Many of these families are able to contribute something to their own relief by temporary incidental employment.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city has never found it necessary to float bond issues to supplement our income for this purpose, as ours is a small community and such assistance as it renders comes from direct taxation.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am not ready to commit myself on your seventh question.

Yours very truly,

F. L. CLOUD, *City Manager.*

JOHNSON CITY

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answering the questions contained in your letter of November 27 I regret to say that the number of unemployed persons in Johnson City has increased from 50 to 75 per cent since December, 1930. The increase in December, 1930, over that of December, 1929, was very slight.

The city appropriations for the unemployed have remained approximately the same during the years 1929, 1930, and 1931.

Johnson City has a population of a little more than 25,000, and never in the history of the city have we had so many people out of employment. There is no way for me to estimate the number of people that will need relief during the next few months. About 75 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. But, according to the best information I have been able to get, their availing money for expenditures has not been increased.

A very small amount, perhaps about $2.50, is the weekly amount to the average family.

Johnson City is not in a position to float a bond issue to meet adequately the relief needs of the community.

I favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and I feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more relief for the needy.

Very truly yours,

B. B. SNIPES, *Mayor.*

JACKSON

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your questionnaire under date of November 27 I desire to say that our unemployed assistance and charity work is handled with a community charity fund, which is raised by private donations. The city only used about $3,000 out of its funds last year, with a total expenditure of $21,000.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Our demands increased during 1930 over 1929 about 100 per cent, but are off during 1931 about 30 per cent of 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Funds raised during 1930 were 100 per cent more than 1929 and decreased 50 per cent for 1931 as compared with 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It looks as though we will have fewer this winter than last.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Answered above.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4 worth of food, and fuel, clothing, and medicine where needed.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We have had to issue no bonds for such purposes and there is no reason in sight for such action now.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Of course, Federal appropriations would assist local governments and taxpayers; but if such practice is started I believe that the demand and easy relief would grow in proportion until conditions would probably become worse. I believe that it would be a bad move, and I do not favor it at this time.

Yours very truly,

LAWRENCE TAYLOR, *Mayor.*

FRANKLIN

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your circular-letter inquiries of November 27 I have the following to say with respect to the town of Franklin:

Franklin has no regular budget of expenditures for the aid of the unemployed, but it has paid for a great many meals and lodging for indigent persons, especially those passing through the town and representing themselves as returning to their homes and unable to pay their way, and others passing on their way seeking employment. These items are simply charged to the ordinary fund in our accounts. I am sorry to say I can not give you an exact statement without a rather long search through the books. But it amounts to over $100 yearly. And for a number of years we paid an emergency fund into the hands of a committee of citizens—$100 for the year—to look after such cases.

As we are a small city of less than 4,000 people, we have thought it best for our people to work in conjunction with the local Red Cross, which has a fine organization, and received from popular contributions over $2,000 to date this year, as I am informed. But their work is for the whole county of Williamson. The city also contributes $30 every month to the local health unit, to which much larger sums are given by the State and by the county.

They own a hospital building and give free service to persons unable to pay for it, and they do not have pay patients, it not being operated for profit.

I learn from the secretary of the Red Cross that the number of unemployed within the city is approximately 150 at the present time, which is an increase of 50 per cent over last year.

Franklin can hardly be called an industrial city, though there is a large merchants' flour mill and a number of minor plants, large stone quarry, and stove manufacturing company adjacent to town.

Besides the Red Cross there are four other smaller organizations supported by popular contributions.

The city as a public municipal corporation has made no provisions other than such as I have mentioned. These means seem to suffice for their purposes. The number of unemployed here seems to be less than the averages for the northern cities, and probably we may pull through very well, though it takes rather a large amount at this time to do so. Whatever it costs us we are glad to give, and will continue to do so, and speaking for ourselves only we would not feel like seeking any aid from the Government, though such aid would make it easier.

But, in further reply, if conditions in any other parts of the country at large have developed to such an extent that they urgently call for such national aid, and especially if it would tend to ameliorate conditions, and make the people in such places better satisfied with the Government, I do not think the people in these parts would have any objection to such aid being given by proper and prudent methods; on the contrary it would be approved of.

Under the facts of our situation and mode of looking after such matters in this locality, I take it you will see that I could not answer very intelligently on your questionnaire, which I hope will explain this form of reply.

Very truly,

PARK MARSHALL, *Mayor.*

DYERSBURG

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am glad to answer your letter of November 27, relative to the unemployment situation. My answers apply to Dyer County, as the emergency of unemployment has been handled by the municipality of Dyersburg and the county jointly.

There has been a marked decrease of unemployment in December, 1931, over same month of 1930; 1929 and 1931 conditions are about the same. Decrease, 1930 and 1931, about 75 per cent.

City has made no appropriations. All help has been provided through the Red Cross and local contributions.

Estimate that help will have to be supplied to 750 people through the winter months. About 5,000 were cared for in 1930. Five dollars per week was the average allowance per family.

City lacks legal authority for floating bonds, but is in position to meet any emergency that may arise.

In my opinion, it would be a serious mistake for the Federal Government to make appropriations so long as private donations and local governments can care for the needy as well as has been done to this time.

Respectfully,

F. W. LATTA, *Mayor.*

CLARKSVILLE

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of the 27th.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been a 10 per cent increase in unemployment this year over last and about 20 per cent over 1929. Most of our unemployment is caused by returning home of men who have been employed in Detroit and other northern cities.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We don't have any dole for the unemployment. In emergency cases we help the sick, women, and children. In no case do we help an able-bodied man.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Can't answer; depends on how many come home from outside points.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All by private relief agencies, except emergency cases for women and children and the sick. No increase over 1930 so far.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can't answer. We don't spend $500 a year, and we have 10,000 population.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are paying off bonds instead of increasing our indebtedness.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I don't favor a dole system in any shape, form, or fashion. I don't favor encouraging unemployment. Neither God nor government owes any man a living. He is endowed with sufficient qualifications to make his own meat. I presume the Indians and the other savages received dole. Surely the civilized man of to-day is in no worse condition than the savages were. The difference is they lived close to nature; we live artificially. We will have to revert to an agrarian civilization. Dole won't solve the problem. It will breed revolution.

Yours very truly,

W. D. HUDSON, *Mayor.*

BRISTOL

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Five per cent; 20 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. $300 to $1,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent; 25 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes, if needed; but our welfare council is taking care of the situation.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If the above measure is deemed advisable, naturally we want our part of same. We have recently had a community chest drive, which is now $15,000 short of the goal.

FRED V. VANCE, *Mayor.*

SPRINGFIELD

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27, relative to the unemployment and general business depression in this city and vicinity. While we have experienced quite a drop in commodity prices, we have, on the other hand, been blessed with abundant crops, the harvesting and marketing of which have given considerable employment to our people.

We are now just beginning to prepare our tobacco for market, which will give employment for a majority of our working class through the winter months, and it is my opinion that we will get through this winter with less suffering than was the case the past year. I am also of the opinion that our local relief agencies are ample to take care of any emergencies that may arise in our city in the next few months.

Yours very truly,

C. H. RICKMAN, *Mayor.*

MILAN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. An increase, but small.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All our local relief is taken care of by organized charity of our city.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No bond issue necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

J. M. CRISWELL, *Mayor.*

LOUDON

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your inquiry of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. So far no assistance has been necessary; only a small public subscription has been taken to be ready should assistance become necessary this year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations so far for 1931 into 1932.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Last winter we had 275 persons, but will have less this year if any relief is necessary.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All carried on by private relief; however, the city furnished truck for hauling provisions and fuel.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Last winter we averaged $3.50 per family in provisions, not counting any fuel.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We can not float any more bonds; we have just completed a water system on $85,000 bond issue; owe $12,000 unpaid on school bonds, which is our limit of 10 per cent of assessed values.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If necessary, we favor some help, for our people are not in position to give very much this winter, and we are hoping they will not be called on for very much.

We have under construction just started a full-fashioned-hosiery mill, and will be in operation about the middle of March. We are hopeful that our other industries will give some work, that our people might get through until this mill begins operation.

Yours very truly,

DON P. SMITH, *Mayor.*

LAFOLLETTE

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry of November 27, in regard to the unemployed in our city, will say that in my estimation the unemployment increase for 1930 over 1929 is 25 per cent, and 1931 over 1930 is at least 25 per cent.

At present our city has not appropriated anything for the unemployed for this winter, and under the present city charter, which provides a limit of $2 on taxable property and amount of the bonded indebtedness, I do not see how the city will be able to do much for the poor.

There will be quite a few additional families who will have to be aided during this winter.

The emergency relief is being carried almost wholly by private donations.

With all of its disadvantages I would favor a Federal relief fund, as it seems that that would be the only way to meet the needs of the unfortunate.

If it had not been for the relief we got from the National Red Cross last winter and spring, I do not know just what may have happened.

Hoping this will measure up to your desired information.

I am, yours sincerely,

E. D. MURRAY.

TEXAS

AMARILLO

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Your letter of November 27 is at hand in which you say that you understand many municipalities are finding it necessary still further to increase their outlays for unemployment relief this winter; and in the opinion of some Members of the Senate conditions require that the Federal Government should assist the States and municipalities in meeting part of the increased burden. You ask me to answer certain questions to help in deciding upon a proper Federal policy. I take pleasure in doing this as follows:

Question. (a) What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? (b) With December, 1929?

Answer. (a) One hundred per cent. (b) One hundred and fifty per cent.

Question. (a) How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? (b) Over 1929?

Answer. (a) And (b) none. All our aid is raised by subscription.

Question. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred per cent over present number.

Question. (a) What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? (b) How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? (c) With 1929?

Answer. (a) All by private agencies. (b) Seventy-five per cent. (c) One hundred per cent. This year we have provided food and clothing more extensively than before as substitute for cash. While wheat was cheap last summer during the harvest private donors bought it at 20 cents a bushel, and our local mill ground it free. By this means 5,000 bushels of wheat was subscribed, equivalent to more than 200,000 pounds of flour. Then all private agencies, including churches and schools, canned 7,000 cans of vegetables, meats, and other food for winter charity, and boy scouts gathered 2,100 pieces of clothing.

Question. What was the weekly relief given to the average family?

Answer. To the average family of five, approximately $2.50 in merchandise consisting of salt pork, flour, baking powder, compounds, beans, potatoes, canned milk, sugar, cereals, sirup, coffee, and soap. This is all bought wholesale.

Question. Is your city in position to float further bond issues if present income does not meet the needs for relief?

Answer. We could. But we do not intend to do it except to build needed public works, within our ability, and thus provide employment for the needy, who must be bona fide citizens.

Question. Do you favor Federal appropriation to aid local governments in providing emergency relief; and do you feel that such appropriation would provide more adequate relief or lessen the burden of local taxpayers?

Answer. No; never. There is no mysterious source for tax raising. Every dollar appropriated must be wrung from the taxpayer's pocket. The only way to keep down taxes is to spend less public

money. If we spend the money, the taxpayer must bring just that much hard-earned cash and lay it on the tax counter.

People must realize sooner or later that when they ask us to spend money they themselves are going to have to foot the bill. There is no such thing as having Government service without paying for it in full. If people want public officials to spend money for them—even their entire income—then they should not kick if taxes are high.

But if the public wants low taxes, there should be no complaint when public officials reduce expenses by cutting down unnecessary, duplicated, or useless employment, or forestall expenses by withholding public charity and doles. We can not give everybody a job or charity. Therefore, to be fair, we should only hire such people as are needed for public work and should leave the contributions for charity to private agencies.

ERNEST O. THOMPSON, *Mayor.*

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In a previous letter to you to-day I confined myself to answering your questions about our position in unemployment relief. In this I expressed myself as firmly opposed to doles and relief from the public treasury, believing that charity should be left to private agencies.

It is a natural question, then, for you to ask, "If the private agencies fail, then what? Shall we let the unemployed starve?"

My answer is no; let the governments create work. But see that it is useful and necessary. That is what we did last winter in Amarillo, and probably will do again this winter. As a result, we got some needed railroad underpasses built, provided new parks and recreation grounds, and otherwise bettered ourselves.

It is a pretty good rule for any form of government—be it city, State, or Federal—to pay for what it gets and get what it pays for. We certainly do not want the dole.

The best solution for our present plight, in my opinion, is for the Federal Government to do a model piece of highway construction from coast to coast and from Canada to Mexico or the Gulf. Let the work be done by the Army. Recruit the labor at $30 a month, with food and clothing furnished, making allotments to families of those who enlist.

We need the highways. The Army has the engineers to design and supervise the construction. Pay for the work in silver certificates. But start the job at once.

ERNEST O. THOMPSON.

AUSTIN

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of November 27 with reference to the proper Federal policy.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifteen per cent increase over 1929 and 10 per cent over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No additional appropriation for the unemployed has been necessary. We are pushing our program and using the unemployed labor in three shifts a week, giving each man two days work at $3 per day.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably several hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The community chest fund of approximately $45,000 takes care of the local relief agencies; last year the fund was about $60,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We do not have the statistics covering this question at this time.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are well within our bonded limit, and do not think it will be necessary for us to float bonds nor go into debt. So far we have succeeded in keeping entirely out of debt.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We think that the Federal Government could relieve the unemployment situation materially if they would follow their own precepts. They are urging everyone to employ as many as possible, and at the same time they have reduced the Army and Navy to minimum and have applied the same rule to all of their departments. It appears to us that until this depression is over the Federal Government could well afford to at least fill all of their departments, including the Army and Navy, to war strength until conditions have been brought back to normal. This certainly would be a consistent thing to do, and an equitable way, in that all of the taxpayers of the United States would share equally in the burden. We feel that this would be the most effective way to render Federal aid throughout the entire United States.

Very truly yours,

ADAM R. JOHNSON, *City Manager.*

BROWNWOOD

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Senator LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: Your inquiry concerning the unemployment situation in our community was handed to me by the city manager. We have a town of 12,000 people and assisted 300 families of unemployed men last winter. The situation will be just about the same for this winter, we think.

It seems a shame to me that the United States Government has in storage a hundred million bushels of wheat and her people are going hungry. Why could not the Federal Farm Board, upon instruction of Congress, issue this wheat to the local relief associations of the country, feed our starving people, and at the same time reduce the surplus?

Yours very sincerely,

CARRIE REAVES,
Executive Secretary Brownwood Employment Bureau for Relief.

DENTON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent increase over 1930 and 20 per cent since 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We are collecting the same amount but doing around $15,000 worth of street paving to relieve the unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fully twice as many as in 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Answered in No. 3.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city will not vote any more taxes on the people. We are burdened to death now with taxes. No use in making paupers out of all the people and if taxes are increased much more that is what will happen.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We own our own water and light plant and we are reducing taxes one-eighth this year in the city and in addition doing the above paving with profits of water and lights. We do not feel that it would lighten the burden any to have the Federal Government help cities and States unless this money could be derived from the class of people who have become wealthy at the expense of the common people. I believe the plan of keeping people at home and letting each community take care of itself except in a case of calamity, is the better plan.

ELECTRA

DECEMBER 25, 1931.

Hon. E. E. WHEELER,
Mayor, Electra, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Replying to the letter of inquiry of the Hon. R. M. LA FOLLETTE as to unemployment situation in Electra, passed on to me, will say:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Present increase of unemployed over 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 200 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations made by city owing to heavy indebtedness.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not less than 100 families in this city will need relief during winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All the burden is carried by our charity association. Increase over 1930, 100 per cent; over 1929, 200 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars and fifty cents per week to average family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours truly,

G. J. PRICE,
Chairman Charity Board.

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

The above facts are correct.

E. E. WHEELER, *Mayor.*

GALVESTON

DECEMBER 22, 1931.

Hon. R. M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following information is furnished in response to your inquiry of November 27 and letter of the 11th instant:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is a decrease of 50 per cent in the number of unemployed in this city compared with December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of it; approximately 25 per cent less than in 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Whatever is necessary to provide for their needs; no fixed amount.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. We are now close to our constitutional limit.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No, no.

Yours very truly,

J. E. PEARCE, *Mayor.*

GATESVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None made, except in municipal improvement work to keep employed those in need.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Not many.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. None, except in a few cases the churches have cared for unfortunates.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We will care for our own.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; I do not.

DEAR SENATOR: We go the limit in war and then rob ourselves to furnish necessary gratuities—pensions and hospitals for a few grafters to ensconce themselves with plenty and sure pay, without a damn regard to inmates. Wars are all silly, as are preparations for same. If God has made man and is not ashamed, He should blush to think of His masterpiece.

Suppose the money spent for the late war and its sequences had been spent in roads and public necessities, life in America would be really worth its effort now.

Just a little common sense and every courtesy without burdening the Government—who is a pauper and has only its fingers in the public pocket for every dime it so glibly gives through a dozen grafters to the silly public—with the affair is possible.

Very truly,

M. W. LOWRY, *Mayor.*

GOOSE CREEK

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry relative to this municipality assisting unemployed has been duly given consideration, and at this time I wish to advise that the city of Goose Creek is not considering any program which has for its purpose relief or assistance for unemployed.

The city has never extended, so far as records show, any material assistance to the unemployed.

Locally the citizenship has for the past three years conducted a community-chest drive, the funds of which are expended for the benefit of the indigent and unfortunate. This fund, of course, is raised from private individuals and corporations, and the membership of the community-chest organization elects the officials to administer the funds throughout the year.

Trusting this information is about the substance of a report you and your committee expect, I am,

Yours very truly,

C. R. MYERS, *Mayor.*

GREENVILLE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of the 27th ultimo will state, after careful survey, the following:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 25 per cent over 1929 and no increase over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No increase of appropriation by city.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Slight decrease this year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Greenville Social Service Association handles all relief work. To date slight decrease.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Relief for average family (two adults and two children), $3 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. City is in no position to issue bonds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not favor Federal aid.

Owing to the pleasant weather and the crops being so fine that this winter the people are in better condition as a whole than last year.

Sincerely yours,

W. LEE BROWN,
Manager Greenville Unemployment Board.

HARLINGEN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None; 1929, 10 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

HEARNE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Prevailing good weather is responsible for less demands.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?
Answer. About the same.
3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?
Answer. Probably 50 per cent more.
4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?
Answer. Practically all relief is by private subscriptions.
5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?
Answer. No.
6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?
Answer. No.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. For God's sake, no.
We estimate the increased demands this year at 50 per cent on account of farming conditions. The low price of cotton has reduced the tenant farmers to mendicants, and we anticipate a serious situation in getting this class through the winter.
A very mild season so far has been of vast relief.

W. H. ELGIN, *Mayor.*

HOUSTON

DECEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Answering your letter of November 27 in which you request certain information to aid in mapping a Federal policy for relief of public depression and unemployment, I have prepared the following information, which is, however, based on estimates.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?
Answer. November, 1931, 2,231 families; November, 1930, 789 families; November, 1929, 670 families.
2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?
Answer. The city does not appropriate funds for unemployment relief. Funds for relief are obtained by subscription to the community chest.
3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?
Answer. In my judgment the heaviest registration for relief will be during the months of January and February. The colored and Mexican unemployed people have increased in numbers since December 1; they are coming in from the cotton fields and yard work.
4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?
Answer. The whole burden is being carried by the community chest which is raised by public subscription. The city and county employees assist this subscription by subscribing 1 per cent of their salaries. Expenditures for November, 1931, $8,883; expenditures for November, 1930, $3,000; expenditures for November, 1929, $2,228.
5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?
Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children is $2.20 for food (wholesale price). Fuel and clothing provided as required. Rent is paid in emergency cases.
6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?
Answer. The city of Houston does not contemplate issuing additional bonds. This procedure, however, is not necessary, owing to the fact that the unemployment and relief situation is not only being adequately taken care of at this time, but will be taken care of as long as the emergency exists.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. I personally do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief work.
If I can give you further information, please command me.
Very truly yours,

W. E. MONTEITH, *Mayor.*

HUNTSVILLE

NOVEMBER 29, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, we have very little unemployment at this time, and have had none during the past year. We have organized an unemployment and relief committee which has raised sufficient funds to take care of the situation.
However, we are not advertising this fact, as we do not want those from other sections to come to us to be taken care of.
Assuring you of my desire to cooperate with the State and Federal Governments in every way possible, I am,
Yours truly,

SAM MCKINNEY, *Mayor.*

LAMPASAS

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?
Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 60 per cent.
2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?
Answer. City is unable to make increase.
3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?
Answer. Two hundred in city.
4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?
Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.
5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?
Answer. We furnish food and clothing and do not give money.
6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?
Answer. No.
7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?
Answer. Yes.

J. C. ABNEY, *Mayor.*

LITTLEFIELD

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This will acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 27th ultimo, in which you advise that the Government is considering the matter of assisting municipalities in caring for their unemployed and destitute people.
Just at this time it is impossible for us to estimate with any degree of accuracy the conditions with which we will be confronted this winter, for in this country crops are being harvested now and nearly everyone is finding some work to do. Our trouble in this connection will more than likely begin immediately after Christmas and will continue until in the spring. By Christmas about all the cotton and other crops will be gathered and there will be no work for people, and calls for assistance will be made on the city and other relief agencies.
I believe that the above paragraph will answer your first two questions, as up to date we have made no appropriations for charity, and probably will not do so until in January.
I am of the opinion that as soon as work is finished here there will be about 50 more families needing assistance than in either of the past two years.
In the past I think that about 75 per cent of the emergency burden has been borne by private agencies. However, this year it is going to be harder for them than in previous years, for due to the general business depression the different agencies are going to be very short on funds.
No accurate records have been kept of the amount of relief given different families in the past, but my opinion would be about $3.50 per week.
I regret to advise that the city of Littlefield is not in a position to issue any bonds for relief work. The city is now bonded to the extreme limit of its capacity, and it is almost impossible for us to meet the interest on the present outstanding indebtedness.
I heartily favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments, as I feel that this would provide more relief for the needy and be of material assistance to local governments in caring for their problems.
Trusting that this is the desired information, I am,
Yours truly,

T. S. SALES, *Mayor.*

LOCKHART

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?
Answer. None.
2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?
Answer. None.
3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?
Answer. None.
4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?
Answer. Relief agencies, all; 1930, 1929, none.
5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?
Answer. Small.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

The winter thus far has been mild and except in cases of sickness or stranded travelers no calls for assistance have been received.

Relief is administered by the community charities association. Food is abundant and people are generous with it. On account of back-to-farm movement there are sufficient vacant houses to shelter those caught out in the weather.

This section, thus far, is fortunate.

WM. M. SCHOFIELD, *Mayor.*

LUBBOCK

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have your letter under date of December 11 addressed to the mayor, which has been handed to us for handling, regarding the unemployment situation in our community. We have at this time something like 250 unemployed in the city of Lubbock. The population is approximately 21,000.

We are planning to take care of our situation this winter by furnishing extra work in our parks, water system, electric-light system, and other departments of the city. As far as the farming community is concerned the farmers are in a better position than they have been for the last two years. They have plenty of food canned to carry them through the winter.

If there is any other information you wish we shall be glad to cooperate any way possible.

Thanking you very kindly for your interest in the matter, we are

Yours very truly,

W. H. RODGERS, *City Manager.*

MARSHALL

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your circular letter of November 27, relative to the continued unemployment situation.

During the winter of 1929 and 1930 the united charities disbursed about $5,000, and the National Red Cross about $9,000. In addition, the Red Cross furnished brewer's yeast and seed to the farmers, estimated at $6,000 in value. These distributions were made in Marshall and Harrison County. The united charities operated a dole system for several months, during which time they furnished about 30,000 meals. The cash expenditures above mentioned were made for food and clothing, and do not cover a very large donation of second-hand clothing, which was distributed through the chamber of commerce.

Conditions in the country are very much improved this year, because the farmers made a very good crop, and have provided themselves with an abundance of canned fruits and vegetables, sweetpotatoes, pork, and other products which can be preserved for the winter season. The local Red Cross and the united charities have combined all their local activities under a single board, and have received contributions in the neighborhood of $5,000, which is to be expended for labor, and food and clothing for people who are unable to work.

The city commission of Marshall, Tex., have authorized the expenditure of $10,000 for the building of water and sewer lines, and the beautification of parks and cemeteries. All the excavation is to be done by hand, so as to provide the greatest amount of labor for the unemployed. This work will begin about December 10, and it is believed that we have funds enough to carry us for three or four months of the winter season. It will not be necessary for this city to float any bonds to meet the emergency this year.

Referring to the seventh question of your letter, relative to Federal appropriation, from our point of view I think we would be opposed to such an expenditure on the part of the Federal Government, whose obligations have already reached an enormous amount. The laboring people of every community are part of the industrial machinery of that community, and the interests that have benefited by their labors ought to be taxed to take care of such an emergency as this. It does not seem fair that a community that has received no benefit, nor contributed any to the cause of the city, should be taxed to relieve such conditions. We, of course, realize that there are many angles to this problem, and many conditions have contributed to its cause; nevertheless, the citizens who have labored for the benefits of the community interests ought to be taken care of by that community.

Yours very truly,

H. J. GRAESER, *City Manager.*

MINERAL WELLS

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry concerning the unemployment situation in this immediate section. I infer from your letter that you are taking periods of December 31, 1929, to December 31, 1930. However, it is this I am basing the answers to your letter on.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. None.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Of the Red Cross and individuals.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. An average of $3 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. This is a question that I have endeavored to give my best thought to. I believe that each community should as far as possible relieve that community without Federal aid. There are many reasons to substantiate this thought. I am a strong believer in a man putting forth every effort to take care of his family. There is always a certain per cent of heads of families that remind me of young mocking birds opening their mouth for some one to drop food to. I think that the national legislative bodies of this great country should have as much time as possible to give their attention to establishing business institutions on a safer footing and encourage various business institutions as far as possible to assist in establishing this country back to normalcy.

Yours truly,

CHARLTON BROWN, *Mayor.*

NACOGDOCHES

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I think we will have less to care for and assist.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent. There has been no increase. Think will be less this year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $3 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; I am opposed to burdening the Federal Budget for this purpose. I do not think the relief would be as adequate.

NEW BRAUNFELS

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, beg to advise as follows on local conditions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is a slight increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted as compared with December 1930 and 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriation has been made by the city.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 50 additional persons will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The entire burden is carried by private relief agencies, in our case the associated charities, assisted by various civic organizations, with a slight increase in expenditures over 1930 and 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Amount of relief given weekly to average family is approximately $3.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This city is not in a position at this time to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not favor Federal appropriations for such purpose. Let farmers and ranchers receive a fair price for their products at all times and the unemployment problem would solve itself, as far as small communities are concerned.

Sincerely yours,

H. F. FISCHER, *Mayor.*

PALESTINE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 150 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Same proportion as above.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Only a few more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies, 100 per cent; 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 150 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Not needed.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; let each community take care of its own.

PECOS

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry of November 27, will answer your queries as numbered:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is little, if any, change in our unemployment situation this year as compared with 1930, and little more than 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The total appropriation for unemployed has been increased about 20 per cent this year over 1930. There was no appropriation for 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We do not anticipate any additional persons requiring relief this winter over last from our local citizenship, but are having some increase in the impoverished tourists, travelers, both in broken-down automobiles and hitch-hikers.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have one relief agency here which is subscribed to by both the city and the county, as well as individuals, the county and city putting up about 60 per cent of the total funds required.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly is difficult to state, but believe we are taking care of all the worthy cases properly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We believe our financial position is adequate to take care of all just requirements.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not feel that a Federal appropriation to assist our local government is at all necessary at this time, but we do know that we would be greatly benefited from an unemployment standpoint if the appropriation to build the Federal building that has been approved for Pecos could be secured this winter, and if your committee could be of any assistance to our Congressman, Hon. R. E. THOMASON, in aiding in the securing of the necessary appropriation it would be of great benefit to the community.

Assuring you of our appreciation of the inquiry, we are,

Yours very truly,

K. M. REGAN, *Mayor.*

SAN ANGELO

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of November 27, and as you are the son of your illustrious father, whom I never had the pleasure of meeting, I am replying to your letter as best I can.

We will have some increase of unemployment over last year during the latter part of this winter, but at the present time our unemployment is not as great as it was last year. We increased our appropriations for the poor over last year for the sum of $500. All of our poor are being cared for by the community service associations.

So far as I have been able to observe, the Federal Government has offered no practical solution of the unemployment problem, nor have I any suggestion to make to you at this time directly affecting unemployment. It seems to me that indirectly the Federal Government should increase the income tax upon the larger incomes and in that way possibly relieve the smaller incomes from some tax burden.

Yours truly,

BROWN F. LEE, *Mayor.*

SMITHVILLE

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 to Mayor J. C. Mills of our city has been handed me for reply.

Yes, we have plenty of unemployment, same as is abounding over the entire Nation; but we are handling our problem intelligently and can truthfully say we have none starving, freezing, or inadequately clothed. Perhaps the secret of the proposition is that we are conscientiously working along sane lines of relief of our needy and have discouraged all "namby-pamby," inane methods.

It is our conviction that the Nation to-day perhaps is suffering more from the maladministration of charity and the viciousness of the unscrupulous beggar, vag, and bum than from many another cause. We do not wish to be misunderstood in our phrase of "maladministration of charity," because we feel we are using it advisedly. Too many of our people engaged in so-called charity undertakings find it more convenient to be lenient and easy in their handling and disbursing of funds and materials rather than being firm and sincere in their investigations and giving of relief. We have thus far been in position to care for our needy because of conscientious administration of the funds and supplies with which our relief organization has been intrusted.

We are emphatically opposed to Federal appropriation being made, for that will not curtail the wanderings and philandering of the before-mentioned unscrupulous and professional beggar, vag, and bum, and it would only have a tendency of adding taxes to the already tax-burdened public, for the taxpayer, after all, is the fellow that has to pay. Inasmuch as no law can compel an unemployed person to remain in his own home community, and inasmuch as the vag avails himself of the misfortunes of the unemployed in order to the more advantageously ply his unscrupulous profession, and he would be the one to benefit through such Federal appropriation to a greater or lesser degree, it is our firm conviction to leave well enough alone and not add a greater tax burden through the making of a Federal appropriation.

Respectfully yours,

G. F. BASTIAN,
Secretary Smithville Chamber of Commerce.

STAMFORD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent and 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Twenty per cent and 60 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. One-half; 15 per cent and 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars, in groceries.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

J. K. BRADY, *Mayor.*

SWEETWATER

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry of November 27, addressed to the mayor, has been referred to this department and is inclosed herewith.

Yours very truly,

S. H. BOTHWELL, *City Manager.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. One hundred per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. For 1931 and 1932 about the same as in 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

For 1931 and 1932, community chest, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

UVALDE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 10 per cent more; say, 200 total.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have never made any.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. No more than now.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. With 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. If it is necessary Uvalde will take care of their unemployed.

ANDREW F. SMYTH, *Mayor.*

UTAH

HELPER

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your circular letter of November 29, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Persons assisted in our city December, 1929, 28; persons assisted in our city December, 1930, 85; persons assisted in our city December, 1931, 425.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for the unemployed, 1929, $1,080; city appropriations for the unemployed, 1930, $4,010; city appropriations for the unemployed, 1931, $9,862.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There will be at least a total of 550 persons that will need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The proportion of the emergency burden being carried on by private relief agencies is to the limit. They are doing all in their power, but this will not take care of the increasing demand for relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I can not state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children, but it is not enough.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens. I feel that such help must be given to provide adequate relief for the needy and lessen the burden on local taxpayers. This is my fourth term as city mayor of Helper City, elected November 4, 1931, on the Progressive ticket.

Helper is a railroad-terminal and coal-mining center. The coal mines have cut wages the last two years, so that now they are down to where the workers are just existing, not living.

If this and other monopolies are not broken, and real honest, less red-tape legislation established to relieve the jobless, there will be hell. I condemn the unequal distribution of riches. The bread lines are getting longer; the rich, richer. These wage slashers are traitors to this country—a country where there is a great supply of everything—and people are suffering with cold and hunger. There is a way to remedy this, and it must be done before it is too late.

I am at your service for the cause which is more honorable than going to any war that ever happened.

Yours for justice to the masses,

F. R. PORTER, *Mayor.*

LOGAN

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 20 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Fifteen per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 175 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 20 per cent; 1929, 30 per cent is carried by private agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $8 to $10.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

OGDEN

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am returning herewith your questionnaire dated November 27, 1931, with answers thereto. I am also attaching a brief report of the method of handling the unemployment in Ogden, which may be of interest to you.

We find that this set-up is about as economical and effective as anything that has come to our attention from any State. If further information will be of value to you, will be glad to furnish it.

In regard to question No. 7 of your questionnaire, as to whether or not I favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting local relief burdens, I wish to call to your attention a letter which I wrote to you December 18, 1930, covering this item, which expresses my opinion in the matter and which I still believe to be sound. A paragraph of this letter follows:

"There is another measure which might be of extreme importance and extreme benefit to all communities at this time, and that is, if the Government of the United States could make available a large amount of money up to perhaps $2,000,000,000 from Government funds which could be distributed to the various municipalities for the immediate furtherance of construction work such as courthouses, city halls, or other buildings which could be put under way immediately—and I sincerely believe this can be done, as there would not be the usual amount of 'red tape' which is necessary in preparing plans and specifications for Government work—this money to be distributed on somewhat the same basis as the Department of Agriculture now distributes funds through the United States Bureau of Public Roads for road construction. In other words, the Government could furnish a percentage while the municipalities furnished the balance, either

from funds available or from immediate bond issues, and work provided until conditions are stabilized."

Trusting this information will be of interest to you, I am,

Respectfully yours,

ORA BUNDY, *Mayor.*

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Fifty per cent in 1930; no unemployed in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent in 1930; none in 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Some 500 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Ninety per cent; 1930, 200 per cent; none in 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Equivalent of $6.40, all in supplies.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; in my opinion it is a Federal proposition.

PATSON

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your questionnaire relative to the unemployment situation dated November 27, 1931.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. There have been only projects provided to give work—$15,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 100 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Relief agencies are just becoming organized.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Not at present.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. It will not be necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Yours very truly,

L. D. STEWART, *Mayor.*
By W. R. WIGHTMAN, *Clerk.*

VERMONT

BENNINGTON

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your circular letter of November 27, as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There is about the same number of unemployed on this date as there were in December, 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased about $5,000 over 1930 and $15,000 over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The number of additional persons needing relief will depend entirely on conditions and how much work the manufacturers are able to give after January 1.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Impossible to tell what portion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies, although I should estimate about half. The expenditure so far this year is no greater than 1930 and about $3,500 more than 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. There is no stated amount given weekly as relief to the average family, as some families require more than others, depending on how much the individual is able to do for himself.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We are in a position to raise further funds, provided it should become necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, as I think it is much better for each community to handle its own affairs, because they are so much more familiar with their own local conditions and in most cases know where additional funds can be provided.

Yours truly,

FRED C. MARTIN, *President.*

BRATTLEBORO

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of November 27, will say that to give you accurate figures would require considerable time but I can give you approximate figures that will probably be sufficient, as my answers to 6 and 7 really do away with the necessity of detailed answers.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 129 families; 1930, 160 families; in 1931, 250 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Budget, as follows:

	Town farm	Outside poor
1929	$5,951.21	$11,399.68
1930:		
13,000		19,450.45
4,000	6,636.69	
1931:		
20,000		26,993.21
7,000	6,363.10	

The 1931 figures are to November 30. There should be deducted $2,400 from outside poor for cash refunds that I have collected and $1,000 cash received from sale of milk, etc., at town farm; also have had the poor do over 6,000 hours of labor that they have not received pay checks but should be credited against the outside poor item.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 50 or 100 additional.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 10 or 15 per cent. They do not report increase.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. From $10 to $15 per week. This includes meat, milk, groceries, rent, fuel, doctors, dentists, shoes, and clothing.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Brattleboro does not need Federal assistance.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

Yours truly,

J. E. BUSHNELL, *Selectman.*

NEWPORT

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

MR. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your circular letter of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 150; 1929, 250.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $4,000; 1929, $6,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Four hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 25 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not need it at present, may perhaps later.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK D. BURNS, *Mayor.*

ST. ALBANS

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27 concerning relief in our city, would say that:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been no increase this year over that of 1930 or that of 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No increase of appropriations for unemployed over that of 1930 or 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Apparently, there will be no additional persons needing relief this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 30 per cent. Practically no increase.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Am unable to state amount given weekly to average family.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not. Such an appropriation is not necessary in our case.

Sincerely yours,

W. C. HEFFLON, *Mayor.*

VIRGINIA

ALEXANDRIA

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27 requesting information concerning unemployment in our city, and I will undertake to answer your questions in the order named.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Aid to persons increased about 50 per cent in 1931 over 1930, and about 200 per cent over 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city appropriations increased 46 per cent over 1930, and about 191 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. My opinion is that the same percentages would apply to a number of persons needing relief during the coming winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are carrying about two-thirds of the expenses for these matters.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I am unable to give you any information concerning this question as records are not kept in such a way that it could be properly answered.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I am happy to say that under our charter we can issue more bonds; however, I would dislike very much to be compelled to do so for this cause.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I am in favor of the Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting their emergency relief through construction work, but am opposed to a dole. I know that a vast majority of our idle people would prefer earning money rather than be labeled paupers, and I believe this holds true with the majority of American people.

Trusting that this information will be of assistance to you and your committee, I am

Yours truly,

EDMUND F. TICER, *Mayor.*

CLIFTON FORGE

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. We have noticed no increase over 1929 and 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have no standard appropriation for unemployed but have a salaried worker at $100 per month and give each married man able to work four days per week on city pay roll, which is costing this city around $100 per week. This is the first winter that we have done this. We have made an estimate that our welfare board, which is composed of three members of the city council and three appointed at large by the mayor, that it will cost the city and welfare work $5,000 more than it did last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We expect the citizens to pay into the welfare work between $2,500 and $3,000. Our expenditures paid by the city itself will increase from $5,000 to $7,000. Part of this is due to the business people and others not being able to contribute to welfare work as they did one year ago.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. It costs the welfare board from $7 to $9 per week; in some cases we have to pay rent.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. I do not think that income would be sufficient to carry an additional bond issue and maintain our schools and other city expenditures, as we have now outstanding bonds in amount of $887,500.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I think that if there is no way that the Federal Government can give employment to those out of work, that State and Federal Government will have to aid the counties and cities and towns in this relief work. I am in favor of discontinuing all convict labor in building roads until this depression is over. This can be done by putting prisoners on farms, and they can certainly raise enough to eat and make enough to support themselves and not cost the States any more for highway construction than it is now costing.

Yours truly,

P. H. WHEELER, *Mayor.*

FREDRICKSBURG

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Little, if any.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Very few.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Almost all. Probably one-third increase over former years.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. (a) Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, (b) and

do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. (a) No; (b) yes.

JNO. H. WILLIS, *Mayor.*

HOPEWELL

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In answer to your questionnaire of November 27, I am pleased to give you the following information:

The increase in number of unemployed persons in Hopewell at this time, as compared with the same date last year, is estimated at 75 per cent. No figures available for 1929.

A 100 per cent increase in city appropriations over appropriations made last year has been necessary to meet the present situation and a further increase is anticipated.

Hopewell, with an estimated population of 12,000, has, since October 1, registered 500 unemployed persons. It is estimated at least 50 additional registrations will be made each month during the coming winter.

The unemployed problem here is being financed almost entirely from public funds, it being practically impossible under present conditions to secure contributions of any consequence through private relief agencies.

The amount of relief given the average family here each week consists of two or three days' work for the head of the family at a wage of $1.50 per day, with which he is entitled to buy food from the city store at wholesale prices.

The city of Hopewell is not in a position to issue further bonds, having reached the limit, due to the recent segregation of machinery and tools, on which we have an assessed valuation of $14,000,000, and real estate with an assessed valuation of $10,000,000, a somewhat unusual condition.

I do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting the present emergency. However, I believe that such appropriations should be in the form of allocations for public work, such as the construction of Federal buildings, etc. Hopewell is now entitled to a post office building, as an example, and an appropriation for such a structure here at this time would greatly relieve the local situation.

A copy of latest report received from the city welfare supervisor with reference to unemployed registrations up to November 24, 1931, is attached hereto for your information.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. SPENCER, *Mayor.*

Applications registered previously reported	456
Registered since Nov. 10	44
Registered to date	500
Investigated	300
To investigation committee	93
Applicants classified	300
Applicants given employment by city	185
Applicants given employment—private	50
Applicants referred to physician	8
Applicants referred to Associated Charities	16
Total referred to Associated Charities	85
Applicants referred to judge of juvenile and domestic relations court	12
Total hours worked to date	14,309.15
Total amount expended to date	$2,682.96
Total hours since Nov. 10	4,861.65
Total cost of work since Nov. 10	$911.56

Work done: Cutting wood at municipal airport, grading Nineteenth and Twentieth Avenues and Lynchburg Street.

LYNCHBURG

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As requested in your favor of 11th, asking for a report on the unemployment situation in Lynchburg, I am inclosing you this information, which I trust will answer your purpose.

We have several large buildings to be erected in Lynchburg, including the armory and market, that will cost about $200,000, and the contract was recently let for a new post office which will cost around $400,000. We think that these two contracts ought to help the unemployed situation very much. They are supposed to start on both of these projects at once.

Yours truly,

J. TANNER KINNIER, *Mayor.*

We have in Lynchburg 898 men and women (with 1,905 dependents) who are registered at this bureau and classified as follows:

White men:		
Married	271	
Single	122	
Widowers	20	
White women	121	
Total		534
Colored men:		
Married	178	
Single	56	
Widowers	13	
Colored women	117	
Total		364
Grand total		898

seeking gainful employment by which they may provide food, shelter, and raiment for themselves and those looking to them for protection.

We are inclosing with this a list of occupations this army of unemployed workers represents and ask that you give careful consideration to the opportunity it suggests for a job to, at least, one of these. If you will check one, or more, and send your order to this office, we guarantee satisfactory work and full value for your money. Let us hear from you, please.

LYNCHBURG EMPLOYMENT BUREAU.

MARION

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of the 27th, I make the following report:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployed needing assistance compared with December, 1929, 90 per cent increase; and compared with December, 1930, 25 per cent increase.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Marion has not completed its appropriation, but 1929 it was very small, 1930 much larger, and this year will require still more.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In my judgment, there will be 200 people additional to need relief during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The emergency burden is carried by private individuals of our town.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I am unable to answer.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This town will not undertake to float any further bond issues.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I doubt very much the wisdom of Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency burdens. This could be used in taking care of a much needed relief situation, but it will be far better to provide some kind of employment for men and women who are able to earn means necessary to take care of families.

Yours truly,

R. T. GREER, *Mayor.*

NORFOLK

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of November 27 to the Hon. E. Jeff Robertson, mayor, has been referred to me for reply.

The situation is so complicated and relief work is done by so many agencies that it is practically impossible to give very exact information. I can only answer in generalities as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Estimated normal number of unemployed wage earners about 1,000. Approximately 1,500 in 1929, 2,500 in 1930, and 2,500 in 1931.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929 the city appropriated no funds other than those it gives each year to charitable and relief agencies. In the winter of 1930 the city appropriated an additional $14,000 which was used in making work for the unemployed. In the winter and spring of 1931 a citizens' unemployment relief committee was formed and raised about $16,000 which was used to make work. Fall and winter of 1931 no additional money other than the usual city appropriation to charitable agencies. Winter of 1932, $35,000 additional raised by the community fund which is to be used specifically for making work for the unemployed.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Impossible to say, but present indications lead me to believe that demand for work will be slightly less than last winter at which time a total of about 700 men were given work.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Except for the $14,000 appropriated by the city in 1930, all of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. Their budgets are the same as for 1929 with the addition of the $16,000 from the citizens' unemployment relief committee for 1931 and the $35,000 raised by the community fund for 1932.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. It is estimated that the minimum for a family of this size is $15 a week, though, in my opinion, this barely permits existence.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Probable that city council is of the opinion that this problem is a community rather than a municipal government responsibility. In event the situation does not become much worse, it can be handled by the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Do not see the necessity of it as yet locally, though it may come later.

I trust this gives the information desired.

Very truly yours,

H. G. PARKER,
Assistant Director Public Welfare.

RADFORD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 25 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. 1930, none; 1929, none.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Emergency burden carried by private relief agencies, 75 per cent. Expenditures increase, 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burden and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

R. S. HOPKINS, *Mayor.*

SOUTH BOSTON

We are looking after those in need in our community and have not received any help from the Government within the corporate limits.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. I am satisfied the aid rendered the people in this section has been a disadvantage to the people, as they have borrowed two to three times as much as they can pay back.

I believe the agitation of the unemployment situation has and is now adding fuel to the flames. Take more time in giving people something to do and less in talking about unemployment.

J. BELLSBORN, *Mayor.*

STAUNTON

DECEMBER 17, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: Your letter of November 27 addressed to the honorable mayor has been referred to this office for reply. In accordance with the first question, please note the following data:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, families receiving relief in city of Staunton, white, 84; colored, 30. No specific complaint of unemployment. In 1930, families receiving relief, white, 248; colored, 94. Increase in relief due to unemployment. In 1931, families receiving relief, white, 365; colored, 157. Further increase due to unemployment.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our municipal expenditures for operating the city home, or almshouse, and furnishing fuel to needy families increased approximately $500 in 1930 over 1929, and approximately $1,000 additional this year.

Our expenditures for work relief during the present winter will be considerably greater than ever before. We have adopted this method of aiding the unemployed: We furnish three days' work to any unemployed person living in the city. This work is digging trenches for water mains or sewers, cutting wood at the municipal wood pile, and whatever labor projects we develop from time to time. This work relief of course, requires more funds than direct relief, such as a grocery order and a fuel order each week, but the family needing relief is better taken care of by giving the breadwinner employment rather than supporting the family without any work being performed by them for their maintenance.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We estimate an increase of 15 per cent additional persons who will need relief during January, which amount will be constant until April.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Previous to 1931, private welfare agencies carried 90 per cent of relief. Expenditures for 1930 were more than double for these agencies, and for 1931 there was a further increase on their expenditures of 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. In families where no worker is available, the fuel, groceries, etc., furnished possibly amounts to $5 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our debt limitation has not been reached, and we can borrow additional funds through bond issues if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The writer will be very interested in having your reaction to the following method of Federal aid: The Federal Government make available to municipalities, whose present debt does not exceed the constitutional limits for incurring indebtedness fixed by the respective States, an amount not to exceed for instance 5 per cent of their assessed valuation of real estate. These funds would be extended to the municipalities without interest for a term of, say, 5 or 10 years, the principal to be returned to the Federal Government in annual or biannual payments without interest. This fund is not to be expended in direct relief of any form, such as food, clothing, fuel, etc., or any cash expenditures, but to be used for various public works, preference being given to the projects employing the greatest amount of local labor. This would, in effect, mean the localities would obtain the benefit of the Nation's credit and cities who do not need to avail themselves of this credit would not be required to do so.

Trusting this information will be of interest to you, and awaiting with interest your comments on such a scheme of Federal aid.

Yours very truly,

W. F. DAY, *City Manager.*

SUFFOLK

The employment situation in our city is amply taken care of, and, therefore, no answer to your letter of 27th.

O. S. SMITH, Jr., *Mayor.*

WAYNESBORO

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering the inquiries of your letter of November 27, in the order given:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. To this time we have no more than the normal unemployment this year, and no municipal assistance has been necessary. Owing to abundant crops, our people are in better position to care for themselves than was the case last year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. A special budget of $2,000 has been arranged for street work to help the unemployed, should this be necessary during the winter months.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This depends greatly upon weather conditions. All our factories are running part time, and this should save the situation unless there should be further reduction.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In addition to the $2,000 above stipulated, which is set aside by the city council, the Welfare Alliance is raising $2,500. Last year and the year before the budget was $2,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The largest amount given any one family was approximately $4 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We do not anticipate the necessity of floating bond issue for relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Most decidedly I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments.

Very truly,

JOHN NOBLE MAXWELL, *Mayor.*

WINCHESTER

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Very small increase; estimated 10 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty—perhaps less.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I do not know.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

F. A. SHEYOCK, *Mayor.*

WYTHEVILLE

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your questionnaire regarding unemployment, dated November 21, received.

Our municipality has no factories; therefore, from a manufacturing standpoint, the general depression has not added so much to our relief work. The fall of 1931 throughout Virginia has been very mild, as you know, and this condition has been a very great assistance to our laboring class.

The following has been expended by our small town for relief: July 1, 1928, to June 30, 1929, expended, $300.45; July 1, 1929, to June 30, 1930, expended, $337.46; July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1931, expended, $1,143.14; July 1 to November 1, 1931 (four months), $305.26.

Community work, chest fund, etc., exclusive of churches, will about equal the above assistance from the town, thus making a grand total of $2,286.28 for our worst period, covering winter of 1930–31. This amount is a per capita cost of 72 cents.

As for Federal assistance, I think the best method would be through work in the line of roads, or advancing period of building construction. Frankly, I can not agree with any assistance that may be termed direct assistance or dole.

Yours very truly,

G. T. FOLTZ, *Mayor.*

WASHINGTON

BELLINGHAM

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of inquiry of recent date regarding unemployment in this city.

The unemployment situation here, in my opinion, is approximately the same as one year ago; but, naturally, is greater than in December, 1929.

The city of Bellingham makes no appropriation of its public funds for the unemployed and the poor. They are being taken care of by Whatcom County and agencies dispensing private relief, except that in those instances where the city has given employment in such work as in extensions of its water department, and we have done considerable work of this kind during the past year, preference has been given to the unemployed and those who appear to be in greatest need of employment.

I am not in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens. I do not believe it will relieve the burdens of our citizens by appropriating public funds for such purposes, which funds must be raised by taxation and increasing the already heavy burden of the taxpayer.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN A. KELLOGG, *Mayor.*

BREMERTON

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter addressed to the mayor in regard to unemployment relief has been referred to this organization for reply. We would state as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, we had about 200 unemployed; in December, 1930, about 400 unemployed; and in December, 1931, about 600 unemployed.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have had no city appropriations in any of these years.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In addition to the 600 registered there will probably be about 200 more in need of relief before spring.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The emergency burden has been carried by private relief agencies at all times.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $15 per week relief to families.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is now endeavoring to float a bond issue of $15,000 for unemployment purposes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Unemployment should be taken care of by taxation, in so far as possible, in order that those who have wealth may bear their just burden. This can only be completely brought about by Federal appropriation.

Yours very truly,

J. A. HARADER, *Secretary.*

CLARKSTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 50 per cent; 1930, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None appropriated.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty-five to fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent; all by community chest and county commissioners.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4 to $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but this is not very likely.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

A. C. OWENS, *Mayor.*

HOQUIAM

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27 regarding the unemployment situation in our city. All the sawmills in our city have been closed for the past 12 months. The welfare committee raised in the neighborhood of $28,000 for relief for the year 1930. The welfare committee is of the opinion that they will be unable to raise practically any funds for the coming year.

Unemployment in our district is quite a serious matter at the present. The committee has been paying $5 weekly to the average family. They have also been doing considerable work in our city, such as parking strips, street and sewer work, etc.

I am of the opinion that we will have to do considerable welfare work for the next four to five months. This will have to be raised by the city. It is impossible for the city to float any bonds at the present time. This will have to be paid out of an emergency fund.

We have a plan on foot at the present time of taking over the Hoquiam Cemetery, which has been privately owned for a number of years. This will enable us to furnish considerable employment for the next four to five months. For the balance of 1932 I am unable to state just what will be required.



I do not believe that it will be necessary to have a Federal appropriation to assist our local government at the present time. However, if conditions continue, it will be difficult for the city to meet the situation next winter.

Hoping that this gives you the information desired, I am.

Very truly yours,

J. C. SHAW.

KELSO

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th and while I have not the exact figures called for I will answer the questions to the best of my ability with the figures at hand.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About the same as 1929 and a slight decrease from 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No appropriations in 1929, 1930, or 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 50 families in addition to the 56 now being helped.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All burdens carried by private relief and are about equal to previous years.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $4 per week.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. I do not favor Federal appropriation as I am of the opinion that each local community can work out it's own problems to the best advantage.

Sincerely yours,

HERMAN PARROTT, *Mayor.*

LILLIWAUP

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Considerable.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. None; taken care of by county.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 20 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. By private, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

LONGVIEW

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We have your letter of November 27, asking questions which will help to decide upon a proper Federal policy for the relief of unemployment. In reply to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed persons assisted this December over December, 1929, is approximately 20.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city did not appropriate anything in 1930, nor have they so far this year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 100 additional persons will need relief over the winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All emergency relief is being handled by the welfare board. Expenditures have increased about $100 per week.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family is about $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We believe that we will be able to take care of our people.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not believe that I would favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens.

I would like to make a suggestion to you, and that is that you use every possible influence to rush work on the new Federal building to be built in Longview. As I understand it, the plans have been drawn by Seattle architects and are now in Washington for approval. Rush this job through, and it will give employment to a large number of people in this community.

Yours very truly,

R. L. SAILORS, *Mayor.*

MOUNT VERNON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, twice; 1929, 2⅛ times.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, twice; 1929, 3½ times.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Three hundred more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Two-thirds. In 1930, twice; 1929, three times.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Five dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do; and lots more work provided.

C. I. HALL, *Chairman.*

OMAK

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of November 27, I answer your inquiries in a general way that the unemployment relief is being taken care of by community efforts and we figure that this problem can be handled during the winter months and I do not favor a Federal appropriation for such purposes.

Sincerely yours,

J. C. BILES, *Mayor.*

PASCO

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Our honorable mayor handed us a letter from you in which you ask a number of questions to help in deciding upon a proper Federal policy regarding the unemployment situation.

Through the community chest, the city council, and the county commissioners we believe the local situation this year will be handled satisfactorily. The city of Pasco, being a railroad division point, we may be bothered a little regarding needy transients.

However, from past experience the committee believe they will be able to handle the situation.

We are sorry we can not answer your questions specifically, the reason being a lack of records.

Sincerely yours,

A. F. WEHE, *Managing Secretary.*

PORT ANGELES

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, none.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 200 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, none; 1929, 100 per cent. The county furnishes about 40 per cent of relief, and private agencies 60 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I favor local communities taking care of the problem so long as they are able to do so. When their resources are exhausted the Federal Government should aid.

RAYMOND

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter of inquiry received. Of course, along with other sections of the country there is more or less distress in this locality. However, we are getting along very nicely, our small community having raised practically $7,000 to relieve the distress of families who are practically out of work. Arrangements were made to distribute this fund by a citizens' committee, and through or by (after thorough investigation) the Salvation Army.

Referring to your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In my opinion there would be probably 10 per cent more distress than in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. This was answered above, the amount being about $7,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Impossible to tell. There may not be any increase this year over last.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. There was no fund in 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I really do not know. Relief distributed by the Salvation Army fund turned over to them as needed.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float bonds. Would not favor it if we could.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers.

Answer. I do not favor additional bonds. I believe each district should care for its own people. The more you distribute relief, the more you have to, as people will apply more or less for relief when they do not really need it.

Very truly yours, CHARLES L. LEWIS, *Mayor.*

SHELTON

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In re your letter of the 27th instant:

Shelton is a community of 3,500, its staple industry being lumber and pulp manufacture.

We have a welfare organization similar to other towns, which is functioning very nicely.

Our county is doing all the extra and emergency work it can possibly finance and our city has bonded itself and will shortly build a new city hall. In addition to this the city has plans to rebuild its sewer trunk lines, all of which will be done this winter. We are optimistic that we shall be able to carry our unemployed through the winter months by staggering and extending the work.

In addition to the city and county programs, the State highway department is building a new highway 10 miles from town, which materially helps to carry us through.

Answering your questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929 we had very few unemployed; in 1930, we had 100; in 1931 we have 150.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, appropriations, none; 1930, $500; 1931, $1,000.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929, none; 1930, $500; 1931, $2,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No fixed amounts.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; we have bonded only 1 per cent of our assessed valuation.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We have no need for any Federal appropriations in Shelton, but we believe that in communities where financial conditions are bad, Federal assistance would be better than to have our citizens go hungry in our land of plenty.

In looking over your committee, have confidence that they will be able to work out some system to relieve unemployment whereby men who want to work can receive a job, even though only for a few days per month; enough to hold body and soul together to carry through the winter months.

It was my pleasure to read Governor La Follette's address to the Legislature of Wisconsin, and I am hopeful that you share his views along assistance to unemployment.

Yours truly, C. E. RUNACRES.

TACOMA

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your communication of November 27, in which you ask seven questions relative to the unemployment situation, I wish to answer these questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 1,500.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Handled by county; $100,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Six hundred families; 3,000 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Forty per cent; 310 per cent; 210 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

I trust this information will meet with your approval.

Yours very truly, MELVIN G. TENNENT, *Mayor.*

TOPPENISH

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 70 per cent more than last year.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city itself makes no appropriations.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and twenty-five.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All; 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 90 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Two dollars and fifty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you

feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

VANCOUVER

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter relative to unemployment situation with respect to Federal aid.

There has been a slight increase in the number of unemployed as compared with December of last year and a considerable increase as compared with December of 1929. City appropriations for the unemployed and poor have not been increased over 1929 and 1930.

Probably 150 families will need relief during the winter months. The entire emergency burden is being carried by private relief services, prominent among which is the Sunshine Division, made up of the policemen and firemen, who give their spare time to handling the detail work.

Expenditures in 1930 for this work were about $2,000; in 1929 they were negligible. In 1931 it will be approximately $5,000 to $6,000. As to the amount of relief given weekly to the average family, this will depend entirely upon needs of the family, but the relief agencies make sure that the families are warmly clothed, properly fed, and well housed.

While the city of Vancouver is in a position to float further bond issues, there is no possibility of such action because that is not our method of handling the situation. We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting the emergency relief measure because the people of Vancouver, now employed, have, from time to time, given a day's pay to the various welfare organizations, and we feel and believe that this is the proper way to take care of this emergency which has arisen. We feel that Federal appropriations, instead of lessening the burden of local taxpayers, would merely increase the burden, because every Federal tax must be paid ultimately by local taxpayers.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN P. KIGGINS, *Mayor.*

WEST VIRGINIA

BENWOOD

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930?

Answer. Fifty per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930?

Answer. Two thousand eight hundred dollars.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and fifty wage earners.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. $3.75.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

HENRY C. HEALY, *Mayor.*

BLUEFIELD

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter of November 27 regarding the unemployment situation and possible Federal aid has been referred to me for answer. We advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, there were practically no unemployed persons assisted in Bluefield. In December, 1930, there were approximately 40 unemployed persons assisted, and in December, 1931, we will probably have over 100.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has made no definite appropriations for the unemployed and poor during the years 1929, 1930, and 1931. However, certain necessary municipal work was planned in advance during the year 1930, and also during the year 1931, to provide part-time work during the winter months for the unemployed. Additional part-time work has been planned with the State road department and the municipality through private contractors to take care of additional unemployed during the winter months of 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. In our opinion approximately 250 additional persons will need relief during January and February of this year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. So far private relief agencies have carried the emergency burden with the exception of the extra municipal work. The expenditures of these private relief agencies have increased about 50 per cent over 1930 and possibly 75 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family is approximately $5.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in position to float a further bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist in meeting the emergency relief burden. We do not feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or would lessen the burden on local taxpayers. In our opinion, each community should organize and coordinate its private relief agencies, making necessary hook-ups with National, State, county, and municipal relief organizations. Every effort should be made to provide part-time work by local industries and by municipalities. In our opinion Federal appropriation will not lessen the burden on local taxpayers but will ultimately increase the tax burdens.

Yours very truly,

C. I. CHEYNEY,
Chairman City Relief Coordination Committee.

CHARLESTON

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: Replying to your questionnaire dated November 27, figures given us by our State labor commissioner show that we have had an increase of about 2,500 unemployed persons in local industries during the past year, compared with December, 1930. Our conditions remained normal between December, 1929, and December, 1930, because of a very active chemical industrial development in this community.

The city has made no appropriation for the unemployed during 1930, nor does it have any provision under its charter for such appropriations. These matters are being handled through our community chest organizations, to which the city contributes with financial assistance to hospitalization work and public-health nursing.

From a careful survey we do not believe there will be any additional persons needing relief during the winter in this section other than the present survey shows.

The emergency burden over and above our normal charity work is now being taken care of by a county unemployment relief committee, which will concentrate on obtaining some sort of employment for its people who have not only lost their employment, but who have exhausted their resources since unemployment.

Our community chest appropriation for this year is $145,000, which is about 20 per cent increase over last year. We have rearranged our budget for the chest so that 68 per cent is going toward welfare work and about 22 per cent to character-building agencies which we do not believe are as important now as the welfare demands.

The amount of relief given weekly to the average family, including assistance in rent, water, and gas bills, is about $15.

Our city has no provisions for floating bond issues in connection with relief matters of the community.

We do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens unless there is a definite program of employment with such funds on projects that would produce something constructive and not be a dole or charity donation.

Our county unemployment relief committee hopes to provide both temporary employment and immediate relief through funds contributed locally.

Very truly yours,

R. P. DE VAN, *Mayor.*

CLARKSBURG

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of December 11, concerning unemployment in this community. I wish to advise that as far as the city of Clarksburg is concerned we have been and will be able to continue to care for our unemployed without any assistance from the Federal Government.

It is with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction that I give you this information.

Very truly yours,

D. W. CORK, *City Manager.*

ELKINS

NOVEMBER 26, 1931.

Senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to yours 27th, relative to unemployment here, will say:

There has been a decided increase in unemployment here over last year. The West Virginia Flooring Corporation has just shut down, throwing about 125 men out of work. The tannery has reduced output to about 150 hides, throwing another 75 to 100 out of work and reducing to four days a week those left, after having made three 10 per cent cuts in wages during the last year. The Western Maryland Railway shops are practically idle. In fact, the only work now going on in this section is two road-grading jobs, on which most of the work is done by steam shovels. What little labor they employ is at 25 cents per hour. The Federal building here is being remodeled, and about 15 men are employed there, the pay being 25 cents per hour. The reduction in pay is the most deplorable part of the whole thing, and when contractors on Government buildings are allowed to pay starvation wages how can we expect anything else? A law should be passed making a minimum-wage scale on all Government work.

Appropriations by our city to help the unemployed are impossible, as we are barely able to meet expenses with the maximum tax rate for general purposes, which is limited to 50 cents on the $100 valuation. A 10 per cent cut was made in all values, and on account of a 22-cent rate for sinking-fund purposes our general rate was cut to 45 cents. Total tax rate for city, county, and State amounts to $3.41 on each $100 value of property, $1.83 of this being for schools. There is no question but what a luxury tax by Federal as well as State bodies should be made, as 195,000 homes are advertised for sale for taxes in this State this fall. Some relief should be given from this immense tax burden, and amusements, tobacco, soft drinks, etc., should pay. The gasoline tax is universally accepted without complaint, and luxury taxes would not pinch the poor devil.

All emergency relief here is from private sources, though both city and county haul supplies, coal, etc., to all needy families. As many as 15 and 20 "Hoover tourists" spend the night in our city lock-up in one night. What I spend in giving these poor devils a meal is all I can spare. We are not in position to float further bond issues.

A Federal appropriation for help is our only hope to cope with the distress that will soon be on us, though an immense supply of canned goods was put up last summer and considerable other foods donated.

Mrs. B. M. Hoover, of our local Red Cross, is head of all relief in city and county.

Yours very truly,

JNO. W. GRAHAM, *City Clerk.*

CRAFTON

NOVEMBER 28, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, 1931, relative to relief measures for municipalities.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in unemployment over 1930, 40 per cent; 1929, 75 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Increase in appropriations over 1930, 100 per cent; 1929, 200 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There will probably be between 500 and 1,000 more people need help this December than in 1930.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Nearly 50 per cent of relief work is carried on through private relief agencies, and their increase over 1930, 40 per cent; over 1929, 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family of four persons receives $4 per week when funds are available.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in position to float a bond issue for relief purposes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If such a plan could be worked out whereby cities could have access to funds for relief purposes at the time they were needed to relieve distress, it would be a fine plan; but if we would have to wait until June or July for help we might need badly in December or January preceding, I would not favor such a plan, for by the time we could get relief we would not need it, for our people would have died of starvation or exposure.

If the Federal Government could grant a loan to subordinate governments on a period of time where it would not burden the people too much in retiring it, I think it would be a fine plan.

Very truly yours,

C. O. KING, *Mayor.*

HINTON

DECEMBER 21, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In reply to your circular letter of November 27, 1931, concerning unemployment and welfare relief in this city the following answers to your questions are submitted:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Net increase of 105 or 5 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Two hundred per cent over 1930; 300 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Forty additional persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent carried by private relief agencies. One hundred per cent over 1930; 200 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The equivalent of $9.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; to the extent of covering overhead administration costs; and suggest liberalization of laws so as to permit councils to lay limited emergency levies for relief purposes.

Sincerely,

HUME K. NOWLAN, *City Manager.*

KENOVA

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 27th.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been some increase over December, 1930, due to shutdown of the Jeffrey-Dewitt Insulator Co. In 1929 and 1930 they were operating. Probably 35 men who live in Kenova have been cut off. We hope they will start up early in the new year. Other plants here are running about as in December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In December, 1929, we had few calls for help; in 1930 our needy were helped by the Needle Work Guild, Welfare Society, and the city; November, 1931, our calls for help as far as food is concerned have been light, but the calls for clothing and shoes for needy school children have been slightly greater during November, 1931, than same period in 1930. City added to its annual budget for poor fund in August, $1,500 over August, 1930. Total for year July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1932, $2,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We expect to have more calls for help to pay gas and water bills this year than last, but no more food, because our people have put up a great deal more than in 1930, because last year we had a drought and very little was raised. This year every kind of farm crop was produced in abundance, all of which will help us through the winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The Needle Work Guild furnishes new clothing and shoes to needy school children during November and December. This will run probably 10 per cent higher than last year. Kenova Welfare Society will commence their work December 1. They furnish food and secondhand clothing. Expect this will run about same as in 1930.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. We give about $2.50 order for groceries each week to family of four. Food prices are very much below 1930, so the same amount of money will go probably twice as far this year.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We do not expect to float a bond issue.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more

adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It might be well to make a Federal appropriation for helping some localities, but we do not think we need help here unless it grows worse than present seems to indicate. What we need is more confidence in our country and our institutions, especially our banks, and then people will draw their money from hiding places and spend, starting in this way the wheels of industry. Again, we should get back to the old way of living, more thought of owning homes and less of joy riding, picture shows, and other pleasures. We are pleasure mad; every family strives to keep up with their neighbors regardless of the cost. If you can get our people back to earth, we will come out O. K. I lived through the Cleveland panic—1907, 1914, 1920, 1921, and feel sure we will come out of this one.

If I can give you any further information, advise me.

Yours very truly,

F. E. WAY, *Mayor.*

M'MECHEN

NOVEMBER 29, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Your letter of November 27 in regard to unemployment relief in municipalities. For your information our population is about 4,000; our principal industries are railroads, coal mining, and steel mills.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 30 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city does not appropriate money; it does assist in furnishing employment as far as possible. The poor and needy are taken care of by popular subscriptions from the people under the direction of a relief committee.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Approximately 400.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of it. Increased about 50 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount is given in clothing, foodstuffs, coal, and necessaries of life, which is hard to estimate in money.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No; we can not.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting the relief burdens. I do believe such an appropriation would lessen the burden on taxpayers.

Trusting this information is what you desire and will be of benefit to you, and if I can be of any service to you in the future please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

E. M. LEE, *Mayor.*

NEW MARTINSVILLE

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: This town has never made an appropriation for the benefit of the unemployed. This form of charity work is looked after by a committee of citizens. Hence we have no record of the number helped in 1929 and 1930, nor has the council had occasion to make an estimate for 1931. However, I am of the opinion that there will be several more than we had in 1930 because of the general depression. The council has made jobs for as many as we possibly could.

I believe that Federal assistance would be the correct manner of dealing with the case.

Our poor people are very much akin to poor people in general. They take pleasure in being helped.

Our laborers must depend upon a day's work here and there. We do not have much regular work. We have a glass plant and a lumber plant. These furnish an opportunity to a few for employment. All others must look for employment and take whatever offers. So much the worse for the winter.

I am sorry that I can not answer your questions, but I have done the best possible.

Yours truly,

JAMES M. SKINNER, *Mayor.*

POINT PLEASANT

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Pardon the delay in replying to your letter of November 27, in which you request certain information regarding unemployment, etc. The writer has been ill for the past several days, and for that reason the reply to your letter has been delayed.

Our unemployment situation is about the same at this time as it was a year ago, or even two years ago. Our few manufacturers are working about 50 per cent of their regular force, and this condition has been existing for the past 18 or 24 months.

We have no city appropriation to assist the unemployed. Matters of this kind are usually taken care of by civic bodies.

It is my judgment that there will be approximately 25 per cent additional persons needing relief during the next few months, than there has been during the past two years. I base my opinion on the fact that one of our manufacturing concerns will be without work within the next 30 or 60 days, and also that the average common laborer in our community has not been able to earn sufficient wages during the summer months to carry him through the winter months.

Our city is not able to float further bonds for any purpose. Our taxpayers are now burdened to the limit, and it would be almost a folly to ask for anything that would increase the burden on our taxpayers.

If it should become necessary for our community to have additional help in looking after the unemployed, I would be very much in favor of Federal assistance, because as stated in the preceding paragraph, we could not ask our taxpayers to carry any additional burden along this line.

Very truly yours,

B. W. KRODEL, *Mayor.*

ST. ALBANS

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

MR. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, I will say that the city of St. Albans does not keep a record of anything pertaining to the questions asked in your letter. Therefore the reply to each is only approximate.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The increase in the number of unemployed assisted in 1930, as compared with 1929 in the month of December would be about double.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have no city relief fund. The city is not able financially to have a fund of this kind.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About twice the number of people will need relief during the winter months than needed assistance during the winter of 1929.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The various clubs and different organizations help with the relief work. We also have a county fund that many of our destitute families are able to receive aid from.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The county fund will not pay to any family more than $3 per week. The different organizations of our city will not contribute money, but they give baskets of food, clothing, etc. This food and clothing is received from special drives that each organization puts on.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is overburdened with taxes now and the taxpayers would not be able to float bond issues for relief funds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; I would favor a Federal appropriation to help local governments in meeting their emergency-relief burdens.

Respectfully yours,

R. W. MELTON, *Mayor.*

SOUTH CHARLESTON

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We will endeavor to answer your questionnaire of November 27.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been 50 per cent more unemployed persons assisted in 1931 than 1930. None in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city appropriations for the unemployed and poor have increased $1,000 over 1930. None, 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. There have been approximately 500 more persons added to our list for aid during the winter months.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies. The expenditures have increased 75 per cent over 1930. None, 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average family of two adults and two children has received $5 weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city, under our present law, can not float further bond issues to meet future relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes, we do favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local government in meeting its emergency relief burdens, and we do feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy and in lessening the burden on local taxpayers.

Respectfully yours,

SOUTH CHARLESTON WELFARE ASSOCIATION,
W. A. EVANS, *President*.

WELCH

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to inquiries contained in yours of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I don't think there is any appreciable increase in the number of unemployed compared with December, 1930, and with December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city of Welch made no appropriations for 1931, nor for 1930 or 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. It is impossible to say at this time how many persons will need relief during the winter months; that will depend a great deal upon the coal mining in our community. Should the demands get better and prices, it will relieve matters. What is really needed in our community is a stabilization of the coal industry.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Most of our emergency burdens have been carried on by private relief agencies.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can not state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family of two adults and two children.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Our city is not in a position to float bonds of any kind.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local government, and I do not think it would aid in providing more adequate relief or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers. I think the Government is paying out too much already, and other ways and means can be found to take care of the unemployed than by Federal appropriations.

Yours very truly,

J. W. BLAKELY.

WISCONSIN

APPLETON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Seventy-five per cent more in December, 1930, than December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Double.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Fifty per cent more than winter of 1929–30.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Winter 1929–30, $25,000 was raised; winter 1930–31, $30,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Varies as to wants.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

JOHN GOODLAND, JR., *Mayor*.

ASHLAND

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. One hundred and fifty to two hundred.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 50 per cent; 1929, 100 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred and fifty.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1930, one-third; 1929, one-half.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; our bond debt is $110,000, and we can bond to $480,000.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. Money from any source will help.

M. E. DILLON, *Mayor*.

BEAVER DAM

NOVEMBER, 30, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: You will find herewith answers to the inquiries in your letter of November 27, 1931.

If any relief is to be extended, it must be done at once. To delay until conditions get worse may cause a condition never before known in this country.

Respectfully,

RAE WEAVER, *Mayor*.

Answers to questions in inquiry of November 27, 1931:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, 200 unemployed; in 1930, 500 unemployed.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriated $2,000 in 1929; $2,000 in 1930; $10,000 in 1931.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. All depends on the severity of the weather.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929–30 the associated charities spent $5,600 and the city, out of the poor fund, $2,500. From January 1 to November 1, 1931, the city spent, out of our poor fund, $5,729.26, and our relief for November and December will average over $1,500 monthly.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average per week per family is $6.46.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. Our city is bonded to the limit. Our tax rate in 1930 was $3.70 per $100. Two hundred of our small-home owners could not pay their taxes last year, and 500 home owners, from present indications, will be unable to pay their taxes this year. Last year, all of our church, fraternal, and other local organizations formed the Associated Charities, and collected and spent $5,600 for relief. This year the conditions have made it impossible to raise a private relief fund, as many who donated $5 and $10 to the fund last year are now receiving fuel, and milk for their children. Most of our laboring people have been out of work for over seven months, and have used up all of their surplus funds.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. Relief from any source will be a blessing. Crime and starvation will bring on anarchy if help is not provided from some source.

Respectfully submitted.

RAE WEAVER, *Mayor.*

BELOIT

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 60 per cent; in 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the county appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, about 150 per cent; in 1929, 200 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Some 300 families more than last winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Two-thirds. Community Chest, for relief only, 1931, $40,000; 1932, $80,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (2 adults and 2 children)?

Answer. About $8 for food and fuel (housing, etc., not included).

6. Is your city in a position to float further bonds issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Inasmuch as many of the employers are interstate corporations and should care for their own unemployed, it becomes logically an interstate or Federal responsibility in part.

H. G. OTIS, *City Manager.*

CLINTONVILLE

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27 at hand and surely do appreciate the stand you are taking regarding the unemployed.

Clintonville has been very fortunate. So far our local industries have been kept running and the city itself has made improvements to keep the idle employed and up until now we have made no special appropriation for the relief of the unemployment situation. While we do not expect any serious condition here in our city, we do not know what this winter has in store for us.

The city has no outstanding bonded indebtedness. I believe we will be able to handle the situation all right.

Yours truly,

HERM KRATZKE, *Mayor.*

COLUMBUS

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In accordance with your letter of November 27, wish to say that in Columbia County we have the county system of poor, and that most of the cases requiring relief are taken care of by the county.

The city of Columbus has a population of 2,500, and we have but few factories, so that the depression has not resulted in the problem of unemployment found in larger cities.

The city in its budget this year has appropriated $250 for taking care of transient relief; that is, providing meals to persons who are stranded and without money.

In order to supplement the county aid in cases where the county relief is inadequate or where for any reason the poor commissioner believes relief should not be granted, we have a committee of citizens which considers such cases and buys provisions or pays rent or does whatever is necessary to provide temporary relief. A fund of $1,500 has been raised by the citizens for this purpose. We figure that the amount of money required this year will be about double that of last year.

The writer does not believe it necessary for the Federal Government to provide relief, so far as our city is concerned, nor generally in this section of Wisconsin.

I understand, however, that in States like North Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, where there have been complete crop failures, the Red Cross is now providing relief, and believe that where there are considerable areas where relief is necessary the Federal Government should provide relief to be administered by local authorities under necessary rules formulated by the National Government. This may be true of other States outside of those mentioned.

The writer had the feeling last winter that where we had an overproduction of wheat in one section of the country and had people starving in other sections of the country, like in Arkansas, that the Federal Government should have bought the wheat and provided relief to the people of Arkansas and other States.

It is practically impossible to answer your other questions specifically, since we have no statistics on which to base definite answers.

We understand that the county has raised considerable more for poor relief this year than last year. Definite information can be obtained, no doubt, from the county clerk, Portage, Wis.

Respectfully,

HERBERT L. ZEIDLER, *Mayor.*

DE PERE

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: With reference to your letter of November 27, will say that there has been over 100 per cent increase in the unemployment since a year ago this time. The city appropriations, however, have not increased materially as most of this work is being taken care of from the funds of the community chest handled by local relief organizations.

The new bridge over the Fox River, which is about to be started within the next 30 or 40 days, should give us some relief on the unemployment, and if this project goes through as we anticipate, we do not expect any serious trouble, although the city will be called upon no doubt for considerably more help during the coming winter months than it has for the past several years; but, unless some unforeseen situation arises, we feel that we can get by on our own resources.

Thanking you very kindly for the interest shown matters of this kind, we are,

Sincerely yours,

O. M. KILEY, *Mayor.*

EAU CLAIRE

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your letter of November 27, in which you have submitted a number of questions regarding the effect of the general business depression the city of Eau Claire is experiencing, I submit the following answers:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 30 per cent; 1929, 50 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929 spent $27,000; in 1931 spent $65,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. One hundred families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Small proportion.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $44 per month.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; if necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not feel that Eau Claire will require the assistance of the Federal Government to care for our increased outlays for relief purposes this winter for the reason we have just completed a drive here for funds which went over the top; and, further, we expect assistance from the State of Wisconsin, legislature now being in session considering a relief program for that purpose. If we get State aid and the depression does not continue too long, I feel we will be able to carry on.

Hoping this gives you the desired information, I beg to remain,

Very truly,

FRED STUSSY, *Mayor.*

EDGERTON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 20 per cent; 1929, 30 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Handled on county system. County appropriation has increased 100 per cent each year.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Twenty families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief, 10 per cent; 1930, $2,000; 1929, $2,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars and fifty cents.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. In my opinion, there is already too much duplication of relief. The Federal Government should come in only where the local situation is dire and incapable of local relief.

J. M. HENDERSON, *Mayor.*

FOND DU LAC

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December, 1930, 190 unemployed; December, 1931, 300 unemployed.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $11,705; 1930, $18,100; 1931, $32,634 to November 1.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred to three hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About one-half; 1929, $200; 1930, $2,641.61; 1931, to November, $11,127.23.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. City poor average, $25; city welfare, $15.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Can not understand how in the end the taxpayer will be helped, as money from all sources must come from the taxpayer.

——— ———, *City Clerk.*

JANESVILLE

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have both your communications of November 27, 1931, and December 11, 1931, and I hesitated about answering your letter of November 27 because we were just in the midst at that time of gathering together statistics covering the conditions in Janesville.

In the first place, we operate here under the county relief system, and the answer to most of your questions can only be obtained through the administrator of the system in this county. Under this system it is hard to determine between what is spent in the city and the country. It is estimated that approximately twice as much money may be necessary in all of Rock County during the coming year as was spent during the past year, and provision for this amount has been made by the county board. In spite of this increased expenditure, the board was able to reduce its tax levy against taxable property in Rock County by approximately 20 per cent.

However, in answer to your question 6, in regard to the floating of further bond issues, I will say that it will not be necessary to float any bond issues in Janesville The ad valorem tax levy in Janesville against real estate has been reduced from $673,000 to $580,000 for the year 1932, and sufficient provision has been made for the carrying on of all necessary improvements. In addition to that we are carrying on a program throughout the winter which we estimate will take care of 160 men for a period of four and one-half months. In announcing this program we called for a registration of all those unemployed and 253 men registered. I would say, therefore, that for the time being we have less than 100 wage earners unemployed in Janesville. Of course, this is due to the fact also that the motor industry here went back into production about the middle of November, and they are running at the present time at full capacity, and according to information they have given me will continue to do so for the next four months.

The private relief agencies in Janesville in previous years have spent approximately $3,000 per year for material relief as a supplement to what the county relief system does. This year in raising funds for the combined agencies we estimated that perhaps it might be necessary to spend around $15,000 for this purpose. According to the records of operation for the past four weeks, it appears that about $6,000 will be all that will be necessary to carry through for the next six months. I understand that the scope of this work has been considerably widened and that they are reaching out and touching many cases that never asked for aid in other years.

All in all, I would say that the situation here is being well taken care of, and I personally see no need of aid from any source to carry through the winter of 1931–32. What the years 1932 and 1933 will bring I do not know.

Very truly yours,

HENRY TRAXLER, *City Manager.*

KENOSHA

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LA FOLLETTE: Regarding the questions contained in your inquiry of November 27, will answer them in the order set forth in your letter:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. December 31, 1929, 1,485 unemployed persons; December 31, 1930, 6,115 unemployed persons.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriation for 1929, $51,592; for 1930, $127,243; for 1931, $257,300.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Nine hundred families, or 4,000 persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $100,000; 1930, $150,000; 1931, $150,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average is about $12.25 per week, figuring it on wholesale prices of meat and groceries and current rates of rent and electric light and gas.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. It is extremely difficult to answer this question, inasmuch as there is a proposed emergency relief fund for the State of Wisconsin being considered by the extra session of the State legislature. It would seem to me that the State units could more closely supervise the distribution to the several cities, but I believe that in the end if things continue it will be a Federal proposition.

Trusting this is the information you desire, and asking you to feel free to call on me for any additional data you require, I remain

Yours very truly, WM E. O'BRIEN, *City Manager.*

LA CROSSE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 300; 1931, 600.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1929, $1,080.44; 1930, $2,110.49; 1931, $6,665.35.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 300 more.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 15 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. County and social service, $6.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Able to take care of relief.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; where cities must have finances to carry on relief work the Federal Government should assist local units of government to carry on relief work.

La Crosse County has appropriated $60,000 for outdoor relief for 1932, and that will not be sufficient to carry out all relief work.

Sincerely yours,

J. J. VERCHOTO, *Mayor.*

LAKE GENEVA

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In reply to your circular inquiry bearing date of the 27th ultimo I am writing to reply to your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase in number of unemployed over December, 1930, 75; over December, 1929, 125.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriations for poor relief are nothing, as we are under the county system.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Provisions for unemployment by way of affording employment by construction of public works, are planned but have not been completed. We contemplate floating a bond issue of $100,000 for a building program which will take up practically all of the unemployment slack. This represents $100,000 more than was expended in 1930 and 1929, and it is expected this sum will be spent over a period of the next 120 days. Of this $100,000 approximately $35,000 will represent labor costs and the balance material costs. According to the present estimates, there are approximately 375 unemployed in our city at this time. This number will not increase nor decrease (unless the bond issue passes) during the next five months' period.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have no private relief agencies excepting for occasional efforts made by various lodges and similar organizations.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. I assume that this question is answered by No. 4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. This question is probably answered by referring to No. 3.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. It is my personal belief that what is good for individuals is good for governmental and municipal subdivisions from villages up to nations. The same considerations which render it advantageous for a village to provide employment at a time when material costs are low, where such unemployment furnishes the municipality with genuine needs, apply to the Federal Government in the same situation. At the same time, the same fiscal considerations which apply to the village should apply to the Federal Government. A village, for example, now heavily in debt may easily place upon itself a burden, in the shape of outlay for unemployment relief which will react unfavorably upon its citizens over a period of the next three or four years. I do not know enough about National finance to have an opinion as to whether the Federal Government has reached the end of its tether in this regard, or not.

Yours very truly,

STURGES P. TAGGART, *Mayor.*

MADISON

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of the 27th instant, requesting information with reference to unemployment relief for the coming winter, and am glad to submit to you the local situation.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. The number of unemployed persons assisted in Madison this year is about three times as many as were being assisted last year at this time and over eight times as many as in December, 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city appropriations for the unemployed and poor relief requested this year is over twice what it was last year and five times as much as in 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. At least 600 additional people will need relief during the winter months as compared with the situation a year ago.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Only a very small portion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies, although their expenditures are over twice as much as 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. It is difficult to state the amount that we have given weekly to the average family, because there are so many cases of only partial relief. I would, however, estimate this figure at between $20 and $30.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. It is my understanding that the city can not legally issue bonds for relief purposes, as under the laws of Wisconsin relief work is done directly by the county. We could issue further bonds for construction work were it not for the fact that such bonds must be approved by referendum and such approval is extremely unlikely.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I very definitely favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local units in meeting their emergency relief problems, as I am sure that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing adequate relief for the needy and in lessening the burden of local taxpayers.

I appreciate very much your interesting yourself in the problems which we are facing at the present time, and I feel that the time has come when the Federal Government must do something more than give advice or present optimistic information.

Yours very truly,

A. G. SCHMEDEMAN, *Mayor.*

MANITOWOC

DECEMBER 4, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your questionnaire of November 27, 1931, to the mayor, which has been referred to this office for reply.

In answer to questions:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city, compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Prior to the fall of 1930 we have no record of unemployed in this city, but at the present time our unemployed registration has reached a total of about 500. These are not necessarily in want for the present but practically all of them are close to the edge.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Our appropriations for poor aid were as follows: 1929, $14,850; 1930, $14,850, plus $7,000 unemployment; 1931, $20,850, no appropriation for unemployment, but expenditure up to December 1, 1931, was $44,558. For the year 1932 we have appropriated $41,250 for poor aid, the unemployment appropriation to be taken care of from the emergency fund appropriation of $65,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Ordinarily the number of persons receiving outdoor poor relief prior to 1930, including heads of families, was about 60 monthly with very little variation during the year. We now have approximately 250 and quite certain the number will be increased this winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased, compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. We have no record of private relief agencies but estimate at least 100 per cent increase over 1929, and still increasing.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Rent, fuel, and $4 to $5 for groceries.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes; in each case, but not as a loan.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR H. ZANDER, *City Clerk.*

MENASHA

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your kind inquiry of November 27, following are answers to your questions as contained in your letter:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Increase over 1930 is about 100 per cent and over 1929 about 200 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Same as above.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Conditions seem to improve somewhat, unless only temporarily.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. The private relief amounts to about the same as that given by the city, with equal increases over previous years.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $5 per week for food, in addition to rent, fuel, clothing, etc.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No bond issues are contemplated, as we have increased our appropriation for the relief of poor by 100 per cent over the 1930 appropriation.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If the Federal Government would get busy and commence building our proposed Federal building, and if the labor on same would be recruited from our city, that would solve our unemployment problem, and would be all the Federal aid that we would care for.

Very truly yours,

N. G. REMMEL, *Mayor.*

MENOMONIE

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1929, one-fourth; 1930, one-half.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. In 1930, $4,000; 1929, $2,500.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Two hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Fifteen dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but not necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

ALBERT NATHNESS, *Mayor.*

MILWAUKEE

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The mayor's office turned over your communication regarding the sources of relief for Milwaukee to us a few days ago.

Milwaukee County, as you know, is on a county relief basis, and the funds are raised through taxation and the department budgeted by the county board.

We will outline questions and answers, as requested in your communication:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Families aided by this department in 1929 were 4,556; in 1930, 15,030; in 1931, 26,527. Of this total not all are active at the present time. Our active case load as of December 1 was 18,118.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The appropriations for department of outdoor relief work in 1929 were $217,838; in 1930, $300,061; in 1931, $689,541. The total expenditure in 1930 was approximately $700,000, while that for 1931 will run approximately $2,500,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We anticipate an increase over the December 1 case load of from 8,000 to 10,000 families during the present winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Our estimate of the total burden carried by private agencies in the present situation is between 15 and 20 per cent. We have written to Mr. Chalmer B. Traver, secretary the Milwaukee community fund, and requested him to forward the expenditures of the private relief agencies for the purpose indicated.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. To give you a better idea of just what Milwaukee County gives in the way of provisions we are attaching our regular food schedule, showing the amount we give every two weeks for the various sized families. Besides this we give fresh milk up to a maximum of seven quarts per day in all families receiving aid from this department, the amount being determined by family requirements. The total milk delivery to clients of this department in the month of November, 1931, was 695,449 quarts. Rent, fuel, gas and electric, and shoes are also given.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The county board has up to this time been able to raise whatever money was necessary to meet the requirements.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Yours respectfully,

DEPARTMENT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF,
By W. L. NOTBOHM, *Superintendent.*

DECEMBER 15, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate.

Detailed reply to your questionnaire sent by County Outdoor Relief Department. Answering question 7, most emphatically urge Federal Government share with States and localities constantly increasing burdens of dispensing direct relief and creating part-time employment. Milwaukee has $17,000,000 public improvements program which would absorb all of unemployed on part-time basis if sufficient funds were available.

DANIEL W. HOAN.

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES,
December 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: In response to your request for figures showing relief expenditures by the major private relief agencies of Milwaukee, I have the pleasure of furnishing you with the amounts in round numbers as received in this office:

Expenditures for material relief

October, 1930, to October, 1931	$470,650
October, 1929, to October, 1930	324,000
October, 1928, to October, 1929	212,000

This is an increase in 1930–31 of $146,650, or 45 per cent plus, over that of 1929–30, and an increase of $258,650, or 122 per cent plus, over that of 1928–29.

Very truly yours,

SHELLEY D. WATTS, *General Secretary.*

MONROE

DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of a recent date, I will attempt to give you the desired information, but since we do not operate under a regular independent government of our own, I will attempt to give you county-wide information as you have asked for it.

During the months of January, February, and March of 1929, we helped 17 families, 16 families, and 17 families, respectively; and in 1930, for the same months, we helped 29, 25, and 32 families, respectively.

In 1930 our county budget for poor relief was $10,000, and for 1931 the budget has been raised to $17,000.

It is impossible for me to tell you how many additional families will need help during this winter. I can tell you, however, that we are helping 18 more families since October 1 than we have ever helped before.

Private relief agencies have been furnishing wearing apparel to all of our poor for the past several years through donations by people that have good old clothing to give away.

The average amount of relief given to the average family for the past year in dollars and cents amounts to $1.60 per week, so one can see that they are only asking for partial help.

Below is a 6-month estimate on the number of families that would require help this winter. This schedule was set up last October by our county officials: November, 1931, 21 families; December, 1931, 40 families; January, 1932, 50 families; February, 1932, 50 families; March, 1932, 64 families; April, 1932, 40 families.

There were 40 families helped in November instead of the estimated 21, but up to now they are below the estimate for the month of December, hence we do not feel that it will be necessary to add extra aid.

I do not favor a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief, as I think that each locality should and will take care of its own relief if we were only assured that we will not be taxed extra from outside sources.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN H. ELMER, *Mayor.*

OSHKOSH

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Just twice as many in 1931 as in 1929; 25 per cent more in 1931 than in 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Eleven thousand dollars more this year than in 1929; $12,000 more this year than in 1930.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Four hundred to five hundred.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies carry 50 per cent; expenditures increased about same proportion as city expenditures shown above.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Eight to ten dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Not necessary for Oshkosh as our bonded indebtedness is less than one-half the legal limit. We can take care of our own. However, some cities that are in poor financial shape will probably need Federal or State aid.

Sincerely yours,

TAYLOR G. BROWN, *Mayor.*

RACINE

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27, 1931, and the subsequent one of December 11, 1931, containing a questionnaire with reference to the unemployment situation have been referred to me for attention. The following answers to the questions contained in your letter are based upon the best information I can obtain.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I have not the exact figures on the number of unemployed persons assisted. The amount spent in November, 1931, was $67,565.75. The number of cases given relief during that month was 2,499, which made practically that many families. In December, 1930, the number of cases was approximately 1,300. In December, 1929, the number of cases probably did not run over 200.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The expenditures for the unemployed and poor for the year 1929 amounted to $31,284.80; for the year 1930, $132,389.75; for the year 1931, approximately $470,000. These expenditures do not include private relief work, which has been rather small up to the present time.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. The following figures show the number of cases, which means families, given relief during the past four months: August, 1,241; September, 1,495; October, 1,969; November, 2,499.

It appears quite clear that the number of families receiving relief before the winter is over will be very close to 3,000. That would mean about 500 more families than at present or about 2,000 to 2,500 more persons.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Up to the present time no more than 5 per cent of the total emergency relief has been carried by private relief agencies, and expenditures have not increased appreciably except for church organizations, which it is impossible to check. This fall, however, a drive was carried on for increased funds for community welfare work. The ordinary community welfare budget runs about $130,000, of which probably $40,000 is for welfare work, but no more than $7,000 or $8,000 is spent for actual relief work. By the campaign this fall approximately $400,000 will be raised, of which over $300,000 will be used for relief work to supplement the expenditures of city funds.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The amount of relief given weekly to the average family varies with the different months but has averaged about $26.50 during the past year. This does not mean that this amount covers the total relief for a family, as a large number of families are receiving only partial relief.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Racine can not issue bonds for poor relief. It can borrow and has borrowed money on its corporate notes. The amount of these notes must be placed in the following year's tax roll.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. The mayor is in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens. It would seem to me that increased public works could very well be carried on by the Government and so aid the situation in that way.

Very truly yours,

CORNELIUS COLBERT, *City Attorney.*

RHINELANDER

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Twenty-five per cent for 1930; 50 per cent for 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Under county system; no city appropriation.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 25 per cent more than last year.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Sixty per cent, 25 per cent, and 75 per cent.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Average, $4.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Only in case it will be locally administered.

RIPON

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About 12 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Approximately 12 per cent.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Possibly five average families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Practically none.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Outstanding bond issues, $70,000; assessed valuation, nearly $6,000,000.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Absolutely no.

L. G. KELLOGG.

SHEBOYGAN

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have before me your letter of November 27, 1931, and in reply thereto, I will answer your questions as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Since December, 1930, the increase was approximately 25 per cent; since December, 1929, 100 per cent.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. City appropriations for unemployed and the poor have increased $40,000 over 1930, and $52,000 over 1929.

3. In your judgment how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About again as many.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Private relief agencies are doing as much as the city; their expenditures have increased in the same proportion as the expenditures of the poor department.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. About $8 to $10.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. If the higher brackets of the income tax were restored (because the present economic condition is even worse than the war-time condition) I would answer yes, loan the money to the communities who handle it without any overhead expense connected therewith—but, if the money must be raised through a sales tax or a similar tax that is a burden on all the consumers, I then fail to see where the local taxpayer has his burden lessened.

I hope you agree with me on question 7, and can persuade your colleagues to agree with you.

Yours very truly,

OTTO GEUSSENHAINER, *Mayor.*

SHEBOYGAN FALLS

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of November 27, 1931, to the mayor of this city, the mayor requested me to answer your inquiry.

He requested me to advise you that he is opposed to any Federal appropriations for emergency relief as he believes that the interests of the people can best be served through each municipality taking care of its own emergency relief.

Very truly yours,

ERHART A. DEMAND, *City Clerk.*

SHOREWOOD

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: I have your questionnaire of the 27th relative to our unemployment situation in the village of Shorewood and the measure of relief. It is needless to remind you that we are strictly a residential area, commonly called the Gold Coast of Milwaukee County, and we have no destitute families requiring help.

We have some 40 families, all property owners, the head of which families having lost his position during this time of depression and we are giving employment to these. The relief is within the family itself and we have no families which are destitute requiring help.

In 1930 we had 15 such families handled in the same manner, and in 1929 none. Our public work is of such a nature and is so properly foreseen that we can give employment to these men without any bond issues or additional outlay and they can be thus properly taken care of with their families over this period.

Hoping this information will serve you and with kindest personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

W. J. HUBBARD, *Village President.*

SPARTA

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Because our local situation is probably very different than many and our method of handling unemployment is not done under the auspices of the local government I have chosen to answer your questions with a letter.

We have a Sparta community welfare board; its head is a joint committee from the American Legion and the ladies' auxiliary. This committee of the whole has been in existence for quite a number of years, first caring for members of their own organization only, but taking care of the whole community the last three or four years.

As this work was being ably done there was no occasion for myself or the city council to step in except as we might render such additional assistance as might be required from time to time.

Our funds are raised locally through a public dance or two, local-talent plays, cooperation by the local theater, subscriptions by the Kiwanis Club and Masons, etc. We have found the money raised through these several channels sufficient so far to take care of our local needs. Of course, the county poor commissioner is helping some families every week, just 12 families. In fact, I can see no reason why we can not take care of our local situation without any outside help.

Sincerely yours,

OTIS F. GEORGE, *Mayor.*

STEVENS POINT

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, I wish to advise as follows:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

There has been an increase in the number of unemployed persons assisted in our city for the year ending December, 1930, as compared with December, 1929, about 100.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

In reply to your second question, I wish to advise that our city appropriations were increased about $25,000 over that in 1930. Although this increased appropriation is shown as expenditures for public works, which really should be charged off as outdoor relief.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

In reply to your third question, I would say that we will have at least 200 families to take care of during the winter of 1931–32.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

In reply to your fourth question, I would say that not more than 5 to 10 per cent of the relief work is being carried out by relief agencies with the exception of the amount of $25,000 which we have raised locally through public subscriptions. I would expect that our expenditures will be about twice what they were in 1930, or about $50,000. In 1930 we spent about $25,000 more than we have spent during the like period of 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

The average amount of relief given weekly would be about $10 per week for the size family which you have indicated.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answering your question No. 6, I wish to advise that our city is in a position to float further bond issues if it becomes absolutely necessary. We have a leeway at present of about $100,000.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Replying to your question No. 7, I wish to advise that I am opposed to Federal appropriation to assist local governments in the emergency relief work as conditions exist at the present time, and also opposed to State appropriation for like purposes. It is my personal opinion that such attempt on the part of the National and State Governments would only lead to further extravagances, as it is extremely difficult to administer relief adequately in local communities without trying to administer such work from distant parts. I am ready, however, at any time to change my opinion on this matter if the changing condition should warrant.

Trusting that this information is of value to you, I remain,

Yours very truly,

PETER WALRAVEN, *City Manager.*

TWO RIVERS

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

Mr. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LA FOLLETTE: With reference to your letter of November 27, I will answer your questions in the order which you asked them.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. I would say that in November, 1931, the number of persons assisted by the city as compared with December, 1930, has about doubled; that is, about 70 families in comparison with about 35, and in comparison with about 15 in 1929.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Comparative figures for poor relief are as follows: 1931 expenditures are estimated at $12,500; 1930 expenditures were $7,400; 1929 expenditures were $3,700.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. I think the number of families who will need relief during this winter will be about the same as it was last month, namely, 130 families.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. With reference to amounts spent by private relief agencies, would say that they carry very little or nothing of the relief burden. They spend possibly three or four hundred dollars per year, which amount does not vary from year to year.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Regarding relief given weekly to the average family. The average family entirely dependent upon the city receives approximately $12.50 weekly. (However, the 130 families mentioned above do not receive this amount; some receiving only a few dollars to help them along and others more or less.)

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Two Rivers is in a position to float further bond issues if necessary, in the event that our present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I think it is time that the Federal Government did something to recognize the emergencies other than simply giving advice.

Very truly yours,

E. J. DONNELLY, *City Manager.*

WATERTOWN

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, I tabulate below answers to your questions.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Ten per cent over 1929; 5 per cent over 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Thirty-three per cent over 1930; 50 per cent over 1929.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Hard to answer. Depends on severity of winter.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About 50 per cent by relief agencies; 50 per cent over 1930; 75 per cent over 1929.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Can not answer.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Poor taken care of by county poor commissioner from county fund. Believe our county can adequately meet the needs of our community.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. I think it would take too much time for the Federal Government to distribute the money. Also believe there would be too great cost attached.

Respectfully,

C. LUTOVSKY, *Mayor.*

WAUKESHA

DECEMBER 16, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 27, the writer wishes to give you the following information on the questions in your letter.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. There has been an increase of approximately 25 per cent of unemployed persons in our city December, 1931, as compared with December, 1930.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The appropriations for unemployment and the poor have increased in 1931 as compared with 1930 approximately $30,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We estimate there are approximately 500 families who are in need of relief in our city at the present time.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Approximately 25 per cent of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief organizations.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given weekly to the average family for rent and food is $9.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. We have not floated any bond issues up to the present time for direct unemployment relief. We have issued bonds for park construction work this past fall, where the only persons employed were taken from the poor list.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. We believe that the needy in most cases are being adequately taken care of at the present time by the city poor commissioner and the private agencies administering relief.

Regretting the delay in getting this information to you and hoping same will be of assistance, we are

Very truly yours,

MORGAN R. BUTLER, *Mayor.*

WAUSAU

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

Hon. Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of November 27, requesting information on the seven questions dealing with the unemployed aid furnished by the city of Wausau, and other charitable agencies, to which I will make the following answers:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. For 1930, about 200; for 1929, about 30.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. Appropriation increased this year over 1930 about $28,000; over 1929 about $48,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Estimated additional persons needing relief during next winter months, about 40.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Burden carried by private relief agencies, about $19,000. Expenditures increased over 1930 very little; over 1929 about $6,000.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The average amount of relief given per month to an average family by the city of Wausau is about $20.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. The city of Wausau is in a position to bond itself for all the requirements in this respect, or for any other purpose that might be reasonably required, but we are able to finance the unemployment relief without thinking of taking advantage of this manner of financing.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. While I believe the American cities, in general, would welcome any assistance that the Federal Government might be able to extend to aid in this emergency of the unemployment relief, yet I also feel inclined, so far as the city of Wausau is concerned, that no Federal assistance is requested. Or course, should the Federal Government pass a measure in which cities may be aided, the city of Wausau naturally would be glad to accept such assistance.

Yours very truly,

OTTO MUENCHOW, *Mayor.*

WAUWATOSA

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

Senator R. M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 27th ultimo I beg to state that relief work in this city is handled entirely by the Outdoor Relief Department of Milwaukee County or by the welfare department, which is financed by the community fund. Since, no doubt, you will be getting reports from both these organizations, I am not including any relief statistics but giving you only the results of our unemployment department, which has to do with the finding of work for those unemployed.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Registration of unemployed, December, 1930, 200; December, 1931, 654. Work secured, both of a permanent and indeterminate nature, December, 1930, 30; December, 1929, 429.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. The city has been using available funds to do public work, up to date, approximately $22,000. No appropriations are made for relief work as this is all handled by the county of Milwaukee.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. This information can be obtained from the county.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Refer to Milwaukee County Outdoor Relief.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. These statistics are available from outdoor relief.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Do not believe this city can float additional bonds for any purpose.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Any Federal appropriation which would not increase the tax levy on the small home owner might be acceptable. Such appropriation should be used for public work which would give opportunity for employment. As stated above, the county of Milwaukee is providing all necessary relief in so far as food, fuel, light, and rent are concerned, but it does not provide work except on county projects.

Respectfully yours,

HAUS A. KOENIG,
Registrar, Department of Unemployment.

WEST BEND

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. In 1930, 14 families; 1929, 8 families.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We are working under county distribution.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. About 24 families will be taken care of.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. None.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Three dollars to four dollars.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No. We are able to take care of our own needy in this community.

JOS. M. KNIPPEL, *Mayor.*

WISCONSIN RAPIDS

NOVEMBER 30, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The following answers are submitted in reply to your circular letter of November 27:

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. Unemployment has not increased materially, and therefore very few persons have been assisted in our city on account of unemployment.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. We have the poor with us always. The unemployed are a new group, which we have not yet been called upon to reckon with to any serious extent. Our city appropriations for the poor increased about 100 per cent in 1931 over 1930 and also over 1929. But this is such a small amount in the aggregate that it is no burden upon the city treasury. Our poor relief for 1931 amounts in round figures to $10,000 and in the other years about $5,000.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. We expect to have some demand for relief to unemployed families. It will not be large and we are not able to measure it at the present time.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. Until the present time private relief agencies have done very little and only in the form of giving clothing and furnishing milk. But because of the general talk of the probable necessity of giving aid through the coming winter to the poor and the unemployed, we have made a local community drive for money, and this promises to amount to about $10,000, equaling practically the amount that the city will devote in 1932 for these purposes. Our city poor commissioner will work very closely with the relief organization in the distribution of this assistance.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. No; we do not have enough cases to furnish an average. We find that about $7 a week will supply all the food necessary for a family of four or five people. The rent and clothing and other items would have to be furnished in addition to this if the family required complete support.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes; but we anticipate no need of a bond issue for this purpose. We could easily increase our tax rate a little if it seemed necessary.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No; our community will take care of its own needs. Our tax rate is reasonable, and there has been no demand of any sort for State or Federal aid, and I think it entirely safe to say that nothing of this sort will materialize.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE W. MEAD, *Mayor.*

WHITEWATER

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. About one-third more.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. Probably 35, but can not tell for a couple of weeks.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. About one-half.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. Yes.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. No.

WYOMING

CHEYENNE

DECEMBER 9, 1931.

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of November 27, regarding the question as to whether the Federal Government should assist the States and municipalities in meeting their burden caused by the unemployed, has been turned over to George W. Hewlett, chairman of our local relief organization for reply. We have tried to secure this information for you but up until the present have been unable to do so and will now try another source.

Very truly yours,

GRACE C. THOMPSON, *Office Secretary.*

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

Hon. CAL HOLLIDAY,
Cheyenne, Wyo.

DEAR MAYOR HOLLIDAY: The inclosed letter to you, written by United States Senator Robert M. La Follette, jr., was duly received from you.

I assume that you wish me to answer the numbered paragraphs.

With reference to paragraphs 1 to 4, would say that I have no statistics at hand with which to answer these questions.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. The mayor's relief committee is now taking care of about 50 families.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. My answer would be "no," although your information would be better than mine on this.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. I do not favor any appropriation of any kind—local State, or Federal—to take care of the unemployed.

Trusting that this is the information that you desire, I remain,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE W. HEWLETT, *Chairman.*

ROCK SPRINGS

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of November 27, 1931, will answer your questions by numbers.

1. What increase has there been in the number of unemployed persons assisted in your city compared with December, 1930? With December, 1929?

Answer. None assisted in December, 1930. None assisted in December, 1929. November, 1931, 27 families being taken care of; 8 local single persons being furnished with meals; 525 transient meals furnished.

2. How much have the city appropriations for the unemployed and the poor increased this year over 1930? Over 1929?

Answer. No city appropriations for the unemployed in 1929, 1930, or 1931; 1931 being handled by those who are working donating 1 per cent of their salaries to the mayor's relief committee. Also, other donations are pledged. This relief amounts to $1,400 monthly.

3. In your judgment, how many additional persons will need relief during the winter months?

Answer. An increase of 50 per cent.

4. What proportion of the emergency burden is being carried by private relief agencies? How much have their expenditures increased compared with 1930? With 1929?

Answer. All. As outlined in 2.

5. Can you state the amount of relief given weekly to the average family (two adults and two children)?

Answer. Seven dollars and fifty cents weekly.

6. Is your city in a position to float further bond issues in the event that your present income is insufficient to meet adequately the relief needs of the community?

Answer. No. Trying to get along without a bond issue, by the voluntary subscriptions of those working and other donors.

7. Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens, and do you feel that such an appropriation would be of aid in providing more adequate relief for the needy or in lessening the burden on local taxpayers?

Answer. Yes.

Much food and clothing has been donated by the stores and people, which has been redistributed to those in need. City population, about 9,000.

Sincerely yours,

P. C. BUNNING, *Mayor.*

Mr. COSTIGAN obtained the floor.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Kean	Robinson, Ind.
Austin	Dale	Kendrick	Schall
Bailey	Davis	Keyes	Sheppard
Bankhead	Dickinson	King	Shipstead
Barbour	Dill	La Follette	Smith
Barkley	Fess	Lewis	Smoot
Black	Fletcher	Logan	Steiwer
Blaine	Frazier	Long	Stephens
Borah	George	McGill	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Glass	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Glenn	McNary	Townsend
Broussard	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulkley	Gore	Morrison	Tydings
Bulow	Hale	Moses	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Harris	Neely	Wagner
Capper	Harrison	Norbeck	Walcott
Caraway	Hastings	Norris	Walsh, Mont.
Carey	Hatfield	Nye	Waterman
Connally	Hayden	Oddie	Watson
Coolidge	Hebert	Patterson	Wheeler
Copeland	Howell	Pittman	White
Costigan	Hull	Reed	
Couzens	Jones	Robinson, Ark.	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, the hour is late, and if agreeable to the Senate it will be an accommodation to me if I may be permitted to proceed to-morrow.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, which I shall propose to the bill which has been under discussion.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 556. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Elk River at or near Kelso, Tenn.;

S. 2199. An act exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts;

S. 2388. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn.;

S. 2389. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the Dandridge-Newport road in Jefferson County, Tenn.; and

S. 2408. An act to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington, for lighthouse purposes."

GEN. J. WARREN KEIFER

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, there is living in the State of Ohio a very interesting personality, who celebrated his ninety-sixth birthday last Saturday. I refer to Gen. J. Warren Keifer, who in 1881 was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, after having had a very remarkable career in the Civil War.

General Keifer was born when Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, and therefore has lived under every President except six. There have been 49 governors in Ohio, and he has lived through the administrations of all the governors in our State except 11. He was born when the population of our country was only 13,000,000. Now it is more than 120,000,000.

Many of the people of Washington remember this distinguished Civil War general. He is in fairly good health. He celebrated his ninety-sixth birthday last Saturday, as I have said, with the promise that he may celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of his birth four years from now.

Mr. President, I wanted to make this brief statement in honor of a man whom many Members of the Senate have met in person. I know that my friend the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] knows him well. One of his distinguished sons lives in Nebraska to-day, and the son appears to be as old as his distinguished father.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I want to add a brief word of testimony to the services and the character of General Keifer, whom the Senator from Ohio has mentioned.

When General Keifer was 26 years old he was in command of 10,000 soldiers. That was during the Civil War. He served also through the Spanish-American War. He was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, as the Senator from Ohio has said, and after distinguished service for quite a number of years in the House of Representatives he passed out of public life.

General Keifer remained a private citizen until the Fifty-eighth Congress, when he was elected again to the House of Representatives. He served for several years continuously from that time on. He was in Germany when the World War broke out and had some difficulty in getting out.

I have not seen General Keifer for two or three years, but when I last saw him he was in the full possession of his faculties, and his mind was as keen and alert as it was the first time I met him. He is a physical giant, can withstand all tests of physical endurance, and has been through all sorts of hardships.

General Keifer was a dashing soldier, a man who has as good a comprehension of the history of our country as any man I have ever met. He is a man of literary attainments.

I think there is no doubt that General Keifer is the leading Shakespearean student of the United States. He has the largest library on Shakespeare, I think, that exists anywhere in the world. He took a very prominent part in the discussion years ago as to whether Shakespeare or Bacon wrote the various Shakespearean plays. He told me himself that he started that study because in the town where he lived he had been selected to deliver an address on the subject before some local organization. Up to that time he had given it no study, but he became interested in it until, as I said, he became one of the leading students of the subject in the civilized world. His correspondence on that subject alone reached into practically every nation of Europe. He had made a most comprehensive and complete study and investigation of the life and works of Shakespeare and the lives of other men who lived in the days of Shakespeare. It might be interesting if I would tell you, as I know it was interesting to me when he told me, that after his years of study he became convinced that Bacon was the author of the Shakespearean plays.

As has been said by the Senator from Ohio, General Keifer's son lives in my State. He has served several terms in the legislature with honor and credit to the name. He was speaker of the House of Representatives of the Nebraska Legislature. In turn, his son, a grandson of General Keifer, is one of the leading citizens of my State. He served throughout the World War with honor and distinction. He has likewise served several terms in the legislature of our State and is now engaged in agriculture, having charge of one of the largest farms in the Middle West, a man who, like his grandfather, possesses a mind that is rare, a man with ability beyond that of the ordinary citizen, a leader in his community and in his State. He is an able exponent of the attributes which his grandfather possesses.

RECESS

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, it is my purpose to accommodate the Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN], and I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate (at 4 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) took a recess until to-morrow, Wednesday, February 3, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father and our Eternal God, we thank Thee for that otherworld music that often cheers us on our way. In the frailty and insecurity of this passing world it softens the sense of our limitations whenever it breaks through upon our listening ear. O Thou who didst lead captivity captive and whose infinite glory and majesty hung upon the thorny branches of the cross, pity the homeless and the unfortunate and the afflicted. Let the light and the blossom of Thy presence be about the sick cot of every strickened Member of this Chamber. Open up the gloom until all weariness, fatigue, and discouragement shall pass away. O God, bless and comfort them with sweet peace. Stay their hope and their faith on Thee, in whose presence is the path of life and the fullness of joy. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. J. Res. 91. Joint resolution to make available certain appropriations for advances or loans to farmers in the drought and/or storm stricken areas of the United States for the purchase of feed for livestock and seed, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. J. Res. 261. Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 556. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Elk River at or near Kelso, Tenn.;

S. 2199. An act exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts;

S. 2388. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn.;

S. 2389. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the Dandridge-Newport road in Jefferson County, Tenn.; and

S. 2408. An act to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington for lighthouse purposes."

BALANCING THE BUDGET

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for one minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, at the opening of the hearing before the Ways and Means Committee this morning, the acting chairman, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. CRISP, who is taking the place of our colleague, the chairman, Mr. COLLIER, who we all regret is ill, made a most illuminating statement to the witnesses and to the committee relative to the manner in which the committee is endeavoring to find revenues. It was so instructive both for our interest and the interest of the witnesses present that I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that at this point it be incorporated in the RECORD. I do this in order that the general public and the membership of the House may have the benefit of the statement.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Mr. CRISP. May I ask the indulgence of the members of the committee and the other gentlemen present to make a preliminary statement in behalf of the committee?

There is a deficit of $2,000,000,000 in the Treasury. The Budget must be balanced or economic chaos follows. Government securities have depreciated and unless sufficient revenue is raised to balance the Budget they will still further depreciate, and all other securities will depreciate. Unless the financial stability of the United States is maintained every citizen of the United States will be adversely affected. In my judgment unless the Federal Budget is balanced the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and all other relief measures passed by the Congress will prove futile.

This committee has the most unpleasant duty it has ever had to perform during the 16 years I have been a member of it. That duty is to levy taxes to produce sufficient revenue to meet this situation. To do that, there will have to be levied many excise taxes, for from the income tax, both corporate and individual, and estate tax, it is impossible to raise sufficient revenue.

The American people must realize the seriousness of this emergency and be prepared to make sacrifices for the good of all. The Treasury Department has recommended an increase in income and estate taxes. They have recommended excise taxes on tobacco manufactures, conveyances of real estate, capital stock transfers, passenger automobiles and trucks and accessories, admissions, radios and phonographs, telephone and telegraph messages, and checks and drafts. They estimated that if the rates they suggested be levied on all of those commodities, when put into full effect, they would produce $920,000,000. The Under Secretary of the Treasury, when he appeared before the committee, stated that those estimates were made upon information they had in October and November; and he stated before the committee when he appeared that those estimates would have to be revised. The Under Secretary, Mr. Mills, appeared before us yesterday and conceded that if the taxes the Treasury proposed were levied, they would not produce $920,000,000. In my judgment, under these business conditions, they would fall short of those estimates at least $300,000,000.

Every suggestion for taxation, as proposed by the Treasury Department, has met with violent opposition on the part of those to be affected. For three weeks this committee has sat here and heard protests against every proposed form of taxation.

Gentlemen, I make this statement in behalf of the committee to present to you the picture that confronts this committee, that confronts our common country. It would be very helpful to this committee if you patriotic American citizens and taxpayers, interested in the welfare of your country, when you appear before us, would make some constructive, helpful suggestions, whereby money might be raised without being unduly burdensome on industry, or on the taxpayers of the country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a short resolution adopted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

TRIBUTE TO SPEAKER AND MRS. JOHN N. GARNER

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by publishing an address delivered by my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] before the Texas Society of Washington on last Saturday evening.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by my colleague, Hon. FRITZ G. LANHAM, of Texas, last Saturday night before the Texas Club of Washington, when the Speaker and Mrs. John N. Garner were the honor guests of the club:

Fellow Texans and guests, on this delightful social occasion I am glad to be present to felicitate with you that Texas is beginning to garner its bountiful political crop. Texas is so big in so many ways that I fear sometimes even we Texans do not appreciate its importance. So, by way of preface to these brief re-





marks, I wish to offer for your contemplation one of the many lists of elementary A B C's which might readily be formulated concerning the Lone Star State.

In Texas—
A stands for apples and art and agriculture;
B stands for birds and berries and bluebonnets;
C stands for cattle and cotton and corn;
D stands for deer and dairies and derricks;
E stands for education and electricity and efficiency;
F stands for farms and forests and factories;
G stands for grain and grazing and gas;
H stands for honey and hay and helium;
I stands for irrigation and industries and iron;
J stands for journals and jetties and jasmines;
K stands for kale and kaolin and kilns;
L stands for lumber and lakes and lariats;
M stands for mountains and marble and mines;
N stands for northers and novelists and newspapers;
O stands for ores and oranges and oil;
P stands for prairies and pastures and ports;
Q stands for quirts and quarries and quail;
R stands for rivers and ranches and railroads;
S stands for sheep and shops and ships;
T stands for towns and timber and textiles;
U stands for uranium and utilities and universities;
V stands for valleys and vineyards and vegetables;
W stands for wheat and wool and watermelons;
X stands for exports and exhibits and experience;
Y stands for yards and yarns and yams; and
Z stands for zeal and zephyrs and zinc.

And I may say, very fittingly, that the Speaker and Mrs. Garner stand for all these things and more. So it is readily apparent from this list of A B C's that Texas is O. K. from A to Z.

Perhaps this occasion may be properly described as one in honor of Mrs. Garner and the Speaker, for I have long since learned that with Texans, at least, ladies rank first. Woman is beginning to dominate our civilization. She is rapidly becoming first in peace, first in war, and first in love, which is both peace and war. In the old days Lot's wife looked back and turned to salt, but in these new times our wives are more progressive—they look ahead and turn to sugar. Indeed, a little incident was reported during the World War which even the Speaker will likely concede is typical of the preeminence which should be accorded Mrs. Garner. It is said that during that period of strife and carnage the Prince of Wales made a visit to the front and entered a British dugout to see how Tommy Atkins disported himself at play. On one wall of the dugout he beheld a picture of his father, the King, and on another the likeness of his mother, the Queen. Under the picture of the King was written, "George the Fifth of England," and under the picture of the Queen, "The Other Four-fifths."

In an analysis of the character of the Speaker, I wish to offer two brief thoughts illustrative, in my judgment, of the outstanding traits and qualities which have marked his brilliant and eventful career. And, first, let me talk of Mr. GARNER as a Texan.

We now have in our land quite a fad in the buying of antiques, and men and women alike feel its peculiar spell. A few years ago I recuperated for a month on Cape Cod. It seemed to me that every second house was an antique shop, and the others might well have been, for they were filled with rare specimens of this domestic treasure. I do not protest against this fad; I confess I rather like it. My complaint would be that we do not carry it far enough, and I know you will let me explain my meaning. People go all over the country today looking for furniture that was formerly in the homes of the pioneers of all sections. They say this furniture is better, that it is simple and solid and artistic, and that much of the modern furniture is veneered and unsubstantial and ornate. I am not qualified to speak concerning these relative values, but I think we shall all agree that the old homes in our State and elsewhere were wonderful institutions. However, we are so prone to forget that the best things in them were not the furniture and the pewter and the Sandwich glass. It is well to acquire from them really valuable material things, but let us acquire from them also things that are still more fundamental and helpful.

In the governor's mansion at Austin is Sam Houston's bed, and it has often been my pleasure to sleep in it, but there was something better about Houston than his bed. Let us seek also those old-fashioned virtues and the graces of those old-fashioned homes and bring them into our domestic circles. I am not an old fogy, but I do realize that fundamental virtues do not change with styles and fashions and new conditions. They remain eternally the same, and they are antiques which we may gather with the utmost profit. Along with the furniture let us get also the vision of Austin, the resolution of Houston, the courage of Travis, the persistence of Crockett, the learning of Lamar, and the patriotism of them all, and then we shall not be one-sided collectors looking only for material worth but real connoisseurs of all the art and wisdom that a bountiful past can offer. From homes with traits and problems as substantial as their furniture came the pioneers of Texas whose memories we delight to honor.

I join with you in a proper pride that as a Texan, true to our best history and our best traditions, JOHN GARNER has kept the faith of the fathers. Today, in meeting the obligations imposed by the new times and circumstances which confront us, that same vision, that same resolution, that same courage, that same persistence, that same learning, and that same patriotism characterize the life and labor of that real Texan who has been called so fittingly to the Speakership.

The second thought has to do with the forces and surroundings and associations which have made of Mr. GARNER an outstanding American citizen.

Texas is a State of unlimited opportunity, and Texans as a people have much of real value to their credit. In the events which made possible our liberty may be found the principal reason for the fact that a Texan is not provincial. The independence of Texas was declared by men who hailed from practically all the States of the American Union as that Union then existed. They were brave, adventurous, pioneer spirits from all points of the compass. Such, too, were the men who fought our battles and won our freedom. For instance, the last President of the Republic of Texas was a Massachusetts man, and he had very much to do with our annexation to the Union.

So other States than ours have a pride in our history. Not all of those of middle age who are here assembled are native Texans, and perhaps the parents of few of us were born within our borders. This condition has differentiated us from the people of many sections of our country. In the staid communities of the North and East there has been through the years but little infusion of new blood. Through many generations families there have remained in the places and at the work of their ancestors, and it has even been hinted that there one must almost have the beard of a patriarch before it is generally admitted that one has come to man's estate.

It is not specially surprising, therefore, that from all these sections young men and women have been attracted to Texas, with the varied opportunities which it offers to youth in a new and developing land. And so, to our great empire have come the literary culture of the East, the hustle and bustle of the West, the commercial spirit of the North, and the proverbial chivalry and hospitality of the South. And there, through the natural processes of attrition, the sons and daughters of all these climes have worn the rough edges from their natures and acquired the graces of the cosmopolitan American. It is this accomplishment which characterizes the Texan wherever he may have been born. He is not sectional in his spirit or provincial in his vision of life. His outlook is broad and his powers of appreciation without sectional bias or limitation. Indeed, for Americans, Texas has been from the beginning a melting pot, and out of it has come that product of which we may be justly proud—the typical, stalwart, upstanding Texan.

In such a scene and under such conditions has JOHN GARNER developed his sterling Americanism. Free from provincialism in its every phase, he has exemplified the splendid virtues and graces dear to every section of our country, and little, therefore, is the wonder that throughout our Nation people of the North, South, East, and West are uniting in acclaiming him the outstanding Democrat of the day.

During the great World War that young English soldier-poet, Rupert Brooke, died of blood poisoning and was buried on an island of Greece, a soil of classic song. From his pen came these words:

"If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England."

To-night, as we meditate upon the lives of the heroes of Texas who did so much to make possible for America the wonderful achievements of these later days, and as we contemplate the way in which Mr. GARNER and other illustrious sons of the Lone Star State are bringing to these new times and conditions the virtues and graces of those who solved tremendous problems in the days gone by, it may be our proud boast, wherever we may be and whatever we may do, that we are forever Texans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to incorporate therein a petition from certain citizens of Central City, Nebr., urging the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment, appealing against any measure looking toward its modification or resubmission, and asking that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman withhold his objection for a moment?

Mr. UNDERHILL. I will withhold the objection.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman withholds his objection long enough to permit me to say this: I am in hearty accord with the policy of the gentleman from Massachusetts. I think he does a good service to the House, but it seems wicked to me, Mr. Speaker, that the people who represent the other side of this question are able to go to somebody over at the other end of the Capitol and get all of their propaganda inserted in the RECORD, and when

I ask for a little petition to be inserted from my home people it is denied to me. It seems wicked. [Laughter.]

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, still further reserving the right to object, I disclaim any authority or any possibility of curbing the expenditures at the other end of the Capitol or to the practice of inserting extraneous matter into the RECORD. I am in hopes that the example of the House will be followed sooner or later, that we may shame them into a position which will really redound to the credit of Congress and to the benefit of the taxpayers of the country.

I have no objection to the position of the gentleman from Nebraska, but I must object to the gentleman's request.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I call the attention of the watchful gentleman from Massachusetts to this situation: The gentleman objected the other day to the other side of this picture, and the matter did not go into the RECORD; but during that day, the gentleman from Massachusetts not being present, the gentleman who offered the matter took the floor and read it into the RECORD. Of course that was in violation of the rules, the gentleman not having obtained unanimous consent. I believe that has happened in several instances. So I suggest to the gentleman from Massachusetts that he be here at all times so that he may properly safeguard the RECORD. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts has objected.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I still further reserve the objection.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts takes the position, I assume, that nobody in this country can give any information to this House except Members of the House, and for that reason the gentleman wants to keep it all out of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

GENEVA AND THE ORIENT

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for two minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, there are two areas of our globe upon which to-day the eyes of the world are fixed: Across the Pacific, the area that embraces China and Japan; across the Atlantic, the little city in Switzerland, Geneva. The unfolding within either area may mean potentialities as momentous for humanity as those that followed the assassination of the Austrian prince upon that fateful day in 1914.

At Geneva there has been convened the conference of nations that seeks to bring about agreements by which the military burdens of the world may be reduced, and thereby the peace of the world more definitely secured. In the Orient events are occurring that within the last few months have meant loss of life and treasure and that threaten world peace. The two centers of our world to which I direct attention suggest at this moment opposite courses for peoples and for civilization.

As we turn to the Orient we are disturbed by the stories that the press records. The sacrifice of life, the sacrifice of property, which, after all, stands for human activity, the threat to rights and to peoples who are not directly involved; these, with the possibilities that may result, are factors that cause dread. Japan and China are great powers to whom the United States is bound by ties of respect and good will.

Now is not the time for hasty conclusions or for rash action. Now is the time for the citizens of the Republic and for our Nation to assist in minimizing the threat of war and to aid in bringing about peaceful accord between these two powers.

As we look to the Orient and again to Geneva there are forced upon our minds the lessons of the World War and what that cataclysm meant. We may now take stock. The treaties that concluded the war were drafted upon the basis that certain nations were victors and certain other nations were vanquished. As a matter of fact, no nations were victors. No principle of righteousness was established that ought not to have been established by the intelligent populations of the several nations speaking through their chosen public officials about the conference table. The World War took its toll in death upon the battlefield and in hospitals by approximately 11,000,000 human lives. God alone can tell the loss of life and misery and sacrifice and want borne by those who were left at home. In money the World War represented a direct expenditure during the years between the firing of the first shot and the signing of peace of more than $186,000,000,000.

More than that, in every way this world of ours has been made poorer. Civilization has been retarded and the capacity of thoughtful people for government has been challenged. Again I say no nation was the victor.

As world people turn from the problems of the Orient with the prayer upon their lips that the cup of conflict may pass them by, they look to Geneva with the hope that through the conference that is called in session to-day, even though it may be called amidst conditions that are discouraging and that try the souls of men, something may eventuate therefrom that will mean the international determination of problems through the enlightened forces of world peoples and that will mean the reduction of the military burdens that bear so heavily upon the peoples of all lands. So definitely do I regard unbridled armaments as a cause for war that I believe that if reduction by common agreement may be brought about to the extent of one-half the present establishments, it will mean for world peace and for lifting the burdens from the shoulders of people placed there through militarism in such degree that such outcome would be rated the greatest event since our earth was trod by the Prince of Peace. [Applause.]

COMPENSATION AND FILLING OF GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 126.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina calls up a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 126

Resolved, That in the consideration of the general appropriation bills during the first session of the Seventy-second Congress it shall be in order to consider without the intervention of a point of order any sections of all of the aforesaid bills containing language which prohibits, during the period from the date of their respective enactments until June 30, 1933, the use of appropriations for increases in compensation and the filling of vacancies in positions, with such modification in such sections as may be necessary to accomplish such purposes in order to adapt them to the respective appropriation bills.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I will yield one hour, or such part thereof as he may see fit to use, to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. PURNELL], to be in turn yielded by him.

Mr. PURNELL. I hardly think I will use that time, as there is no serious opposition to the resolution, but I do have one or two requests for time.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, just a word with respect to this resolution. The resolution makes unnecessary a special rule similar to House Resolution 120. Nine times the Committee on Rules would have to intervene if the wording of House Resolution 120 were made in order, the general rules of the House to the contrary notwithstanding, in the consideration of appropriation bills hereafter to be reported. So by a unanimous report the Committee on Rules reported House Resolution 126. It accomplishes two purposes. It prevents increases in compensation during the time set forth and prevents the filling of vacancies except under conditions similar to those set forth in House Resolution 120, to which I have alluded.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as this matter was debated in the House, it seems to me it is unnecessary to say anything further, and I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POU. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have read rather carefully the resolution under consideration and the thought has occurred to me whether, under the phraseology as drawn, we would not be banned in the Committee of the Whole from raising the point of order to any proposed amendment on the ground it was not germane. As I recall the original resolution for making in order the sections in the Agricultural appropriation bill, it carried language to the effect that it shall be in order under the general rules of the House. As I read this resolution, it would not permit a point of order that any amendment that might be proposed was not germane.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman from North Carolina allow me to answer that inquiry?

Mr. POU. Yes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. The gentleman is in error in his statement that the prior rule excluded from the prohibition the raising of the question of germaneness. As a matter of fact, as I remember the language of the rule it was that "the general rules of the House to the contrary notwithstanding," these provisions shall be in order, which, of course, is a waiver of any point of order against the sections.

Mr. STAFFORD. But when the original amendment was under consideration we could lodge against any amendment the point of order that it was not germane, and I think it is the purpose of the movers of this resolution not to go to that extent.

Mr. BYRNS. I will say this to the gentleman: That it is the purpose of the committee to bring in this sort of a limitation, if you can call it that, upon each appropriation bill, and not to put it on one bill as applying to all appropriations. If that is done there could not be any question of germaneness, for it will apply only to the appropriations carried in the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have before me the resolution which was adopted in connection with the agricultural appropriation bill. The gentleman from Alabama quotes the phraseology correctly, that it shall be in order, "the general rules of the House to the contrary notwithstanding." However, under the present resolution, I take it, a strict construction would ban the point of order of germaneness, and certainly we do not want to ban that.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I do not see that such a danger could be reasonably anticipated, in view of the statement made by the chairman of the committee that it was their major purpose to follow in principle the restrictions that were placed in the agricultural appropriation bill in sections 2 and 3; and it is not the purpose of that committee, as I understand the chairman, to offer any new matter at all with reference to these limitations, except that the language may be changed in some instances in order to meet some specific situation in connection with some particular appropriation bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. But suppose some obstreperous Member, who is not in sympathy with this proposition, should offer an amendment that is not germane? Under the phraseology of this resolution it might well be held that the Chair would lift the ban.

Mr. BANKHEAD. If I were acting as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole I would not hesitate to overrule that proposition.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am very glad to hear the gentleman's construction, but I think the phraseology would bear the construction I have suggested.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POU. Yes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Assuming we pass this resolution, when the appropriation bill for the Post Office Department comes in, will it prevent the postmaster from filling the vacancies which now exist in the Post Office Department? The reason I ask that question is this: There are men today who have been substituting for five years because they have not filled the vacancies which exist. They are making only from $10 to $30 a week, whereas if the vacancies were filled, they would be getting $2,100 a year.

Mr. BYRNS. I assume this provision, and it is so intended, will prevent the filling of any vacancies unless they are approved by the President.

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish the gentleman from Tennessee would repeat the statement he just made.

Mr. BYRNS. I said it is the intention of this provision to prevent the filling of any vacancies that may occur, except under the limitations placed in the provision itself.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield, through the courtesy of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU]?

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Following up the post-office situation, will an amendment similar to the one offered on the agricultural bill be offered to the postal bill, the Army, and the Navy, and would such amendment prevent the automatic yearly increase in salaries now fixed by law?

Mr. BYRNS. As explained by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU], the amendment will not be offered in exactly the same language to the three bills, because the nature of the employment in these three services requires a little different language; but I will say to the gentleman that it is the purpose of the committee to present an amendment which would prevent for the year 1933 any of the automatic increases to which the gentleman refers. This is on the theory that when the employees of the railroads are voluntarily accepting a 10 per cent reduction, and when there are reductions going on throughout the country, it certainly is not too much to ask of a Government employee that he shall be contented next year with the same salary he is getting this year. [Applause.]

Mr. LaGUARDIA. The gentleman answers the question frankly but not satisfactorily.

Mr. BYRNS. Well, I am not so sure of that.

Mr. PARSONS and Mr. SIMMONS rose.

Mr. BYRNS. I yield first to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PARSONS. I presume the Committee on Appropriations has studied the matter and has found out approximately how much saving this will make to the Government for the next year on the basis of the average number of vacancies that have occurred in the last year or the year before. I would like to know what the saving will be.

Mr. BYRNS. I regret to say to the gentleman that it is absolutely impossible for me to give him even a near guess as to the amount that will be saved.

Mr. PARSONS. I think that is very important.

Mr. BYRNS. It will amount to a considerable sum. No one can say now; the section requires a report on October 31. There are probably fifteen to twenty thousand vacancies that may occur, but no one can say how many the President of the United States will think essential and therefore necessary to be filled. Of course, if we knew that, we could estimate it; but if none of the places is filled, the gentleman can see it will amount to several million dollars.

Mr. PARSONS. Does not the gentleman think it would be well to have some reasonable estimate in the matter?

Mr. BYRNS. I will say to my friend there is not any possible way I know of by which such information can be secured, except the statement that these vacancies constantly occur, and if they are not filled it will mean the saving of the salary of each one of the positions which becomes vacant; but it is anticipated by the committee that there will be some of these places which necessarily must be filled during the year, and the committee and the Congress expect such places to be filled. We can not tell now how many of them there will be, and therefore we can not make a proper estimate.

Mr. PARSONS. I was just asking for an estimate based on what occurred last year or the year before.

Mr. BYRNS. They have been filling all vacancies heretofore, but we expect them now to follow the provisions of the amendment and only fill those that are absolutely necessary.

Mr. MURPHY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. MURPHY. I am wondering how this will work in the Postal Service in the event a carrier who is carrying the mail

out of a particular office where there are six rural routes dies. Would that route be divided up among the other five and then disappear?

Mr. BYRNS. No; not necessarily; but as the gentleman knows, it is the policy of the Post Office Department now, whenever vacancies occur, to consolidate routes and save money in that way.

Mr. MURPHY. And I am in earnest disagreement with such policy.

Mr. BYRNS. I do not apprehend any trouble in that respect.

Mr. MURPHY. The reason I mention this is because in my own district we have had a number of rural carriers pass out, and in some cases where death did not occur they were put out and their routes divided up, and then some one along the route would be deprived of the delivery of his mail. I know of one case where they had been getting mail for 30 years, and by a shortening up of that route or by reason of the contracting of the work of such postal employees the people were deprived of something which they had enjoyed from the Government for 30 years.

Mr. BYRNS. I will say to the gentleman that this provision will not change that one way or the other. That has been the policy pursued by the Post Office Department for a great many years. Whenever a rural route vacancy occurs, if it is possible, the route is consolidated with other routes, and thus they are saved the employment of an additional rural carrier. This policy has been adopted by the Post Office Department in the interest of economy.

This does not mean the turning out of anybody, but it simply means that if a route becomes vacant, if it is possible to take care of it with the present force, they do it.

Mr. MURPHY. But sometimes they do it arbitrarily and deny a good American citizen of a right which he has enjoyed for perhaps 30 years, and it does not seem to me that this is just right and proper.

Mr. BYRNS. That is not affected by this provision in any way.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MAPES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. MAPES. The resolution provides that "it shall be in order to consider, without intervention of a point of order, any sections of all the aforesaid bills containing language which prohibits," and so forth, "with such modification in such sections as may be necessary to accomplish such purposes in order to adapt them to the respective appropriation bills."

I take it from the reading of the resolution that only such sections as are reported in the bills by the Committee on Appropriations could be considered under the rule, and that it would not allow independent sections or amendments to be offered on the floor in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. BYRNS. I will leave that to my friend from North Carolina, but I think I speak for the Rules Committee—and if not, I wish the gentleman would correct me—it was the purpose of the Rules Committee to make a provision similar to the one carried in the agricultural appropriation bill in order on all the appropriation bills. But, as I said before, there will be a variation in the language of some of these provisions, particularly with respect to the post office and the Army and the Navy bill.

Mr. MAPES. I understand that; but the rule says—

> With such modifications in such sections as may be necessary to accomplish such purposes in order to adapt them to the respective appropriation bills.

So that the Committee of the Whole will be restricted very narrowly to the consideration of sections reported in the bill.

Mr. BYRNS. I will say personally I think so, but I am not passing on any parliamentary question that may arise.

Mr. MAPES. It is the purpose of the chairman of the committee to confine the consideration, as far as these sections are concerned, to matters pertaining to the sections, to the language of the sections, as reported in the bill?

Mr. BYRNS. That is my hope.

Mr. MAPES. So the House will be confined very narrowly to voting them up or down as reported by the committee; that is the purpose.

Mr. BYRNS. That is my hope, but, as I say, I am not passing on any parliamentary question.

Mr. MAPES. I think the rule carries out the purpose of the gentleman very well.

Mr. MEAD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. I yield.

Mr. MEAD. In connection with the statement made by the gentleman from Ohio, in relation to the Post Office employees and the condition of rural routes, I want to make a suggestion. I believe the Appropriations Committee and the Rules Committee ought to consider a modification of this particular rule when it comes to the Post Office appropriation bill, especially as it applies to the employees in the field service.

For example, under the present policy of the Post Office Department, 866 rural routes have been eliminated, and to a degree service has been curtailed and a saving of $866,000 made in that branch of the Post Office service.

Another reason why a modification ought to be made is this: When a reduced revenue resulting from the abnormal depression such as the country is in at the present time takes place, automatic reductions follow according to law involving four different classifications of postmasters. They drop from first to second, from second to third, and from third to fourth. Some postmasters have already taken a reduction of $1,200 in their annual salary. There is also a proportionate reduction involving the supervisors serving under these postmasters. There are also 6,000 vacancies in clerical and letter-carrier positions which have not been filled.

The substitutes in my State are reporting for work day in and day out without receiving much time or consideration; and if this rule carries, they will not receive a regular appointment until after July 1, 1933.

So I believe the Post Office Department personnel is so curtailed, so limited, and so much reduced now that the modification of the rule ought to be considered favorably when the Post Office appropriation bill comes before us.

Mr. BYRNS. I do not think that the adoption of this section will affect the situation stated by the gentleman from New York [Mr. MEAD]. As I understand it, that condition obtains now.

Mr. MEAD. The situation obtains now, except that it will be made mandatory upon the part of the Postmaster General to continue it to a greater degree of severity.

Mr. BYRNS. Not at all. I do not think it will be mandatory upon him to continue it if the filling of the vacancies is essential; but, if he is pursuing that policy now, I assume he will pursue it next year. If he changes his mind and wants to fill them, there is opportunity to do it.

Mr. MEAD. Of course, now it is his own responsibility, but if this resolution is agreed to it shifts the responsibility to the President and the Congress.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNS. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. Is not the proper interpretation of this rule that the sections brought in by the Committee on Appropriations will be made in order, with such germane amendments as may be necessary to carry out the purpose?

Mr. BANKHEAD. If the gentleman will permit, that is the real purpose of it.

Mr. TILSON. It seems to me that is the fair interpretation of the rule.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I fear that I may have misapprehended the question raised by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] a few moments ago, and I think my statement ought to be corrected to that extent, because it might confuse the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole. My interpretation of this rule is that it makes the consideration of these sections in order, notwithstanding points

of order that might be made against their consideration, but that amendments that may be offered will be subject to the general rules of the House.

Mr. TILSON. As to whether such amendments are germane to these sections?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is a counterposition to what the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] took in reply to the query propounded by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MAPES]. The gentleman from Michigan asked the gentleman from Tennessee whether only the language as submitted would be permitted to be considered. Under the former resolution I stated in the colloquial discussion that any germane amendment might be offered.

Mr. BYRNS. The gentleman from Wisconsin misunderstood me. I thought I said to the gentleman from Michigan that the object and purpose of the committee was that this particular language should be considered, but that I was not passing on any parliamentary question that might arise if other amendments were offered to it. Personally, as one member of the Committee on Appropriations, I hope that these provisions as we report them will be permitted to go through as we report them, but, of course, I am not going to pass on whether or not amendments will or will not be germane and in order.

Mr. STAFFORD. I raised the question originally that under a strict interpretation of the phraseology of the rule this resolution would bear one of three interpretations: First, the House could only consider the language that was incorporated in the appropriation bill, and it would bar any germane amendment that might be offered; second, throwing it open to all kinds of latitude in the consideration of amendments; or, third, as is proposed by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], that the other general rules of the House shall obtain in the consideration of this resolution.

Mr. BYRNS. I think the gentleman from Alabama has explained the effect of the rule, but I repeat it was the object and purpose of the committee to make this language in order.

Mr. STAFFORD. Not a gag rule to make that only in order and nothing else?

Mr. BYRNS. Oh, no. I understand we make the provisions in order, but, of course, there has been no disposition, and the Appropriations Committee has not asked the Rules Committee to report out a rule which would not permit germane amendments.

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I think the atmosphere has been sufficiently cleared through the colloquies that have been engaged in by gentlemen on both sides of the aisle. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] stated the fact when he said that this resolution comes before the House with the unanimous report of the Committee on Rules. A few days ago it will be recalled the House adopted House Resolution 120, which made in order sections 2 and 3 in the Agricultural appropriation bill, dealing with increases in compensation and the filling of vacancies. Obviously, having made in order those two sections on the Agricultural appropriation bill, it is proper, if not necessary, that we shall now provide that similar sections shall be in order on the several appropriation bills as they come in. The Committee on Rules could have brought in a separate rule making such provisions in order on each appropriation bill. That would have resulted in the presentation of nine separate rules thus taking up valuable time of the House. In order to save time and accomplish the same purpose the Committee on Rules unanimously presents this rule to make all such provisions in order on subsequent appropriation bills. I sincerely hope that the resolution will be speedily adopted. I have had one or two requests for time, and therefore desire to yield a few minutes.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, before the gentleman does that, will he yield for a question?

Mr. PURNELL. Yes.

Mr. MAPES. There has been more or less discussion here about the meaning of the last qualifying clause as far as amendments to these sections are concerned. The gentleman from Alabama has interpreted it to mean that any germane amendment to the sections as reported by the Committee on Appropriations will be in order. It does not seem to me that the language makes in order germane amendments. For example, during the consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS] offered an amendment to strike out the words "the President of the United States" and to insert "the Director of the Bureau of the Budget." That was an amendment in order under the rules of the House, but it certainly could not be held to come within this qualifying clause which says, "With such modifications in such sections as may be necessary to accomplish such purpose." No one could say that an amendment such as the gentleman from Nebraska offered was necessary, although it might be germane.

It seems to me we must read into this language a great deal to interpret it as the gentleman from Alabama said it should be interpreted by making all germane amendments to the section in order. It seems to me the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole would be justified under this language, if the sections are properly worded, in ruling that any amendment to them is out of order, because it is not necessary to carry out the purposes of the sections.

Mr. PURNELL. I think the gentleman understands now from the various discussions just what the intent of the Committee on Rules was in presenting this resolution.

May I suggest to the gentleman that, of course, it would have been much easier to have brought in a rule and embodied in that rule the exact language of sections 2 and 3 of the agricultural appropriation bill; but, as the gentleman from Tennessee has explained, because of the peculiar language and the necessities of the case in the Post Office appropriation bill and the Army and Navy appropriation bills, this language was devised. I grant it is somewhat involved, but the House certainly, after this discussion, understands the purpose of the Rules Committee, although it may not be stated as clearly as the gentleman would like.

Mr. MAPES. It would seem to me that the rule might have well stated that these sections with germane amendments should be in order, instead of stating that the chairman must find that they are necessary to carry out the purposes of the section before they are in order.

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana states that the atmosphere has been clarified by the discussion which has taken place. It has been clarified by a frank statement that this rule will make amendments possible on every appropriation bill which will stop every promotion, which will stop every increase in salary, automatic or otherwise, and which will prevent the filling of vacancies except upon the written approval of the President of the United States. Such a policy can not be the result of deliberate consideration. It is more the hysterical impulse prompted by outside influences.

I opposed the original resolution. I am opposed to this resolution. If I am more parliamentary in the use of my language in opposition to this rule it is not that I am mollified one bit in my resentment and opposition against this kind of legislation.

This is the beginning of putting all salary legislative power into the hands of the Committee on Appropriations, and those of you who are voting under a mistaken idea that this is an emergency measure, will live to rue the day. It vests in the Committee on Appropriations absolute legislative power. Questions were asked concerning the Post Office Department. They were most unsatisfactorily answered. There are substitutes in the Post Office Department who have been waiting four and five years, under a contract, to be appointed as a regular clerk or carrier in the Post Office Department. They are now working at 35 and 40 cents an hour.

In my city they average a dollar and a half and two dollars a day, and they have waited four and five years. With the

approval of an amendment covered by this resolution, those men will continue to work for the United States Government on starvation wages of a dollar and a half and two dollars a day, instead of starting, after an apprenticeship of five years, on the $1,700 per year basis guaranteed by the law. All clerks and carriers will be deprived of their annual automatic increase, to which they are entitled—a violation of a solemn contract, Congress breaking faith with these loyal employees. This stops all appointments in all departments. We might as well disband the entire Civil Service Commission and all its employees, because there will be no new appointments made. In addition to that, it is the most un-American thing that was ever suggested to Congress. It simply now establishes wage servitude. It makes every position static. No employee has a hope of promotion, and I repeat now, as I have said before, and as I am going to continue to say, we are simply doing something that has been urged from the outside, in a general movement in this country to tear down wages and to tear down the American standards of living. That is not the way to get out of this economic depression. I do not see any attempt being made to cut down rates of interest or dividends. In fact, we have subsidized the very element urging reduction of salaries to the extent of $2,000,000,000. Every incompetent banker is telling businessmen to reduce salaries. Where were all you gentlemen now voting for this rule on the question of economy when Congress appropriated $500,000,000 and authorization for the issuance of $1,500,000,000 of bonds?

The beneficiaries of the $2,000,000,000 are now urging the American Congress to set a new standard by reducing the standard of wages and the standard of living. Yes, these financial failures and bond fakers are now trying to place the burden of their depression on the backs of the working people. I say it is wrong in morals; it is wrong in law; it is unfair and indecent.

Mr. BYRNS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. BYRNS. Does the gentleman believe that anybody is going to make any more money in 1933 than he did in 1932, if present conditions obtain during the year 1933?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman asks if any considerable number of people will make more money. The answer is "No," because there is a drive now to reduce the standard of wages. I want to bring the standard up. The dole-receiving bankers will make more.

Mr. BYRNS. Then I want to ask the gentleman if the gentleman thinks that there is any employee of this Government, who is loyal to the Government, who wants to help out the Government in time of stress, who will object to receiving exactly the same compensation in 1933 that he received in 1932.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. My reply to the gentleman is that my objection is fundamental. This country was at the peak of prosperity when the standard of wages was high. I do not want to reduce that and create a serf and peasant class of workers in this country. That is my objection.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR CENTENNIAL

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I call up a privileged resolution (H. Res. 125).

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York calls up a privileged resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

House Resolution 125

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 4583, a bill to provide for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.

That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Library, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment the committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and the amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. O'CONNOR. May I inquire of the gentleman from Indiana if he desires any time under the rule?

Mr. PURNELL. I have some requests for time, and I hope the gentleman will yield me one-half the time.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Then, I will yield the gentleman 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment to the resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. O'CONNOR: On page 1, line 4, strike out "H. R. 4583" and insert in lieu thereof "S. 355."

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this amendment is to substitute the Senate bill which passed the Senate on Friday last. As I understand it, the Senate bill contains some amendments which were suggested by the House Committee on the Library, and are perfecting amendments which were suggested by those interested in the bill.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH]. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, this resolution makes in order the consideration of Senate bill 355. Some gentlemen interested in this legislation thought the House bill did not embody some of the amendments which were adopted by the Senate and the Library Committee last year when the bill passed the Senate and was considered by the House committee and the House.

This bill does not call for any direct appropriations. It merely authorizes certain expenditures to enable this Government of ours to participate in the Century of Progress Exposition that is to be held in the great city of the Lakes. [Applause.]

It was my good fortune in 1893 to be active in the World's Fair, or Columbian Exposition, in the city of Chicago. All of you who are old enough and remember must admit that it was one of the greatest achievements of the ages. Since that time we have had other celebrations and other expositions, especially those in San Francisco, St. Louis, and Philadelphia. And I grant that these celebrations or fairs were educational, instructive, and great from the standpoint of splendor and beauty, but that which is being planned and arranged in Chicago for 1933 will not only excel all previous affairs but will excel the combined greatness of all of them.

This exposition will differ from others in that most of the attention will be focused on science and scientific development—science as applied to industry, agriculture, and transportation. The most famous engineers, architects, and scientific men of the day are cooperating to make the various buildings and exhibits a mute but visual and intelligible testimony of mankind's mastery over the forces of nature—to make this the outstanding epic of the ages.

The exposition site is in close proximity to some of the most famous buildings in the realm of art and science, such as the Field Museum, the Adler Planetarium, the Shedd Aquarium, and the Art Institute. And within short riding distance from the site are located the Universities of Chicago, Northwestern, Loyola, and De Paul, the Zoological Gardens, the Municipal Pier, the Chicago Public, Newberry, Crerar, and Harper Libraries, the magnificent Rosenwald Industrial Museum, the Merchandise Mart, the steel mills, the beautiful residential districts, and the sand dunes, to say nothing about the stockyards.

At the last session of Congress my colleague [Mr. CHINDBLOM], myself, and others made a great effort to secure the

passage of this resolution on the last day of the session. Some objections were then raised, but I wish to assure every one of you that the causes for the objections raised then have been eliminated. Chicago has placed itself in order. We have now a splendid administration. Law and order prevail. I concede that financially we are still a little embarrassed, not due to any action on the part of Chicago alone, but due to most unfortunate legislation enacted in our State capital, legislation which has brought about a condition where we are two years behind in the collection of our taxes because of the reassessment.

Many people are under the impression that the city of Chicago is on the verge of bankruptcy. I wish to assure you that this is not the case. We have to-day $630,000,000 outstanding in taxes that will be collected and paid as soon as this legal situation is eliminated. So financially and in every other way, we are in a position to welcome the people of this country; yes, of the world, to the greatest city in the world. I concede it is not the largest city, but I still insist that it is the wonder city of the world.

The commission that has been created for the purpose of arranging this great exposition has already expended close to $10,000,000. It is in a very splendid financial position to meet every necessary expenditure, and I am informed that before the doors are opened in June, 1933, it will have expended close to $25,000,000 more in beautifying the grounds and in erecting the most splendid buildings that have ever been contemplated or erected by anyone.

Mr. Speaker, this is not only Chicago's undertaking but this is America's undertaking. Chicago is an American city. You people from the East, from the North, from the West, and from the South have helped and aided in making that city possible. There should not be an American to-day who is not proud of the accomplishments and achievements of that great city on the Lakes. For that reason I ask—and I know it will be appreciated—for a unanimous vote on this bill when it is called up.

Before I conclude I wish to say that a majority of the large nations of the world have already accepted the invitation to participate in this great exposition. Thirty-five States have already appropriated for participation in it; others have agreed to do so and now are considering favorably joining hands with Chicago. Consequently, I feel it is absolutely necessary that we do not delay this legislation, because many of the foreign countries, many of the States, many of the other municipalities and private individuals are waiting for the action of this House. Therefore I hope we will secure unanimous consideration of this meritorious bill. [Applause.]

One thing more. The officers of the exposition request me to invite every one of you to make ready and join with us to demonstrate to the entire world what American ingenuity has achieved during the short space of 100 years and to be the guests of Chicago—the great cosmopolitan city on the shores of the inland sea—the city of heterogeneous peoples and cultures—the city of art, culture, and beauty—the city of parks, playgrounds, and boulevards—the city of industry, transportation, and endless activity—the city of beautiful buildings, great towers, and imposing structures—the wonder city of the Nation, which is in every way endeavoring to emulate the great Southland in its hospitality; the East in its culture; and the great West in its vigor, strength, and initiative.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER].

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I hope the House appreciates the purpose of the bill which this rule makes in order.

I am sure that we should all be pleased to see a splendid world's fair in Chicago in 1933, yet, in view of present economic conditions, I do not believe that we are warranted in making a large appropriation for this purpose at this time. It was some three years ago that those interested in this project came before the House and secured the adoption of a resolution authorizing the President to invite foreign nations to attend this exposition if and when the Chicago people complied with certain conditions. At that time we were assured that Congress would not be asked to appropriate money for the purpose of this exposition. The conditions were complied with, the invitation was extended by the President, and now we are asked to authorize an appropriation of $1,725,000 for the purpose of participating in this celebration.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. Not just now.

The RECORD is here and will bear me out in my statement. I am not going to take the time to read it.

Now, what has happened? Conditions are different in the country than they were at the time this project was authorized. The nations have been invited to come, and a number of them have indicated their willingness to come. Others have indicated that because of the financial condition to-day they are not going to appropriate money to participate in this celebration unless the United States of America first appropriates money.

I happen to be one of those who feel that we had better appropriate for bread than for show. [Applause.]

The Rules Committee was advised that France will make an appropriation of $800,000 for the purpose of participating in this celebration, provided the United States first makes an appropriation covering the expense of its own participation. In view of the world-wide economic condition, I believe that it will be unwise for this country to make this appropriation and proceed with this fair, thereby compelling the foreign nations which have accepted the invitation to participate to expend large sums of money for this ostentation when the money could be more profitably applied on the debts between the nations or used to more material benefit in providing the necessities of life for the unemployed.

Some of us dislike very much to oppose a matter of this kind; but, gentlemen, we are facing facts and conditions. We are facing a condition here in this country where we are cutting appropriations to the bone. We are reducing our Army and our Navy. We are reducing the number of Federal employees. We are putting men out of jobs who to-day have jobs, and in the face of such stringent economy, what will the country say if Congress appropriates $1,750,000 to put on this world fair up in Chicago.

And, listen. Commissions! I am one of those who feel that we already have too many bureaus, too many commissions, and this bill, which, if this rule carries will be brought before you for consideration, provides for another commission with unlimited authority. It creates a commission and provides for a new office, a commissioner at a salary of $10,000 a year, with authority to employ all the clerks, help, hostesses, entertainers, and everything else he may see fit for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of the celebration.

The bill goes farther than any bill I have ever seen reported, in that when it grants this authority it wipes out the statutes of the United States in reference to limitations on how these people are to be employed and under what rules and regulations.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. MICHENER. It is provided that $500,000 of this money is to be used for the construction of buildings. The usual safeguards provided by law when public buildings are to be constructed are wiped away. This commission, with the right to delegate authority, can proceed to spend this money on such terms and conditions and for such purposes as it thinks advisable without let or hindrance on the part of any controlling authority and regardless of any statutory law.

I tell you, folks, we are going a long way. We are establishing a precedent that will come back to plague us, and I say that the American people to-day would rather have the Congress say to the nations of the world, "Yes; we invited you over here; this was in 1929, when the world was enjoying unprecedented prosperity. Conditions have changed since then. None of the principal nations can meet their

obligations or balance their budgets, and in view of these conditions the United States is ready to postpone this celebration or abandon the elaborate scale on which it was planned, and we shall be pleased to welcome you in the old-fashioned way and without a lavish expenditure for needless things in these times, when we have thousands—yes, millions—out of employment, and many of whom are hungry.

Mr. MORTON D. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MORTON D. HULL. Does the gentleman consider that that kind of a tirade is a fair argument on a bill of this character?

Mr. MICHENER. I thank the gentleman for his compliment, but when the gentleman and his friends came to the Congress a few years ago and came before the Rules Committee, of which I was a member, and when they promised us that if we would permit legislation to be brought onto the floor authorizing the President of the United States to extend this invitation they would not come back here and ask for money I believed them. We had just been through the Philadelphia fiasco. It was fresh in the mind of every Member, and if we had not had that assurance at that time there would not have been 10 votes in the House for the resolution, and the gentleman from Illinois must know it.

Call this a tirade if you will; it is a fact. It is not pleasant to arise here and oppose something so dear to the heart of my friend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CHINDBLOM] and my equally good friend the gentleman who has just interrogated me [Mr. HULL] and all these other gentlemen from Chicago and Illinois who desire this expenditure. It would be much easier to vote with them than to speak against them, but it was generally understood among the Members when the last appropriation was made for the Philadelphia affair that these things must cease. We said then that we would never proceed in like manner again, and if we keep faith with ourselves and with you gentlemen who secured the first legislation in connection with this matter, then we shall not authorize this appropriation. With an effort being made on every hand to reduce appropriations and when we are seeking new fields for taxation I am sure that the rank and file of the taxpayers of the country will not sanction an expenditure of $1,725,000 to put on a celebration in Chicago, when as a matter of fact these taxpayers are having difficulty in raising their taxes, to say nothing of providing for a trip to a world's fair.

Mr. BUCKBEE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. Yes.

Mr. BUCKBEE. Will not my friend from Michigan concede that the World's Pageant of Progress proposed for Chicago will be a business-building project and that the issuance of one special postage stamp will more than cover the small appropriation that we from Illinois are asking?

Mr. MICHENER. That is the same old argument—they are going to issue postage stamps to pay for this. My good friend says that this is a business proposition. I say you can invest one and three-quarter million dollars in a way that will bring more employment in the United States, will bring more business to the United States, than in this way.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. Has not Congress been making appropriations down through the years?

Mr. MICHENER. Congress has appropriated for numerous fairs and expositions, and this is one of the largest appropriations. I think St. Louis was the most expensive and possibly four or five throughout our history have equaled or excelled the amount here contemplated. In normal times this appropriation would not mean so much, but I wonder how we can justify appropriations reducing our National Guard, doing away with the citizens' military training camps, further limiting the reserve officers, possibly imperiling our national defense, circumventing the activities in behalf of agriculture, curtailing appropriations for good roads, and discharging Federal employees who are rendering service in the departments. If this rule prevails and the bill is considered, I shall offer an amendment to reduce the appropriation from $1,725,000 to $1,000,000. This does not mean that I will support the bill even though amended, but for the reasons which I shall present at the time the amendment is offered I bespeak the careful consideration of the membership.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken, and the resolution was agreed to.

The title was amended.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress—the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration—to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. GLOVER in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill, of which the Clerk will read the title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to do more than to state very briefly and clearly the steps that have been taken up to the present time in bringing the bill to its present position.

This is not a new bill, as has been well stated. It originated in the Senate during a session of the Seventieth Congress. At that time Senate Resolution 365 was presented and passed, authorizing the President of the United States to invite the nations of the world to participate in the exposition at such time as he was satisfied that $5,000,000 had already been raised.

The President satisfied himself of that, and he then issued the invitations to the other nations of the world. Under that resolution he was authorized to appoint a commission consisting of three members of the Cabinet to investigate and report on the advisability of holding this fair, and for a suggestion as to the amount of money that ought to be expended by the United States if we were to participate in the exhibition at Chicago.

That commission was appointed and made a report after a thorough investigation approving of the fair, and that $1,725,000 was justified and necessary for the participation of the United States in this exhibition.

Now, I want to call attention to one thing. In the Seventy-first Congress this same bill was called up and passed the Senate, but was lost in the House on a point of order in the last days of the session.

Now, there is one thing I want to correct, and that is, it is said this is the largest amount of money ever appropriated in one of these affairs. The fact is that when the Louisiana Purchase world's fair took place the Government subsidized that fair to a large extent. The total amount expended by the United States Government in that enterprise reached nearly $12,000,000.

The truth of the matter is, if you go back over the records of previous fairs, you will find that subsidies have been granted each time, from a small amount up to nearly $12,000,000 on the St. Louis World's Fair. There is this difference between this fair and every other one that I know of: This is not a subsidy at all. It is simply for the purpose of permitting the United States Government, as a Government, to participate as an exhibitor in this exposition, just the same as France is going to participate in the exposition; just the same as all of the States are going to participate in it, not differently. We assume no responsibility for the fair at all, but we offer to become an exhibitor in the great pageant of progress in Chicago.

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. BURTNESS. Just what sort of an exhibit is the United States going to make that is going to cost nearly a million and three-quarters of dollars? Can the gentleman visualize it for us? Why such a lavish and extravagant expenditure? What are they going to show?

Mr. KELLER. If I agreed that it is lavish, I would make a mistake. If anything, it is too small; but it is the amount set by the commission appointed by the Government, men of thorough experience, who knew exactly what they were doing, who had participated in previous expositions, and who knew what the expense would be.

Mr. BURTNESS. And I take it that this commission, by evidence submitted to the gentleman's committee, has shown in a general way the type of exposition that will be made?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. BURTNESS. Just what is it?

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Will the gentleman yield to me there?

Mr. KELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CHINDBLOM].

Mr. CHINDBLOM. The commission that was appointed by reason of a resolution of the House and the Senate recommended participation by the Federal Government in this fair and set out minutely the purposes for which these moneys are to be used. I have in my hand the report submitted by the Committee on the Library. This happens to be the report submitted last year, on February 12, 1931. It is probably a little more complete than some other documents. It sets out the allotment of space and the corresponding appropriation for the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of the Interior, and all the departments all the way down. It sets out in detail the amount of money proposed to be allotted to each one. The purpose of this fair is to show the progress of the world during the last century. The Government in all of its activities has participated in the progress of the United States and its citizens through this century. Much the larger part of all this money will be given to the Committee on Agriculture, and very appropriately so, because with all that may be said about our metropolis, we consider ourselves the center of the agricultural industries of the United States. With the permission of the committee, I shall be very glad to put this itemized statement in my remarks.

Statement submitted by the Committee on the Library

	Space	Appropriation
	Square feet	
Department of Agriculture	20,000	$175,000
Department of Commerce	20,000	90,000
Department of the Interior	10,000	80,000
Department of Justice	1,000	10,000
Department of Labor	4,000	80,000
Department of the Navy	10,000	75,000
Post Office Department	3,000	25,000
Department of State	2,000	10,000
Department of the Treasury	4,000	60,000
Department of War	10,000	75,000
Other establishments, not mentioned	10,000	150,000
Total for general exhibit fund		770,000
Governmental cooperation with other agencies of the exposition		150,000
Personnel and administrative	4,000	120,000
General reserve	22,000	135,000
Total		405,000
		1,175,000
Cost of building		550,000
Grand total	120,000	1,725,000

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Does any part of this money come back if the fair is a great success?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman go into that feature of it?

Mr. KELLER. I will not, because I do not know how much.

Mr. SABATH. Not perhaps directly, but many times indirectly, because of the benefit that the Government and the people will receive from this great exposition. It will fully repay any possible expenditure that the Government may make.

Mr. LINTHICUM. But we will not be able to see it.

Mr. SABATH. Oh, yes you will; at least we hope you will.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. This fair is to be held, as I understand it, sometime in 1933?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In view of conditions abroad, as has been so ably discussed time after time while the moratorium was being discussed, how many countries does the gentleman think can furnish adequate exhibits at a world's fair of this kind on the date mentioned?

Mr. KELLER. Already I think 10 have taken action to participate as exhibitors in this fair. Quite a large number are waiting on the action of our own Government in the matter, because somebody had raised the question as to whether the United States Government itself would participate in the exposition that it had itself helped along and encouraged. Whether a number of other countries will participate depends on our action here. Thirty-nine States have taken action; Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska have taken action, and the matter is now before the Philippine Legislature.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Does the gentleman have any idea how much money the various States have appropriated for this purpose?

Mr. KELLER. The total amount up to the present time that we are sure of all together from all sources is about $35,000,000.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. How much money has been allocated for this purpose by the foreign powers who have promised to take part in the exposition?

Mr. KELLER. I do not know the exact figures. I simply remember that France is putting in about $800,000, and a number of others will put in amounts that surprised me greatly.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In view of conditions in this country, as portrayed by the press and as disclosed by Members from every section of the country in this House, and in view of conditions in foreign countries, does not the gentleman think it is going just a little too far to ask for the enormous appropriation called for in this bill?

Mr. KELLER. I not only do not, but I think it will be a very great mistake to question the wisdom of it for this reason: The industries in the United States have already agreed to put in more than $6,000,000 themselves. As long as the industries of America, looking to the future, are willing to do that much surely the American people can do no less than we are asking to do here.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Is it not a fact that this exposition will create more employment and will tend to bring about an improvement in business and in everything else, and is not that an underlying reason? And is it not a fact that there is nothing that we can think of which will be of greater help to business and to our industries than this very exposition?

Mr. KELLER. The gentleman has given the correct answer, and I thank him. The truth is if we spend $35,000,000, we will have more than $1,750,000 profit to the Government.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Does not the gentleman think it would present a rather pathetic picture to see certain people of this country and foreign countries assembled in Chicago in ecstacy and joy while children are crying for bread throughout the Nation?

Mr. KELLER. We are not going to have children crying for bread in this Nation. We are going to take this country out of its present depression, and I hope the gentleman will aid us in doing that.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I will certainly be glad to help in any way I can, but we can not do it by appropriating money to be spent in such a lavish manner.

Mr. SABATH. This is for the purpose of aiding the industries of the country.

Mr. KELLER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I yield.

Mr. PARSONS. The gentleman from Michigan, in discussing the rule a few moments ago, said that this bill provided eliminating the civil-service status and appointment of employees. That was one of the gentleman's objections against the consideration of this measure at this time.

I would like to remind the gentleman and other Members of the House who may be interested from that standpoint that in the creation of the Finance Corporation which this House approved not many days ago, providing for a half billion dollars of capital and a billion and a half in resources, which might be extended to five or ten or twenty billion, all of the employees of that corporation are not to be had through the civil service.

Mr. KELLER. I thank the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. BACON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I yield.

Mr. BACON. Can the gentleman state whether the buildings to be built are permanent buildings or temporary buildings?

Mr. KELLER. Temporary buildings, as I understand it.

Mr. BACON. What will happen after the fair is over?

Mr. KELLER. Of course, the buildings will be taken down, as they always are.

Mr. BACON. Can the gentleman further state whether the prevailing rate of wage law, required on all Federal construction, will be applicable to this building?

Mr. KELLER. I understand that is being carried out according to the regular rule in Chicago.

Mr. BACON. It seems to me that in building a building with Federal money it should be built under the prevailing rate of wage law signed on March 3, 1931.

Mr. KELLER. We have asked for a special rule on that very thing.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I yield.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. There is no construction in Chicago successfully completed upon any other rate of pay than the prevailing rate of pay, and that rate of wages is being paid upon all construction in Chicago and that is being paid by the exposition corporation itself.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Do the workers get it or do the intermediary racketeers get it? [Laughter.]

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I do not suppose the gentleman expects me to answer that question. I am sure the workers get it.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. We hope they get it.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I am sure they get it.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I yield.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Is there any provision or is the gentleman considering the removal of the Mount Vernon building from Paris to this exposition, which would be a most desirable thing?

Mr. KELLER. I do not know.

Mr. SABATH. We will do everything we can for the interests of the people.

Mr. LINTHICUM. But is there any provision for the removal of the Mount Vernon building from the Paris Exposition to Chicago?

Mr. CHINDBLOM. The commission will look after that matter.

Mr. GARBER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I yield.

Mr. GARBER. The appropriation of $1,725,000 is to defray the expenses of the Government in the exhibition in Chicago?

Mr. KELLER. It is.

Mr. GARBER. It is limited to that?

Mr. KELLER. Yes. The gentleman asks whether the appropriation is to be limited to the participation of this Government in the exposition?

Mr. GARBER. Yes.

Mr. KELLER. That is true. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. IGOE].

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, it is very evident that Members of Congress have not paid much attention to the Centennial World's Fair bill, as shown by the questions propounded here to-day.

I am going to read a statement to inform the House of what has been done in the last two years upon this bill:

On February 5, 1929, President Coolidge approved a joint resolution of Congress authorizing the President to invite the participation of other nations in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), Chicago, 1933, whenever it should be shown to the satisfaction of the President that a sum of not less than $5,000,000 had been raised and was available for the purpose of a world's fair to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Chicago as a municipality. This joint resolution provided that its passage should not be held to obligate the Government of the United States to any expense in connection with the holding of such a world's fair "other than for a suitable representation thereat."

November 6, 1929, President Hoover issued a proclamation stating that the sum of $5,000,000 had been raised and made available to the Century of Progress Corporation. The President, complying with the joint resolution, invited "participation of the nations in this exposition of a century of progress."

President Hoover, in response to a resolution providing for an investigation and report by a committee to be appointed by the President with reference to representation at and participation in the Chicago exposition, appointed as members of the committee Hon. W. R. Castle, jr., Assistant Secretary of State; Hon. R. W. Dunlap, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; and Hon. Clarence M. Young, Assistant Secretary of Commerce. This committee submitted its report (H. R. 2635) to the President, who transmitted it to Congress December 19, 1930. In the report the committee recommended an appropriation of $1,725,000 for participation by the United States Government in the fair. In transmitting this report, President Hoover commended it to Congress for favorable consideration. At the last session of Congress the Senate passed a bill authorizing the appropriation, but it failed of enactment in the House in the last days of the session due to a legislative jam.

The United States Government has participated officially in practically every exposition of national and international scope that has been held in the United States and in foreign nations. Its appropriations for such participation have ranged all the way from $10,000 for the smaller expositions, such as those at Charleston and Nashville, to $11,000,000 appropriated at various times for participation in and aid of the Lousiana Purchase Exposition held in St. Louis. Three hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for participation in and an exhibit at the recent Paris exposition. There never has been any question raised against such participation.

A Century of Progress Corporation authorized a bond issue of $10,000,000, and guarantors have underwritten this to the amount of approximately $12,500,000. Approximately $6,000,000 of the bonds have been sold, and the remainder are underwritten by the guarantors. Forty per cent of the gate receipts is to be set aside to redeem the bonds. The remaining 60 per cent will go into operating expenses and to pay any obligations of the fair. If any money is left it must go to some enterprise of public or charitable nature. None of the trustees or bondholders is to be permitted to derive any profit from the exposition.

It is estimated that A Century of Progress exposition will represent a total investment on the part of the exposition corporation, industrial corporations and exhibitors, foreign nations, and the States of the Union of about $30,000,000.

Up to date, the exposition has secured commitments of industry through contracts with important corporations for the erection of buildings and for the sale of space aggregating about $3,000,000. Of this, about $2,300,000 has been paid for, and an additional $2,000,000 is soon to be closed. These contracts are binding on the exposition corporation and are equally binding upon the corporations contract. The contracts call for the opening of the fair on the 1st of June, 1933. There can be no postponement of the fair. In accruing interest and cost of maintaining an organization, any postponement would lay an additional burden upon the management of at least $1,200,000. It is impossible to estimate what the cost would be in the loss of morale and the impairment of prestige.

The depressing condition of business has not affected adversely the disposition of industry to tell its story and present its claims in this exposition. Applications for space are coming in more rapidly now than at any other time. The exposition authorities have convincing evidence of the conviction felt by leaders of business that the success of this exposition will be a strong force toward the restoration of confidence in the business world.

More than 100 leading corporations have contracted for space and some of them for the construction of special buildings. Among these are the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., the

General Electric, International Telephone & Telegraph Co., the Radio Corporation of America, Western Union Telegraph Co., Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., 11 of the great railroad companies, the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, International Business Machines Corporation, the Eastman Kodak Co., General Motors Corporation, the Chrysler Co., Sears, Roebuck & Co., the International Harvester Co. One of the leading industrial corporations is to erect a special building at a cost of $1,000,000.

An idea of the magnitude of the Century of Progress exposition may be had from a summary of the various interests and the approximate amount of money to be expended:

A Century of Progress	$10,000,000
Industries (space and special buildings)	7,000,000
Exhibits, including personnel and maintenance	14,000,000
Foreign nations	3,000,000
Individual States	1,500,000
Total	35,500,000

Foreign nations have displayed great interest in the exposition. Official acceptances have been received from France, Greece, China, Guatemala, Ecuador, Persia, and Honduras. Mexico, Japan, and Lithuania have accepted in principle. Large committees are working on the subject in Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. Finland, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Spain, Austria, Colombia, and Peru are actively considering the matter of participation. Thirty-nine States have made the necessary appropriations or provided through commissions for taking part. Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico have also taken appropriate action.

It is proper to call attention to the fact that aside from the exposition now under construction and provided for, there are already great enterprises if not included within A Century of Progress exposition will be virtually part and parcel of the exposition. These are Soldiers Field, the largest open-air stadium in the United States, if not in the world; the Planetarium, largest and most complete in the world; the Shedd Aquarium, and the Field Museum.

Now, gentlemen, on December 19, 1930, President Hoover said:

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the inclosed report of the committee, to the end that legislation may be enacted to authorize an appropriation of $1,725,000 for the expenses of representation at and participation in the Chicago World's Centennial Celebration, known as the Century of Progress Exposition, on the part of the Government of the United States and its various departments and activities in accordance with the recommendations of the committee.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. IGOE. Now, gentlemen, this is the position the United States Government will be in if we do not pass this bill: We are inviting foreign nations to participate in a world's fair to be held at Chicago, 10 foreign governments having accepted, and the United States Government will not be there to act as host to those foreign countries. If this action should not be taken, what a predicament this country would be in. I believe the least we can do is to be present when these visitors enter our country and show a willingness to participate in one of our expositions. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER], wholly without intent, has implanted in the minds of some Members, I fear, certain misunderstandings that ought to be corrected if an intelligent vote is to be cast upon the pending proposal. The most important of these was his declaration that there has been a lack of good faith on the part of those who are undertaking this enterprise in coming to Congress for money. These gentlemen have not come to Congress asking for one cent. Let that sink in. It is not the case that those who are conducting this enterprise have come here asking for money. The gentleman from Michigan failed to read the words of the act under which this program has been carried on. Again, I am sure the gentleman did not mean to confuse the issue, but for the benefit of the committee I will repeat, what have already been quoted, the words of the law:

That the Government of the United States is not by this resolution obligated to any expense in connection with the holding of such world's fair and is not hereafter to be so obligated other than for suitable representation thereat.

[Applause.]

This was the law that was enacted; and in view of the law that was enacted, it is now proposed by your Committee on the Library, as it was last year, each time by the unanimous vote of the committee, that we provide for "suitable representation," and so carry out the virtual pledge to those who are creating this exposition, the virtual pledge to all the States that have obligated themselves to spend money there, and to all the foreign nations that by the terms of our own enactment we have officially invited to exhibit. Your Committee on the Library, as it did last year—and I again repeat, unanimously—is advising you to make good what were in effect our assurances.

I regret as a member of the committee of the House that we are forced to do this thing. If this project had been undertaken last year or this, it could not have been justified, but it was undertaken when times were good and when the country was prosperous. Great expenditures have been incurred; and this corporation, if it be such, has committed itself and the country has committed itself in its legislation to a degree that now prevents a backward step. To postpone the opening of this exposition would cost this enterprise $1,200,000 the first year. It has issued bonds; it has undertaken contracts; and it has entered into obligations from which it can not now withdraw. In spite of the hard times it has already sold nearly $3,000,000 worth of space, as I recall, to the great industries of the country. A hundred of them have already obligated themselves to this extent. They do not ask a withdrawal; they are going ahead and putting up their buildings and putting in their money in the belief that it is a useful and desirable undertaking.

Last summer, being somewhat apprehensive, in view of the times and fearing that perhaps there would be some such result as took place in Philadelphia, I visited Chicago twice, partly in order that I might look over the ground. Once I went without any escort, desiring to form an opinion without bias. Two months later I was shown in detail what was going on, and I came away satisfied that it was worth the while of the country to take part in this exposition, as it practically had pledged itself to do. [Applause.]

This is to be an exposition distinctly different from any of those that I have ever attended, and I have attended several, in that it is particularly devoted to education. I mean, the instruction of those who may come in the advance of science. Everything there is grouped around the central idea that the visitors shall go away better informed as to what science has accomplished in these last 100 years. No man here could visit that place to-day and not come away impressed with what is to be the practical utility of this exposition and its value to the whole country. It is not primarily a matter of advertising, of publicity, or money-making in any way. The first purpose is to teach, and to that end already great commitments have been made.

To repeat once more, because we are not doing anything contrary to what we undertook to do, because we are simply going to do with our appropriation what we have asked the other nations of the world to do, by exhibiting the fruits of our governmental progress—for those reasons, much as I regret it, in view of the changed conditions, I see nothing for it but to go through with our undertaking.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. There is some question in the minds of some of us who heard the statement of $1,200,000 that it would cost the exposition to postpone this one year. Is the amount $1,200,000 or $12,000,000?

Mr. LUCE. One million two hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. SIMMONS. May I ask this further question? There is also some question in the minds of some of us to this effect: If the people promoting this fair have not asked for the appropriation of this money, who is asking for it?

Mr. LUCE. I hope I shall not draw too fine a distinction in reply to the gentleman. I would not give the committee to understand that those who are conducting the exposition have not come before us and asked that we make good our undertaking. What I want to bring out is that there is not a dollar here to be spent in the way we spent it at Philadelphia, at St. Louis, at San Francisco, and at all these other great expositions. The money is not to go into the treasury

of the corporation. The money is to be spent by the Government through its own officials for the purposes of the Government.

Mr. MORTON D. HULL. It is not a subsidy.

Mr. LUCE. It is in no sense a subsidy. Perhaps I should better have phrased it by saying that not one dollar of this expenditure will accrue to the advantage of this organization, save as all exhibits accrue to its benefit.

Mr. BARBOUR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. BARBOUR. I understand that not a dollar of Federal money went into the treasury of the San Francisco Exposition. The only Federal money that was spent there was spent for the purpose of making exhibits.

Mr. LUCE. I ought not to have included San Francisco in the list. Without specifying, let it suffice to say that we have at times made large appropriations to subsidize expositions. My remarks should be confined entirely to those that we have subsidized.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. What is the amount called for in the resolution?

Mr. LUCE. One million seven hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars; and I would say that this is the figure laid before us by the commission, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Agriculture, appointed by the President as a result of the direction of Congress.

The magnitude of the amount is a thing for which these gentlemen are responsible and which they have adequately explained to the committee.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUCE. Yes.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Are the usual safeguards for the expenditure of the funds contained in the pending bill?

Mr. LUCE. There are some exceptions from the general laws which seemed to your committee to be warranted under the circumstances. Frankly, I belong to that school which believes it is unwise to hamper, unduly, administrative officials in matters of this sort. If we can not trust these three Secretaries of the President's Cabinet, with their control over the commissioner of the exhibit, whom can we trust?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUCE. Certainly.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Right along that line, in reply to the question of the gentleman from Mississippi, this bill is broader in its provisions for expenditure than any bill I have ever seen in 14 years here. I have eight amendments to take care of these exceptions, and I hope the committee will not resist them.

Mr. LUCE. If it is broader, it comes nearer my own conception of the effective way to administer such affairs of government as this.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman's legislative conduct is entirely contrary to that statement. The gentleman is too careful a legislator to say that.

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CHINDBLOM].

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Chairman, when the proposition first came before the Committee on Ways and Means, of which I was then a member, as I am now, with reference to inviting foreign nations to participate in this exposition, the matter was presented to the committee by Gen. Charles G. Dawes, then the Vice President, and the committee reported a bill to the House, which passed the Congress, providing that when the exposition authorities had raised $5,000,000 to the satisfaction of the President, he might invite foreign nations to participate in the fair.

Let me say, at the beginning, that this exposition is not like the old expositions with which we are familiar. This is not to be a commercial fair. There is to be no competition of salesmanship. The purpose is not to bring together a lot of exhibitors, each one of whom will show what his products are and at what prices they may be bought and to what advantage they may be used over the products of others. The purpose is to show the progress of the world, and particularly of the United States, during the 100 years, which next year, in 1933, will have passed since Chicago became a municipality in 1833, with a population of something like 30 white inhabitants.

This exposition will be patterned much after the great museum in Munchen, Germany, which has been considered a model for the world. It will be patterned much after the exposition in Baltimore, showing the history of the railroad industry in the United States. In other words, each industry, each science, each activity of mankind and of our present-day civilization will be shown from its inception to its present high state of perfection and attainment.

Much has been said here about the present economic depression. Of course we all regret that that situation exists now after this enterprise has been started and brought so far forward. But it is believed by those who are back of this undertaking—and we are all hoping, of course—that by next year there will have been brought about an upward trend in business affairs. If there is the slightest progress toward improvement, if there is any progress in the economic situation, most certainly it will be a stimulus, an impulse to the people of the United States to have an opportunity not merely to regret, but perhaps to view with alarm, the present situation, but, instead, to go to a place where they can see all the genius, the ability, the ingenuity, and the energy of the American people in its production and improvement during the last 100 years.

Now, when the first act was passed, there was a discussion as to whether the Government should be called upon to participate in the fair, and as a result the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Cramton, offered an amendment to the resolution, which became section 3 in the act. I call attention to it and will read it:

SEC. 3. That the Government of the United States is not by this resolution obligated to any expense in connection with the holding of such world's fair, and is not hereafter to be so obligated—other than for suitable representation thereat.

The question thus raised of suitable representation—and I dare say there never was a proposition in which the Congress proceeded with such circumspection as in this case—was embodied in a resolution which was passed by both Houses, providing that the President should appoint a commission, which should investigate and recommend to Congress whether the Federal Government should participate.

That commission made a report, and set out in detail the facts. They made a report that recommended how the exhibits should be made, how much of an expenditure should be made, how the buildings should be erected on the grounds, the purposes for which the expenditures were to be made, and that report was submitted to the Congress by the President of the United States with his recommendation that the report of the commission be accepted by Congress, and that the authorization and appropriation should be made.

The pending bill was passed in the Senate during the last Congress but was lost here in the last moments of the session. I may say that there was then practical unanimity, or at least I thought there was, for the passage of this bill, but it was not passed except in the Senate on account of conditions that occur in the last days of a session in the legislative jam.

This money has not been requested by the exposition authorities and is not a part of their plan or budget.

The fair will be held, and must be held, no matter what we do here. [Applause.]

Of course, if we do not participate, some foreign governments may withhold or withdraw their acceptances. If we do not participate, possibly some States may change their purpose, as they have expressed it by legislation and by appropriations, to participate.

However, it is impossible to postpone the fair. Some one asked why the additional cost of $1,200,000 in the event of postponement. That would be for the payment of interest on the bonds which have been issued by the corporation and for the upkeep and necessary expense in keeping the present buildings and equipment in statu quo. Already there

has been erected on these grounds on the shores of Lake Michigan a building for transportation and transport exhibits, which has a dome so large that the dome of the National Capitol can be placed inside of it, so large that an airplane could be flown around the Capitol dome within the dome of that building. That building is already erected. The hall of science is nearly completed. I do not think there is a building in Washington any larger than the hall of science. In the end there will be over $35,000,000 expended by the people of Chicago and by exhibitors and by those who participate in this fair. Chicagoans have subscribed $12,500,000 for the bonds, which constitute, in fact, the capital of the corporation which was organized under the laws of the State of Illinois as a corporation not for profit.

The Federal Government has generally appropriated for participation in fairs of this kind. In 1876 an appropriation of $2,183,184.59 was made for the International Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. In 1884 an appropriation of $1,650,000 was made for a fair at New Orleans; in 1893 a national appropriation of $5,840,329.64 was made for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago; in 1895 one of $200,000 was made for the fair at Atlanta; in 1897 one of $130,000 was made for the fair at Nashville; in 1898 one of $240,000 was made for the fair at Omaha; in 1901 one of $1,015,000 was made for the fair at Buffalo, N. Y.; in 1901 one of $250,000 was made for the fair at Charleston, S. C.; in 1904 the sum of $11,122,500 was appropriated for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis; in 1905 the sum of $485,000 was appropriated for a fair at Portland, Oreg.; in 1907, $2,650,000 was appropriated for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition in Virginia; in 1909 Congress appropriated $600,000 for a fair at Seattle, Wash.; in 1915 Congress appropriated the total amount of $1,174,000 for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco; but the item of $450,000 for a building was not used on account of the intervention of the World War; the last appropriation was the amount of $2,186,500 for the Sesquicentennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Some of these fairs were international in scope, as that now under way at Chicago, but many of them were local and regional.

I submit that, in view of this record showing that the Government participated in all these fairs and in many cases even voted money directly toward the establishment of the fair, it would not be fair now to say to the people of Chicago and of Illinois, after they have embarked on this project, that the Federal Government will not take any part in this exposition. There is not now any authority for any participation whatever by the Government in the fair. As matters stand now there is no authority for the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of the Interior, or any other branch of the Government to go out there and install a single exhibit. If we do not pass some bill of this kind, there will be no law under which the Federal Government can be represented there at all. Has the Government taken any part in the progress of the United States during the last hundred years? Has the Government anything to show the people of the United States that the Government itself has produced or accomplished through legislation passed by this and the other body, and through the work of the executive departments? Has the Government anything to show that during all these hundred years the money that has been expended under the direction of the Congress has served the people in the great progress of the last hundred years? [Applause.]

Mr. LUCE. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SIMMONS].

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, as near as I can understand, the proponents of this measure, all of them, regret that they have to ask the House to pass it. Some of them have said that the honor of the United States is involved. How many times during these last few years has the House been maneuvered into a position where we were asked to appropriate public moneys because some one might say that the United States is not participating in something that some group of individuals want done? For my part I think we have reached the point where we might well consider that the honor of the United States is just as well protected by stopping expenditures of this kind. I call attention of the committee to this fact. Two weeks ago the press carried the news, if I remember correctly, that a statement had been issued in writing, signed by the Speaker of this House, by the majority leader, Mr. RAINEY, by the minority leader, Mr. SNELL, that the organization of this House would oppose any bills authorizing the expenditure of money and the adding of burdens to the Treasury, excepting in cases that were absolutely essential. That statement went to the country as showing the desire of the controlling organization of this House to save money. Now, within 10 days after it was issued, we are asked to appropriate $1,725,000 to put on a world's fair in Chicago. Is that the measure of an absolutely essential expenditure?

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I can not. If we are going to save money, let us save it here. Last week this House passed a bill notifying the farmers of this country that the Treasury was bankrupt, and that many of the expenditures that the Government has been carrying on for their benefit must stop. I opposed it, but the House ruled otherwise. This week you are considering an appropriation bill for the Interior Department that takes between six and seven million dollars of service the Government has heretofore rendered to the farmers out in the western section of the country away from them, in the name of economy, and now we are asked to expend $1,725,000 here; and if the press is to be relied on, what meat there is on the skeleton of national defense in this country is to be cut off next week when the appropriation bill for the War Department comes along. My friend from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE] says that this is a Government activity. If it is a Government activity, why remove from this oganization that is going to expend the money every restriction that Congress has placed around the expenditure of Federal money?

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTINGTON] asked a rather pertinent question a few moments ago of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE]. Let me read to you some of the clauses in the bill. I concur with my friend from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER], who opposes the passage of this bill, and I also concur with those who oppose the passage of any bill, whether justified or not, that contains provisions such as these. Here are Government employees——

Mr. KELLER. What section?

Mr. SIMMONS. In every one of them. I read now from section 3, where there is authority to hire stenographers and clerks, and so forth, compensation to be fixed not by the laws of the country but by the commissioner, without regard to the statutes that control it. Again, in section 4 they are authorized to contract for labor and other services, without regard to the provisions of law.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, sir. Again, in section 5, Government employees are to be used, every one of them in the service of the Government under a per diem fixed by law when away from their homes and offices, yet here is a provision that allows these Government employees to have a per diem fixed by the commission without regard to the provisions of any law. Then there will be expenditures in addition to that fixed by the commission. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I have prepared amendments to take care of the defects, most unusual in a bill of this kind, pointed out by the gentleman from Nebraska. The amendments which I will offer would simply bring the expenditures under the necessary limitations and under the proper supervision the same as now govern all Government expenditures. I am sure it was not the intention of the committee to throw everything so open as to have absolutely no restrictions on it. I have prepared seven

amendments which cover the situation. It seems to me that in an undertaking of this kind, where there is a special commission, expenditures should be submitted to the usual and necessary supervision and limitation, which has been found necessary after many years of experience in the expenditure of Government funds. Otherwise there will be no limit as to salaries paid to employees. There will be no limit as to the method of expending money for the purchase of material or the construction of buildings. All expenditures under this bill are exempted from competitive bidding. There is no limit as to the method of disposing of the material. There is no provision in the bill that any funds recouped from the disposition of the material should be covered into the Treasury of the United States. I am offering these amendments in order to be helpful.

Mr. SABATH. We will not object to some of the amendments which the gentleman has in mind to safeguard expenditures.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. The bill was originally prepared by the commission, and it is in practically that same form now, except as changed by the Committee on the Library. Personally, I would have no objection to the amendments which the gentleman expects to offer, as I understand them. I have not had an opportunity to examine them carefully.

Mr. SABATH. I have examined the amendments and I do not think there will be any objection to most of them. We want to safeguard the expenditures in every possible way.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, I yield four minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONNERY].

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Chairman, the case has been so well stated by my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE] that it is hardly necessary for me to add anything. I am going along with the amendments which the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] expects to offer, because I want to see those safeguards put on. I do not believe it wise that the corporation be given a free hand on salaries or per diem, and I hope those amendments will take care of that proposition. However, I am in favor of the bill, and I asked for this time to-day because I come from Massachusetts, with its great historical background, and we are always sympathetic to movements which teach the new generations the story of their forbears and which at the same time help build up trade and commerce. I went along with the Philadelphia proposition, and now I am only happy and glad to support Chicago and Illinois in a proposition of this sort. [Applause.]

There is no subsidy connected with this. It is not a proposition for the Government to spend $1,725,000 of Government money to subsidize a world's fair or centennial exposition. It is keeping faith with the nations of the world and keeping faith with that corporation which has charge of this exposition. We invited all the foreign nations to come in. France is going to spend $800,000 for their proposition at the fair.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONNERY. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. Is it not true that France has said she would appropriate $800,000 in case this Government did, so that she has not made any appropriation as yet?

Mr. CONNERY. Well, that is all the more reason why we should appropriate money and induce France to take part in the celebration.

Now, I only have a few minutes. It is not a subsidy. Furthermore, I disagree with some of the speakers who have preceded me when they say that because times are hard now we should not spend money. My idea is that because times are hard now it is not the time to economize, but it is the time to spend money and give the American people confidence in their Government and bring back prosperity. [Applause.] I am in favor of this bill. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby established a commission, to be known as the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Commission, and to be composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce, which commission shall serve without additional compensation and shall represent the United States in connection with the holding of an international exhibition, known as A Century of Progress, in the city of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, in the year 1933, in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Chicago as a municipality.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of opposing the enactment of this bill.

It is difficult to oppose the wishes of my colleagues from Chicago and the State of Illinois. However, I have a duty to the taxpayers of the Nation to vote against the unnecessary expenditures of this stupendous sum. To-day one-fourth of every dollar of the income of the people goes to pay taxes, local, State and national. The per capita tax in the United States is $100 for every man, woman, and child. There is a deficit of $2,000,000,000 in the Treasury. I hold that our duty to the taxpayers of America rises above the consideration of being generous to the promotion of the exposition at Chicago.

This huge expenditure will add to the tax burden of the people. When can they expect it to cease? [Applause.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. The commissioner may employ such clerks, stenographers, and other assistants as may be necessary and fix their reasonable compensations; purchase such material, contract for such labor and other services without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5), and exercise such powers as are delegated to him by the commission as hereinbefore provided, and in order to facilitate the functioning of his office may subdelegate such powers (authorized or delegated) to officers and employees as may be deemed advisable by the commission.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: Page 3, line 3, after the word "compensation," insert the words "within the grades and rates of compensation fixed by the classification act of 1923, as amended."

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, there is no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. Even though the grades are prescribed, as suggested, what limitation is there on the commission in placing clerks and stenographers in the various grades? The amendment proposed seems to me a mere gesture. There is nothing of real potential value in having these positions taken out of the political atmosphere of Chicago.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I think so. I think it safeguards the matter.

Mr. SABATH. I think myself it safeguards the matter.

Mr. STAFFORD. In what way? It merely classifies it, but does not take it out of the political atmosphere of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: Page 3, line 4, strike out the word "without," all of line 5, and the words "title 41, section 5," in line 6.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ARENTZ. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. With this bill amended as proposed by the gentleman from New York, I can see no good reason why it should not pass. I am in favor of it. [Applause.] I am in favor of carrying on work of this kind. By the very creation of this commission last year we, by implication, told the people of the world that we were going to have a fair in Chicago and that the Government was going to participate in it. For that reason we should not back up on the expenditure of $1,750,000.

This money will be spent in a good way. I believe that during this period of depression we should not throw all ballast overboard and proceed to lighten the ship to such an extent that all things on the part of the Government should cease. There is a move now on foot to cease all appropriations, if possible, for the construction of highways. I do not know of any work that can be carried on that will bring work to the ordinary laborer who is out of a job to greater extent than highway construction. I do not know of anything that will tend to generate industry and put men to work in Chicago in a better way than the construction of this building by the United States of America and the construction of buildings by foreign countries. I am in favor of this bill because it is going ahead along that line. It is going to do something constructive. For the last two years we have been thinking about nothing but this depression and talking about it, and not until recently have we proceeded to do anything about it. We are asking everybody else to start, yet at the same time Congress is almost daily proposing deep cuts in appropriations. In the street cars you will see an "ad" to the effect that if all the horses pull together, we will come out of this depression. It asks the housewives and everyone else to do a little extra calcimining, to do some concrete patching, and things of that kind in order that men may have some odd jobs to do.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Is there any way we can get this money out of stockings and start a little joy throughout the land?

Mr. ARENTZ. I wish I had a magic wand, my friend, and that I could waft it across this Nation to-day and bring back prosperity. Let me say to the gentleman that one of the causes of this depression is the matter of silver. You can not have two monetary methods in the world, one method that of silver in half the world and gold in the other half of the world.

Mr. ABERNETHY. The gentleman is making a wonderful speech, and I am trying to help him out.

Mr. ARENTZ. I thank the gentleman for making that statement. But be that as it may, I am in favor of this legislation, and I hope that everyone in this House will vote for it as amended by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA.] [Applause.]

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 4. The heads of the various executive departments and independent offices and establishments of the Government are authorized to cooperate with the commissioner in the procurement, installation, and display of exhibits; to lend to A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), with the knowledge and consent of the commissioner, such articles, specimens, and exhibits which the commissioner shall deem to be in the interest of the United States to place with the science or other exhibits to be shown under the auspices of that corporation; to contract for such labor or other services as shall be deemed necessary without regard to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5), and to designate officials or employees of their departments or branches to assist the commissioner. At the close of the exposition, or when the connection of the Government of the United States therewith ceases, the commissioner shall cause all such property to be returned to the respective departments and branches from which taken, and any expenses incident to the restoration of such property to a condition which will permit its use at subsequent expositions and fairs, and for the continued employment of personnel necessary to close out the fiscal and other records and prepare the required reports of the participating organizations, may be paid from the appropriation provided; and if the return of such property is not practicable, he may, with the consent of the department or branch from which it was taken, make such disposition thereof as he may deem advisable and account therefor.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. LAGUARDIA: Page 3, line 22, strike out the words "without regard to the provisions," all of line 23, and the words "sec. 5)" in line 24.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman to consider, before pressing this amendment, that they will require a number of experts, and so forth?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. This applies to the public bidding section, section 3709.

Mr. SABATH. I have no objection to that.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 5. The sum of $1,725,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until expended, of which sum not to exceed the sum of $550,000 may be expended for the erection of such building or group of buildings, and/or for the rental of such space, as the commission may deem adequate to carry out effectively the provisions of this resolution; for the decoration of such structure or structures; for the proper maintenance of such buildings, site, and grounds during the period of the exposition. The commission may contract with A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration) for the designing and erection of such building or buildings and/or for the rental of such space as shall be deemed proper. The remaining portion of the appropriation authorized under this resolution shall be available for the selection, purchase, preparation, assembling, transportation, installation, arrangement, safe-keeping, exhibition, demonstration, and return of such articles and materials as the commission may decide shall be included in such Government exhibit and in the exhibits of A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration); for the compensation of the commissioner and employees in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, for the payment of salaries of officers and employees of the Government, employed by or detailed for duty with the commission, and for their actual traveling expenses and subsistence or for per diem in lieu thereof at rates to be prescribed by the commission (notwithstanding the provisions of any other act): *Provided*, That no such official or employee so designated shall receive a salary in excess of the amount which he has been receiving in the department or branch where employed plus such reasonable allowance for expenses as may be deemed proper by the commissioner; for telephone service, purchase of furniture and equipment, stationery and supplies, typewriting, adding, duplicating, and computing machines, their accessories and repairs, books of reference and periodicals, uniforms, maps, reports, documents, plans, specifications, manuscripts, newspapers, and all other publications, ice and drinking water for office purposes: *Provided*, That payment for telephone service, rents, subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals, and other similar purposes may be made in advance, for the purchase of a passenger-carrying automobile, its maintenance, repair, and operation, for the official use of the commissioner, for printing and binding; for entertainment of distinguished visitors, and all other expenses as may be deemed necessary by the commission to fulfill properly the purposes of this resolution. All purchases, expenditures, and disbursements, under any appropriations which may be provided by authority of this resolution, shall be made under the direction of the commission; may be made in open market without compliance with section 3709 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 5), in the manner common among business men, when the aggregate amount of the purchase or the service does not exceed $1,000 in any instance; shall not be subject to the provisions of any law, other than this resolution, regulating or limiting the expenditure of public money or the employment of personnel; and the approval of the commission shall in every case be final: *Provided*, That the commission, as hereinbefore stipulated, may delegate these powers and functions to the commissioner, and the commissioner, with the consent of the commission, may subdelegate them: *And provided further*, That the commission or its delegated representative may authorize the allotment of funds to any executive department, independent office, or establishment of the Government with the consent of the heads thereof for direct expenditure by said executive department, independent office, or establishment for the purpose of defraying any expenditure which may be incurred by said executive department, independent office, or establishment in executing the duties and functions delegated to said office by the commission; and all accounts and vouchers covering expenditures under these appropriations shall be approved by the commissioner or such assistants as he may delegate, except for such allotments as may be made to the various executive departments and establishments for direct expenditure; but these provisions shall not be construed to waive the submission of accounts and vouchers to the General Accounting Office for audit or permit any obligations to be incurred in excess of the amount authorized to be appropriated.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: Page 6, line 20, strike out the words "shall not" and all of lines 21, 22, 23, and line 24 up to the word "provided."

Mr. SABATH. What does the gentleman propose by this amendment?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The amendment strikes out the words—

Shall not be subject to the provisions of any law, other than this resolution, regulating or limiting the expenditure of public money or the employment of personnel; and the approval of the commission shall in every case be final.

Mr. SABATH. There is no objection to that.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: Page 5, line 18, strike out the word "other," and after the word "act" insert the words "fixing rates of subsistence," and in line 22, after the word "for," insert the word "subsistence."

Mr. SABATH. There is no objection to that amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, I move to amend—on page 4, line 15, strike out "$1,725,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$1,000,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MICHENER: Page 4, line 15, strike out "$1,725,000" and insert "$1,000,000."

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, on page 8 of the hearings there is a table showing how this money is to be disbursed. Seven hundred and seventy thousand dollars of the proposed $1,725,000 goes to the various departments for the purpose of making displays. Five hundred and fifty thousand dollars goes to the cost of building, and the rest goes for administration, personnel, and so forth.

I call the attention of the committee to the latter part of section 5—

That payment for telephone service, rents, subscription to newspapers and periodicals, and other similar purposes may be made in advance, for the purchase of a passenger-carrying automobile, its maintenance, repair, and operation, for the official use of the commissioner; for printing and binding; for entertainment of distinguished visitors, and all other expenses as may be deemed necessary by the commission to fulfill properly the purposes of this resolution—

And so on.

It seems to me, gentlemen, with a provision like this in the bill, in a time like this, we can well afford to cut out at least $725,000 from the fund for the entertainment of guests, purchase of newspapers and publications, automobiles for the commissioner and his assistants, upkeep of the automobile, and things of that sort.

How can we for one minute justify an expenditure of this kind under present conditions? I say no. I am opposed to the whole proposition, but I think it much better to cut down and save this $725,000 if we can not save the entire $1,725,000.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Does the gentleman mean to say it is going to cost $725,000 for newspapers and automobiles?

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman from Illinois wants to know if I think it is going to cost $725,000 for newspapers and the operation of automobiles. No; but I do say that the bill provides specifically for doing those things, and such other similar things as are determined upon by the commissioner—or an underling who shall be designated.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. I took the gentleman at his own words. He read the provisions in the bill.

Mr. MICHENER. I have no personal interest in this matter, but I think and believe that the American people do not want the Congress to make this kind of an appropriation.

The report of the committee tells us that the proposed appropriation is to be expended as follows:

	Appropriation
Department of Agriculture	$175,000
Department of Commerce	90,000
Department of the Interior	50,000
Department of Justice	10,000
Department of Labor	50,000
Department of the Navy	75,000
Post Office Department	25,000
Department of State	10,000
Department of the Treasury	60,000
Department of War	75,000
Other establishments, not mentioned	150,000
Total for general exhibit fund	770,000
Governmental cooperation with other agencies of the exposition	150,000
Personnel and administrative	120,000
General reserve	135,000
Total	405,000
	1,175,000
Cost of building	550,000
Grand total	1,725,000

The report does not show conclusively just how the various departments are to expend these sums of money, and in offering an amendment to reduce the appropriation it is impossible for me to suggest exactly where the cuts should be made. However, we all realize that we can put on a million-dollar show or a $2,000,000 show, that the departments exhibiting would prefer a $2,000,000 show, and a reasonable reduction will permit this Government to comply with any obligation which it might have to present exhibits, and by voting for this amendment we are not preventing the United States from participating in this celebration but are applying the rules of economy which are so necessary at this time.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

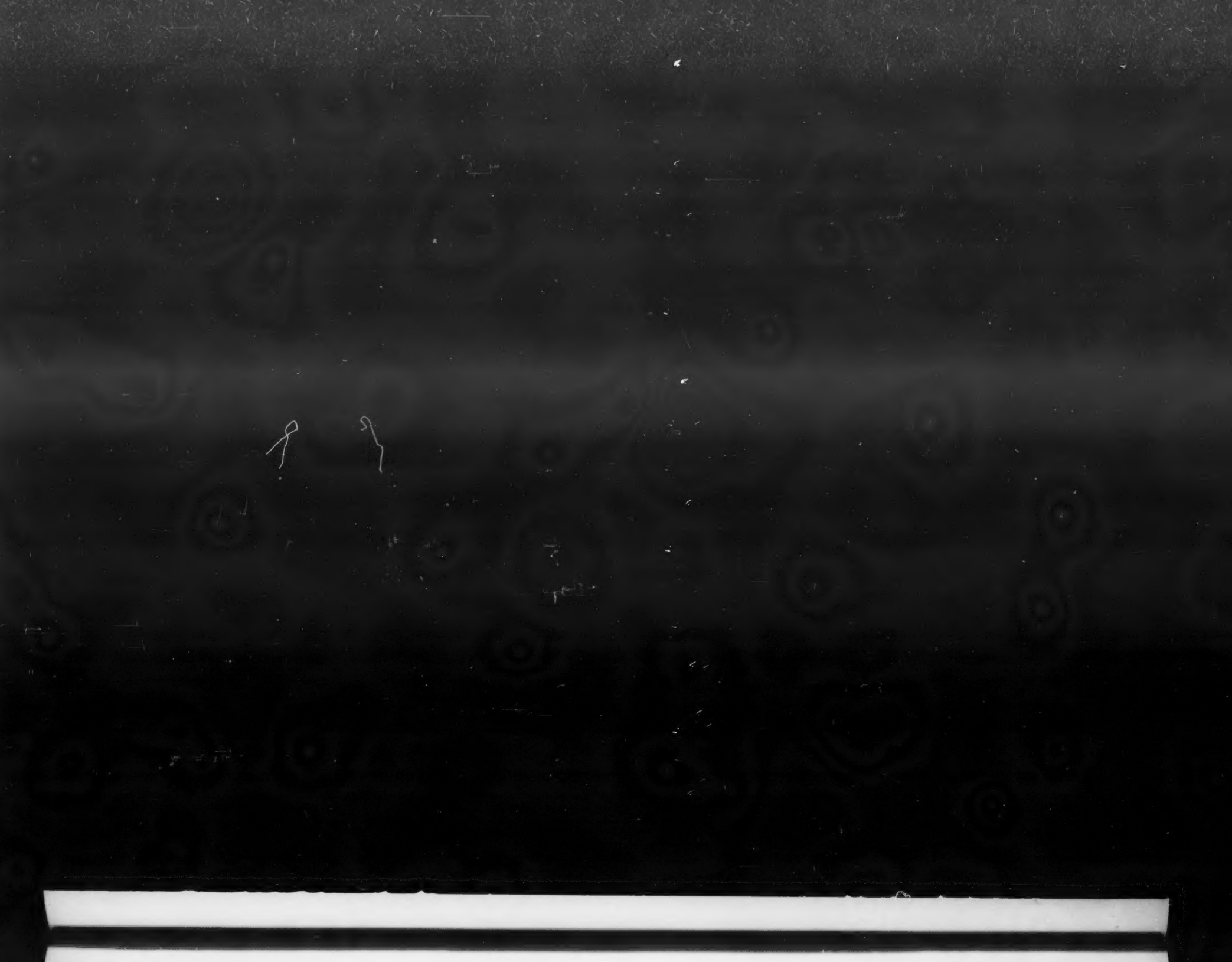
Amendment by Mr. BURTNESS to the amendment of Mr. MICHENER: Strike out, in the Michener amendment, "$1,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$500,000."

Mr. BURTNESS. Mr. Chairman, I assume that no one in the House can definitely say exactly how much is needed for the Government to make a respectable exhibition at this world's fair at Chicago.

I agree that if times were prosperous, if conditions throughout the country were such as they were three or four years ago, when the business people of Chicago first decided to conduct a world's fair—I agree that the expenditure of the sum suggested in this resolution might not be unduly lavish. On the other hand, I find no specific information in the report with reference to what the amount suggested, namely, $1,725,000, will do. It is true that there is a table here giving an allocation, ranging from $175,000 to the Agriculture Department down to $10,000 to other departments. The report has earmarks of being purely guesswork. I concede that my amendment is also only guesswork as to what can be accomplished, and I assume that the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] is also pure guesswork.

It is, however, true that if this commission is appointed with instructions to do the best it can with a certain amount of money, it will, within that amount of money, presumably make as good a showing as possible. In other words, Congress must take the responsibility and itself determine how much we can reasonably spend for such a purpose under the conditions now confronting the Treasury.

It seems to me that at this time, when demands are coming to us day after day asking us to cut salaries of all Government employees, to cut out operations in every department not absolutely essential, when demands are coming in to cut salaries of officials of the United States



Government and all its operations—we ought not to approve a lavish proposition of the sort reported by the Committee on the Library.

It does strike me that if the commission is appointed, and is given a half million dollars, they ought to be able to participate in the exhibition with propriety and decency within that sum. I do not regard it as niggardly. It is all the country can afford.

There is another factor which should not be overlooked. Monday to-day goes a good deal farther than it did when the report of the commission was made. A dollar to-day in the purchase of materials goes as far as perhaps a dollar and a half did when this report was made. That ought to be taken into consideration in passing on the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] and on my amendment to his amendment.

We have in the appropriation bills so far considered in the House cut many items carried in former years, and surely it would be only fair to make at least similar cuts in a proposal of this sort, which to some of us appears extravagant. It is not essential. We should pare it down to the very core consistent with a participation that is decent and appropriate.

Among other expenditures they propose a building costing $550,000. I do not know what is to be done with it, whether it is to be torn down and whether the Government will have to pay for tearing it down or not. Members talk about providing employment. So far as providing employment or anything of that kind is concerned, the use of the $550,000 would furnish as much employment scattered throughout the country, whether on highways or other public construction, and at the same time give us something of enduring value. I do not deprecate the educational advantages that may be gained from this fair. The trouble is the investment becomes a poor one, because it will be held at a time when relatively few people will be able to go to Chicago and take advantage of the educational opportunities it will afford; and in view of the fact that a far smaller number of people will during these depressing times be able to attend, we ought to have that in mind in determining how much we are going to spend for those people who will be fortunate enough to go there. In any event, we have a real opportunity to save substantial amounts in passing upon the amendments now before the House.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, the statement of the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BURTNESS] is not justified by the facts. The expenditures provided for have been investigated by the commission appointed by the President and by the committee. That commission came to the conclusion that the amount provided is absolutely necessary, as, for instance, for the Department of Agriculture, $175,000, and the Department of Commerce, $90,000, and so on with the other departments of the Government. Those are expenditures which will benefit the entire Nation. The amendment offered by the gentleman should be defeated.

Mr. DE PRIEST. Mr. Chairman, when I hear my friend from North Dakota [Mr. BURTNESS] make the remark that a dollar to-day will buy what a dollar and a half did three or four years ago, I realize the gentleman is simply guessing. The calamity howlers to-day are retarding the return of prosperity to the United States. What America needs is confidence and the stabilizing of commercial conditions. One way to create confidence is to provide employment. I know of nothing before the House to-day that will help create employment any better than the exposition in Chicago. The gentleman belittles the fact that $550,000 is to be used for the construction of a building out there. Every dollar of that money will be used to create employment for American labor, either in the mills, the factories, or in the construction of the building. He says there is no concrete example of how we are going to spend the money. Five hundred thousand dollars will not create a sufficient fund to represent the great American Government. We have asked these foreign countries here to our home, America, and we ought to prepare properly to receive them when they come. Neither $500,000 nor $1,000,000 proposed by the gentleman from Michigan will properly represent the American Government. This is the greatest Government on earth. We have invited these foreigners to our shores, and we ought to entertain them properly after they come here. We can not afford to be niggardly about this thing. Let us be big enough and broad enough to spend enough money to make a creditable showing for America. [Applause.]

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I did not intend to say anything on this proposition, but looking at it strictly from the standpoint of bringing back to the people the fact that this country is moving along progressively, I think the fair is one of the big things that will do that. Those of us who live in the central part of the State of Illinois rejoice in saying that this great State is equal to the occasion of taking care of its own affairs. As stated by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE], this is not a donation to the fair. It is merely having this Government represented at the fair, the same as other governments will be represented there. I was in Sweden at the time they were securing the concession from Sweden. They agreed while I was there on that day that they would come here. I hope you will vote against the amendment and there will not be a single vote against this appropriation. What we ought to do is to bring in our men now and call for a vote and vote it through. It is a proper thing to do to help the Nation.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from North Dakota. It was not my purpose to take any time, but I had the privilege and the great pleasure and honor indeed to visit Chicago in company with the gentleman who has given us such a delightful explanation of the bill, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE]. I feel sure every dollar of this money will be well expended. When I remember that the great leader of this wonderful American enterprise in Chicago is Mr. Rufus Dawes, I realize something unusual is taking place and a marvelous step forward is in progress now. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CHINDBLOM] told you something of that marvelous transportation building. He did not tell you that the architecture of that building is unique, it is something never before tried. That great dome does not rest on pillars, but is swung on cables and can be raised or lowered at will, and all the other buildings that are being erected are unusual. They are unique—they are different—there is nothing like them in the known world to-day. Every dollar that we spend here of our own money tempts the rest of the world to come in and spend their money also. This $1,725,000 of American money will give employment to the people of our own country and will bring into our country from all exhibiting countries of the world almost an equal amount to be expended here. It would be a serious mistake for us to lower the amount in any way, shape, or form, because we have the assurance of the very best brains of this Government that this is something different, something that is worth while, something that will attract the attention of the world, and will do us all much good. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BURTNESS] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were—ayes 77, noes 73.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chair appointed Mr. KELLER and Mr. MICHENER as tellers.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported there were ayes 99 and noes 88.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMMONS: On page 5, line 16, after the word "subsistence," strike out all down to and including the word "subsistence" in line 18 and insert in lieu thereof the following: After the word "subsistence," in line 16, "at not to exceed $6 per day."

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to limit the subsistence that can be paid to those employed to not exceed $6 a day, which is now the rule in all Government service. I take it there is no reason why these people should be exempted from the rule that applies to other employees.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, the amendment is acceptable.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMMONS: On page 6, in line 15, strike out the word "may" and strike out all down to and including the word "instance" in line 20.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to read the language which this amendment proposes to strike out, regarding purchases, expenditures, and disbursements, on page 6, beginning with the word "may," in line 15:

May be made in open market without compliance with section 3709 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in the manner common among business men, when the aggregate amount of the purchase or the service does not exceed $1,000 in any instance.

Is there anyone who can tell me what the expression "common among business men" means? It may mean common among business men in the Government service, or in my home community, or in the city of Chicago. It may mean different things.

Mr. DE PRIEST. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. Please allow me to finish this statement. As this language is written, it means that the commissioner in charge of the expenditure of these funds can spend this money in any purchase he wants to, without any restriction whatever as to how much he shall pay for a commodity, where he shall buy it, whether there shall be competition or otherwise, and it places a limit of a thousand dollars upon the things that are thus permitted to be purchased. I suggest that with the exception of the building of a building, and possibly the buying of the automobile for the commissioner to ride around in in the city of Chicago, there will not be any expenditure that will be subject to any of the safeguards of the law if this language remains in the bill. It ought to go out, and these purchases should be made under the same plan as Government purchases generally are made. I see no reason why it should not be done.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman understands that this provision applies to purchases only up to $1,000?

Mr. SIMMONS. Certainly; and in the Government service we have limits down as low as $25 and $50. What will they buy in excess of a thousand dollars? Practically everything that is bought will be under the limit of a thousand dollars. There ought not to be any opening of the door of the Treasury in this way.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: On page 7, line 21, strike out the period, insert a colon and the following: "*Provided*, That in the construction of buildings or exhibits requiring skilled and unskilled labor the prevailing rate of wages as provided in the act of March 3, 1931, shall be paid."

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, there is no objection to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 6. The commissioner, with the approval of the commission, may receive from any source contributions to aid in carrying out the general purposes of this resolution, but the same shall be expended and accounted for in the same manner as any appropriation which may be made under authority of this resolution. The commissioner is also authorized to receive contributions of material, or borrow material or exhibits, to aid in carrying out the general purposes of this resolution; and at the close of the exposition or when the connection of the Government of the United States therewith ceases, shall dispose of any such portion of the material contributed as may be unused, and return such borrowed property, and provide for the restoration of such borrowed property to a condition which will permit its use at subsequent expositions or fairs, or for reimbursement thereof to the owners in the event of damage to said property; and, under the direction of the commission, dispose of any buildings which may have been constructed and account therefor.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LAGUARDIA: On page 8, line 15, after the word "therefor," strike out the period, insert a colon, and add the following: "*Provided*, That all disposition of materials, property, buildings, etc., shall be at public sale to the highest bidder, and the proceeds thereof shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States."

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, there is no objection to that amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMMONS: On page 8, line 9, after the word "property," strike out all down to and including the word "property" in line 13.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, this sentence provides, as it is written in the bill, that the commissioner shall accept donations of property or that he may borrow exhibits to be used in this building. In other words, we provide that business concerns may give to the commissioner exhibits for use in this building. The language that I ask to have stricken out by this amendment places the obligation upon United States, if the property has been damaged in any way, either to repair it or to pay for it.

I do not believe the United States ought to be placed in the position of insuring the exhibits of people who offer them to fairs for their own advantage. I do not believe there is any obligation on the part of the Government to restore property that may be damaged or to repair it. This amendment would prevent that obligation being incurred by the Government.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman from Nebraska is unduly alarmed as to this provision. If the Government has secured some exhibits here and there for its own use, I think it is no more than fair if some of them should be damaged that they should be repaired or placed in the condition they were in when they were secured.

The committee has limited the amount to be appropriated, and that amount can not be exceeded. Therefore, there is no justification or need for the gentleman's amendment. I will ask the genteman a question: If the Government should secure something from the gentleman which it believes to be of value for exhibition purposes, and if, after securing that exhibit from the gentleman, it is damaged, does not the gentleman think that the Government should repair the exhibit and place it in the same condition as it was when it was secured? That is all this means.

Mr. SIMMONS. Oh, no. If the gentleman pleases, this would permit a manufacturer of rugs to take a rug valued at $10,000 and put it on exhibition. If it were soiled by a leaky roof or torn in some way, the obligation would be upon

the Government to reimburse him for that rug. I think there is no obligation on the part of the Government to insure exhibits at these fairs; and, in effect, that is what this language does.

Mr. SABATH. If the Government takes an article and uses it as an exhibit, I feel the Government should repair it if it is damaged.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nebraska.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, there are nearly twice as many Members in attendance at this moment as were here when the purposes of this bill were explained.

In order that those who did not hear the original explanation may know what is about to be voted upon it may be helpful in a few sentences to tell the story.

Three years ago, almost to the day, Congress enacted a law providing that when the President had been satisfied that $5,000,000 had been raised for the purposes of the Chicago exposition he should write the governments of the world to make exhibits there. On the 6th of the following November he had become satisfied, as was provided, and accordingly issued a proclamation inviting foreign nations to make exhibits, and many foreign nations have already indicated their intention so to do.

The amount carried in the bill is for the purpose of enabling the Government of the United States to have an exhibit at this fair. It is not a subsidy. Not a dollar of this appropriation will go into the hands of the exposition.

It was the opinion of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Agriculture that a fitting and respectable exhibit could be made by this country by expending $1,725,000. The Committee on the Library in the last session unanimously approved this advice. The Committee on the Library in this session unanimously approved it. This Committee of the Whole has seen fit to cut the amount to $1,000,000. The question, then, is whether after inviting the rest of the world to make exhibit we shall in good faith carry out for our part the recommendations of the President, of his Secretaries, and of your committees who have studied this subject.

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule the committee automatically rises.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GLOVER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, and had directed him to report the same back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. PARKS) there were—ayes 117, noes 51.

Mr. PARKS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote and make the point of order there is not a quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Two hundred and thirty-three Members present, a quorum.

So the bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. KELLER, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H. R. 4583) was laid on the table.

PREPAREDNESS

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to address the House at this time before the War Department appropriation bill comes in, and not in general debate on that bill, because I would like to read just one or two things which I think are of interest to the membership of this House. They are contained in an article written by General Fechét in the Washington Herald of Sunday, January 31.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I doubt whether the gentleman can read from that paper without asking permission to do so. I hate to interrupt the gentleman, and I would like to listen to his own remarks, but I do not care to listen to editorials from the Washington Herald or any other paper.

Mr. CONNERY. This is not an editorial; it is an article.

Mr. UNDERHILL. If it is an article in the papers, we can all read it.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may read from this article.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will submit the question to the House. The question is, Shall the House permit the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONNERY] to read the article referred to?

The question was taken and was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. CONNERY (reading):

General Fechét recently resigned as Chief of the United States Army Air Corps for the purpose of warning the people of the United States against the defenseless condition of the Nation. This article is the first of a series by him on the vital topic of adequate national defense.

I am just going to read a few portions of the article itself. The article is from the Washington Herald of Sunday, January 31, 1932, and here are some of the statements made, which I believe should arouse every American to the necessity of preparedness. Theodore Roosevelt preached the doctrine of preparedness; others before the World War tried to awake us from our inertia. If we had listened and acted, many lives and billions of dollars would have been saved the Nation.

Now we have General Fechét, a brilliant officer, former Chief of the United States Army Air Corps, warning us again. Let us heed his warning and thus secure the safety from foreign aggression, now and in the future, of every man, woman, and child in this Republic. Here is what General Fechét says:

Letting the lifeblood out of peace is the major operation now in full swing in the political surgery at Washington.

It is an old story for the patient—the American people.

History shows that they have always returned victorious from every war to submit anew to the same operation.

Letting the lifeblood out of peace means wholesale reduction in armament.

Letting the lifeblood out of peace means scrapping of naval forces; reduction of forts; curtailment of the standing Army; retiring from a leading position to fifth (and it shall soon be sixth place) among the military air powers of the world.

Thus we prepare for war. History proves it.

* * * * * * *

The step which the American taxpayer should take is not difficult to see. Our Congress is now considering our national defense. We hear rumors that the House Appropriations Committee plans to cut off these 2,000 officers and remove these 10,000 enlisted men, wash out the citizens' military training camps, reduce the Reserve Officers Training Corps, and further cripple the National Guard and reserve, all in the name of economy.

The people of the United States should not suffer this outrage, this tampering with the safety of their heritage.

As the citizens of a democracy they are entitled to call a halt to such wasteful surgery practiced not by qualified surgeons but by internes of whom we know nothing.

In undertaking to save a paltry $12,000,000 these internes merely assure the taxpayer that one day he will be presented with a new bill of the customary claim of billions of dollars in losses due to lack of preparedness.

Mr. Speaker, I do not suppose my colleague from Massachusetts will want me to insert this entire article in the RECORD, although I think it is of tremendous importance not only to the Congress but to the American people. However, I ask unanimous consent to insert this entire article with my remarks in the RECORD, because I believe it is vital to American preparedness. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The article referred to is as follows:

FECHÉT WARNS AMERICA OF "PEACE MURDERERS"; SAYS NAVY-REDUCTION PROGRAM INVITES WAR—FORMER ARMY AIR CHIEF ACCUSES POLITICIANS OF "LETTING LIFEBLOOD OUT OF PEACE" BY TACTICS—REDUCTION IN ARMS AND SCRAPPING OF FORTS IS AN INVITATION FOR OTHER NATIONS TO MAKE WAR, HE SAYS

(General Fechét recently resigned as Chief of the United States Army Air Corps for the purpose of warning the people of the United States against the defenseless condition of the Nation. This article is the first of a series by him on the vital topic of adequate national defense.)

By Maj. Gen. James E. Fechét (retired), former Chief United States Army Air Corps, now national-defense editor Aero Digest

Letting the lifeblood out of peace is the major operation now in full swing in the political surgery at Washington.

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Thus we prepare for war. History proves it.

IT'S HISTORY—TRAINED TROOPS COULD HAVE WON WAR

After the Revolutionary War, after the War of 1812, after the Civil War, after the war with Spain, we prepared for war by letting the lifeblood out of our peace.

And while we are reading the lesson which our military history teaches us, and which Congress has always insisted on ignoring, let us recast history in the light of what might have happened had we been prepared.

A few well-trained troops would have settled our Revolutionary War in a few months.

Ten thousand trained soldiers in the War of 1812 would have prevented national disgrace, and would have given us Canada, a willing part of our Union.

Twenty thousand well-trained troops at Bull Run would have settled the Civil War and saved four years of turmoil, the loss of thousands of lives and millions in money.

UNPREPAREDNESS—MERELY PREPARE OURSELVES TO PAY PRICE AGAIN

A measure, at least, of preparedness in 1917, instead of complete unpreparedness, would not only have shortened this most recent conflict, but certainly would have eliminated a large measure of our present fiscal entanglements, involved, as they are, with world reparations, running into billions of dollars owing to us and which are responsible for a large measure of our present economic crisis.

This constant repetition of unpreparedness has always carried with it the same price. In times of peace we have merely prepared ourselves to pay again the price of unpreparedness.

Certainly the time has come to inquire into the reason why the same result invariably recurs, and why the panacea of being unprepared for war—which the American public seems so inclined to accept unquestionably—has always had the same effect.

This is not an accident.

It is the result of a policy, the military policy of the United States, made by nonmilitary men. This policy is:

First, to declare war and undertake wars absolutely unprepared, and with no definite statutory enactments to provide trained men, material, and money.

Second, to prosecute the war while building a machine at enormous sacrifice of life and treasure, making up for the lack of preparedness by lavish spending.

Third, at the end of the war to destroy immediately the efficient means of defense, built at such enormous cost in lives and money.

The third step, it should be seen, is the bloodletting process, which encourages attack and invites overt and aggressive acts by the enemy within, or by a coalition of foreign powers from without.

COMPLETE CYCLE—THREE YEARS OF PEACE FOR EACH WAR YEAR

So the cycle completes itself. By this efficient prosecution of our extremely inefficient "military policy" the American people have been able to enjoy only a little more than three years of peace for every year of war. This remarkably high price for peace is maintained by the speed with which the politicians perform the operation, and the willingness with which the American people submit to letting the lifeblood out of peace.

We are now engaged once again in submitting to the operation which does not prepare us for war, but prepares war for us, by destroying the life span of peace.

The patient, the American public, is anesthetized by the false plea of economy.

New and always eager doctors, self-styled statesmen, rush into the operating theater at Washington to assist in the operation.

One of the latest to arrive is a Member of Congress who sponsors a move to reduce the United States Army by 2,000 officers.

FOUR THOUSAND OFFICERS—CONGRESSMEN WOULD LOP OFF ARMY LEADERS

This gentleman qualifies as a destroyer of peace and preparedness by asserting:

"I have always wanted to reduce the Army by 4,000 officers."

And those who enervate peace by weakening the defense of the Nation are assisted from without by leeches, whose efficiency in bloodletting was recognized long before modern surgery was born.

These leeches—the reds, the communists, and all their followers—prepare war for us, not us against war, by destroying the only machine capable of keeping us safe from war.

They are now at work through the schools, through the medium of the pulpit, and by misuse of the instrument of free speech and assembly. And not the least effective of the untruths which they are circulating through these channels is the claim of the need to reduce armaments for the sake of national economy.

President Coolidge, in his speech on Armistice Day, 1928, gave the ultimate cost of our share of the World War at $100,000,000,000, which represents one-half of the national wealth of the United States in 1917.

This includes pensions, cost of the Veterans' Bureau, and such other items which naturally continue for a generation or two after any national emergency.

Based on this amount, the actual period of hostilities cost us slightly more than $7,000,000 per hour!

Had we been prepared in 1917 and could we have started active participation 90 days earlier, there would have been a saving of about $15,500,000,000.

But "national economy" as applied to preparedness, is a byword only used against us by our enemies and by self-styled statesmen in times of peace. And it is so used for the sole purpose of limiting the life span of peace.

These murderers of peace—and they are so indicted in the record of history and in the manner in which our so-called military policy has always operated—are now at work in the third recurring phase of that policy.

WAR AGAINST PEACE—OTHERS BUILD NAVIES TO TREATY STRENGTH

That is destroying the efficient means of defense.

I see their success in this "war against peace":

First. In withholding consent to build our Navy even to the strength granted under the naval reduction treaties. Yet most of the foreign powers have taken full advantage of those treaties.

Second. The stripping of our land armed forces to a mere skeleton to meet the dictates of a false national economy by proposing to cut 2,000 officers and 10,000 men from the Army rolls and a docile acceptance of fifteenth place in Army strength. Yet in Europe we see more soldiers in training and preparation for the next war than in the year 1913.

Third. The completion of merely a primary step in building up our air forces through the now finished 5-year procurement programs of the world crowd us nonchalantly out of fifth to sixth place in strength of flying guns.

WARS CERTAIN—MILITARY POLICY OF UNITED STATES CALLED WASTEFUL

Fourth. We sit idly by while the self-styled friends of peace and pseudo-statesmen let the lifeblood out of peace, and allow ourselves to be lulled into false security with the tale that it is safe to allow our arms to rust, the wings to rot from our planes, our Navy to trouble no more about going to sea, because there will be no more wars, because governments as they are now constituted will endure forever.

Yet within the short period of 18 months seven of the Latin American countries experience violent changes of government with dramatic suddenness.

And when I total all of these conflicting factors, subtract a reasonable sum for undue concern for my Nation's welfare, multiply the result by the element of pure luck, which so far has always guided us to victory in the past but which some day will certainly desert us, and then divide that result by the effect which has always been produced by our continuing and wasteful military policy (so called), I get the same old answer, a discouraging answer:

"History repeats itself."

War will come again, because it can not fail to come under this worthless and expensive formula. And we shall go to war, to a long and expensive war, for the old reason, but the simple reason: "We were not prepared."

We can not ignore, then, the obvious fact that past policies of unpreparedness have always increased the cost of war, which must be met in peace when it comes. The greater the length of the war, the longer this period of recuperation must be.

"EXPERTS" TO AID—THEIR FIRST VOICE IS TO ELIMINATE WAR INSURANCE

In our present recuperative period we have called upon the aid of self-styled experts to assist in placing our financial and economic house in order—and the first recommendation which we hear from these experts is that we eliminate our insurance against war.

In following this line of thought on the work of such advisers, we see that, in every phase of the program to eliminate this element of insurance, it is always the most effective weapons of

national defense which are attacked, or at least retarded, in peace time.

In the case of the airplane, the startling result of this policy was that, at the outbreak of the World War, Mexico had a greater flying force than the United States. With our usual "do nothing" policy, we sat by and saw the combatants in Europe develop tremendous air fleets and use them as the deciding factors in armed engagements.

SITUATION IN 1917—WE DIDN'T HAVE A SINGLE GOOD BATTLE PLANE

Yet, when we declared war in 1917, we had not a single fighting plane to compare favorably with those of our allies or our enemies.

What happened? We faced the disgraceful spectacle of having to borrow fighting planes from our allies, who had been at war for three years. We, the richest country in the world, who built the first flying machine, sat by and did nothing during these three years from 1914 to 1917, with the result that civil and foreign pilots had to train our fliers long after war was declared, and our pilots, hastily trained, were forced to fight in borrowed machines.

This extremely simple reason always materializes in our problem because the entire question has always been left in the hands of Congress.

AROUSE PUBLIC—LENGTHEN PEACE BY SPENDING FOR PROTECTION

It seems not unreasonable to suppose that an entirely different answer might materialize if the American public should arouse itself and take the entire matter into its own hands.

The present moment seems most propitious for just such an experiment to be undertaken by the taxpayers, to lengthen the life of peace by spending—not curtailing—the funds which would make national defense a concrete and definite force in our land.

The step which the American taxpayer should take is not difficult to see. Our Congress is now considering our national defense. We hear rumors that the House Appropriations Committee plans to cut off these 2,000 officers and remove these 10,000 enlisted men, wash out the citizens' military training camps, reduce the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and further cripple the National Guard and Reserve, all in the name of economy.

OUTRAGE TO SAFETY—MAY SAVE $12,000,000 NOW; LOSE BILLIONS LATER

The people of the United States should not suffer this outrage, this tampering with the safety of their heritage.

As the citizens of a democracy they are entitled to call a halt to such wasteful surgery practiced, not by qualified surgeons but by internes of whom we know nothing.

In undertaking to save a paltry $12,000,000 these internes merely assure the taxpayer that one day he will be presented with a new bill of the customary claim of billions of dollars in losses due to lack of preparedness.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I may say I believe this is one of the most important matters that has come before this House during this session, and when the War Department appropriation bill comes in I am serving notice that I intend to fight, and I am sure I shall have the support of both the service men and the friends of national defense on both sides of this aisle to see that the United States is adequately prepared for any war in the future in which we may be forced to engage. [Applause.]

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Patents may be permitted to hold hearings this afternoon while the House is in session.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

WORLD DISARMAMENT

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, to-day at Geneva, Switzerland, the World Disarmament Conference convened, and I feel that every earnest student of public affairs and all who have any concern for the welfare of the human race should give every possible encouragement to the delegates assembled at Geneva in their efforts to hasten the disarmament of the world. The conference can succeed far beyond what the pessimists predict, if people generally can avoid the childish sense of self-importance which is the one chord in the frail human instrument upon which the self-seekers play in order to gain their purpose, whether for commercial gain or martial glory.

It is idle to talk about preventing war with all the nations still breathlessly striving to acquire the largest military establishment.

In 1921 General Pershing said:

Isn't it time then for an awakening among enlightened peoples to the end that the leading powers may reach some rational agreement which would not only relieve the world of this terrible financial load but which in itself would be a long step toward the prevention of war?

The allied and associated powers by the treaty of Versailles undertook to "initiate a general limitation of armaments of all nations."

Before the treaty was signed the powers sent a letter to the German delegates in which was contained the following language:

The allied and associated powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first steps toward that general reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventatives of war.

Is it not about time that those responsible for the governments of the world were making an honest effort to give effect to these statements?

The governments of the world are at present spending $5,000,000,000 a year on armaments.

The United States spent over $725,000,000 last year. During the first nine months of 1931 the Government spent for all purposes $3,126,540,000, and over two-thirds of this sum, that is, $2,124,737,000, was spent for present military purposes and to pay the bills on account of past wars. Notwithstanding these facts, funds have not been available for relief of widespread hunger and want.

Let us endeavor to neutralize the psychology of the strutting swashbuckler. Let us give every assistance and encouragement to those assembled at Geneva in an effort to make the "bully" attitude unpopular and to show the wisdom of invoking reason instead of brute force. [Applause.]

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 8397, the Department of the Interior appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. O'CONNOR in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, of which the Clerk will read the title.

The Clerk read the title, as follows:

H. R. 8397, making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, and for other purposes.

The Clerk, proceeding with the reading of the bill, read as follows:

Surveying public lands: For surveys and resurveys of public lands, examination of surveys heretofore made and reported to be defective or fraudulent, inspecting mineral deposits, coal fields, and timber districts, making fragmentary surveys, and such other surveys or examinations as may be required for identification of lands for purposes of evidence in any suit or proceeding in behalf of the United States, under the supervision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office and direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $500,000, including not to exceed $7,000 for the purchase, exchange, operation, and maintenance of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles: *Provided*, That not to exceed $5,000 of this appropriation may be expended for salaries of employees of the field surveying service temporarily detailed to the General Land Office: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $15,000 of this appropriation may be used for the survey, classification, and sale of the lands and timber of the so-called Oregon & California Railroad lands and the Coos Bay Wagon Road lands: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $50,000 of this appropriation may be used for surveys and resurveys, under the rectangular system provided by law, of public lands deemed to be valuable for oil and oil shale: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be available for surveys or resurveys of public lands in any State which, under the act of August 18, 1894 (U. S. C., title 43, sec. 863), advances money to the United States for such purposes for expenditure during the fiscal year 1933: *Provided further*, That this appropriation may be expended for surveys made under the supervision of the Commis-

sioner of the General Land Office, but when expended for surveys that would not otherwise be chargeable hereto it shall be reimbursed from the applicable appropriation, fund, or special deposit.

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 7, line 12, strike out the figures "$500,000" and insert "$700,000."

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Chairman, this appropriation bill cuts the current appropriation of $700,000 to $500,000. This appropriation is spent almost exclusively, it is true, in the western public-land States. The department has to carry on this work by the maintenance of 14 public-service survey offices. There are engaged in this work about 700 men, and these men go out in parties of 7 or 8. It will, therefore, be seen that the employment situation will be affected by this drastic cut.

Without this work being carried out there can be little, if any, new development in the Western States. The surveys of public lands will stop and, consequently, new development. I mean that these lands that are unsurveyed will not be surveyed and no development will occur. The surveys are made for the settlers for the benefit of the State and for the mining claimants and other activities for the development of the West.

When I learned of the tremendous cut that has been made I made unofficial inquiry at the Land Office, and I found that if this bill goes through with this tremendous cut we will lose five of the survey offices now being maintained.

Mr. STAFFORD. Which five?

Mr. COLTON. I do not believe that has been determined. A survey will have to be made, but I presume they will close five of the offices, which, in the judgment of the commissioner, are deemed of the least importance.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLTON. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Some years ago, I believe 10 years ago, I was giving consideration to the estimates for the General Land Office in the Appropriation Committee. I made inquiry as to the status of the surveys of public lands by States. I was impressed with the progress being made, and I concluded that at some time in the near future there would be no need of this large appropriation for general surveys. I wish to inquire what portion of the public lands, cultivatable, have been surveyed?

Mr. COLTON. I am sorry that I can not answer the gentleman's question without some investigation. It may be that some member of the committee can. I do know that it is a difficult question to answer, because it varies in the different States.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman startled me when he said that this appropriation of $500,000 will curtail five offices. Perhaps it is the five offices where there is no need of having surveys at all. That was the basis of my inquiry.

Mr. COLTON. No. I am sure that is not the case. They are all needed.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was the basis of my inquiry.

Mr. COLTON. These surveys are being carried on at the present time in 14 different places. I read now from a note prepared for me by the Land Office:

To suffer a reduction of $200,000 in this appropriation will require a complete reorganization of the surveying service, which means the closing of 5 of the 14 public survey offices above referred to, the abandonment of 24 survey parties, which would involve the closing of employment to as many as 175 to 200 local employees. Since the school sections granted to the States must first be surveyed, it would postpone employment by the States of such grants to that extent and necessitate the abandonment of many projects and development contingent upon the execution of the basic public-land surveys.

The point I wish to make is this: This survey is of tremendous importance to the development of the Western States. The work is being done rapidly, and they have made remarkable progress with these surveys.

Mr. BACON. Can the gentleman state to the committee what the hurry is to complete this survey? It seems to me this is a wise time to effect economy.

Mr. COLTON. The States are in just as bad condition financially as the Federal Government, and they can not make any progress in the selection of their school sections until the survey is made. Mineral entries, school selections, in fact, all development and use of these lands are dependent on the survey.

Mr. BACON. Is there any demand for settlement on these new developments?

Mr. COLTON. Yes; much larger than the gentleman would suppose.

Mr. BACON. A demand at this time, when we have a big agricultural surplus?

Mr. COLTON. There is a demand, particularly on the part of the States to acquire title to these State lands. Other demands are also made in large numbers.

Mr. BACON. What good is it going to do the States to acquire title to them if they are not going to develop them?

Mr. COLTON. They are developing them, and they make use of them for grazing and other purposes. We are absolutely in need of help for our schools and roads. This is one form of relief for our schools and roads.

Mr. BACON. It seems to me that this is a good time to postpone this expenditure in the interest of economy.

Mr. COLTON. If you are going to take advantage of the situation and cripple the Western States in their attempts to make development, well and good. That is exactly what this bill does. You are cutting $6,000,000 below the estimate of the Budget. You are cutting without hearings; you are cutting in places where the greatest harm possible can be done. I hope gentlemen will give careful consideration to this before we make such drastic cuts. The Interior Department will be greatly handicapped in its activities if this bill becomes a law as reported.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Utah [Mr. COLTON].

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HOGG of Indiana to the amendment offered by Mr. COLTON: Page 7, line 12, strike out "$500,000" and change the "$700,000" in the amendment of the gentleman from Utah to "$400,000."

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, it is time to let each one of these propositions stand upon its own merits. Within the last six years more than $5,000,000 have been expended in surveying western lands. Some of this land has been surveyed as many as five or six times. Much of the land which is reported to be surveyed by this appropriation of $500,000 is many miles from the nearest town. There is no hope that any human will go there for settlement in the near future.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has made a very startling statement, at least it is to me.

Mr. ARENTZ. And to me also.

Mr. STAFFORD. And I assume very startling to the western admirers of this service.

Mr. LEAVITT. It is startling to anybody.

Mr. STAFFORD. That the land has been surveyed five or six times. What is the purpose of going over the same thing five or six times?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I have not yielded to these gentlemen. I am quoting from the express, written purpose of this appropriation, that 37 per cent of it is to go to resurvey lands. That is found in the record of the hearings of the committee. Commissioner Moore himself testified that only 50 per cent is used for new surveys.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I regret I can not yield. The gentleman knows I have only five minutes. Too much money is used to supply work for the 226 groups who are doing this work. If it were essential, I would be the last one to oppose it. Congress should not waste money in unnecessary expenditures. Thirty-seven per cent of the land to be surveyed has been surveyed many times, and if the rule holds good much of it will actually be done over again.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I can not yield in my brief time.

Mr. LEAVITT. I do not blame the gentleman.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I want to use my time to give some additional facts. When the hearings were had the bureau was asked why it was necessary to resurvey lands which had already been surveyed. The reply was that prior to 1910 the records had not been well kept. The East and the West have many farms which can be had at very little expense. There is no reason for sending a group of surveyors a long distance to survey a small tract of 40 or 160 acres and not survey the adjoining lands. Near $160,000, the amount set out in the bill, goes to the expenses of the work here in Washington in reference to these surveys. It is an injustice to a man to send him out to a barren spot with the hope of making a living there; $400,000 will cover the need of all the surveying necessary. [Applause.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to both amendments.

Let me say at the outset that it is not a pleasant task for the western Members on this Interior Department appropriation committee to reduce appropriations which mean a great deal to the western country now. We have given this bill almost constant hearings and study for nearly a month. The gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH] the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS], and I come from that country, and our constituents are directly affected by these appropriations. But we feel that it is right and necessary for our country to absorb our share of the very serious depression that is now afflicting our Nation. Every part of our country and every class of our people must bear its just share of sacrifice toward reducing, as much as possible, the deficit of possibly $3,000,000,000 which we are likely to have at the end of this coming fiscal year of 1933, which this bill provides for.

This activity of the surveying of the public domain is one that the committee thought could be reduced without doing any serious or substantial harm or injury to our country or to the settlement or development of our public lands. The surveying of our public lands has been going on for a great many years. This committee has appropriated, and our Government has spent $5,387,000 for this purpose during the past seven years. On June 30, 1931, there had been surveyed a total of 1,306,348,875 acres, and there were 137,815,280 acres unsurveyed, exclusive of Alaska. The remaining unsurveyed public domain is at the present time of very little value for home-building purposes, and the committee does not feel justified in continuing this work at full speed during the present economic situation. On page 47 of the hearings we set forth the number of acres of land surveyed in each State and the number of acres remaining unsurveyed.

I think a fair example is my own State of Colorado. Colorado has 64,269,359 acres of surveyed lands and 2,071,761 acres left of unsurveyed land. Most of that unsurveyed land is, I think, above timber line at an elevation of from 10,000 to 14,400 feet, and largely covered with nothing but snow. My recollection is there are 64 mountain peaks in the entire United States that are over 14,000 feet high, and that one of these is in Washington, 13 in California, and 50 of them in Colorado. The surveying that will be done in my State hereafter will be largely triangulating around over those peaks. Much of the land in my State has been surveyed two or three times. Of course, some of this land may some time have some value for something. But the present value of it, if it has any, could not be enhanced by surveying as much as the survey would cost.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; I yield.

Mr. TABER. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the land unsurveyed is of no appreciable value?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Practically speaking, it has little or no appreciable value at the present time.

Mr. TABER. Then why do we need to survey it?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Oh, there is some value in some of the surveying they do every year. I am not in favor of stopping it all. But I do not think it is at all necessary to continue this work at the very expensive rate and high speed we have been doing. I feel that when we appropriate $500,000 to expend on surveys this next fiscal year that is sufficient. I think the reduction we made is fully warranted. I do not believe it is going to injure the Government or the States or anybody. A slowing up of public-land surveying is certainly not going to interfere with homestead settlements. In every Western State to-day there are thousands of abandoned homesteads.

Anybody can go there and locate one or buy a homestead at tax title and get it much cheaper than he can take up a piece of public domain, and he can also get much better land by doing so. I feel that the West should not show a spirit on the floor of this House of being unwilling to reduce some of the expenditures that we have been heretofore making. I may say these reductions of various kinds and amounts go all through this bill. The Bureau of the Budget cut over $12,000,000 off of last year's bill, and this committee has cut over $6,000,000 under the Budget. We feel confident we have made a fair and reasonable reduction, and not any more than should be made in all our appropriation bills this——

Mr. ARENTZ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. ARENTZ. In answer to the gentleman from Indiana, will the gentleman from Colorado state that in a number of these Western States the State itself was given two sections in every township, upon admission to statehood, and in the case of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah four sections out of each township. Will the gentleman please state how it would be possible for the States to ever know what acreage they had and where the sections were located unless the lands were surveyed? That is the purpose of these surveys. The surveys which the gentleman speaks of made in the olden days when that whole country was an unknown territory are quite familiar to the gentleman.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENTZ. Of course, it was necessary to resurvey those old wagon surveys, but we are talking about carrying on the resurvey of these western lands so that the States will know where these two sections or four sections of each township are located, and without the survey the States will never know.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Well, under present conditions throughout the West it is not very important right now where the lands are, because there is scarcely anybody taking up public-domain lands, with the occasional location of a 640-acre stock-raising homestead, which is often taken merely for range-control purposes.

Mr. COLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. COLTON. Of course, I know the gentleman always wants to be fair. In my State there are over 14,000,000 acres of land that have not been surveyed, and the gentleman knows there is a movement now to do something with the public domain. It is absolutely necessary that the States be permitted to select their lands before the change is made. The gentleman's statement that this work is not of such importance may be partly true of homesteads, but it certainly is not true with reference to State selections, mineral entries, and so forth.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. How many of the 38,206,486 acres which have been surveyed in the gentleman's State are vacant to-day? Half of them?

Mr. COLTON. If the Government would do its part in regulating the grazing upon those lands there would not be so much of it vacant.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Well, that is a very large "if." There is an enormous amount of surveyed land in every Western State that is not occupied, and will not be for many years to come, and the committee felt that this carrying on

a large number of surveying outfits every year at enormous expense is wholly unnecessary, and for that reason I feel we are modest in cutting off only $200,000 and leaving a half million for that purpose.

Mr. BACON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. BACON. It seems to me the gentleman has made an excellent speech in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana. Why should we not cut off another hundred thousand dollars?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Oh, we do not want to seriously reduce the work. I think the item should be left at $500,000. Commissioner Moore, of the General Land Office, was before us. We asked him if he could not reduce these surveying forces, and he said:

> I will be perfectly willing to take what you think you should give us and let the responsibility rest with you. We will do the best we can with whatever amount you give us.

After conferring with him and carefully studying conditions we felt that $500,000 for surveying public lands throughout the Western States at this time would be fully as much money as the Government should spend this next year for that purpose. The people who have title to splendid land and good water rights can not make a living and they are everywhere having to abandon their homes. Under present conditions it is utterly foolish for anybody to go onto a piece of raw public land without any water rights and attempt to make a living. Personally, I feel that a large part of this survey money has been spent in a very wasteful manner, and in work that was wholly unnecessary; but being a western man and not wanting to cripple the necessary work, I felt that if we gave them $500,000 for this year that would be enough. Besides this item Congress pours an enormous amount of money into the lap of the General Land Office every year, and the public domain has been very rapidly diminishing every year for many years, but the expense of the Land Office does not diminish any. We have been trying for years to get them to cut down expenses but they will never do it. They will go on indefinitely keeping up this enormous force of public officials for the handling of the public domain that is dwindling to the vanishing point; that is, so far as any good land goes.

Mr. FIESINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. FIESINGER. Did I understand the gentleman to say that at the end of this fiscal year there will be a deficit of $2,000,000,000? The gentleman is certainly mistaken, is he not?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. No, sir. I fear that is what is going to happen. If the Appropriations Committee of the House can not have the support and help of the membership of this body toward reducing our governmental expenses and toward helping the President of the United States in balancing the Budget, God help this country. The members of our committee are doing their utmost. There is nothing personal about it and it is a thankless job to cut down expenditures anywhere, and I hope we will not have to stand here and fight every little cut that is made throughout thousands of ramifications of the Interior Department appropriation bill for 1933.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, may I say just a word upon the amendments that have been proposed? The amendment offered by the gentleman from Utah would add $200,000 to the amount offered in the bill.

We carry $500,000. The amendment would restore the amount recommended by the Budget. The gentleman rests his argument essentially upon applications made for the surveying of lands which the States desire, upon the basis of grants made to the States. If the gentleman will turn to page 57 of the hearings, he will find that the amount recommended for this particular purpose is $218,000; and that the item includes in addition to applications made by the States applications made by actual settlers upon lands. That leaves nearly $300,000 for other administrative and survey purposes, allocated as follows, according to the original estimates: $117,000 for forest reserves, $120,000 for resurveys, $81,000 for miscellaneous surveys, and $160,000 for the general purpose of administration.

The members of your subcommittee did not attach as much importance as the gentleman does to several of these factors. We feel, gentlemen of the committee, that at a time like this when we are hard pressed to obtain money for the support of Government, $200,000 can be saved better here than in almost any other place. This is particularly true at a time when the public lands are not inviting for homesteaders, at a time when people probably, for their own good, had better not attempt to make homes upon new lands. I think we ought to sustain the committee in the cut that has been made.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRENCH. Yes.

Mr. KETCHAM. Is it not true that in the allocation of these groups of surveyors that if there is the special demand the gentleman from Utah maintains there is in his locality that those who are surveying in other sections of the country might be taken from those sections where there is no particular demand and centered where there is a demand?

Mr. FRENCH. Oh, yes; that is a matter of administration.

Mr. KETCHAM. There is no particular group of surveyors who need to be kept in a particular locality but, as a matter of fact, they could be moved to another locality where there is more of a demand for their services.

Mr. FRENCH. Oh, yes; they can be moved when a survey is completed, and that is a matter of administration.

Mr. KETCHAM. It seems to me that would answer the suggestion of the gentleman from Utah.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Utah.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BACON) there were—ayes 7, noes 26.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is now on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Utah.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, on last Friday I warned the House that a gentleman would arise and suggest an amendment to this bill similar to the one that was attached to the agricultural bill. The amendment referred to, which is now a part of the Department of Agriculture bill which is at present being considered in the Senate, provides that no automobile shall be purchased by the Department of Agriculture costing more than $750, and that Government autos could not be used between the domicile and place of business. The gentleman who offered this amendment said he was going to propose a similar amendment to each appropriation bill as it came up.

I stated on Friday that the Secretary of Agriculture would submit a memorandum showing that this amendment would seriously injure the Public Roads Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, and I also said that this amendment would greatly damage the plains and Rocky Mountain services of the Department of the Interior, such as the Reclamation and Irrigation Service, the Geological Survey, the National Park Service, the Indian Service, the Alaskan Service, the General Land Office Service, and so forth. Even the lowest-priced closed cars can not be bought at $750, in some regions, because of the added cost of the freight.

Under the provision of the amendment which provides that a Government official can not use his Government-owned automobile in traveling from his domicile to his place of business, the Comptroller General can not do otherwise than rule that even a Cabinet member can not travel from his domicile to his office, or the White House, for instance, even when called out on public business on an evening or on a Sunday.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Will not the gentleman withhold his remarks until we reach that particular item so that it may be taken up in order?

Mr. CLANCY. There is one item in this very paragraph with respect to motor-propelled vehicles—and I am talking in order now. I will take only a few minutes more.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks on the bill and also on the subject of law enforcement.

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. We are in the Committee of the Whole House, are we not?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's request must be limited to his remarks on the bill.

Mr. CLANCY. Very well, Mr. Chairman; I withdraw the latter part of the request.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan, as modified?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Chairman, I was making the point when interrupted that even a Cabinet Member can not use his Government automobile in traveling from his domicile or his apartment in the city of Washington to his office, because the amendment specifically provides that a Government official or employee can not so travel from his domicile to his place of business; and if the President should call a Cabinet member to the White House in the evening or on a Sunday, or even to his Rapidan camp in Virginia during the summer months, the member would necessarily have to call a taxi unless he had his own private automobile.

Moreover, if attached to the independent offices bill, the President could not travel from the White House to his Rapidan office.

In the field services, where a man has to travel 50 or 100 or 200 miles to his place of business from his domicile, the service is practically wrecked.

The Department of Agriculture makes it very clear in this memorandum from Hon. Thomas MacDonald, Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads, to the Secretary of Agriculture, that there would be an increase of cost of operation of the cars themselves if the price were limited to $750, and there would be required an increased number of field personnel to make the inspections required on Federal-aid projects. That applies to cases where the added freight would not run the original cost of the auto above $750.

This memo which I read into the RECORD makes it clear that it is not economy to buy the lowest priced car, and that Government officials have found after an experience of seven years that the heavier type of car, in fact, a car in the neighborhood of $1,000, saves money for the Government. The Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture has been buying automobiles since 1925. Up to that time they were using Government-owned cars which were bought in great quantities during the war and which were, by the way, not the cheapest or the lowest priced car but the heavier type of car.

The memorandum referred to is as follows:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY RE MOTOR VEHICLES

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS,
Washington, D. C., January 29, 1932.

To Mr. CLANCY.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The following is an amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1933, as it has passed the House:

"*Provided further*, That no part of any money appropriated by this act shall be used for purchasing any motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle (except busses and station wagons) at a cost, delivered and completely equipped for operation, in excess of $750, including the value of a vehicle exchanged where exchange is involved; nor shall any money appropriated herein be used for maintaining, driving, or operating any motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle not used exclusively for official purposes, and 'official purposes' shall not include the transportation of officers and employees between their domiciles and places of employment. This limitation as to price shall not apply to any motor vehicle purchased for official use of the Secretary of Agriculture."

This amendment would not result in economy, but rather in higher costs to this bureau in the following items:

1. Increased cost of operation of the cars themselves.

2. Increased number of field personnel to make the inspections required on Federal-aid projects.

This bureau keeps an exact record of the per-mile cost of each car in service.

The bureau first equipped its field engineering forces with cars turned over from war surplus. The first authorization to purchase new cars was made for the fiscal year 1925.

The cars showing the highest per-mile operating charges are turned in each year and replaced with new cars to the extent of the authorization. At the time when cars were generally at much higher price levels the bureau purchased the cheaper makes. As the prices for cars were lowered the bureau gradually replaced these lighter cars with the class weighing about 3,000 pounds, which have retailed at around $1,000.

The records show that our operating costs have been consistently lowered as the lighter cars have been replaced with this heavier class of cars, including a depreciation of 1½ cents per mile up to 85 per cent of the cost of the vehicle. The remaining 15 per cent is usually covered by the turn-in value.

These cars are operated by the bureau engineers in connection with the inspection of the construction and maintenance of Federal-aid projects. They are operated in all kinds of weather and over all kinds of roads. The operating mileage per car ranges from 15,000 to 25,000 miles per year. The use of the cars in the 3,000-pound class has not only effected a measurable saving in operating cost but has made possible a more efficient handling of Federal-aid inspection.

The greater mileage which the engineers can cover with safety to themselves and without undue fatigue by using this heavier class of cars is a highly important factor in our operations. The lighter type of cars which the bureau would be compelled to use under the proposed limitations of this bill will not stand up to the daily grind of service which we require. The greater sturdiness of the heavier class of cars which we have been using eliminates many delays for minor repairs, with consequent loss of time to our inspection force. This is a far greater factor of loss to the Government than the slightly higher first cost of the types we are using.

These statements are not based upon prejudice or guesswork. They are shown by the records of the costs which have been paid for the purchase and operation of motor equipment by the bureau over the past seven years.

On construction work the lighter type of car is used by the bureau, where the daily mileage requirements are very much lower than on the Federal-aid project inspection.

The average cash outlay for all of the cars purchased by the bureau is $901.74. This includes the trade-in value of cars exchanged and the freight charges.

If an average figure of $950 is permitted, this bureau would have no objection to a limitation of this character.

The average cost, by calendar years, of operating new cars purchased, including depreciation, has been as follows:

Average operating cost of new cars purchased

Calendar year	Number of purchased cars operated	Average operating cost per mile including depreciation
		Cents
1925	63	5.6
1926	115	5.7
1927	139	5.8
1928	161	5.6
1929	218	5.5
1930	226	5.2
1931	216	4.8

It will be noted that these costs have steadily declined since 1929, when we began to use cars in the 3,000-pound class.

Very truly yours,

THOS. H. MACDONALD,
Chief of Bureau.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I hope hereafter no one attempts to take up discussions of matters that are 100 pages ahead of us, so that we may proceed in an orderly manner in the consideration of this bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Contingent expenses of land offices: For clerk hire, rent, and other incidental expenses of the district land offices, including the expenses of depositing public money; traveling expenses of clerks detailed to examine the books and management of district land offices and to assist in the operation of said offices and in the opening of new land offices and reservations, and for traveling expenses of clerks transferred in the interest of the public service from one district land office to another, $175,000: *Provided*, That no expenses chargeable to the Government shall be incurred by registers in the conduct of local land offices except upon previous specific authorization by the Commissioner of the General Land Office.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. We have just passed the paragraph that provides salaries for the registers of the different land offices. May I ask the chairman of the subcommittee if the adoption of the amount carried in this bill is an indication of the purpose on the part of the subcommittee—and when adopted, the purpose of Congress—that no land office now in existence shall be closed?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I will say that we have allowed the complete Budget amount for all the 29 land offices in the United States at the present time. We have made a slight reduction in clerks, but the registers' salaries of all the land offices and the expenses are cared for as recommended.

Mr. SIMMONS. And it is the purpose of the committee that that shall be continued.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, I want to make an observation on this subject. I do not think the chairman intended to leave the impression that the committee is endeavoring to interfere with the administrative authority on the part of the department following out the law for the modification of land offices, or even their elimination if necessary, because the law is specific touching certain factors.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman from Nebraska is much interested that there shall be no reduction in the force of the various land offices. I wonder whether all these land offices are needed and required and what their duties are now? Formerly, yes. They were needed. I do not see that they are needed now. I think half of them should be abolished.

I do not see why the gentleman, who is preaching economy, who has knowledge and experience of all the conditions that exist—why he should not offer an amendment that without crippling the department would reduce this tremendous expenditure therein that I think is unnecessary.

Mr. SIMMONS. I state frankly that I will go any length in economy, cutting out service not essential, as I did in the Department of Agriculture bill. My objection is that the Government is continuing to function without abatement in the city of Washington, and makes the economy in appropriations for the field. My question was predicated upon that, and the gentleman from Colorado gave me a fair answer. The Government of the United States will not economize at the expense of the people who serve it in the field. If economy is necessary, they must economize on the work in Washington.

Mr. SABATH. It is the claim of the gentleman from Nebraska that all those now in the service in the field should remain, whether there is any work for them to do or not. The gentleman objects to some of them that are employed here. I agree with the gentleman that a great many people are employed in Washington that we could dispense with, but I feel that there should be the same economy applied to the men in the field. If they are not needed, they should not be carried from year to year.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. SIMMONS. It is obvious that the gentleman from Illinois and I are in complete agreement. If it is demonstrated that the services of officials are not needed, I agree with him that they should be dispensed with. The law gives the Secretary of the Interior the right to close these land offices, but what I wanted to make certain was that Congress was not compelling him to close the offices by refusing to appropriate. But we have the statement of the gentleman from Colorado that the existing land offices are needed.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. Perhaps it would be better for me to move to strike out the entire section. I wonder how it is that some gentlemen can advocate and preach and cry for economy on the one hand but are ready and willing to appropriate any amount that a wasteful department recommends. I have the utmost confidence in the chairman of this subcommittee. I have served with him for 25 years. I know he is sincere and honest and well meaning; I know that he desires to do what is right; but he represents a section of the country that is near and dear to him, and properly so, and he always desires to protect the interests of the people who are employed in his and the adjoining States. I have been here for many years. I have appropriated and appropriated and have voted for all the appropriations that tend to help, aid, and benefit agriculture or anything that pertains to it, and I shall continue to do so, notwithstanding that whenever we have anything in the large cities of the country in which we are interested invariably nearly every one of you gentlemen from the rural districts sees fit to vote against it. I do not think it is just; I do not think it is fair. I think that in the near future you gentlemen representing the agricultural sections of the country should realize that the people residing in the cities get just as hungry if they get nothing to eat as do the people who live on the farms. I am willing to continue to appropriate money needed, but I honestly believe that most of these land offices have outlived their usefulness and that they are not needed to-day.

Mr. COLTON and Mr. LEAVITT rose.

Mr. SABATH. Oh, I know the gentleman from Utah and the gentleman from Montana and the gentlemen from adjoining States will insist that they have not, and they will insist that we should increase them, when in fact there is hardly anything that they can do, or that they are doing. I think that half of these offices should be abolished in the interest of economy.

Mr. LEAVITT. Does not the gentleman recognize that a great percentage of them were eliminated several years ago?

Mr. SABATH. Some of them were, but these did not constitute one-half of the number that should have been closed.

Mr. LEAVITT. And the gentleman should recognize that my district is twice as big as his State, that my State is probably three times as large as his State, and that in it there are only two land offices.

Mr. SABATH. I am familiar with the gentleman's State, and the gentleman's land, and I know that thousands and thousands of acres of land for which he has secured large appropriations year in and year out running into millions are useless and can not be tilled to advantage. I hope the gentleman will desist in demanding increased appropriations for some of these purposes.

Mr. LEAVITT. We are interested in the gentleman's statement that these land offices are not needed.

Mr. SABATH. What are they doing in these land offices now? Is anyone applying to purchase land?

Mr. LEAVITT. A great many people are applying for homesteads and other lands.

Mr. SABATH. In the gentleman's State?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes; and a great many people for several years have been in process of proving up on them. The business continues year after year and it will continue.

Mr. SABATH. Is it not a fact that a majority of those who have gone on these reclaimed lands in the last six or eight years, notwithstanding the assistance the Government has given to them, have not been able to farm to advantage and are abandoning these projects?

Mr LEAVITT. Oh, there are abandoned homesteads and there are also vacant houses in the city of Chicago.

Mr. SABATH. Yes; we have many vacant houses in my city, in fact, every city has, but we have not and are not now asking for any appropriation for the owners, nor for the tenants that your Republican administration forced out; and if we would ask, I know that your votes would be no.

Mr. LEAVITT. The gentleman forgets that these land offices are to administer lands which belong to the United States, and not to Montana or the other States.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that we have passed this provision and have read the section following. This is all out of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] moved to strike out the last two words, which was in order, and the gentleman from Nebraska is recognized in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, it is quite obvious that the speech made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] was due to the fact that I voiced some opposition to his pet measure on the floor of the House this afternoon. I am willing that the RECORD should show that I was opposed to the appropriation of $1,000,000 for a world's fair in the city of Chicago.

Mr. SABATH. That will do more good than all these land offices.

Mr. SIMMONS. Now we have found out the reason the gentleman made his speech against the land offices.

Mr. SABATH. No; I made it in the interest of economy.

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to yield further. Let me point out this difference between the two: I was opposing an increased obligation upon the Treasury of the United States that was represented by a request to spend $1,725,000 in the city of Chicago. All that the people in the Western States are asking for in this appropriation and in others is a continuance of activities now in progress. I state further to the gentleman from Illinois that either these services will be performed in the States where the lands are and where the Government may be of direct service to the people or it will be performed here in the city of Washington by correspondence, or at the expense of the people of the country, who will be required to travel thousands of miles to come to Washington. I have no apology to offer to anyone for my insistence that the Government serve the people of the Nation, and serve them where it can do it best, which is out in the field.

The Clerk read as follows:

Not to exceed $12,000 shall be available for applicable funds for expenses (not membership fees) of employees of the Indian Service when authorized by the Secretary of the Interior to attend meetings of medical, health, educational, agricultural, forestry, engineering, and industrial associations in the interest of work among the Indians.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, on page 11, line 14, I offer an amendment to strike out "$100,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$10,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment comes too late. That paragraph has been passed.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the preservation of timber on Indian reservations and allotments other than the Menominee Indian Reservation in Wisconsin, the education of Indians in the proper care of forests, and the general administration of forestry and grazing work, including fire prevention and payment of reasonable rewards for information leading to arrest and conviction of a person or persons setting forest fires in contravention of law on Indian lands, $225,000: *Provided*, That this appropriation shall be available for the expenses of administration of Indian forest lands from which timber is sold to the extent only that proceeds from the sales of timber from such lands are insufficient for that purpose.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The paragraph just read refers to certain activities for preserving the timber supplies on the Menominee Indian Reservation. For years, almost a quarter of a century, I have been interested in the work going on there in connection with the lumber mill at Neopit. There have been different opinions as to whether that lumber mill, which was started 20 years ago, was for the best interests of the Indians or not. I wish to inquire of the chairman of the subcommittee whether the hearings this year included any inquiry as to the operation of the Neopit lumber mill?

Mr. HASTINGS. That is not provided for by this appropriation, and there was not any investigation made of it in the hearing. This provision does not apply to it.

Mr. STAFFORD. No. I recognize it does not apply to it. It applies only to the preservation of the forests and grazing work in the Menominee Indian Reservation, for which the appropriation is $225,000.

Mr. HASTINGS. No inquiry was made in the committee about the mill which the gentleman is inquiring about.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will ask, then, how is this appropriation of $225,000 expended? The budgetary officer's estimate in this particular is $23,000 less than the appropriation of last year, and that is the amount recommended by the committee.

Mr. HASTINGS. If the gentleman will refer to page 270 of the hearings, the justification is given. This provision is in exactly the same language as the provision was carried last year. It also carries an amount of $225,000, which is the amount recommended by the Bureau of the Budget for this work. For the current year, 1932, there was $248,000 carried for this work.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; I made reference to those amounts. I was inquiring how this amount is expended during the year. The bill provides for preservation of forests and also for grazing purposes. Is it largely used for personnel, or how is it expended? The people in my State are greatly interested in forest preservation and in fire prevention, and I am anxious to know how the money is expended. Perhaps my colleague, who represents a part of this district, is acquainted with the manner in which this money is expended.

Mr. HASTINGS. The hearings show that $127,458 is paid for personnel; for supplies and materials, $15,000; traveling expense, $3,000; transportation, $1,000; for rents, $1,000; repairs and alterations, $5,000; equipment, $2,500. It is all added up so as to aggregate this amount.

Mr. STAFFORD. The itemization there makes up the total amount that is recommended?

Mr. HASTINGS. Well, I have not figured up all these items, but these are the items contained in the justification asking for this amount.

Mr. STAFFORD. Those which the gentleman cited amount to only $150,000.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. This item does not apply to the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin at all. The work on that reservation is done with tribal money, aside from the item in this particular paragraph.

Mr. HASTINGS. That is correct.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. It says in the second line "other than the Menominee Reservation." So that it is aside from the Menominee Indian Reservation.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is very clear in his exposition. I am indebted to him.

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the purpose of obtaining remunerative employment for Indians, $60,000, and the unexpended balance for this purpose for the fiscal year 1932 is continued available for the same purpose for the fiscal year 1933.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ALLGOOD: Page 19, line 20, after the figures "$60,000," strike out the comma and insert a period, and strike out the remaining part of the paragraph.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Mr. Chairman, I understand there is a residue of $10,000 unexpended for this purpose from last year. Inasmuch as it was not used last year, I judge it will not be needed this year. The amendment I have offered provides for striking that $10,000 from this appropriation.

I know that the question of unemployment in the Nation is one of the foremost questions at this time. The last Congress realized that the question of unemployment was a serious question, and legislation was provided for the establishment of the Federal Employment Stabilization Board, looking toward securing employment for unemployed people. It seems that this Stabilization Board has not functioned. They have secured data and facts and piled up figures, but they have not solved the question.

Senator WAGNER has recently introduced a resolution in regard to unemployment, and in that resolution it stated that:

Whereas the Secretary of Commerce has reported that in January, 1931, there were in the United States 6,050,000 persons ready, able, and willing to work, totally unemployed, seeking jobs and unable to find them.

Therefore, with this condition confronting the people who want to work and with no provision made to help secure work for them, with no appropriation available, I am raising the question here in regard to making further appropriations for a class of people, these Indians, who, as a general thing, as I understand it, are not any too well inclined to work in any event. I know that there are millions of people in the United States to-day who want jobs, who want to work, who want a chance to make an honest living, and yet this Congress has done practically nothing toward solving that question of helping put those men in gainful employment.

Gentlemen, the specter of starvation stalks in every city of this country. Hunger and want are to be found on every street and highway; and yet, in the South we have 6,000,000 bales of cotton which we are unable to sell at a living price, and in the great Wheat Belt the farmers have millions of bushels of wheat for which there is no market. Gentlemen, the issue facing our people in this country is human needs. Think of it, no money returns from the farms, unemployed thousands of small home owners in towns and cities; both classes of these people are having to pay State, county, or municipal taxes on as high valuation as when we had general prosperity in the country. Every Member of this House knows that this Congress can not give any relief whatsoever to this heavy burden of local taxation which the States, cities, and counties are levying on farms and homes.

With these fearful conditions confronting our people you are spending the national tax money just as though this country were prosperous, just as though the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill had not been enacted and had not destroyed our foreign trade and commerce. We all know that our two main sources of revenue are derived from tariff duties on imports and from income taxes on the well-to-do.

You are spending our national revenues, just the same as if 6,000,000 men who were formerly in gainful employment were now engaged in gainful employment, just the same as if farmers' products were bringing a fair return, when they are not bringing a fair return. You appropriated $1,000,000 for a fair at Chicago awhile ago, which appropriation I could not and did not support.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ALLGOOD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLGOOD. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOGG] a short time ago offered an amendment to reduce the amount that was appropriated in this bill for surveying lands, which amendment I regret failed to be enacted. The farmers of this Nation who are living on farms realize that we already have enough lands under cultivation without trying to get other people interested in producing more farm products. We realize that.

We are facing an unusual condition in this country. Our national tax values are going down. There is no question about it. The moneys from imports are already down, and we might as well face the music.

I want to speak to my Democratic colleagues on this side of the House along this line: We are expecting to take over the reins of government next year, and I want to commend this committee for having reduced some expenditures in this bill, but you did not, in my opinion, go far enough.

I think we ought to start with Government expenditures and reduce by at least 25 per cent every one of these appropriations right down the line until we balance the Budget. If the Democrats are going to come into power next year, it will not be any use for us to come in with an empty Treasury, with the stables empty, under which conditions we could not give any relief to the people. But if we will start now and reduce expenditures and cut down these needless appropriations, then if we do come into power we can give some relief and some accounting to the people.

I want to stress this fact to the Democratic leaders of this House, that now is the time to start reductions in expenditures. We should start on these appropriation bills.

In my own State we are facing a deficit of about $15,000,000 and the administration that is in charge there now is having serious trouble because of this deficit, and if the Democrats of the Nation face a huge national deficit next year we are going to have trouble confronting us. I say that now is the time for us to safeguard the future welfare of our great party. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LEAVITT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama. So the item to which the gentleman from Alabama has referred is to be the rallying point, as he called it, of his party in securing economy in the administration of the Government! He has moved to strike out a little item of $10,000 that has to do with the placing of Indians in employment. I am sure the Indians will be greatly interested to know that is the point at which the gentleman and his party are proposing to begin their great economy program.

But that is not the point I wish to discuss. I wish to say that this is one of the most important items in this bill from the standpoint of the development of the Indian people. A few years ago the Indian Bureau came to the conclusion that a very great service could be rendered to the Indians by establishing an agency whereby Indians who had been trained to take their place in industrial life might be so placed. The Indians are not trained in finding their own positions. It was necessary also to develop a demand for the labor they could perform. In reply to the gentleman's statement that these people will not work, let me say there is a record in the Indian Service showing what has been done successfully in placing young Indians in industrial employment. This record shows that many of them have made good.

They are advancing step by step and proving the efficiency of these young Indians trained in the Government schools and otherwise. They are opening a new field for Indian citizenship. This is one of the ways in which the Indian problem is going to be solved.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEAVITT. Yes.

Mr. ALLGOOD. I will say to the gentleman that I am not objecting so much to the $10,000——

Mr. LEAVITT. I knew the gentleman would not after I called attention to it.

Mr. ALLGOOD. But I am objecting to the fact that we are idling our time away.

Mr. LEAVITT. I agree with that also.

Mr. ALLGOOD. There are 7,000,000 men out of employment, and this Congress has not done anything toward finding them employment. No appropriations have been made for our own people.

Mr. LEAVITT. So the gentleman's argument is that, not having done all we should for some one else, we should take it out on the helpless Indians.

Mr. ALLGOOD. I wanted to call the attention of the House to the procedure that is being followed.

Mr. LEAVITT. I wanted to call the attention of the House and the Indians to the position the gentleman has taken by his amendment, which should be defeated.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, let me express the hope that the amendment the gentleman offers will not be adopted. I agree with the gentleman from Montana that there is perhaps no more important small item in this bill than this one.

I have had occasion to say to the House that we have 193 Indian tribes in the United States. They speak 58 different dialects.

Under various treaty agreements and acts of Congress the land has been allotted. They have all been made citizens of the United States, and this activity in the Indian Service is to try to place these Indians in positions where they will be self-supporting.

For the present year there was appropriated $60,000. The Bureau of the Budget estimated $70,000 for this service. This organization was not all perfected during the past year. This activity has been appropriated for in 1931 and 1932.

The positions were not all filled, but the Indian Bureau insisted upon this amount being appropriated and the Bureau of the Budget estimated for it.

The committee cut it down $10,000 and then appropriated the unexpended balance. This unexpended balance amounted to $10,000. So that with the $60,000 allowed as an appropriation and the $10,000 of unexpended balance the amount is the same that the Budget Bureau allowed and that the Bureau of Indian Affairs estimated.

As I said a moment ago, I think this is a very important service which the Indian Bureau is performing for the benefit of the Indians throughout the country, and I trust the amendment of the gentleman from Alabama will not be agreed to.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HASTINGS. I will be pleased to yield.

Mr. ALLGOOD. Is it not a fact that they have not even appointed a superintendent of that department, but are just letting it run along in any wishy-washy way and letting anybody deal out the money that wants to?

Mr. HASTINGS. I do not think that is a proper criticism against the Indian Bureau. The Indian Bureau is trying to get the right director or the right man to fit into this particular position. It is a very important one, and they do not want to make any mistake. It is true they have gone slowly, but they hope to find the right man to head this very important service.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I think the gentleman from Montana [Mr. LEAVITT] is doing an injustice to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ALLGOOD]. As I understand, the gentleman from Alabama does not so much object to the $10,000, but he does object to the millions that have been wasted by this administration during this year, last year, and for the past 10 years. I think if we were to compile the figures as to the amount of money that has been wasted in the last 10 years, they would reach the tremendous sum of from four to five billions of dollars.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I will in a moment.

The gentleman from Alabama is interested in real economy, and I do not blame him because he complains that we are not practicing the economy that he wishes; but I may say that, from my knowledge and experience, it is absolutely impossible to bring about such economy as the gentleman from Alabama desires under a Republican administration. [Applause.]

I know these gentlemen now in power have been extravagant in the years gone by. They impose high taxes, and to them millions mean nothing. They do not know what the burdens of the people are, and they continue to increase and enlarge them through every bureau and department.

Why, since I became a Member of the House some of these departments and bureaus that formerly made the House and the country believe they could get along with half a million dollars or $1,000,000, now squander $25,000,000, $30,000,000, and $40,000,000 annually.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I will in a moment.

Now, I want to bring home to the gentlemen, and especially to the chairman of the subcommittee, that I sympathize with them. I know under what stress the gentlemen labor. I know that the heads and chiefs of the various departments and bureaus are after him and bring evidence to show that these appropriations are needed. However, I hope before he brings in the next bill, he will scrutinize and examine and investigate all their statements, and I am quite sure he will come to the conclusion that a great many millions can be saved in this department as well as in every other department, and this is something that must be done.

Since 1921 we have had nothing but lip economy. The Republicans talk about economizing and saving money; but the appropriations have been going up and up and up, year after year, until to-day, under a Republican administration, we have a deficit approaching $2,000,000,000.

Mr. LEAVITT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; I yield now.

Mr. LEAVITT. The gentleman has dragged several millions and billions of dollars over the issue that has been raised by the gentleman from Alabama——

Mr. SABATH. That is not what the gentleman had reference to. He did not have reference to the $10,000 item.

Mr. LEAVITT. Oh, he did not? He offered an amendment to strike it out, and the amendment is still pending before the committee.

Mr. SABATH. Pardon me; the gentleman availed himself of the opportunity to get in the debate at this time to make his observations upon the extravagance practiced by the Republican administration, and not that he had any objection to the $10,000 item.

Mr. LEAVITT. I congratulate the gentleman from Illinois on his apology for the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman from Alabama does not need any apology, but the gentleman from Montana moves in a clever way at all times and, of course, we all recognize his shrewdness and cleverness in trying to place the gentleman from Alabama in a position in which he should not be placed.

My colleague Mr. ALLGOOD stands for real economy and not the lip economy that we have been getting under the last three Republican administrations. I repeat that the insinuations of the gentleman from Montana [Mr. LEAVITT] against the gentleman of Alabama, a sincere and useful Member, are manifestly unfair. I realize that Mr. ALLGOOD does not need any defense at my or anyone's hands, nevertheless, I can not resist stating that there is no Member of the House who is more sincere in bringing about economies in every branch of our Government than he, as he is interested in his people and is desirous to lessen their burdens and bring about the relief so needed in his sections as well as in every other section of our country. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the purpose of encouraging industry and self-support among the Indians and to aid them in the culture of fruits, grains, and other crops, $500,000, which sum may be used for the purchase of seeds, animals, machinery, tools, implements, and other equipment necessary, and for advances to Indians having irrigable allotments to assist them in the development and cultivation thereof, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, to enable Indians to become self-supporting: *Provided*, That the expenditures for the purposes above set forth shall be under conditions to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior for repayment to the United States on or before June 30, 1933, except in the case of loans on irrigable lands for permanent improvement of said lands, in which the period for repayment may run for not exceeding 20 years in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided further*, That $150,000 shall be immediately available for expenditures for the benefit of the Pima Indians and not to exceed $25,000 of the amount herein appropriated shall be expended on any other one reservation or for the benefit of any other one tribe of Indians: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used for the purchase of tribal herds: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion and under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, to make advances from this appropriation to old, disabled, or indigent Indian allottees for their support, to remain a charge and lien against their lands until paid: *Provided further*, That advances may be made to worthy Indian youths to enable them to take educational courses, including courses in nursing, home economics, forestry, and other industrial subjects in colleges, universities, or other institutions, and advances so made shall be reimbursed in not to exceed eight years, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to proceed for two or three minutes out of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, we are honored this afternoon in the gallery by representatives of the great motherhood and womanhood of our Nation. They are here, some

of them, in Washington as delegates to a convention interested in the national defense of our Republic.

I am sure that those of us in the Congress appreciate the great and splendid work that these women of America are doing. They are not seeking to embroil our country in war. They are far from that purpose. But they realize, Mr. Chairman, that in order to prevent war in this country there must be ample defense, ready at all times to defend the Nation.

We are interested, of course, in the Congress and in the country to-day, with the news which we received from the Far East. We have two great friends in the Far East—China and Japan. This Nation of ours does not want to enter war with those people. We have been their friends, and it has been this country that placed Japan upon its feet, until it has become a great empire.

We are anxious, and have been friends in many ways, to the great people of China, to see her rise to take her place in this world of nations.

We are not trying to engage in war with these people or either of them. But the President of the United States, under his oath of office, is doing the thing he must do in trying to bring peace between these two people.

With the assistance of the great British Empire and France and Italy, peace will soon come, and it will be largely through the efforts of this great Republic of ours in using its good offices as well as bringing to the attention of these people that we mean that they shall cease their fighting and become peaceful neighbors again.

This country of ours, in the Far East, has vast responsible interests, including the protection of its nationals in these countries.

We are not interested simply because we have Americans in business and who have invested money in the Far East, but because we have thousands of our men and women in China, as well as in Japan, who are there as missionaries, teaching in the various schools and colleges of China and working in eleemosynary institutions for the benefit of those people.

The American people, through their generosity, have contributed more than $50,000,000, which is being used for missionary work. It is not the purpose of engaging in business or to make money, but for the purpose of helping these people in that far-off land.

The United States is interested, of course, in its investments and its nationals in foreign countries. Our investments have been made under treaties or agreements with such countries. Our investments in China are not great. They amount to about $200,000,000, but it is only 2 per cent of the total that we have in investments in foreign countries. Two-thirds of the $200,000,000 we have in China is invested in Shanghai, the International Settlement. This consists of lands, stocks, loans to banks, and so forth. Much of it is in import and export business, and results in trade with this country and China. The United States has small investments compared with some other nations. Great Britain has one billion and a quarter, and Japan almost as much. Shanghai is the great port of China, with some 3,000,000 people. Forty per cent of China's foreign trade is carried on at this place. The United States can not prosper without foreign trade and our greatest field for that is China and the Far East. We will not let the door be closed to us. The American people will not permit it. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The Clerk read down to and including line 7, page 24.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'CONNOR, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 8397, the Interior Department appropriation bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to—

Mr. CLARKE of New York, indefinitely, on account of serious illness in his family.

Mr. PRATT, for two days, on account of illness.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 15. Concurrent resolution to provide for the printing and binding of the prayers offered by the Rev. James Shera Montgomery, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, during the opening of the daily sessions of the Seventieth and Seventy-first Congress.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House to bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1089. An act to establish a minimum area for a Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes;

S. 1291. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River near Freeport, Fla.;

S. 2317. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Joseph River; and

S. 2407. An act to authorize the sale of parts of a cemetery reserve made for the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians in Oklahoma.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

A joint resolution of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. J. Res. 91. Joint resolution to make available certain appropriations for advances or loans to farmers in the drought and/or storm stricken areas of the United States for the purchase of feed for livestock and seed, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 261. Joint resolution making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for subscriptions to the capital stock of Federal land banks.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, February 3, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Wednesday, February 3, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

(10 a. m.)

To establish uniform requirements affecting Government contracts (H. R. 255).

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Marine Corps personnel (H. R. 5344).

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE, RADIO, AND FISHERIES

(10 a. m.)

General inquiry into the American merchant marine, the United States Shipping Board, and Merchant Fleet Corporation affairs.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Interstate commerce act, section 15a (H. R. 7116 and H. R. 7117).

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

(9.30 a. m.)

Revision of patent laws.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR—SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS FOR RELIEF OF THE UNEMPLOYED

(9 a. m.)

Appropriations for the relief of the unemployed (H. R. 206, H. R. 6011, and H. R. 8088).

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m.)

Electric energy.

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS—SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 1

(9.30 a. m.)

Salaries of postmasters and supervisors (H. R. 142 and H. R. 6305).

Equipment allowance to third-class postmasters (H. R. 4602).

COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS

(10 a. m.)

H. R. 8082, a bill to revise and equalize the rate of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War, and to certain widows and former widows of such soldiers, sailors, and marines., etc.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

(10.30 a. m.)

Shrewsbury River, N. J.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

(10.30 a. m.)

Government contract bill.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Reduction of prices of surplus stock for relief organizations.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

(10.30 a. m.)

Post office in Texas.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

420. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a proposed draft of bill to provide for the reimbursement of certain enlisted men and former enlisted men of the Navy for the value of personal effects lost, damaged, or destroyed during the hurricane in Samoa on January 15, 1931; to the Committee on Claims.

421. A letter from W. F. Ham, transmitting a report of the Washington Interurban Railroad Co. for the year ending December 31, 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

422. A letter from W. F. Ham, transmitting a report of the Potomac Electric Power Co. for the year ending December 31, 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

423. A letter from W. F. Ham, transmitting a report of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. for the year ending December 31, 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

424. A letter from John N. Hanna, transmitting a report of Capital Traction Co. for the year ending December 31, 1931; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. JONES: Committee on Agriculture. H. J. Res. 194. A joint resolution to correct section 2 of the act of March 4, 1931, to coordinate the agricultural experiment-station work and to extend the benefits of certain acts of Congress to the Territory of Porto Rico; without amendment (Rept. No. 344). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RUTHERFORD: Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress. S. J. Res. 14. A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States fixing the commencement of the terms of President and Vice President and Members of Congress and fixing the time of the assembling of Congress; with amendment (Rept. No. 345). Referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 7308. A bill for the relief of Amy Turner; without amendment (Rept. No. 343). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SINCLAIR: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 1448. A bill for the relief of Will A. Helmer; without amendment (Rept. No. 346). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARE: Committee on War Claims. H. R. 1668. A bill to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Joseph C. Grissom; without amendment (Rept. No. 347). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8129) granting a pension to William J. Smith, and the same was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SWING: A bill (H. R. 8749) providing that any officer or enlisted man of the United States Navy and Marine Corps retired on account of disability incurred in time of war, during the period of such retirement, shall be allowed longevity pay in his respective grade; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 8750) relative to restrictions applicable to Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mrs. OWEN: A bill (H. R. 8751) providing for an examination and survey of Hollywood Harbor (Port Everglades), Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH: A bill (H. R. 8752) to equalize tariff duties by compensating for depreciation in foreign currencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8753) to amend the antidumping act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. NORTON: A bill (H. R. 8754) to control the possession, sale, transfer, and use of pistols and other dangerous weapons in the District of Columbia; to provide penalties; to prescribe rules of evidence; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. RUTHERFORD: A bill (H. R. 8755) to construct a public building for a post office in the city of Jackson, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CONNERY: A bill (H. R. 8756) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Administration hospital at or near the city of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mrs. NORTON: A bill (H. R. 8757) to amend the act of Congress approved June 20, 1912, entitled "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HARE: A bill (H. R. 8758) to enable the people of the Philippine Islands to adopt a constitution and form a government for the Philippine Islands, to provide for the independence of the same, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. AMLIE: A bill (H. R. 8759) to prohibit commercial advertising by means of radio on Sunday; to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

By Mr. HASTINGS: A bill (H. R. 8760) to authorize the erection of a 200-bed addition to the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Muskogee, Okla.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. McSWAIN (by request): A bill (H. R. 8761) authorizing the President to class as secret or confidential certain material, apparatus, or equipment for military or naval use; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARDY: A bill (H. R. 8762) to authorize for the reconditioning of buildings at the United States Veterans' Administration hospital, Fort Lyon, Colo., and to authorize appropriation therefor; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8763) to provide for election of Representatives at large in certain cases of the failure of States to redistrict; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. CARTER of Wyoming: A bill (H. R. 8764) granting further extensions of existing oil and gas prospecting permits; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. CONNERY: A bill (H. R. 8765) to protect labor in its old age; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. DICKSTEIN (by request of the State Department): A bill (H. R. 8766) to amend the sixth exception in section 3 of the immigration act of 1924 with reference to nonimmigrant status of certain aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. GARBER: A bill (H. R. 8767) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon in the city of Fairview, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FISH: A bill (H. R. 8768) requiring certain corporations to establish security funds for their employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 8769) to reenact certain assimilative provisions of the penal laws of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NORTON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 269) to authorize the making of loans to farmers who suffered crop failures in 1931; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FISH: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 270) amending the joint resolution entitled 'Joint resolution to prohibit the exportation of arms or munitions of war from the United States to certain countries, and for other purposes," of January 31, 1922; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MANSFIELD: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 271) amending section 1 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 3, 1930, relating to the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Illinois River and Minneapolis; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. WITHROW: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 272) to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to investigate and report to the Senate the cause or causes for the high prices of agricultural implements and machinery; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 273) to authorize the Secretary of War to sell surplus clothing to patriotic and charitable organizations for distribution to provide clothing for the unemployed and destitute people of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McSWAIN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 274) to regulate sales of surplus clothing supplies; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARTER of Wyoming: A bill (H. R. 8770) for the relief of the La Barge Roundup Association; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLANCY: A bill (H. R. 8771) for the relief of Francis M. Dent; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 8772) granting an increase of pension to Ethel H. Turner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8773) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Alverson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COYLE: A bill (H. R. 8774) granting an increase of pension to Emma Frey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8775) for the relief of Sivan E. Caukins; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DOWELL: A bill (H. R. 8776) for the relief of Louis A. Carr; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EATON of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 8777) for the relief of J. N. Gordon; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: A bill (H. R. 8778) granting a pension to William McDermott; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNANDEZ: A bill (H. R. 8779) granting certain lands to the Board of Commissioners of the Orleans Levee District in the city of New Orleans, State of Louisiana, for levee and street purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GLOVER: A bill (H. R. 8780) granting a pension to James Bussell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8781) granting a pension to Claud M. Myers; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HORNOR: A bill (H. R. 8782) for the relief of David A. Barbour; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HORR: A bill (H. R. 8783) for the relief of Stillwell Bros. (Inc.); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KLEBERG: A bill (H. R. 8784) for the relief of Josephine Lobert; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KNIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 8785) granting a pension to Theresa Budai; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LaGUARDIA: A bill (H. R. 8786) for the relief of John J. Galvin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LAMBERTSON: A bill (H. R. 8787) granting a pension to James W. Dillman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LONERGAN: A bill (H. R. 8788) granting William J. Wholean the privilege of filing application for benefits under the emergency officers' retirement act; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 8789) granting a pension to Margaret Patten; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MAY: A bill (H. R. 8790) granting an increase of pension to Shiloh Sally; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8791) granting a pension to Lucinda McDaniel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MILLIGAN: A bill (H. R. 8792) granting an increase of pension to Margaret L. Ross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOUSER: A bill (H. R. 8793) granting a pension to Sarah E. Carter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 8794) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Burkholder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NIEDRINGHAUS: A bill (H. R. 8795) for the relief of Louis F. Kestler; to the Committee on Claims.



By Mr. PARKER of New York: A bill (H. R. 8796) granting an increase of pension to Alma C. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PARSONS: A bill (H. R. 8797) granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Maiden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8798) granting a pension to Lillie Cox; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8799) for the relief of the heirs of the estate of T. J. Pritchett, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RAGON: A bill (H. R. 8800) for the relief of Laura J. Clark; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8801) for the relief of Little Rock College, Little Rock, Ark; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RANKIN: A bill (H. R. 8802) granting a pension to William R. Irvin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8803) granting an increase of pension to Nancy E. Mullins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SANDLIN: A bill (H. R. 8804) for the relief of William Bernard Clancy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8805) granting a pension to Inez Shannon; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8806) granting a pension to James E. Heacox; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 8807) granting a pension to Glenn T. Burnette; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 8808) granting an increase of pension to Ella Simpson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8809) to provide for the reimbursement of certain enlisted men and former enlisted men of the Navy for the value of personal effects lost, damaged, or destroyed during a hurricane in Samoa on January 15, 1931; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WASON: A bill (H. R. 8810) for the relief of John Riedle; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WEAVER: A bill (H. R. 8811) granting a pension to Robert Edward Crawford; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WELSH of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8812) for the relief of William Mignogna; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8813) granting a pension to Emma J. Apt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1157. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petition of Harriet R. Lee and 20 other citizens of Anthony, West Warwick, and Washington, R. I., opposing the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1158. By Mr. AMLIE: Memorial of State Legislature of Wisconsin, urging Congress to pass one of the bills introduced by Wisconsin Members to restore to the States control over the liquor traffic within their borders; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1159. By Mr. ARNOLD: Petition of citizens of Lawrenceville, Ill., earnestly recommending a tariff on imported crude oil and oil products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1160. Also, petition of citizens of Oblong, Ill., and vicinity, asking for a tariff on imported crude oil and oil products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1161. By Mr. BOYLAN: Petition of Glidden Buick Corporation of New Work State, protesting against the 5 per cent tax on automobile industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1162. Also, resolution adopted by the Merchants Association of New York, opposing House bill 435; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1163. By Mr. COCHRAN of Pennsylvania: Petition by Ethel R. Harriger, Heath Township Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other residents of Hallton, Pa., and vicinity, in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1164. Also, petition of Ina Hoone and other residents of Venus, Pa., and vicinity, in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1165. By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Petition signed by Austin Klein and a number of residents of New York City, protesting against any curtailment of the citizens' military training camps; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1166. By Mr. GARBER: Petition of citizens of the eighth district of Oklahoma, protesting against the proposed tax on motor vehicles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1167. Also, petition of citizens of the eighth district, protesting against the proposed 10 per cent tax on theater admissions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1168. By Mr. HILL of Washington: Petition of Maud M. Penning and 16 other residents of Spokane, Wash., opposing the modification, repeal, or submission of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1169. By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: Petition of N. B. Allen, president Allen Academy, Bryan, Tex., urging appropriations for defense act and Reserve Officers' Training Corps; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1170. Also, petition of Mrs. William P. Hobby, president Texas League of Women Voters, favoring House bill 7525; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1171. By Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia: Petition of citizens of Ware County, Waycross, Ga., opposing repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1172. By Mr. MILLIGAN: Petition signed by Mrs. M. J. Kinne and other citizens of Cameron, Mo., urging support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1173. Also, petition signed by Mrs. J. H. Burgin and other citizens of Albany, Mo., urging support of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1174. By Mr. NIEDRINGHAUS: Petition of W. F. Freimuth and 240 other citizens of St. Louis, Mo., opposing any salary reduction of Federal employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1175. By Mr. PARKER of Georgia: Memorial of the Georgia State committee for the control of cotton acreage referred to the 2 United States Senators from Georgia and the 12 Georgia Members of the House of Representatives by the Hon. Walter C. Perkins, State senator for the seventeenth senatorial district of the State of Georgia, in his official capacity as chairman of the Georgia State committee for the control of cotton acreage, together with a letter addressed by the Georgia State committee for the control of cotton acreage to a thousand farmers, bankers, and business men in the State of Georgia, in which letter the control of cotton acreage in the States of Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina is discussed at great length, and which letter carried with it as an inclosure a 10-page typewritten letter from the Georgia State committee for the control of cotton acreage to the Governor of the State of Georgia, dated January 26, 1932; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1176. By Mr. PERSON: Resolution of the City Council of Hamtramck, Mich., favoring the immediate cash payment of the adjusted compensation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1177. Also, resolution of Union Labor Post, No. 99, American Legion, Detroit, Mich., indorsing the labor antiinjunction bill; to the Committee on Labor.

1178. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of the Carteret News, Carteret, N. J., opposing any tariff on copper; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1179. By Mr. SANDERS of New York: Petition of Anne M. Payne and others in support of the prohibition law and its enforcement and against modification or resubmission; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1180. Also, petition of Alice Schneckenburger and other citizens of Warsaw and Anne M. Payne and other citizens of Medina, N. Y., protesting against any change in the prohibition amendment or the prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1181. By Mr. SEGER: Resolutions of the New Jersey Department, Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, against any cut in appropriations affecting our national defense; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1182. By Mr. SPARKS: Resolution of Women's Foreign Missionary Society meeting of the Nazarene Church of Plainville, Kans., protesting against a change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1183. Also, resolutions of citizens of Selden, Clayton, Penokee, Lucerne, Edmond, Oronoque, Page City, Rexford, Oberlin, Seguin, Gem, and Tasco, in the State of Kansas, sixth congressional district, at a wheat-pool meeting, urging investigation of the Federal Farm Board and grain dealers' activities; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1184. Also, petition of 26 citizens of Bird City, Kans., and vicinity, protesting against any change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1185. By Mr. STEWART: Petition of Reserve Officers Association of the United States, Department of New Jersey, offering resolution protesting against reductions in the strength of the various components of the Army of the United States, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1186. By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: Petition of young people's branch, Pennsylvania Woman's Christian Temperance Union, opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to the States, and favoring adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1187. By Mr. SUTPHIN (by request): Resolution of the New Jersey Department, Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, urging support against cut in appropriation which will affect national defense; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1188. Also (by request), petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of South River, N. J., urging the continuing in force of the prohibition law and eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1189. By Mr. SWING: Petition of Mary F. Rickard and 293 other citizens of San Diego, Calif., urging maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1190. By Mr. TALYOR of Tennessee: Petition of Loudon Women's Christian Temperance Union, opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment, and asking for adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1191. By Mr. TINKHAM: Petition of Charles Ponzi, of Boston, for an investigation of the United States Department of Labor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1192. By Mr. WATSON: Resolution passed by the Langhorne Woman's Christian Temperance Union, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1193. By Mr. WELCH of California: Petition of Veterans' Welfare Workers of San Francisco, Calif., favoring the passage of House Joint Resolution 115, to transfer into the classified civil service all veterans of any war employed by the Government in unclassified positions, etc.; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

1194. Also, petition of Fabre & Hildebrand, architects and engineers of San Francisco, favoring the passage of House bill 6187; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

1195. Also, petition of San Francisco Typographical Union, No. 21, protesting against the printing of supplies for the Federal courts being done at the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth; to the Committee on Printing.

1196. Also, petition of San Francisco Labor Council, protesting against the printing of supplies for the Federal courts being done at the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth; to the Committee on Printing.

1197. By Mr. YATES: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Naperville, Ill., urging the support and enforcement of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1932

(Legislative day of Monday, February 1, 1932)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 1089. An act to establish a minimum area for a Shenandoah national park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes;

S. 1291. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River near Freeport, Fla.;

S. 2317. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Joseph River; and

S. 2407. An act to authorize the sale of parts of a cemetery reserve made for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in Oklahoma.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Kendrick	Sheppard
Austin	Davis	Keyes	Shipstead
Bailey	Dickinson	King	Smith
Bankhead	Dill	La Follette	Smoot
Barbour	Fess	Lewis	Steiwer
Barkley	Fletcher	Logan	Stephens
Black	Frazier	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	George	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Glass	McKellar	Townsend
Bratton	Glenn	McNary	Trammell
Brookhart	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Tydings
Broussard	Gore	Moses	Vandenberg
Bulkley	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Bulow	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Byrnes	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mass.
Capper	Hastings	Nye	Walsh, Mont.
Caraway	Hatfield	Oddie	Waterman
Carey	Hayden	Patterson	Watson
Connally	Hebert	Pittman	Wheeler
Coolidge	Howell	Reed	White
Copeland	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	
Costigan	Jones	Robinson, Ind.	
Couzens	Kean	Schall	

Mr. McNARY. I wish to announce the necessary absence of the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] due to illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] on account of illness. I shall let this announcement stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

CENTURY OF PROGRESS CELEBRATION AT CHICAGO, ILL.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in a Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, which were, on page 3, line 3, after "compensations," to insert "within the grades and rates of compensation fixed by the classification act of 1923, as amended"; on page 3, line 4, to strike out all after "services" down to and including "5)," in line 6; on page 3, line 22, to strike out all after "necessary" down to and including "5)," in line 24; on page 4, line 15, to strike out "$1,725,000" and insert "$1,000,000"; on page 5, line 16, to strike out all after "subsistence" down to and including "act)," in line 18, and insert "at not to exceed $6 per day"; on page 5, line 22, after "for," insert "subsistence"; on page 6, line 15, to strike out all after "commission" down to and including "final," in line 24; on page 7, line 21, after "appropriated," to insert "*Provided*, That in the construction of buildings or exhibits requiring skilled and unskilled labor the prevailing rate of wages, as provided in the act of March 3, 1931, shall be paid"; on page 8, line 9, to strike out all after "property" down to and including "property," in line 13; and on page 8, line 15, after "therefor," to insert "*Provided*, That all disposition of materials, property, buildings, etc., shall be at public sale to the highest bidder, and the proceeds thereof shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States."

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I beg to move the concurrence of the Senate in the amendments of the House. In this connection may I be permitted to say that a message has come from Chairman Dawes and other members of the committee asking that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] and myself express appreciation to both the Senate and the House for the consideration given this measure.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendments of the House.

The amendments were concurred in.

EXTENSION OF TIME UNDER SETTLLMENT OF WAR CLAIMS ACT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the settlement of war claims act of 1928 for the purpose of extending for one additional year from March 10, 1932, the time within which American nationals who have obtained awards from the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, or from the Tripartite Claims Commission, United States, Austria, and Hungary, may make application to the Treasury for payment of such awards, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution relating to the protection of American producers of pulpwood against unfair competition resulting from the depreciation of foreign currencies

Whereas it has come to the attention of the Wisconsin Legislature that foreign pulp is now being shipped into the port of New York duty free, and is being sold for much less than the amount it costs American manufacturers to produce this product, even at the present low price of pulpwood and mill wages; and

Whereas it is apparent that importers of this product are being given an unfair advantage over American manufacturers in view of the fact that they are paying for the product in depreciated foreign currencies and selling it for American gold dollars; and

Whereas this competition results in hardship not only upon the American manufacturers of pulp but also upon all large and small producers of pulpwood and all other persons engaged directly or indirectly in this industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this legislature, in special session assembled, respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact remedial legislation to protect domestic producers against this unfair competition, due to depreciated foreign currencies, and so give employment to large numbers of American citizens in the manufacture of pulp; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to both Houses of the Congress of the United States and to all Wisconsin Members thereof.

HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
CHAS. B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a joint memorial of the Legislature of Arizona requesting that an appropriation be made, or the proper governmental bureau be caused to expend sufficient funds, to pay for one-third of the cost of constructing a bridge across the Colorado River at Parker, Ariz., which was referred to the Committee on Commerce. (See joint memorial printed in full when presented by Mr. ASHURST on the 2d instant, p. 3062 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

He also laid before the Senate a letter from J. H. Koerner, of Colorado Springs, Colo., giving his opinions on current political and tax problems, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the executive committee of the Merchant Tailors' Society of New York City, N. Y., favoring prevention of the importation of the products of forced labor from Soviet Russia or other countries, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the executive committee of the Merchant Tailors' Society of New York City, N. Y., favoring the passage of House bill 5659, relative to the activities of radical enemy aliens, communists, and communist sympathizers in the United States, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the executive committee of the Merchant Tailors Society of New York City, N. Y., favoring the passage of House bill 1967, to strengthen the immigration laws and deport undesirable aliens, etc., which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Florence Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, of Los Angeles, Calif., favoring the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the New Orleans (La.) Association of Commerce, protesting against the passage of Senate bill 1963, amending the shipping act, 1916, as amended, for the purpose of further regulating carriers by water engaged in interstate and foreign commerce of the United States, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. BROOKHART presented petitions of sundry citizens of Washington, Iowa, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. GEORGE presented petitions of members of the missionary society, the young people's Sunday school class, the men's bible class of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the young woman's missionary circle, all of Hinesville, Ga., praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented the petitions of Mrs. Julia H. Steele and 21 other citizens of Waycross, and of Mrs. P. N. Gresham and 214 other citizens of Savannah, all in the State of Georgia, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. JONES presented a petition of sundry citizens of Port Angeles, Wash., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a memorial in the form of a resolution by Albert Smith, chairman of the board of the Christian Church; H. E. Wilson, minister of the Baptist Church (by Ben Knox, chairman); Oswald L. Anthony, minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and Harold S. Wilson, moderator (H. P. Fox, clerk) of the United Presbyterian Church, all of Prosser, Wash., remonstrating against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by local chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Seattle, Tacoma, Othello, Grandview, Kennewick, Everson, Edison, Yakima, and Nooksack, all in the State of Washington, protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CAPPER presented petitions of sundry citizens of Burr Oak, Clay Center, Jetmore, St. Francis, Utica, and Wichita, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions in the form of petitions adopted by local chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Natoma, St. Francis, and Utica; Wide Awake Grange, No. 1913, of Liberal; the Ladies' Aid Society of the First Baptist Church, the loyalists Sunday school class, the Ladies' Aid Society, and the Woman's Home Missionary Society, all of the Methodist Episcopal Church, members of the United Presbyterian Church, and the Friday Afternoon Study Club, of Jetmore, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against the proposed modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented a resolution adopted by the Saratoga County Rural Letter Carriers Association, at Ballston Spa, N. Y., protesting against the passage of Senate bill 2490, placing the rural delivery service on a contract basis, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Albany, Albion, Carlton, Copenhagen, and Jamestown, all in the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by local chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Akron, Albion, Clifton Park (Saratoga County), Potsdam, and Port Ewen, and the Methodist Men's Bible Class of Wolcott, all in the State of New York, favoring the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. COPELAND also presented a letter from the chairman of the international relations committee, Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, of Brooklyn, N. Y., which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BROOKLYN SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE,
Brooklyn, N. Y., February 2, 1932.

Hon. ROYAL S. COPELAND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DOCTOR COPELAND: The peace-study group of the Women's Ethical Union, in meeting assembled on January 26, 1932, passed the following resolution:

"Whereas the great need of the hour to relieve our economic depression is an increase of the purchasing power of our people;

"Whereas the program of public works involving the expenditure of $2,000,000,000 has already been indorsed by Congress;

"Whereas the immediate carrying out of that program would not only greatly relieve our people's suffering but be economically sound, in that building plans can be more economically carried out now than in normal times: Be it

"*Resolved*, That this body respectfully urge our Washington representatives to make the necessary appropriations to carry out its own plans for public works. Be it also

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to Washington and to the press."

Faithfully yours, FRANCES H. KOHAN,
Chairman International Relations Committee.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and appropriately referred resolutions adopted at the sixty-first annual meeting of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, held in Topeka on January 13, 14, and 15. I might say that in my judgment the resolutions give a very clear picture of the situation and needs of agriculture of our section of the country, and I recommend a careful reading of the resolutions.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted at the Sixty-first Annual Meeting of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka, January 13–15, 1932

EXPANSION OF CREDITS

Whereas the present economic condition has been aggravated by an unfortunate withdrawal from circulation of certain moneys and credits, through action of the Federal reserve bank; and

Whereas it is within the province and authority of the Federal reserve bank system to inflate or deflate the value of our medium of exchange to coincide with the rise and fall of the products of agriculture and industry, or, in other words, to stabilize the value of the American dollar: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we urge our Congressmen and Senators to vigorously support such measures that will compel the Federal reserve bank to use its authority to keep in circulation sufficient money to maintain a price level near the point in effect at the beginning of the present depression.

We further recommend that the benefits of the Reconstruction Credit Corporation, as passed by the United States Senate, be extended as soon as available to the local rural banks so that proper credit can be extended to livestock producers and farmers when sufficient and proper collateral is offered.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT

We indorse the cooperative marketing program as set forth in the agricultural marketing act. We insist that this program be given opportunity to develop and function as was originally intended. We are opposed to any amendments to the act, except such amendments as are desired by the agricultural people and are approved by the authorized representatives of organized agriculture.

LIVESTOCK MARKETING COSTS

Whereas the market for livestock is distressed and at times demoralized, resulting in great loss to producers without corresponding relief to consumers, and

Whereas the cost of marketing service, including transportation, yardage, feed, commissions, and charitable contributions, is at maximum rate of war conditions, and that these services are furnished to the livestock shipper without competition or opportunity to choose,

We ask the authorities administering the packers-stockyards act to immediately investigate and reduce these charges to a basis comparable to the cost of such service and use all other means possible to give to the producers of livestock efficient, reliable, and economical service, to the end that the livestock industry may be restored to its proper place as a necessary part of agriculture.

ST. LAWRENCE AND INLAND WATERWAYS

We reiterate our support of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway and urge upon Congress early adoption of the treaty negotiations with Canada, as well as the enactment of necessary legislation for this seaway channel.

We also favor the prompt development of inland waterways now under consideration and construction, to the end that there will be connected waterway transportation for agricultural commodities.

NATIONAL LAND POLICY

We strongly favor a national land-utilization policy of a character that will postpone further reclamation projects until required by consumptive demands; that will cause to be removed so-called marginal or submarginal lands from production; and that will embrace a broad program for reforestation, public parks, game preserves, and kindred works of a permanent nature for the benefit of the entire Nation.

FARM MACHINERY

Whereas the farmer's income dollar is now worth less than 50 cents in the purchase of other commodities; and

Whereas the price of farm machinery and the repairs for farm machinery are still at peak war prices and because good farm

machinery equipment is necessary to efficient agriculture production,

We call attention to the fact that the refusal of the large manufacturers of farm machinery to reduce prices on their commodity somewhere in line with the prices received by the farmer is unfair and does not give the generous consideration that is due to agriculture in its present distressed condition after years of generous patronage at extremely high prices which resulted in rich cash and stock dividends to these manufacturers.

RELIEF OF AGRICULTURE—COOPERATIVE CREAMERIES

Mr. DAVIS presented a resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Dairy Jobbers Association January 20, 1932, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Hon. Senator JAMES J. DAVIS,
To the Hon. Senator DAVID A. REED,
Senators for Pennsylvania in the United States Congress:

I am directed to make known to you the following resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Dairy Jobbers Association on Wednesday, January 20, 1932:

The Philadelphia Dairy Jobbers Association is a chartered organization comprising the jobbers and wholesalers engaged in the distribution of farm and dairy products for the farmers of the State of Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

"Whereas a bill has been introduced in the Senate of the United States, being bill S. 5109, 'A bill to liquidate and refinance agricultural indebtedness, and to encourage and promote agriculture, commerce, and industry by establishing an efficient credit system through which the unjust and unequal burdens placed upon agriculture during the period of price fixing and deflation may be lightened by providing for the liquidation and refinancing of farm mortgages and farm indebtedness at reduced rates of interest through the Federal farm system"; and

"Whereas the farmers and their selling agencies of Pennsylvania are in a very critical financial condition, being faced with the loss of their lands and chattels through inability to refinance loans on their property because of high taxes and interest rates and the low prices on agricultural products; and

"Whereas the burden of taxation is very heavy on the farmers and distributing associations of Pennsylvania by virtue of their inability to realize much for the crops and dairy products; and

"Whereas the condition of the farmers of Pennsylvania from an economic standpoint is as serious as the worst condition of any foreign country; and

"Whereas the Philadelphia Dairy Jobbers Association is of the opinion that the agricultural and dairy interests of one State should be placed on the same basis as that of another. The Philadelphia Dairy Jobbers Association further believes that the act of the Government unfairly financing cooperative creameries instead of resulting beneficially has only proven to be an unjust, unfair, and destructive competition. That the financing by the Government of cooperative creameries (private selling corporations) is discriminatory and detrimental to the farming and dairy industry in Pennsylvania and makes possible for the assisted western corporations to invade the territory of the unassisted Pennsylvania farming and dairy industry; and

"Whereas the farm and dairy industry of Pennsylvania therefore is entitled to and is in dire need of the same assistance accorded the western industry; and

"Whereas agriculture and farming is one of the chief industries of the State of Pennsylvania and there can not be business prosperity unless the dairy and agriculture industry be on a sound and equal basis with the agricultural industries of the other States: It is

"*Resolved*, That the Senators of Pennsylvania be importuned to exert their utmost efforts to remedy this unhealthy and depressive condition in Pennsylvania."

[SEAL] JOSEPH BUSCHEL, *Secretary*.

PROPOSED REPEAL OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, I present a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey favoring the calling of a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment thereto, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD under the rule, as follows:

Joint Resolution 1 (Laws of 1932)

STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

Providing for application by the Legislature of the State of New Jersey to the Congress of the United States to call a convention for proposing an amendment to said Constitution for the repeal of Article XVIII (eighteenth amendment, prohibition of the liquor traffic) and the substitution of a new amendment therefor as provided by Article V of the said Constitution of the United States

Whereas Article V of the Constitution of the United States provides:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; etc.":

Be it resolved by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

1. That under the authority of Article V of the Constitution of the United States application is hereby made by the Legislature of the State of New Jersey to the Congress of the United States to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the said Constitution of the United States providing for the repeal of Article XVIII (eighteenth amendment, prohibition of the liquor traffic) of the said Constitution and the substitution for it of an amendment which will restore to the States the power to determine their policy toward the liquor traffic and to vest in the Federal Government the power to give all possible protection and assistance to every State which desires to exclude intoxicating liquor from its territory, which amendment shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution of the United States when ratified by the several States.

2. That the Legislature of the State of New Jersey recommends to the Congress of the United States that the mode of ratification of any such amendment to be proposed by said Congress to the several States shall be the one by convention, instead of by the legislatures, in three-fourths of said several States, as provided in said Article V of said Constitution of the United States.

3. That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, directed to forward a properly authenticated copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States representing the State of New Jersey.

4. This joint resolution shall take effect immediately.

Approved February 1, 1932.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

I, Thomas A. Mathis, secretary of state of the State of New Jersey, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of an act passed by the legislature of this State and approved by the governor the 1st day of February, A. D. 1932, as taken from and compared with the original now on file in my office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal at Trenton this 2d day of February, 1932.

[SEAL.] THOMAS A. MATHIS,
Secretary of State.

THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask leave to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary a petition which has been sent to me, expressing the sentiment of members of the executive board of the Delaware Woman's Christian Temperance Union and of members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Laurel, Lebanon, and Rising Sun, Del.

There being no objection, the petition was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In view of the many bills that have been submitted to Congress by the opponents of prohibition, we, the undersigned, urge that you use your influence and cast your vote in support of the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, and that this petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I also ask to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary a resolution which has been forwarded to me by the Wilmington (Del.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union Federation of over 1,000 members, and a similar resolution which has been adopted by the Smyrna (Del.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

To the United States Senate:

Whereas the eighteenth amendment was adopted by the orderly processes of government and has been sustained by no less than 48 decisions of the United States Supreme Court; and

Whereas its opponents are now asking Congress to resubmit the question of prohibition through a repeal amendment to be ratified by State conventions called for that purpose; and

Whereas we have no reason to believe that those opponents who have not counseled obedience to the eighteenth amendment and its enforcement act and those who have openly advocated disobedience and disregard of the same, which is selective anarchy,

would change their attitude and accept the vote of the majority of States should the repeal amendment fail of ratification; and

Whereas we are confident that resubmission would not take prohibition out of politics but would intensify it as a State issue: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures, and that we ask our Congressman from this district and our United States Senators to vote against such a resolution and to vote for adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance.

Adopted by Wilmington Woman's Christian Temperance Union Federation, representing over 1,000 people.

January 20, 1932, Wilmington, Del.

LAURA B. MELSON, C. S.,
710 West Twentieth Street, Wilmington, Del.

To the United States Senate:

Whereas the eighteenth amendment was adopted by the orderly processes of government and has been sustained by no less than 48 decisions of the United States Supreme Court; and

Whereas its opponents are now asking Congress to resubmit the question of prohibition through a repeal amendment to be ratified by State conventions called for that purpose; and

Whereas we have no reason to believe that those opponents who have not counseled obedience to the eighteenth amendment and its enforcement act and those who have openly advocated disobedience and disregard of the same, which is selective anarchy, would change their attitude and accept the vote of the majority of States should the repeal amendment fail of ratification; and

Whereas we are confident that resubmission would not take prohibition out of politics but would intensify it as a State issue: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures, and that we ask our Congressman from this district and our United States Senators to vote against such a resolution and to vote for adequate appropriations for law enforcement and for education in law observance.

Adopted by Smyrna Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Representing the temperance people.

FEBRUARY 2, 1932, *Smyrna, Del.*

PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF WORLD WAR VETERANS

Mr. BROOKHART presented a letter from John Thomas Taylor, vice chairman national legislative committee of the American Legion, relative to the proposed granting of pensions to widows and orphans of World War veterans, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., January 23, 1932.

Hon. SMITH W. BROOKHART,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: A treacherous attack upon pending legislation to provide allowances for widows and orphans of World War veterans was made in the Washington Post of January 19, under the caption "War Veterans Agree to Halt Pension Fight—White House Is Notified Demands Will Not Be Pressed." It would seem that the purpose of the instigators of this article was to have Congress believe that the Legion had abandoned its fight for those who can not fight for themselves—the widows and orphans of World War veterans.

This letter is written to clear up any doubts which you may have as a result of the Washington Post article. I want you to know that the responsible officials of the Legion, our 1,000,000 members throughout the country, and the half million women in our auxiliary have never even considered the question of abandoning this fight for justice. The widows' and orphans' legislation is No. 1 upon the preferred legislative program of the Legion for the present session of the Congress, and the Legion will throw its entire strength into the fight for the enactment of this just and long-delayed legislation.

The fact that there is depression in the land makes the hardships confronting widows and orphans much more severe than they would otherwise be, and therefore increases the necessity for immediate congressional action. You may know that the widows and orphans of World War veterans whose death can not be connected with the service under the existing laws are the only class of widows and orphans of veterans of all wars who are thus neglected by their Government. This fact alone should warrant the speedy enactment of this legislation, and we will appreciate your cooperation toward this end.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN THOMAS TAYLOR,
Vice Chairman National Legislative Committee.

REPORT OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. FESS, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the bill (S. 2377) authorizing an appropriation to defray the expenses of participation by the United States Government in the Second Polar Year Program, August 1, 1932, to August 31, 1933, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 162) thereon.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

As in executive session,

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, reported favorably the nomination of Wilson McCarthy, of Utah, to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932, which was ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

Mr. WATERMAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on yesterday, February 2, 1932, that committee presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 556. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Elk River at or near Kelso, Tenn.;

S. 2199. An act exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts;

S. 2388. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn.;

S. 2389. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the Dandridge-Newport road in Jefferson County, Tenn.; and

S. 2408. An act to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington for lighthouse purposes."

Mr. WATERMAN also, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on to-day, February 3, 1932, that committee presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 1089. An act to establish a minimum area for a Shenandoah national park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes;

S. 1291. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River, near Freeport, Fla.;

S. 2317. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Joseph River; and

S. 2407. An act to authorize the sale of parts of a cemetery reserve made for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in Oklahoma.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WALSH of Montana:

A bill (S. 3460) granting certain public lands to the State of Montana for the purpose of erecting, furnishing, and maintaining a State historical library; and

A bill (S. 3461) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands to Malta Post, No. 57, American Legion, of Montana, for park purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. JONES:

A bill (S. 3462) to amend section 25 of the Federal farm act so that national farm-loan associations, as indorsers of first mortgages, will only be liable for deficiencies; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A bill (S. 3463) to amend section 23 of the merchant marine act, 1920; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 3464) to amend the World War adjusted compensation act, 1924; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 3465) fixing time for reimbursement of the United States for money advanced for acquisition of water rights for Indian lands within the Oroville-Tonasket Irriga-

tion District under act of May 18, 1916, and supplemental acts, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 3466) for the relief of the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 3467) amending the annual rate of payment of irrigation construction assessments on the Wapato irrigation project; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3468) for the relief of Herbert E. Guthrie; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3469) to reinstate Robert D. Ross as midshipman in the United States Naval Academy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 3470) granting an increase of pension to John G. Nelson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

A bill (S. 3471) granting an increase of pension to Lizzie A. Bailey (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3472) to amend the act of Congress approved June 26, 1912, entitled "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GLENN:

A bill (S. 3473) granting a pension to Martha Jones (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 3474) granting a pension to Harriet S. Nicholson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAREY:

A bill (S. 3475) to amend section 5 of the act approved July 10, 1890 (28 Stat. 664), relating to the admission into the Union of the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. BROOKHART:

A bill (S. 3476) to provide for the establishment of an 8-hour day for yardmasters of carriers; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. SCHALL:

A bill (S. 3477) for the relief of the Playa de Flor Land & Improvement Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3478) for the relief of Kenneth Morlan Hall and Mary Jane Hall; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3479) granting a pension to Harry Martin; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3480) to enable the Secretary of War to obtain possession of and acquire legal title to the Thayer-West Point Hotel, including furniture and equipment, located in the grounds of West Point Military Academy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ODDIE:

A bill (S. 3481) authorizing Lester Baker, major, United States Army, to accept the decoration tendered to him by the Bolivian Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

RETURN OF AN ENROLLED BILL TO THE SENATE

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. President, I submit a concurrent resolution and ask for its immediate consideration. The resolution is to correct an error made by the enrolling clerk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the resolution be read for the information of the Senate.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 13) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to return to the Senate the enrolled bill (S. 2199) entitled "An act exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting several nominations and treaties were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT—ADDRESS BY MRS. CLEMENT L. SHAVER

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I submit for incorporation in the RECORD a radio address on prohibition, delivered by Mrs. Clement L. Shaver, of West Virginia, December 5, 1931.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

As a southern woman, I am glad to have this opportunity to speak of the prohibition issue, as it will come up in the present Congress.

We are hearing a great deal about resubmission of the eighteenth amendment. In fact, the wet and dry fight in Congress is likely to center around resubmission. The wets are talking of resubmission to the people as if it were a referendum. This is a false idea. A resolution to resubmit would not be a referendum; it would be a repeal amendment. Our Constitution provides no method for taking a national referendum; no machinery has been set up. Being a repeal amendment, the drys would not consider those who vote for it as neutral but merely wets. Make no mistake—a resolution to resubmit would be a straight-out vote for repeal, devised and initiated by the wets in an attempt to force repeal of the eighteenth amendment, all other schemes having failed. They propose, however, that this twentieth amendment, as they call it, shall differ radically in method from the other 19 amendments, all of which were ratified in the usual way, that is, by State legislatures composed of representatives of the people. These legislatures are to be scrapped in this emergency—relegated to the junk heap—because the wet politicians are afraid to trust any measure intended to repeal the eighteenth amendment to a body so largely composed of representatives elected by the dry vote of our rural communities. The liquor leaders believe that the legislatures are not "citified" enough—not wet enough—to vote on a repeal amendment intended to scrap national prohibition.

The wets are demanding ratification by State conventions. We know from experience that party bosses always send hand-picked, boss-controlled delegates to such conventions who would be completely subservient to their will. We have seen enough of State conventions at close range to know the will of the people is never considered. We are against State conventions where corruption reigns supreme.

The women of the South will never agree to a repeal amendment to be ratified in boss-ridden conventions. A repeal vote is not a neutral vote, but it is a wet vote. It is nothing short of a catastrophe in the midst of the economic confusion existing in our country to-day—a condition that is world-wide—that a small group of selfish multimillionaires, plus Tammany Hall, should feel obliged to introduce this measure now when vital economic issues press so insistently for solution.

The agricultural situation, the financial situation, unemployment, taxation, world rehabilitation, and many other problems are clamoring to be solved. Yet a little group of capitalists—money gods—up in the northern cities, plus Tammany, have the brazen effrontery to make liquor rehabilitation the vital consideration of this Congress. From them comes the hullabaloo for restoration of legalized liquor and the return of the old-time pesthole, the licensed saloon. These millionaires and their friends—the brewers and distillers, both at home and abroad—are perfectly aware that legalized liquor would mean the saloon back on every street corner, giving them easy money. They plan to hold up the Congress and prevent its getting down to the business of the country. They prefer to see turmoil and complete absence of harmony while valuable time is wasted in taking a vote on what they call resubmission or referendum. In reality this is a vote to repeal the eighteenth amendment, at the same time attempting to sidetrack the people's minds in a dangerous crisis. These wets have invaded the ranks of both major parties. They have attempted to turn the great old-time party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Wilson into a dripping-wet, alien-controlled party, whose leaders are expected to bow the knee before a handful of millionaire wets.

People of America! Turn a deaf ear in this crisis to a group of sidetracking turmoilers and repealers who are shirking and shunting aside every grave and pressing economic issue. Don't allow them to hold your Congress by the throat!

What is at the bottom of this turmoil eternally being fomented in Chicago and New York and a few other wet cities? I will tell you exactly what we southern Democratic women think the trouble is. Isn't it that prohibition is a political liability to a few capitalists up North? Doesn't it break up their power to control their party machines and, therefore, does it not send to Congress too many men who refuse to do their bidding? Thus it interferes with their financial schemes.

But here is a thing to think about: The very fact that prohibition is a political liability to certain interests up North makes it a political asset to the West and South. The North will never be able to set the standards of the South nor fool us into giving up a great moral and political asset. There has never been a better exhibition of unpatriotic greed than the wets are prepared to give in this Congress.

During the World War Woodrow Wilson forced the wet minority to stand aside in face of the food situation. Such a crisis is again facing us, and again the vociferous wet minority must yield. It was booze against food then; it is booze against food now. The prohibition fight is a political contest between a few wet cities and the vast countryside. We will never surrender the idealism of the country to the perverted ideas of a few big, wet cities. No such domination will be tolerated.

If the prohibitionists of this country, whose fathers endured almost incredible labors and dangers to create upon this continent a nation to which the oppressed of all lands might repair, now permit a great constitutional change like the eighteenth amendment to be discredited and destroyed by indirection and obstruction, they will have forfeited the rights of themselves and their children to participate effectively in the Government.

We descendants of such nation builders must demand that the integrity of the Constitution be maintained; that the regular processes of constitutional change be not set aside by the substitution of other methods of making these changes, such as that suggested by the wet advocates of repeal, alias resubmission, alias referendum. We must demand that the Government shall vigorously enforce the existing law so long as that law is not repealed by the identical method employed in the passage of the eighteenth amendment.

No resubmission until a better plan is offered. No repeal amendment producing unspeakable turmoil and confusion in the States. No boss-ridden, machine-controlled conventions to pass upon so grave a subject as repeal of the eighteenth amendment, but on to prohibition honestly and adequately enforced. Women of the South will neither tolerate nor support any other program.

This is the message of the women of Dixie put to every American citizen.

Comparatively few women are in the list of Democratic contributors to whom Chairman Raskob addressed his seven questions about prohibition. But the Democratic Party can not afford to disregard the views of the women voters of this country. After considering Raskob's proposals and noting the reaction thereto, it is my conviction that a great majority of the Democratic women will agree with me in the following comments on Raskob's questionnaire:

Women will insist that any action to replace the eighteenth amendment follow the same procedure by which it was originally adopted.

The women will resent Mr. Raskob's proposal to open the way for ceaseless campaigns against prohibition in dry States with all their accompaniment of propaganda glorifying drink and encouraging lawlessness.

The women will resist the adoption of any "home-rule" plan by which a wet State can be made the source of supply for liquor to be sold illegally in other States.

The women will distrust any assurances in Mr. Raskob's proposals that the saloon would not be restored if the eighteenth amendment were repealed either entirely or in relation to any State.

The women will not believe that a law-enforcement plank would mean that the party prefers to ignore the economic situation because they are convinced that prohibition in the ratio of its observance and enforcement is one of the chief factors tending to lessen suffering in these days of depression.

The women will be very suspicious of any so-called referendum plan that would substitute for constitutional action by legislatures some method of decision by hand-picked, boss-ridden wet delegates. The women remember too well that the liquor forces have never failed to choose whatever method would make it easy for them to control votes.

Mr. Raskob speaks of independent voters who will flock to the Democratic Party under conditions which he suggests. He should remember that the women are the most independent factor in American politics and they will never flock to the Democratic Party if it favors any liquor system.

The women have sense enough to know that the solid dry ground of constitutional prohibition offers the best foundation for effective action against liquor and that there is no solid wet ground.

REPEAL OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. Julian Codman, of the Massachusetts Bar, on the subject of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. Mr. Codman particularly analyzes the statistics which have been gathered from different polls conducted throughout the country and from State elections, all of which he claims indicate a progressive increase of sentiment in favor of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

Mr. Codman concludes his address by offering a 9-point program or plan to be followed after the repeal of the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF JULIAN CODMAN, LL. B., MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAR, AT THE BANGOR FORUM, NOVEMBER 22, 1931

In the matter of liquor control the object of all good citizens should be the same, namely, to secure the highest measure of temperance possible. They, however, differ radically in the means appropriate to accomplish this end. I, for one, believe in regulation by the States.

Mr. Hale apparently believes in prohibition through the Constitution of the United States and enforcement by the Federal Government. Our object being the same, I decline to be described as a "wet," since the term is a misnomer and befogs the issue.

I believe in the repeal of the eighteenth amendment, and I have asked that my name be entered in the debate as a repealer.

I make this as my first proposition, and I think you will agree with it.

Either the eighteenth amendment should remain in the Constitution and should be enforced, or it should be repealed and the power to regulate the liquor traffic, which has been taken from the States by the amendment, returned to them so that their power to regulate can be exerted for the benefit of their citizens.

As things are to-day, no State can pass a law to regulate the liquor traffic. In those States where prohibition is not wanted and where hostile public opinion makes enforcement impossible, the actual regulation of this most dangerous traffic is in the hands of the underworld, and the tremendous profits from it pass untaxed to assist in the promotion of crime of all kinds.

I have time to-day to discuss but one aspect of the prohibition problem, but it is a singularly pertinent one at present.

It is, whether in the existing state of public opinion the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment is possible; and whether there is evidence to show that public opinion is becoming more favorable to it, or less.

Mr. Hale will doubtless admit that the experience of mankind has proved, so far as anything is susceptible of proof, that no law can be enforced that has not behind it the support of a great majority of the law-abiding citizens. Those laws which are thus supported by the public conscience require no coercive effort against the ordinary citizen who obeys them as a matter of course. The machinery of the law exists to control the exceptional cases.

This general acceptance is what makes the laws against the recognized crimes, such as murder, theft, burglary, arson, rape, etc., the crimes universally recognized as contrary to the moral sense of socially minded people, enforceable so as to afford reasonable protection to the community as a whole.

Those are crimes which the law designates as mala in se. There are other offenses, not necessarily immoral nor unsocial, which have been made crimes by act of law. These are designated mala prohibita, and their effective enforcement depends upon how far they correspond to the actual mores or customs of the people. If they are in accord with accepted custom, they will be obeyed and will succeed. If not in such accord, they will be disobeyed and will fail in their object. All this is axiomatic.

Mr. Hale will doubtless concede that the prohibition of intoxicating liquor decreed by the eighteenth amendment and its enabling statutes belongs to this second class, namely, mala prohibita.

My purpose this afternoon is to go over with you the evidence as we have it after 10 years of trial and to find out, if we can, whether the prohibition amendment reflects sufficiently the mores or customs of our people to have gained the necessary popular support.

The evidence which I shall give you has convinced me, and will doubtless convince some of you, that the prohibition amendment and its enabling laws do not satisfy this requirement. I think it will prove to you that prohibition in fact is not wanted and will never be tolerated by the American people.

When I have discussed this evidence with you I intend to tell you very briefly what I believe to be the only possible remedy for present evil conditions, and I shall make my suggestion with becoming modesty, because I recognize that whatever plan may be tried will necessarily be subject to changes suggested by practical experience.

The history of the last decade is illuminating. The eighteenth amendment went into effect on the 1st of January, 1920, and since it had been ratified by the legislatures of 46 States the prohibitionists were perhaps justified in making the claim that it had also the assent, if not the actual approval, of a majority of the people. But almost immediately after the enforcement law went into operation it became apparent that the sentiment against the eighteenth amendment was far more widespread and much stronger than had been supposed even by its opponents. It became very clear that the "wets," as they were then called for the first time, were not a small body (the so-called "liquor interests"), and that they were not confined to any one part of the country. The truth was that, lacking effective organization and thus being without a voice, their numbers had been vastly underestimated.

From that day to this, in spite of defective organization, lack of funds (and I know of what I speak), and wanting a constructive plan, the number of the opponents of prohibition has steadily increased.

The opposition has grown among thoughtful people, because it is not difficult for such to understand that the eighteenth amend-

ment is out of place in the Constitution of the United States; that its insertion therein had deprived the States of primary rights reserved for the benefit of their citizens; that it is wholly without moral sanction, and is consequently disobeyed by all classes. They see that it can be enforced, if at all, only by "strong arm" methods wholly foreign to American principles and repugnant to the American spirit of independence, and they are convinced that its constant evasion through wholesale corruption is a menace to our institutions.

The average citizens, who have no time to give the subject philosophic consideration, are increasingly against the eighteenth amendment simply from watching the results of the enforcement law. They see the rich through corruption getting everything they want, while the poor, though they get some bad whisky, are to a great extent deprived of beer. They see that young people of both sexes are drinking far more than they used to, and that in this generation, when the barriers between the sexes are pretty well broken down, the social results of such increased drinking are appalling. They know that drunkenness was not materially decreased by the passage of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act, and that, though the open saloon has disappeared, there are speak-easies in every street and bootleggers on every corner. As a result they treat the confident assertions made by the "drys" that prohibition has brought prosperity, reduced drunkenness, and increased savings-bank accounts with contemptuous amusement.

The first nation-wide attempt to find out how the people really felt about the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act was made by the Literary Digest in 1922. The questions submitted were these:

(a) Do you favor a continuance and strict enforcement of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead law?

(b) Do you favor modification of the Volstead law to permit light wines and beers?

(c) Do you favor a repeal of the eighteenth amendment?

The result was, in round numbers, 306,000 votes for enforcement, 326,000 votes for modification, 164,000 for repeal. In discussing the poll in the "A B C of Prohibition" Fabian Franklin says:

"It must be noted that the modification here proposed was not 2.75 per cent beer but a proposal 'to permit light wines and beers.' It was a proposal to nullify the eighteenth amendment as understood by all its thoroughgoing supporters."

I shall discuss the poll again when I compare it with the later poll in 1930.

In the November elections of 1926 there were a number of official State referenda. The most significant was that held in the State of New York. The question then submitted was in substance whether Congress should be requested so to modify the Volstead enforcement law as to permit each State to determine for itself what was in fact an intoxicating liquor. The vote in favor of this proposal was 1,763,070; opposed, 598,484—a majority in favor of 1,164,586. This was not merely an urban victory, since 42 out of 62 counties in the State were on record in favor of the recommendation. In Illinois, in the same year, the same question was submitted, and 840,631 voted in favor with 556,592 opposed, a majority in favor of 284,039.

In the same year (1926) "In the far West," I quote again from Mr. Franklin, "Several States voted on referendum questions of various kinds relating to prohibition. The result in California was a majority, but not a heavy one, for the dry side 565,875 to 502,258. In Montana the wet side won by 83,231 to 72,982. In Nevada, although the total population of the State is very small, the question submitted was directly aimed at the eighteenth amendment itself, not merely at a particular law passed to carry out that amendment. The result was a vote of 18,131 against the eighteenth amendment to 5,382 for it. And, secondly, this victory stands out as proof of a most remarkable change of sentiment among the people of Nevada. In 1918 Nevada adopted State prohibition by a vote of 13,248 to 9,060—so that nine years of experience resulted in cutting the dry vote from 13,000 to 5,000 and increasing the wet vote from 9,000 to 18,000."

Coming now to 1928, early in that year the citizens in the State of North Dakota had a referendum as to whether they should continue or repeal prohibition adopted in the State constitution nearly 40 years ago. The drys won a victory by a margin of about 3 per cent of the total vote of nearly 200,000. An editorial in the New York Herald Tribune said:

"To anyone familiar with the history of the State, with the almost completely rural character of the population, and with its reputation as a pillar of the prohibitionist edifice, the slenderness of the margin will cause amazement."

In that same State five years before, in 1923—

"The senate unanimously and the house with only 10 dissenting votes," says the New York Times, "passed concurrent legislation praying Congress never to make the Volstead Act more liberal."

This last referendum gave the women of North Dakota their first opportunity to express their opinion upon prohibition. Here we have a rural State showing more than a decided drift, and the women apparently are "rocking the boat."

But there is much more to learn about the women. Also in 1928 a questionnaire was sent out by the Women's National Republican Club to 3,000 Republican women. In 38 States out of 1,500 replies 107 only voted to retain the present Volstead law and 1,393 voted for repeal or modification to permit light wines and beers, Government control, or local option.

Even before the referenda at the 1928 elections in Massachusetts and Montana it was plain to those who chose to look for it that the women of the country were losing whatever confidence they had in the efficacy of Federal prohibition and that the all-embracing claims of feminine support asserted by such women as Mrs. Henry W. Peabody, of the Women's National Law Enforcement, and Mrs. Ella Boole, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, are made in enthusiastic ignorance and are without foundation.

The year 1929 saw the establishment and rapid growth of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, founded in New York by Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, who resigned her position on the Republican National Committee to undertake the work.

In two short years this organization was represented in every State in the Union, and it has to-day an active membership of more than 350,000.

In two years these intelligent women, doubtful at first as to what steps should be taken or what steps it was even possible to take to get rid of the hideous conditions which national prohibition has created, have moved rapidly through the stage of modification and have come out squarely for the absolute repeal of the eighteenth amendment. Though opposed to the return of the saloon, they are convinced that temperance can be attained only through the medium of the States themselves. They are therefore in favor of each State working out the problem for itself in its own way and to the satisfaction of its citizens, with only such assistance from the Federal Government as may be legitimately given by the regulation of interstate commerce to prevent the importation of intoxicants into those States which prohibit them by their own constitution or laws.

In Massachusetts the people have had four opportunities to express their opinion through referenda on the subject of Federal prohibition; first, in 1922 when an elaborate State enforcement law to support the eighteenth amendment was defeated by a majority of 104,000; second in 1924, when a second State enforcement law (afterwards called the "Baby Volstead Act," was adopted by a majority of 8,000—452,000 in favor, 444,000 against, 312,000 blanks).

Again in 1928, on a straightforward demand for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment under the public policy statute in 40 out of the 44 senatorial districts, the repeal of the eighteenth amendment was voted by 284,697 majority.

In 1930 the "Baby Volstead Act," approved in 1924 by 8,000 votes, was repealed by a majority of 281,000. Every congressional district was carried by more than 10,000 majority.

This is very important evidence since the opposition to the eighteenth amendment grew rapidly among the rural as well as among the urban population.

In Montana the question on the ballot in November, 1928, was on the adoption of a State enforcement law. Mr. Hoover carried the State by a majority of 32,722; the enforcement law was defeated by a majority of 12,188. Comment is unnecessary.

The next indication of the trend of public opinion was the referendum held in Wisconsin in April, 1929. There the question was upon the repeal of the State enforcement law. Both sides carried on an active campaign, but the day on which the ballots were cast was cold and stormy, and the total state-wide vote was not large when compared with that cast at the presidential election in November. The result was a victory for repeal of almost 2 to 1, the majority being somewhat more than 153,000. In the preceding November Mr. Hoover had carried the State by about 94,000.

But by far the most valuable evidence in regard to the sentiment of our people throughout the whole country and its change in character is contained in a comparison and analysis of the two polls taken by the Literary Digest, the first in 1922, to which I have already referred, and the second last year, in 1930.

Students in politics have for years recognized the extraordinary accuracy with which these Literary Digest polls have forecast political results at the succeeding elections, but the general public has not to so great an extent appreciated their significance.

The good faith and fairness of the Literary Digest have never been attacked.

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, the head of the new prohibition coalition called "The Allied Forces," and Dr. Stanley High, the coeditors of the Christian Herald, say: "The fairness, impartiality, and editorial integrity of the Literary Digest are recognized throughout the United States wherever magazines are read."

I have had a careful analysis made of each of these polls. The questions in each poll were the same. Let me repeat them:

1. Do you favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead law?

2. Do you favor a modification of the Volstead law to permit light wines and beer?

3. Do you favor a repeal of the prohibition amendment?

In 1922 the Digest sent out 10,000,000 ballots. Just who were to receive such ballots was determined by a system that the Digest has not disclosed except to state that it was a method which was arbitrary in its working and wholly impersonal in its selection of voters. The return in 1922 was a little under 10 per cent of the total ballots sent out. This was at the time considered a large return to a questionnaire, and the results in round thousands were, as I have already stated:

For strict enforcement	306,000
For modification to permit light wine and beer	326,000
For the repeal of the eighteenth amendment	164,000

Even then it was only a minority of the voters who were satisfied with the working of national prohibition. The modification-

ists were the most numerous. Those in favor of enforcement were second, and the out-and-out repealers were in the last place. Repeal had only a little more than 20 per cent of the total vote.

Let us now come to 1930, after a lapse of eight years. The second poll was taken, using exactly the same questions. The same general system of selection was used, but double the number of ballots, viz, 20,000,000, were sent out. By 1930 the general interest in the poll had so greatly increased that the number of ballots returned was relatively much larger, no less than 24.03 per cent of those sent out. The actual number of ballots received by the Digest was 4,897,188. Of these, 85,674 were defective, in that the voter had made the mistake of voting twice. These were not counted in the result, but were tabulated separately. I shall refer to them later in another connection.

Now for the perfect ballots. Again, in round thousands, the vote was as follows:

For enforcement	1,464,000
For modification to permit light wines and beer	1,399,000
For repeal	1,943,000

The most important thing for us to note at once is the fact that modification to permit light wines and beer, which led the ballot in 1922, has now dropped to third position, losing no less than 11.76 per cent.

Enforcement, which was second, is still second, but has shrunk 8 per cent, while repeal, which was last, is now first, with a gain of 19.76 per cent.

A further tabulation by States shows (I have the complete figures here and can give them to anyone who may be interested) that repeal has gained in every State in the Union, and in every State but nine at the expense of enforcement as well as at the expense of modification. Modification lost in every State, but always to a greater extent to repeal than to enforcement.

Taking the great States of the Middle West, which are so important an index as to the drift of public opinion, and what do we find?

In Illinois the increase for repeal is 23.11 per cent.
In Ohio the increase for repeal is 17.22 per cent.
In Indiana the increase for repeal is 14.96 per cent.
In Iowa the increase for repeal is 12.14 per cent.
In Kentucky the increase for repeal is 12.73 per cent.
In Missouri the increase for repeal is 21.15 per cent.
In Minnesota the increase for repeal is 24.36 per cent.
In Michigan the increase for repeal is 27.35 per cent.

Taking, now, some of the States of the far West, we find that California shows a gain of 18.25 per cent; Idaho, 25.41 per cent; Oregon, 17.74 per cent; and Washington, 20.04 per cent.

The largest gain for repeal in the South, as one might expect, is in Florida, which showed an increase for repeal of 23 per cent. Louisiana is close behind with 21.37 per cent and Virginia with 16.16 per cent. The largest gain for repeal of all is found in the State of Wyoming, being 28.15 per cent, but Montana is a close second with 28.12 per cent. In Maine the gain for repeal was 9.59 per cent.

In only five States in the Union does the total vote for enforcement exceed that of modification and repeal added together, and these States are by no means the most populous nor the most influential. They are Kansas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and North Carolina.

Now it is true that the modification vote has shrunk in percentage since 1922 and that the drift has been steadily from modification either to repeal or very slightly to enforcement; but it is also true that the modification vote is a very large one, being in the 1930 poll 29.12 per cent of the whole vote cast, while the vote for enforcement is still not more than 30.46 per cent.

To have a clear understanding of the drift of popular sentiment we must find out if we can with a fair amount of accuracy where in the last analysis the modification vote would go when the sole question is the repeal or maintenance and enforcement of the eighteenth amendment.

Fortunately we have some very illuminating evidence on this point, which is supplied by the eighty-five thousand odd defective ballots to which I have already made reference. Permit me to tell you in the Digest's own words about these ballots. I quote from the issue of May 24, 1930.

"Meanwhile the twice-marked ballots were tabulated in last week's Digest. There was 85,674 of them all together and 83,147 were marked for modification and repeal, leaving 2,527 straddling between modification and enforcement. From this discrepancy, the Digest draws no conclusion but preserves the neutrality which is its guiding star even through the Armageddon of the prohibition poll."

Unlike the Digest, I will draw the obvious conclusion, namely, that the modification vote which frankly seeks light wine and beer will, if forced to decide between repeal and enforcement favor repeal at a ratio of about 40 to 1. So much for the polls. These were taken before the elections in the fall of 1930.

Did the result of the elections tend to confirm or to discredit the result of these polls as to the drift of popular opinion? The answer is plain enough. In the last Congress the out-and-out repeal vote was only about 70. In the Congress elected last fall, which under normal conditions will assemble in December, 1931, the repeal vote is more than 170. Every Congressman elected in congressional by-elections this year was opposed to the eighteenth amendment, and I think that when the facts which I am giving you to-day become more generally known, as they will be, that the number of Congressmen in favor of repeal will very greatly increase.

Time will permit me to mention but one more bit of evidence, but it is of such paramount importance that I can not omit it.

I refer to the findings of President Hoover's Commission for Law Enforcement and Observance, in January of this year, usually called the Wickersham Commission, after 18 months of intensive study. I quote from page 49 of the report signed by 10 out of the 11 commissioners:

"The state of public opinion, certainly in many important portions of the country, presents a serious obstacle to the observance and enforcement of the national prohibition laws.

"In view of the fact, however, that the prohibition movement received such large popular support and the eighteenth amendment was ratified by such overwhelming legislative majorities, inquiry naturally arises as to the causes of the present state of public opinion. There appear to be many causes, some arising out of the structure of the law, the conditions to which it was to be applied, and the methods of its enforcement. Others, inherent in the principle of the act, may now be stated.

"The movement against the liquor traffic and the use of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes was originally a movement for temperance. The organizations which grew out of this movement and were potent in its development were generally in their inception temperance organizations having as their immediate objectives the promotion of temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages and as a means to this end the abolition of the commercialized liquor traffic and the licensed saloon, which were the obvious sources of existing abuses. In many of those States where prohibition laws were adopted and saloons abolished, provision was made for the legal acquisition of limited amounts of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. It was only when the eighteenth amendment was adopted that total abstinence was sought to be established by fiat of law throughout the territory of the United States, or even in many of these States which had adopted limited prohibition laws.

"There are obvious differences, both as to individual psychology and legal principle, between temperance and prohibition. Temperance assumes a moderate use of alcoholic beverages, but seeks to prevent excess.

"To those holding this view, the field of legitimate governmental control over personal conduct is limited accordingly. Prohibition makes no distinction between moderate and excessive use. It is predicated upon the theory that any use of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes, however moderate and under any conditions, is antisocial and so injurious to the community as to justify legal restraint. To those who entertain this view the effort to enforce universal total abstinence by absolute legal mandate is logical. There is, therefore, a fundamental cleavage in principle between those who believe in temperance and those who believe in prohibition * * *.

"When the original temperance movement developed into one for prohibition, the immediate objective was the abolition of the commercialized liquor traffic and the legalized saloon. As between the alternatives of supporting prohibition or the saloon, those who favored the principle of temperance naturally supported prohibition and, by a combination of the two groups, brought about the adoption of the eighteenth amendment and the national prohibition act.

"When these measures became operative the situation was changed. The legalized liquor traffic and open saloon were abolished, and few desire their return. The question was no longer one between prohibition and the saloon, but whether prohibition or the effort to enforce universal total abstinence by legal mandate was sound in principle, or was the best and most effective method of dealing with the problem. On this question there was an immediate and inevitable cleavage between those who believed in prohibition and those who believed in temperance. Those who favored prohibition on principle naturally supported the law and demanded the most vigorous measures for its enforcement. Those who favored temperance on principle * * * looked upon the effort to require and enforce total abstinence upon all the people, temperate and intemperate alike, by legal mandate, as unsound in principle and an unwarranted extension of governmental control over personal habits and conduct. They recognized and insisted upon the exercise of the right of the Government to regulate and control the production, handling, and use of intoxicating liquors * * * but did not approve of the attempt to extend that power to the prevention of temperate use under conditions not, in their view, injurious or antisocial. The abolition of the commercial traffic and the open saloon were so obviously steps in the right direction that for a time many of those holding this view acquiesced in the law or gave it passive support, but as its operations became more manifest and methods and efforts of enforcement developed, this acquiescence or indifference changed into nonobservance or open hostility. Thus an ever-widening difference was developed between those groups who by their united efforts for the abolition of the saloon had made possible the adoption of the amendment and the national prohibition act.

"Of course, there had been at all times a very substantial portion of the normally law-abiding people who had actively opposed the eighteenth amendment on principle. Many of these accepted and observed the law when once it was passed. When it became apparent that the results expected were not being realized, when the effects of the operations of the law and of the methods of enforcement which they deemed invasions of private rights became manifest, their opposition became aroused. This opposition was now, for reasons stated above, largely increased from the ranks

of those who had formerly supported the law to get rid of the saloons but felt that it went too far—who really favored the principle of temperance but did not favor prohibition. The cumulative result of these conditions was that from its inception to the present time the law has been to a constantly increasing degree deprived of that support in public opinion which was and is essential for its general observance or effective enforcement."

Returning to my first proposition, viz, that the eighteenth amendment either should be retained and enforced or that it should be repealed, I have come to the conclusion on the evidence which I have put before you, and on much which I have no time to mention, that since the eighteenth amendment can not be enforced it should be repealed, and that each State should deal with the matter for itself, with such help only from the Federal Government as can be given by such laws as the Webb-Kenyon law operating under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution.

The plan which I should tentatively suggest for trial in my own Commonwealth necessitates for such trial the repeal of the amendment.

I make no suggestion in regard to the State of Maine. That is Maine's business.

GIVES 9-POINT PROGRAM

Now, assuming that repeal in Massachusetts, we might begin our experiment with a very strict regulatory law which should embody nine important principles. These I have no space to elaborate. They are:

First. All intoxicating liquors should be bought and sold only by a commission (or corporation chartered by the Commonwealth), which should be made up wholly of citizens of the highest class, and they, or it, should have no other business.

Second. The commission or corporation should make no profits, in which case there would be no object to press sales. No advertising should be permitted. The commission or corporation should be kept out of politics.

Third. There should be different methods in the distribution of spirits, wine, and beer.

Fourth. There should be varying rates of taxation on each class, so that the rate would rise with the increasing alcoholic content of the liquor.

Fifth. Distilled spirits should be sold in strictly limited quantities for delivery only at the house of the purchaser and every purchase should be recorded and the hours of sale strictly limited.

Sixth. Wine and beer should be sold by the case only, and only for delivery at the house of the purchaser.

Seventh. There should be no public drinking.

LOCAL OPTION PROVIDED FOR

Eighth. There should be local option, namely, the commission's (or corporation's) stores should be established only by the consent of the community (town, borough, or district).

Ninth. The whole expense of the commission (or corporation) should be paid out of the taxes and part of any balance might be used for temperance education.

The freedom of the States to deal with this matter which concerns so vitally the habits and interests of the citizen would, in my opinion, lead to much better and more practical legislation than can ever be hoped for under Federal prohibition.

The subject is far too great a one to be dealt with in the summary manner required by this address, and I am sensible of the inadequacy of my treatment of it.

But the importance of the points upon which I insist is that if supported by public opinion the return of the saloon would be wholly prevented, and the profit from the sale of liquor taken from private hands and either absorbed by the States in taxes, or would remain in the hands of the commission (or corporation), to be used by the State either for temperance education in part or wholly in reduction of taxes from other sources.

The chance of success of a State law, passed after careful consideration by a State legislature, is much greater than that of any law of universal application passed by Congress for the obvious reason that the States do not want the same type of regulation, and won't have it, as they have now very effectively demonstrated.

AMERICAN-MINDEDNESS

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, on the evening of January 11 last Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Ph. D., dean of Cathedral College, Brooklyn, delivered a radio address on the subject of "American-Mindedness." I ask permission to have the address inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Two hundred years ago one of the greatest men of all time and the greatest American of his own time was born. In early youth he was, with Patrick Henry, a distinguished member of the Virginia Colonial Legislature. At the dawn of middle age he was appointed commander in chief of the Continental Army. In the prime of his life he led the army of revolting America triumphantly against the better equipped and more experienced armies of British tyranny. He was first in war. He became first in peace, the first President of the United States. He was a lover of humanity, but he was, first of all and last of all, an American President and an American citizen. Despite the great gratitude he entertained toward France for the material help afforded us in the American Revolution, one of the first acts of his second presidential term was a proclamation of neutrality, issued on April 22, 1793, keeping America clear of the pernicious politics of monarchical Europe, and saving America from the devastation attendant upon the French Revolution and the long period of bloodshed and suffering that did not end till the Napoleonic monster of France ended his pitiable career as a prisoner on a lonely rock in the lonely wastes of the Atlantic Ocean. In his Farewell Address to the people of America, an address that should be read by every American at the present moment, he warned the country against "permanent alliance with any part of the foreign world."

Two hundred years after his birth and 133 years after his death on the quiet, sunlit slopes of beautiful Mount Vernon, this country which we love, this country which has realized the dreams of humanity more than any other country in the history of the world, stands in need of another Washington. How strange in his ears, were it possible for his handsome figure to move once more amongst us, would sound the congressional oratory about the cancellation of European debts. How strange to his mind would appear the diplomacy of the Department of State of the Federal Government, a diplomacy that insists in meddling in foreign affairs, the result of whose blind and hopeless meddling is a blinder and more hopeless muddling. How strange to his eyes would seem the motley population of our American cities, a population whose discordant variations of blood and race have been the result of a policy of reckless and wholesale immigration, without any attempt until a few years ago to regulate the quantity and quality of the immigrant in the interest of a better and purer Americanism. How cutting and just would be his indictment of those who like him have held the powers of leadership but who unlike him have become entangled in foreign alliances and bartered away the message of his Farewell Address for the present misery and mockery of international prestige and power.

When fifty or a hundred years from now the history of this country shall be written, the story of America will have divided itself into two characteristic periods. Many of the problems of these two periods will be overlapping. Social events and economic forces carry over from one generation to another, and reappear under all forms of political construction. The dividing lines of history are rarely if ever straight lines, rarely if ever accurately designated by the dates set down within our history textbooks for the minds and memories of our growing youth. Historical dates are always convenient. They are seldom conclusive. Running beneath all the forms of our social and economic and intellectual advancement since the beginning of our Federal life in 1789 the spirit of America, like the living fire, shall be seen to divide itself into two distinctive and mutually exclusive flames. One shall be the bright and crimson glory of an unadulterated Americanism begotten of the genius of Washington, incorporated in his farewell message, and permeating the national life of America until the opening of the World War. The other shall be a flame of fire and smoke; smoke from the ruined structures of post-war Europe, smoke that has blinded our statesmen to the truly national interest of America. One is the period of Washington; the other is the period of Wilson. To-day, as Mr. William Randolph Hearst has but lately put it, we must reject the policies of Wilson and return to the policies of Washington. If America is to endure, we who constitute the present generation must become less European minded and more and more American minded as the years go by.

As the political events of the past 15 years unroll themselves before us we realize that our entrance into the World War was one of the greatest blunders ever committed by this country; we realize that all the fine phraseology fashioned to fire the imagination and send millions of American youth across the sea to incarnadine the soil of Europe with their blood and whiten the soil of Europe with their bones was a great international travesty and deception. Not one of the purposes for which we entered the war has been realized, not because we have been unwilling to make the necessary national sacrifices but because those with whom and for whom we fought became drunk in the hour of victory and deserted us in the hour of peace. We remained true to them in war. They became traitors to us in peace. We entered the war to make the world "safe for democracy." The Fascism of Italy, the sovietism of Russia, the threatened dictatorship in Germany under the menace of Adolf Hitler are sufficient proof that our dream of making the world safe for democracy was an empty one, and that our deeds in flesh and blood were but empty sacrifices upon an altar of illusion and despair. We entered the war to make the world a safer place to live in.

The Orient to-day, because of the crisis in Manchuria, is aflame with the fires of war. France, which still hates Germany with hatred even greater than that which once pivoted around the lost Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, has a larger and more costly army than she had at the outbreak of the World War. England still insists that she and she alone must be mistress of the seas. Again and again in Italy during the past five years the rattling of the sword in the tyrannical scabbard of Mussolini has aroused Europe to fear, and emphasized in America the utter tragedy and futility of our sacrifice. A few months ago the Federal Government entertained the Foreign Minister of Italy, Signor Dino Grandi, whose coolings of peace at first might seem to be sufficient recompense for our recent alliance with Italy in the World War. Above those peaceful coolings and giving the lie to their melody and rhythm are the public statements of Mussolini, whom Dino Grandi represented. "We should be ready," said the master of Italy in April, 1927, "at a given moment to mobilize

and arm 5,000,000 men; we should reinforce our fleet, and our seamen should be so numerous and so powerful that the rumble of their engines shall drown all other sounds. Our wings should veil the sun."

Under date of January 30, 1930, Mussolini renewed his thunder: "Not only does Italy maintain integrally her right to naval parity with France but further she demands in principle this same right as against the strongest naval power in the world," * * * for words are beautiful things, but rifles, machine guns, ships, airplanes, and cannon are things still more beautiful." And again, on October 28, 1930, the defiance of Il Duce was repeated: "Fascist Italy is an immense legion on the march toward a greater to-morrow. Nobody can stop her. Nobody shall stop her." If, in the light of these remarks made by the leader of Italy without any reservations and qualifications, our Federal representatives and leaders in Washington accepted the statement of Dino Grandi when he said, "Our aims and those of your country are identical," their international outlook is as blind and their international activities as hopeless as the outlook and activities of Woodrow Wilson when he allowed himself to be duped by the deceitful diplomats and avenging autocrats who drew up the mangled and menacing peace treaty of Versailles.

The machinations of European politicians and diplomats since the close of the World War reveal how useless and un-American it is for us to waste our thought and energies in the reconstruction of Europe. Europe has ever hated and despised us. Europe has ever been jealous of our social and economic and industrial progress.

We have been condemned in every leading city of Europe as a Nation of money seekers and as a people whose only God has been the dollar sign. Yet year after year opera singers and orchestra directors and artists of the brush and chisel have swarmed these shores to accumulate a little of the wealth so theoretically despised in the press and social circles of the countries they have gladly quitted. Until recently we have permitted hordes of immigrants, some of them the outcasts and pariahs of foreign nationalities, to invade our shores where with the equal opportunities offered to all and with a guaranty of free speech and press and assemblage, unequaled by any country in the world, some of them have risen to positions of wealth and influence, while all of them have enjoyed standards of living and modes of working far better than that afforded by the governments of their forefathers. From the purely cultural standpoint the army of American tourists have perhaps been more numerically and more deeply appreciative of the works of art of the Old World than those who dwell within the shadows of the Old World cathedrals or who cluster beside the walls of their famous museums. Appreciation and culture after all fundamentally depend upon education, and the educational system of America from the standpoint of the numbers educated and money expended and time consumed is unrivaled throughout the world. When the balance sheet of credits and debits is read with the calm eyes of justice and with the impartial mind of the historian, Europe will be found, in all generations since the foundation of this Republic, the undisputed debtor of America.

Far from recognizing this, Europe on the contrary is preparing to default in the payment of its war debts to America. Europe defaulted at the peace treaty of Versailles. It was the understanding of Woodrow Wilson that the peace treaty, like the armistice, was to be written on the basis of his fourteen points. Before the deceptive practices and fraudulent diplomacy of European leaders every one of Wilson's idealistic policies and pronouncements were swept away. As a sop to his diplomatic but forced surrender, the League of Nations was accepted—a league which by actual historical evidence has proven to be the most rusty and creaking assemblage of unsuccessful machinery that the modern world has evolved. Every red-blooded American can thank God this night that the Congress of these United States refused to be a party to its hypocrisy and illusions. America is now about to be robbed of the interallied debts. England and France have impudently asserted that the question of interallied debts and German reparations go hand in hand, and that without the payment of reparations the European debt to us can not be paid. In the scheme of international economics such a connection may exist. If it does exist, the relationship between the two problems was the creation of the allies themselves. They were the Shylocks at the peace table of Versailles. In justice, there is no connection between them.

If the Allies default on the payment of their just debts to us, then they have descended to a social status lower than that of the common gambler, whose debts are a gentleman's agreement and who never defaults in the payment of them. By a series of readjustments of deferred interest payments we have already canceled a tremendous proportion of the debts due to us; in some cases as enormous as 80 per cent, in other cases as high as 15 per cent. To cancel the debts entirely will mean that future generations of Americans must continue to pay for the World War while Europe shall have money to keep up the race of armaments and to insult the country without whose flesh and blood and energy and industry and money the Allies would never have succeeded. A little while ago the chairman of the board of directors of one of our largest national banks had the impudence to tell a congressional committee that unless the interallied debts were canceled future generations of Germans would be obliged to pay for the World War. That is the type of un-American utterance which must be silenced in America. What, I ask the gentleman, of the future generations of Americans in the event that the interallied debts be totally and absolutely canceled? American justice demands that the two questions, that of interallied debts and German reparations, be separated in the minds of the Allies and that the Allies take the responsibility for the economic mess into which they have plunged the world because of the greedy paganism which characterized the peace treaty of Versailles. In no eventuality should the interallied debts be completely canceled. Any revision should be based upon a corresponding revision in German reparations and upon a promise of the Allies that the money so saved shall not be used, as it is being used in France and Italy, to increase the size and terror of armaments, with their constant menace to the subsequent peace of the world.

The time has come to have an American President and an American Senate and an American House of Representatives and an American nationalism. The time has come to close our doors to the army of immigrants that has up to very recently descended wholesalely upon our shores. The time has come to withdraw from all entangling alliances in the political affairs of Europe. The time has come to oust American international bankers from high places of political power and influence. We wish no part or parcel in the destinies of Europe. We have been duped by foreign politicians long enough. God has given us a sector of the Western Hemisphere whose rolling hills and quiet valleys and busy cities need no European contacts to make them productive or happy or contented. The minds of our citizenry have always been actuated by dreams of peace. We know nothing of the national rivalries that have kept Europe in perpetual warfare for a thousand years and more. We know nothing of the scheming diplomacy that plunged Europe into the World War, enticed us into its flames, and that would now stigmatize us as a tyrannical creditor 15 years after the loan was contracted for the preservation of the debtor. The Federal Government, both Republican and Democratic, has continued in the misguided footsteps of Wilson. It is time to retrace our footsteps and regain the pathway of Washington. This year will mark the two hundredth anniversary of his birth. May this year likewise mark the birth of a newer era in the history of America, an era that under the leadership of some great American statesman shall be known as the era of American-mindedness, of America for the Americans!

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The Senate resumed the consideration of Mr. LA FOLLETTE's motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, in supporting the motion of the able Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] as coauthor of the bill under consideration, I desire to express special thanks for his exhaustive and persuasive presentation of the subject matter. In view of the length of the discussion, I wish to assure the Senate that, so far as practicable, I shall endeavor to avoid covering most of the ground already traversed by the Senator. If I fail in the fulfillment of this promise, it will be through inadvertence, or because the matters referred to again are of such exceptional importance that they appear to require reiteration.

Mr. President, in view of the ever-changing legislative situation, I depart from my expected remarks to express the hope that the enemies of the pending measure—and I say this the more freely because I do not know precisely who they are—are about to come into the open. The measure is nothing less in essence than an acid test of true Democracy, true Republicanism, and true Americanism. If, as reported, the White House is opposed to it, more's the pity. This is the best possible hour and occasion for the Democracy of the Nation, which is now being judged by the Nation on its ability to govern, to refuse to shoulder the mistakes of the White House.

However persuaded some opponents of the measure may be, it is apparent that cold-blooded efforts to defeat, in fact and theory, any adequate relief legislation, regardless of consequences, are massed behind the opposition to the pending bill. That being so, no more fundamental question has ever been presented within the walls of this historic Chamber. The Webster-Hayne debate on the true boundaries between State and Federal authority, the lightning-charged controversies over secession and reconstruction, the stirring encounters over the war-time powers of government and the constitutional rights of individuals were secondary in essential and fundamental importance to the pending measure. The issue may be postponed by a reluctant or timid Senate; it can not be evaded. It involves nothing less than the inalienable right of American citizens to life.

Let it once dawn on the understanding of our people that a majority of those in this Chamber are willing to see men, women, and children perish for lack of Federal aid, under the scourge of economic disaster for which they are individually blameless, and a new and black chapter of American history will open. American traditions of pioneering heroism, noble industry, dauntless daring, democratic fellowship, and matchless world-helping generosity will have been trampled in the dust, and a penny-pinching, grasping, heartless era of concentrated and brutal mastery will have succeeded. And the future, never doubt, will pay the price.

I am not now challenging the sincerity of all here who oppose Federal relief. However, I make bold to say, without qualification, that they fail to represent not only the standards of America's most glorious records, but also the solemn constitutional obligations imposed on every Member of this body.

The drive against Federal relief in cooperation with the States is well calculated to delay and, perhaps, defeat American morale and faith in government, and the conservation of invaluable good will and even lives of countless men, women, and children in our country. Let any devious course of delay be adopted, and the Senate will have made a record which will irreparably stain its reputation.

More than 100 years ago America rang with Pinckney's flaming sentence, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." If, following the legislative record already made at this session, this body refuses to admit the justice of the pending measure, which is grounded in well-established constitutional precedents and safeguarded against abuse, a new slogan of sinister significance and far-reaching consequence will be heard in America. That slogan, I fear, may be, "Billions for big business, but no mercy for mankind; billions for doles from the people's taxes for bankers, railroad executives, and financial institutions through government in business and finance corporations, but not one Federal cent for humanity."

Of course, what I am saying is based on certain assumptions. They are these: That the lives of many American citizens, without fault of their own, are to-day as definitely in danger as if menaced by flood, famine, fire, or earthquake; that local and State agencies and the splendid earlier responses of private charity have broken down, far and near, under the impact of overwhelming human need, and that there is at this hour no stabilizing factor to cope with the overwhelming emergency but the Federal Government, acting in cooperation with States, counties, municipalities, individual contributors, and other local forces and agencies.

Mr. President, in this Chamber, where, if anywhere, the mighty spirits of the so-called dead mingle with the living, we ought to be vividly conscious of the advice the fathers of America would give with respect to the solution of our present grave public emergency. We have heard much here during the present session about appropriating funds to spread the name and widen the influence of George Washington. Indeed, some of us on this side of the Chamber the other day smiled at a suggestion from the other side to the effect that a substantial appropriation be made to "sell George Washington to America."

Mr. President, Washington sold himself to America and the world at Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Yorktown. He sold himself even more to posterity when he presided over the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Like music on his ears, as on the ears of Jefferson, must have fallen the great words of the preamble to the Constitution of the United States. Indeed, Washington's advice to this Senate on this day's issue is hung like a banner on these walls in the preamble to our immortal Constitution:

We the people of the United States—

Not "we the bankers"; not "we the railroad magnates"; not "we the monopolists"; not "we the financial institutions," but—

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice—

How aptly these words fit this hour—

insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare—

What does the general welfare now dictate?—

and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Cooperating with Washington in those historic days was another American glorified particularly on this side of the Chamber, who should be honored wherever Washington is honored, though the name is naturally less frequently heard during this season of the bicentennial celebration of the birthday of our first President. Why, may we ask, do pilgrims pass year by year from all parts of the world to the tree-crowned heights of Monticello? It is not because Jefferson was the author of the bill for religious freedom in Virginia, though that was an unmistakably worthy achievement. It is not because he was the founder of the University of Virginia, though that fact marks him as one of the builders of our national educational system. It is primarily because in 1776 it was his inspired pen which gave birth to the Declaration of Independence in which man was declared to have an inalienable right to life. Liberty and the pursuit of happiness were added, but without the right to life, are, of course, valueless. Throughout the years from then until now Jefferson's message has stimulated men not only of Democratic allegiance, so well represented on this side of the Chamber, but also of every other political faith.

Lincoln was one of the spiritual successors of Jefferson. He said on one occasion in one of the finest interpretations the Declaration of Independence has ever received:

The declaration contemplates the progressive improvement in the lot of all men everywhere.

Such was Jefferson; and by his light Lincoln endeavored to serve his country. His successors who have risen above the national horizon invariably, when liberal, have drawn wisdom from the same fundamental American document.

Ex-President Roosevelt's "square deal"; the generation-long fight for popular rights of a former great Senator from Wisconsin, one of whose sons sits to-day in the same seat of honor, and whose other son is now governor of that State, was essentially Jeffersonian.

Woodrow Wilson's "new freedom" embraced the vital need of safeguarding the average man, woman, and child in America. Night before last, thinking of the question presented here, I turned to a volume of addresses of the great ex-President. He was speaking on November 18, 1916, as he often did, to the American Federation of Labor; and I remind you in this connection that the indorsement of the American Federation of Labor on behalf of millions of American workers is behind the bill which we are now struggling to bring before the Senate.

Ex-President Wilson, on that occasion—and I might have chosen from his works other illustrations of the convictions of his brilliant life—declared:

What I am striving for, and what I hope you are striving for, is to blot out all the lines of division in America and create a unity of spirit and of purpose founded upon the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort, and that if we do not understand each other we are not true Americans. If we can not enter into each other's thoughts, if we can not comprehend each other's interests, if we can not serve each other's essential welfare, then we have not qualified as representatives of the American spirit.

The thing we ought all to strive for is to close up every rift; and the only way to do it, so far as I can see, is to establish justice—not only justice, but justice with a heart in it, justice with a pulse in it, justice with sympathy in it. Justice can be cold and forbidding or can be warm and welcome; and the latter is the only kind of justice that America ought to desire.

In this emergency, Mr. President, oh, for one hour of Woodrow Wilson, Andrew Jackson, or Thomas Jefferson!

Mr. President, it seems proper that I should review for such Members of the Senate as are doing me the courtesy of listening to me the history of the measure before us. It is now, outside of the presence and knowledge of the two

authors of this bill, being considered by steering committees and other groups. It would seem, after the long attention we have given this subject, that we might have been consulted about possible substitutes now being collectively drafted. Nothing of that sort has occurred, so far as I am concerned.

Before this session of Congress opened I was convinced that there is overwhelming need in America for relief, long disregarded, whatever the reasons. I speak out of years of familiarity with industrial conditions in America, and I think I am not departing from the proprieties when I say that I have at times represented great numbers of industrial workers in the courts of this country and before Federal investigating committees. So persuaded, when I arrived in Washington a month or so before Congress assembled, I immediately proceeded, by consultation with expert men and women, to obtain answers to certain questions. I dispatched letters and telegrams to different parts of the country, designed to secure the best available advice from those best advised on the relief needs and resources of the country. The problem was approached without preconceptions, without consultation with any other person in this body, and with a view to the responsibility resting on a representative of my State under my oath of office.

To my agreeable surprise, instead of receiving an occasional answer making random suggestions, I was promptly advised that there were large groups of leading social workers in America who desired to confer with Members of the Congress on this highly important subject. Some of those who responded, let me say in frankness, were opposed at that time to Federal legislation. They were invited to Washington, none the less, for the conferences that seemed necessary for a sound solution of this problem. They came; a substantial number of them came; and on different days—mind you, this was before Congress assembled—full-day private sessions were held with men and women of America who know most about the overwhelming relief needs of the country, and are best qualified to advise on the most constructive way in which to deal with those needs.

On one occasion, with such a group in my office, I naturally looked for advice to a former official associate in Washington. I invited him to my office, and he came, my former colleague on the United States Tariff Commission, Hon. DAVID J. LEWIS, of Maryland—a man who has risen from the ranks of the coal miners of this country to distinction. In Congress years ago, author of the parcel-post act which has conferred inestimable benefits, especially on the rural sections of America. Later, for eight years, he and I were officially associated as members of the United States Tariff Commission. Later, as is well known, he was unfairly retired from that position by a former President of the United States. Happily Mr. LEWIS, within the last two years, has again been chosen by the people of the State of Maryland to support human rights for the people of his district in the Congress.

On another occasion, Mr. President, reaching about for additional congressional interest, and recalling the progressive conference held in this city a year ago, I turned for further counsel to the distinguished senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS]. The Senator from Nebraska responded and conferred with the visiting experts.

Later I turned to the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], because in the same progressive conference he acted as chairman of the committee on unemployment. He came to my office and likewise conferred. Remember, these were private conferences in my office with leading social welfare workers of this country, before either the steering committee of the Democratic Party or the steering committee of the Republican Party was gathered in Washington.

These gentlemen joined in discussions. They saw the witnesses. They heard the testimony. Later, without conference with the Senator from Wisconsin—who was engaged in the preparation of various bills for introduction here—acting quite independently, following the conferences with experts, after weighing their advice, I separately prepared and separately introduced here a Democratic measure, if you please, for the protection of the helpless men, women, and children of America. That bill was referred to the Commerce Committee. The same day, subsequent to the introduction of my bill, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] introduced a similar measure, which I had never seen. It went to the Manufactures Committee. Later, through the courtesy of the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] and his committee and the Senate, I had my bill referred to the Manufactures Committee. By it thereafter the two bills of the Senator from Wisconsin and myself were jointly considered.

We held our hearings at the earliest practicable moment, during the Christmas holidays, when other Members of the Senate were enjoying their separate vacations. Day after day we heard testimony which at times almost made the heart stop beating—not from radicals, not from those trying to institute a new form of government in America, but from those who love America and are determined to preserve its most sacred traditions.

Day after day this testimony was recorded in the committee report, which I venture to say few in this body have read. The evidence piled up, mountain upon mountain, until no one, except with a heart of stone, could resist the conclusion that the emergency in America is imperative, and must be answered without delay by the Congress. If not, the cost will be on our own heads, for no one may escape the record.

Mr. President, the bill which ultimately came out of those committee hearings is the joint product of the labors of the senior Senator from Wisconsin and myself. Suggestions have been made on this floor, some were made yesterday, that we ought to have adopted a different course; that we should have consulted governors in the different States, asking them to appeal to the Senate for help.

The best evidence this Nation can secure is in the record. This body is crowded with able representatives of the bar. They know degrees of credibility of testimony as few men in the country know them. The answer to the suggestion made, outside of responses already given by the senior Senator from Wisconsin, is that the best evidence, corroborated again and again, supports the measure which has come from the Committee on Manufactures. You will not procure testimony from all the governors of this country combined equal to the record now before the Senate.

We often talk in these times about going to the experts of America. Let us go to them now. We had before the Manufactures Committee representatives of national organizations serving in the aggregate millions of people in their various humanitarian endeavors. Outstanding executives added their personal corroboration, confirmation, and indorsement to other indorsements now before the Senate.

What are some of the other indorsements? The American Federation of Labor; heads of Protestant institutions; the National Catholic Welfare Conference of this country; leaders of many Jewish welfare organizations, dealing day by day with the practical problems of human need; social-welfare workers from far and near; also the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, whose unusually talented president, Mr. Sidney Hillman, testified with intimate knowledge and a flame of feeling about the conditions which confront us. I speak merely of those which spring to mind at the instant. I shall later read into the RECORD, with others, some of these indorsements.

The Senator from Wisconsin referred yesterday in some detail to precedents with regard to relief action set by the Congress of the United States. What he said should, perhaps, be somewhat supplemented. As I recall his statement, he listed some 13 or 14 instances of laws of the Congress dealing with flood sufferers in this country. I shall endeavor not to repeat.

He referred to what at this moment are significant landmarks and guide ropes for the Congress, namely, the generosity of Congress, which in 1906 voted a substantial sum of money for citizens of this country stricken by the California earthquake of that year.

Later, in 1919, Congress voted a hundred million dollars for the relief of Polish, Austro-Hungarian, and Balkan peoples. The Senator from Wisconsin referred to another instance, that of 1921, I believe, when the Congress voted $20,000,000 for Russian relief.

Permit me to refer to one or two extracts from the messages accompanying these separate occurrences, for they bear on what I said at the outset about American standards and American precedents with reference to the relief of human misery.

In 1906, on April 19, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution which read in part:

Whereas the most terrible disaster which has ever taken place on this continent has occurred in the State of California.

Surely we are in a position to modify that statement at this hour. Unfortunately a more tragic disaster has overtaken America in the economic calamity we are discussing.

I omit portions of the resolutions which also stated:

Whereas there is most urgent need of means to * * * care for the injured and shelter and feed the homeless.

What is to be said of the present need to shelter and feed the homeless and care for the injured of our industrial disaster?—

Whereas the local administrations will for some time be unable to cope with the situation and extend such aid and assistance as is immediately necessary: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the sum of $500,000, or such part thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated * * * to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War in the purchase and distribution of quartermaster's and commissary stores to such injured and destitute persons as may require assistance in the district devastated by earthquake and fire. And the Secretary of War is authorized to use the steamers and other boats and vessels * * * upon San Francisco Bay or adjacent waters in the transportation and distribution of supplies furnished by the United States or individuals to and among such destitute and suffering people.

I may say that the amount appropriated by Congress was subsequently increased to a total of $2,500,000.

In 1919—and this is of particular interest to Senators on this side of the Chamber—President Wilson sent a confidential message to Senator Martin and Representative Swagar Sherley, then Members of the Congress, in which President Wilson said:

I can not too earnestly and solemnly urge upon the Congress the appropriation for which Mr. Hoover has asked for the administration of food relief.

Let us remember that Woodrow Wilson is now counseling.

Food relief is now the key to the whole European situation and to the solution of peace. Bolshevism—

This was scarcely more true then than since—

Bolshevism is steadily advancing westward, has overwhelmed Poland, and is poisoning Germany. It can not be stopped by force, but it can be stopped by food, and all the leaders with whom I am in conference agree that concerted action in this matter is of immediate and vital importance. The money * * * will be spent for financing the movement of food to our real friends in Poland and to the people of the liberated units of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to our associates in the Balkans. I request that you will present this matter with all possible urgency and force to the Congress. I do not see how we can find definite powers with whom to conclude peace unless this means of stemming the tide of anarchism be employed.

Doubtless there are those here who will say that we were then dealing with what was in essence a war emergency, as the aftermath of war, when the Congress acted as on these representations. But is there a Senator who will contend that the basic argument is not aptly applicable to the industrial and economic conditions by which America is now afflicted?

The Congress voted at that time to feed people in Europe, not, as in the case of San Francisco, $2,500,000, but the sum of $100,000,000, which, as Senators know, was later expended for that and other purposes not wholly within the knowledge of Members of the Congress.

At another time, in 1924, when Tokyo was shaken to the ground by earthquake and ravaged by fire, the Congress again acted to relieve human distress. I shall not read the entire record with reference to the contribution then made, but will be content to say that our contribution was in excess of $6,000,000, for the people of far-off Japan. Yet the present Congress now hesitates to vote assistance, under proper safeguards, to assist the several States to relieve the stricken people of our own country.

I neglected to say in regard to the California earthquake appropriation that it was President Theodore Roosevelt who appealed to the Congress on that occasion. Perhaps, since we are speaking of American traditions, it may be well to read a word or two from his statement at that time. President Roosevelt referred to the fact that, following the disaster in San Francisco, offers of help came to us from all portions of the world. It is one of the bright chapters in our international relations that in an hour when America was stricken the rest of the world rallied generously to our support. President Roosevelt, however, affirmed our ability to bear the burden of our own domestic disaster. He said:

Large sums are being raised by private subscription in this country and very generous offers have been made to assist us by individuals of other countries, which requests, however, I have refused, as in my judgment there is no need of any assistance from outside our own borders, this refusal, of course, in no way lessening our deep appreciation of kindly sympathy which has prompted such offers. A detailed account of the action of the War Department is contained in the Appendix. Later I shall communicate with you as to the generous part which I am sure the National Government should take in meeting the more permanent needs of the situation.

Returning to the period in which we were dealing, as I stated, with relief for Russia, for the relief of whose people we appropriated millions of dollars, it seems particularly appropriate to read a statement by the present President of the United States which appeared with reference to Russian relief on May 30, 1922, in the Manufacturers News, which was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 62, at page 7910. This is what was said:

While Russia slowly swings toward the standards that we believe are vital to her recovery and to the point where it is possible to undertake her rebuilding, America has not been remiss. Before the next harvest the American relief administration under my direction will have expended more than $50,000,000 in American charity—

To be sure, American charity, but out of public funds, voted by the Congress of the United States.

in American charity on the saving of Russian people from starvation and in providing seed for the next harvest. This operation will perhaps do more than save 10,000,000 of humanity from death. It will through this act of charity—

At the expense, I repeat, of our people—

It will through this act of charity have saved the soul of the Russian people from an abyss of despair, too terrible for human expression.

There is no part of that final statement inapplicable to present need in this country. Yet the White House remains silent or, as now reported, hostile.

In 1927 there was a flood on the Mississippi River, and in that connection it would appear desirable to read from another former President of the United States not thus far mentioned. On December 6, 1927, in his annual message to the Congress, the message appearing in the RECORD of December 8, 1927, President Coolidge said, in part:

Appeals for contributions have brought in over $17,000,000. The Federal Government has provided services, equipment, and supplies—

That is for dealing with the destitute along the Mississippi River—

probably amounting to about $7,000,000 more. Between $5,000,000 and $10,000,000 in addition have been provided by local railroads, the States, and their political units. Credits have been arranged by the Farm Loan Board. * * * Through these means the 700,000 people in the flooded areas have been adequately supported. It is necessary—

May I ask Members of the Senate to mark these words—

It is necessary to look upon this emergency as a national disaster. It has been so treated from its inception. Our whole people have provided with great generosity for its relief.

These words may be echoed with reference to America as a whole since the disaster which began in 1929.

President Coolidge continued:

> Most of the departments of the Federal Government have been engaged in the same effort. * * * The Government is not an insurer of its citizens against the hazards of the elements.

That is what we hear now about economic storms: The Government is no insurer against economic storms.

> We shall always have flood and drought, heat and cold, earthquake and wind, lightning and tidal wave, which are all too constant in their afflictions. The Government does not undertake to reimburse its citizens for loss and damage incurred under such circumstances. It is chargeable, however—

This may be of particular interest to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE]—

> It is chargeable, however, with the rebuilding of public works and the humanitarian duty of relieving the citizens from distress. The people in the flooded areas and their representatives have approached this problem in the most generous and broad-minded way. They should be met with a like spirit on the part of the National Government. This is all one country. The public needs of each part must be provided for by the public at large.

So I say again, as I said in the beginning, we have in the measure before us, or its equivalent, an acid test, confirmed by Democrats and Republicans alike, honored on whichever side of this Chamber, of true republicanism, true democracy, and true Americanism.

Mr. President, I shall not undertake to review the economic disaster which has befallen America. The Senator from Wisconsin dealt with force and eloquence with the development of the tragedy which began to overwhelm us in October, 1929. Since that time America has been passing through the black shadows of economic paralysis. Month after month millions of our steady and self-respecting people, in excess of our normally idle, the precise numbers unfortunately never having been fully tabulated, have faced the deepening want and despair of prolonged unemployment.

In the same period farm foreclosures—and there are delegations of farmers in Washington to-day bearing testimony to this—have exceeded those of any other time in our history. Bank failures as we so well know—we have already legislated with reference to that fact—have been so frequent and excessive that the press has generally glossed over the rapidly mounting total. Our domestic industries have slowed down their production. Our foreign commerce has tragically dwindled. Business, so far as it has survived, has painfully marked time, receiving with lessening confidence the reckless and unfulfilled promises of returning prosperity. Commodity prices, especially of farm products, have dropped to an unimaginable low level. A widening toll of poverty has been exacted in our land of matchless wealth.

To take one illustration of the consequences of this disaster, let me read just a word from a trade report entitled "Standard Trade and Securities," of December 28, 1931. I shall pursue this subject but a moment. This report says, speaking of developing conditions as recently as December 28 of last year:

> Unemployment is an inevitable result and the most unfortunate phase of depression. It is causative, as well, in that the reduction in aggregate purchasing power involved creates additional contraction in normal working forces and narrows the scope of the consumer market. Employment declined steadily during 1931. Present pay rolls are approximately 20 per cent below those of a year ago, and 31 per cent under the peak of 1929. It is estimated that the aggregate buying power of wage earners, on an annual basis, currently is some $11,000,000,000 less than in 1929. * * * Under present conditions, we anticipate that wage reductions will be effected in the railroad group—

That was an accurate forecast of unhappy results achieved within the last few days by the railroad management of this country—

> and in practically all other divisions and units of industry which so far have been enabled to resist the movement. Moreover, a number of groups, particularly steel, which already have found it necessary to reduce wages, may be forced to make further reductions.

I pursue the subject no further, because the facts are of general knowledge.

Mr. President, I now pass to the subject proposed for discussion by the Senate under the motion of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE].

Perhaps, first I should give the Senate an indication of what was developed by testimony at the hearings. I shall endeavor to summarize in a different way—and the information is particularly apt in connection with the figures on our industrial depression—certain evidence of expert social workers before the Committee on Manufactures.

Let us sample the record. The total number of those unemployed and part-time employed in this country about the 1st of January, when Mr. McGrady, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, testified before us, was reported by him as follows: 7,500,000 unemployed, 6,000,000 on part time.

I do not wish to exaggerate, but have no doubt that out of a desire to be conservative his statement was under rather than above the actual facts. In any event, since that time the number has increased. The American Federation of Labor, as indicated by a statement from President Green, placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the other day by me, now estimates the present unemployed as in excess of 8,000,000. These figures, however, let me digress to say, do not tell the story.

Last May I addressed, at the same time with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY] and with Doctor Taussig, a former chairman of the Tariff Commission, the Associated Harvard Clubs at their annual meeting at St. Louis, Mo. On that occasion Dean Donham, a prominent educator, who is at the head of the business administration school at Harvard, told the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis that the number of unemployed in this country at that time in his judgment was not less than 10,000,000. These figures, coming from so exceptional a source, were impressive. I later asked Dean Donham the basis of his calculation. He has merely used accepted figures for the unemployed, conceded to represent the minimum, and has added, on the basis of information which had reached him, approximately 3,600,000 unemployed who were listed as part-time employed. He publicly stated to the chamber of commerce on that occasion that some 30,000,000 people at that time in this country—approximately one-fourth of our population—were probably on the verge of want. So I repeat that the figures given by Mr. McGrady are obviously conservative; nevertheless, let us take and use them for the purposes of this discussion.

What was the testimony of experts before the Committee on Manufactures as to unemployment conditions in some of our representative cities?

William Hodson, executive director of the welfare council of New York City, testified about the first of the year that the number of unemployed in that city at the time was about 800,000. He said that was five times the extent of normal unemployment. In that great metropolis normal unemployment at that season would have been about 160,000.

Mr. Samuel A. Goldsmith, executive director of the Jewish charities of Chicago, testified that about 1,100,000 were unemployed in Illinois, one-third of the possible gainfully employed in that State. He further said that in April, 1930, in Chicago 168,000 were unemployed, and in October, 1931, 624,000 people were unemployed, representing 40 per cent of the people able to work.

Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, executive director of the children's bureau of Philadelphia, stated to the committee—and no one is in a better position to testify on the subject than is he—that in Pennsylvania approximately 1,000,000 people were then unemployed. Mr. Murphy was a member of the committee appointed by Governor Pinchot last year to report on unemployment in that State. With his associates he made as careful a tabulation as possible and reported last July to the governor of the State that more than 900,000 were then unemployed in Pennsylvania.

Mr. de Schweinitz, executive secretary of the Community Council of Philadelphia, testified that in Philadelphia in November, 1931, 238,000 people were unemployed—five times as many as normally. It will be noticed that the ratio runs about the same in Philadelphia and in Chicago.

Mayor Murphy, of Detroit, quoting from a report of Prof. William Haber, professor of economics in Michigan State





College, stated that in Michigan about the first of the year some 410,000 were unemployed. He added that in Detroit on November 1, 1931, about 125,000 were unemployed and that the families in Detroit being helped a year ago numbered 22,000, while the families being helped this year number some 48,000.

Let me add the figures as to unemployment in Cincinnati, since we should have as representative a picture as we may get of the industrial centers of America. In Cincinnati one of the most effective social workers came with one of the original groups who advised with other Senators and me, before any bill was drafted for consideration. He was here in November. I remember vividly that he said in substance, "The normal unemployment in Cincinnati is from four to six thousand at this season of the year. This year it is 42,000, and some 42,000 more are part-time employed." That was in November. Mr. Dykstra, city manager of Cincinnati, appearing here a couple of months later, testified that the number of unemployed in Cincinnati was then about 50,000, an increase of 8,000 in two months. The figures were rising with every new tabulation.

Perhaps I should here say something regarding the responses to certain questions which we propounded. I recall that those responses were a source of surprise to those who discussed this question with leading social workers in this country before the preparation of any proposed legislation.

We asked a number of questions. Let me in part enumerate them: First, is there national need in America? Second, if there is, what should be done about it? First, is there need which can not be taken care of by States and localities? Second, if so, how shall it be dealt with, by whom, through what agencies, and under what safeguards? What were the final responses? There were, in brief, these:

"The accurate information we have in regard to the extent of relief needs and the funds available for meeting those needs is confined to approximately 500 cities in America." "What are those cities?" "They are the cities with a population, for the most part, in excess of 25,000. They are cities in which we have community chests or some other form of relief organization."

"What," we asked these experts, "are the facts with regard to the rest of the country? Do you know the needs of America in the many cities or municipalities, estimated by some as several thousand, between 2,500 and 25,000 in population?" The answer was, "Practically nothing."

"Do you know anything about the needs in the rural area of America?" "Practically nothing."

"Oh, yes; there is an occasional Red Cross chapter, there is an occasional local organization, that has some data about its limited region; but as for anything like real knowledge of conditions in this country, we do not have it."

That is not merely the statement of these experts. It was, in substance, the statement on the witness stand of representatives, if I may say so, of the President of the United States. We had—and the Senator from Wisconsin read his testimony in great detail—an extended hearing of Mr. Walter Gifford, president of the American Telegraph & Telephone Co., and head of the President's Unemployment Commission. He said, in effect—I do not think I exaggerate—that he does not know anything of an accurate sort about two great major inquiries. He would venture no estimate in reply to two questions: "What is the number of unemployed in America?" and "What are the funds available for meeting the admittedly great disaster?"

Mr. Allen T. Burns—a noted social worker, executive head of all the community chests of this country, who has been in closest contact with Mr. Gifford and the Red Cross and the President's Unemployment Commission—had little to report outside of community-chest cities. He admitted, under rather persistent and painstaking examination concerning the gravity of the situation, lack of knowledge, and finally, because it was evident he was not originally in favor of Federal aid, the need at this hour of Federal assistance.

So we are not confined to a limited group of social workers. We are not confined to governors of States who, for whatever reason, are reluctant to advertise to the world the respective needs of their States. We have the highest testimony of the land as to the overwhelming need about which we have been speaking.

Mr. Gifford said, in substance, on cross-examination, first, that his knowledge was very uncertain with respect to those regions in which various agencies of the Government and of relief have been functioning. In addition, he said that we have only knowledge of the relief needs of what? Of about 40,000,000, one-third of our population. As to the other 80,000,000, Congress, the President's Unemployment Commission, community chests, burdened by intolerable responsibilities, and the Red Cross, are without definite information.

May I add that we did not limit our inquiries to welfare experts? At the outset of my inquiries I communicated with Mr. Gifford and the Red Cross. If anyone here is interested in the correspondence I conducted with Judge Payne and Mr. Gifford, it is available for inspection. The results were almost wholly negative. Mr. Burns testified in substance to our committee that the Red Cross knew little of an exact sort about conditions in the country. The Red Cross for the most part limits its activities to what are called acts of God. Members of the Senate recall the famous letter of Judge Payne, referred to as the "act of God letter," in which he said in effect that the Red Cross, by virtue of its charter and in the light of its experience, as confirmed by a resolution of its board of directors, is unwilling to serve in the field of economic disaster, and prefers to limit itself to natural disasters which from time to time overtake unfortunate human beings.

So let it not be said that we neglected to consult the Red Cross, or community chests, or the President's Unemployment Commission in preparing this draft of legislation for consideration by the Senate. Quite the contrary. Every step was taken, without directing prejudice or preconception, to put before the Senate the well-considered judgment of those who have thought longest and hardest on the problem which confronts America.

I said at the beginning that a number of those who first counseled with us were at the outset opposed to Federal relief. I do not know one who desired the Federal Government in this field if it could possibly be avoided. I think it is fair to say now that all the members of the groups who met with us, after conference on the facts, after pooling their knowledge on the subject of the extent of the economic storm which has swept over America, have decided that there is now no possibility of dealing fitly with this problem except through national cooperation with the States and municipalities. I shall read you in a moment some words of some witnesses on that subject.

I turn for a moment, before taking up the testimony, to call your attention to one other aspect of what I am now summarizing. I desire to present another phase of the testimony; that is, the extent of the relief loads, as shown by the testimony.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. FLETCHER. I should like to inquire of the Senator whether, in his judgment, conditions have improved at all since November, or whether they are really getting worse?

Mr. COSTIGAN. According to the reports which have reached us—I think I am correct in making the statement, and I now refer to the Senator from Wisconsin to add his understanding, whether in agreement with or against mine—conditions have grown definitely worse since these witnesses appeared.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Just as an indication on that point, at the time the testimony was taken concerning the relief load being met in the city of Chicago, when the hearings

were held it was testified that they were taking care of about 97,000 families through their various agencies and through the public agencies. Since that time and very recently I have been informed—reliably, I believe—that that load has increased to 127,000 families in this brief space of time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is constantly developing, as did the able senior Senator from Wisconsin yesterday, the demonstration of the need. May I inquire whether there is a corresponding exhibit available in the testimony taken respecting the best method of meeting the situation?

Mr. COSTIGAN. If the Senator from Michigan will permit, I shall, I hope, before I have concluded, discuss that subject. I prefer to do it, however, in the order I have mapped out.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be very glad to wait for the Senator to reach that point.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I may pause to say to the Senator from Michigan that on that subject we have, as already indicated, conferred with many who best understand social welfare and relief methods; who have applied them for years; and, so far as I am aware, have their practically unanimous support for the bill which has been presented for the consideration of the Senate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will permit me, I have undertaken to read the hearings, because I am deeply interested.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Perhaps I ought to add that I am not including in my statement Mr. Gifford, who did not, I think, pass on the bill, or certain other witnesses who appeared before the committee whom I should not regard as qualified to pass upon the subject. I do, however, include Mr. Allen T. Burns and practically every other welfare worker who testified.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The thing I was seeking, if the Senator will allow me to indicate, in the reading of this testimony, was a discussion, first, of whether $125,000,000 is sufficient; secondly, whether the method of geographical distribution of a portion of it is sound; thirdly, whether the particular method of seeking to match appropriations, Federal and local, is sound. Can the Senator indicate to me whether those phases were discussed by these witnesses at any length?

Mr. COSTIGAN. A number of the witnesses discussed the desirability of imposing certain safeguards in legislation. For example, I will refer to the testimony of Mr. Swift.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not want the Senator to be disturbed in the presentation of his views.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am not at all disturbed by the Senator's courteous inquiries.

Mr. Linton B. Swift, executive chairman of the Family Welfare Association of America, appeared before our committee, discussed certain principles which he said should be kept in view in the framing of any Federal legislation. One, for example, is the opposition which is felt in informed circles to direct grants to individuals by the Federal Government.

Another is the conviction that the Federal Government should not set up a great bureaucratic organization in Washington. It was urged by him and by other witnesses—I cite Mr. Swift as one example—that the Federal Government should be particular to leave the distribution of relief funds first of all to the States, and, so far as possible, to established public-welfare agencies of those States. It apparently was the unanimous conviction of those who conferred with us—some of whose statements I have here—that in view of the public emergency which exists, in the absence of public-welfare departments, the governors of the respective States should set up emergency organizations through which to deal with this great human problem; that these emergency organizations and the rest should be local, and should operate, so far as possible, with knowledge of local conditions and with local cooperation.

Part of the problem about which the Senator inquires is of course legal. There is a history here of Federal-aid acts with which the Senator is familiar. Some of the witnesses, and a number of other people with whom we conferred on the subject, were of the opinion that the methods applied under Federal-aid acts for agriculture and in other fields, most notably since 1911, a list of which I have here, should be kept in view in this legislation. Those methods have been kept in view.

Under those acts the objective is, so far as possible, the stimulation of local and individual contributions to be given in conjunction with Federal funds. We have been doing that, as Senators know, for years, in the field of road work and other Federal-aid undertakings. The practice of securing as large contributions as possible from localities should be pursued.

Those of us who have been conferring on this subject do not stop there; at least, this bill does not stop there, for the obvious reason that it may be that, while we are seeking local funds, Americans will starve. Therefore the particular measure which is to be submitted for the consideration of the Senate provides that if local means fail, Federal funds may be employed by local agencies to relieve the overwhelming necessity.

I think I have given the Senator some indication of the recommended principles; I have not attempted to list all the principles kept in mind. I shall read later some testimony on the subject.

One thing more, however, I should add lest the Senator from Michigan may think it ignored. That is, there is deepest concern among social workers lest standards of human relief break down. It is deemed highly desirable, and I have no doubt Members of the Senate who are listening will agree, that so far as practicable the relief work shall be done by those who best know how to do it, skilled people who know how to make a dollar go farthest; that it should be done in ways which will build up instead of breaking down local welfare standard; and that relief funds shall not be used for graft but solely for purposes for which voted. Witnesses who testified before us, as the record will show, were of the opinion that in the bill being considered by the Senate those standards have been safeguarded.

The Senator from Michigan also asked about amounts to be appropriated. With great particularity we requested those best qualified to pass on that question; not whether $125,000,000 would be sufficient, as the Senator stated, because all the testimony showed, and these witnesses averred, that the extent of the disaster can not be tabulated. We asked them whether the amounts fixed in what was then the bill of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], calling for $250,000,000, and what was then my separate bill, calling for $375,000,000, could be regarded as in any sense excessive. Witness after witness answered, in effect, "Not excessive in any way. The largest sum is not excessive."

Mr. Allen T. Burns, as well qualified to pass on that question as anyone else, in the light of his intimate knowledge, stressed in strongest fashion his conviction as to the need of national help and that the amount of $375,000,000 is not excessive. Other witnesses said it was regrettable that the amounts considered for appropriation are not larger.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an observation?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would not want the Senator to think that my inquiry was based upon the suggestion that the amount was excessive. On the contrary, it was based on the thought that if in any degree this legislation should stimulate a local reliance upon Federal aid, the amount is utterly inadequate, and can not possibly approach an answer to the situation.

Mr. COSTIGAN. In answer to the Senator from Michigan, I shall not do more than say that while what the Senator says may be true, in the light of the testimony which has

been reviewed, it is the general judgment, again, of those best advised, that this legislation is highly desirable, and will advantageously put forward relief in a situation which in no other way that they now know can possibly be met. Of course, Congress will be in session, or may be called in session if an unexpectedly great further emergency shall develop. As the Senator from Wisconsin suggests, the bill is designed to stimulate local giving, and it is hoped that that will be one of the most salutary consequences of the effort.

There are many portions of this country at this time which see no hope of making a loan. If given some assistance, there is every sound reason for believing that they will join, and will be able to join, in doing more than they have already done.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I would like to suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield for that purpose?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Cutting	Kendrick	Sheppard
Austin	Davis	Keyes	Shipstead
Bailey	Dickinson	King	Smith
Bankhead	Dill	La Follette	Smoot
Barbour	Fess	Lewis	Steiwer
Barkley	Fletcher	Logan	Stephens
Black	Frazier	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	George	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Glass	McKellar	Townsend
Bratton	Glenn	McNary	Trammell
Brookhart	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Tydings
Broussard	Gore	Moses	Vandenberg
Bulkley	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Bulow	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Byrnes	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mass.
Capper	Hastings	Nye	Walsh, Mont.
Caraway	Hatfield	Oddie	Waterman
Carey	Hayden	Patterson	Watson
Connally	Hebert	Pittman	Wheeler
Coolidge	Howell	Reed	White
Copeland	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	
Costigan	Jones	Robinson, Ind.	
Couzens	Kean	Schall	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. On day before yesterday I offered a proposed substitute for the measure which the Senator from Colorado is discussing. To-day I desire to offer an amended substitute on behalf of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY], and myself. I ask that it may be printed and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That order will be made.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, it will take some time to have the amended substitute printed. Would the Senator from Colorado object to having it read at this time?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am very happy to join in the request of the Senator from Idaho.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Amendment (in the nature of a substitute) intended to be proposed by Messrs. BLACK, WALSH of Montana, and BULKLEY to the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, viz: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof:

"That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $375,000,000 (one-third of which shall be immediately available), for the purpose of the construction and reconstruction of highways under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented. Such amount shall be in addition to any amounts heretofore authorized to be appropriated for such purposes, but not more than $125,000,000 thereof shall be expended in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932.

SEC. 2. The sums appropriated pursuant to the authorization contained in section 1 shall, from time to time, be apportioned by the Secretary of Agriculture among the several States in the manner provided by section 21 of the Federal highway act, as amended, and shall be available for expenditure upon highway projects approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, in the same manner as other funds appropriated for carrying out the provisions of such act; except that no part of such amounts apportioned to any State need be matched by State funds, and except that such amounts may be expended upon highways, streets, or bridges within the limits of municipalities without regard to the limitations contained in the Federal highway act, as amended, upon construction within municipalities. The work on highways shall be done in such manner as to use the maximum amount of human labor consistent with economy, and preference in employment shall be given to the unemployed. When the Secretary of Agriculture finds that any highway project approved by him in any State has been constructed or reconstructed in compliance with the plans and specifications relating thereto, he shall cause to be paid the proper authorities of the State, out of amounts appropriated pursuant to this act, an amount equal to the total cost of such project, and may, in his discretion, from time to time make such payments on such construction or reconstruction as the same progresses; but the total amount so paid to the State shall not exceed the amount apportioned to that State as hereinbefore provided.

"SEC. 3. There is also hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $375,000,000, one-third of which shall be immediately available, for allocation to the several States in the manner hereinafter provided. Not more than $125,000,000 of this amount shall be expended in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932.

"SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to deduct from amounts appropriated pursuant to section 3 of this act so much as may be necessary for administrative expenses incurred hereunder and the balance of the amounts so appropriated shall be apportioned among the several States in the proportion which their population bears to the total population of the States of the United States according to the Fifteenth Decennial Census. Such apportionment shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury within 10 days after an appropriation has been made under the authority of this act, and he shall immediately certify to the governors of the several States the amount apportioned to each State. The amounts so apportioned to any State shall be available for payment to and expenditure by such State for the purposes of this act until the expiration of two years after the date of the enactment of this act.

"SEC. 5. Payments to the States of the amounts so apportioned shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury, but no such payment shall be made to any State until the governor thereof has submitted a request for such payment to the Secretary of the Treasury, accompanied by a statement that the amount so requested is necessary for emergency relief in such State and can not be obtained either from public or private sources. At the time of making any such request the governor shall agree that he will make the reports provided by section 6 and shall also state that he will recommend to the legislature of his State and also to the people thereof such action as may be necessary and appropriate to insure the repayment to the United States of all amounts received by the State pursuant to such request. The governor shall also include in his statement an estimate of the amount required for such relief and a list of the agencies within the State by which the amount requested will be administered. No such payment shall be in excess of the amount shown by such estimate to be required nor in excess of one-half of the total amount apportioned to the State as herein provided. Additional requests may be made from time to time until the State has received the full amount to which it is entitled under such apportionment, but a period of at least 90 days shall elapse between successive requests: *Provided*, That in States where no state-wide board of charities exists, the amounts allotted to such States shall be distributed by the action of the State board constituted for controlling the financial affairs of such State.

"SEC. 6. Reports shall be made by the governor of each State to which a payment is made pursuant to this act, quarterly, to the President and to the Senate and the House of Representatives (or the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives, if those bodies are not in session) and each such report shall show the total amount of the payments so made during the period covered by the report and the purposes for which the amounts received by the State were expended. Such reports shall, when submitted, be printed as public documents.

"SEC. 7. Sections 3 to 8, inclusive, of this act shall be construed as intending to secure to the several States control of the administration of this act within their respective territorial limits, subject only to the provisions and purposes of this act. Relief shall be administered within each State under rules and regulations adopted by the State authorities.

"SEC. 8. As used in this act, the term 'emergency relief' means relief in the form of money or commodities furnished to persons in their abode or habitation, or in shelters for the transient and homeless, or in the form of wages or other compensation for work furnished on the basis of need, and made necessary by reason of the emergency growing out of unemployment or other adverse economic conditions over and above the usual and ordinary expenditures for such relief, but not including old-age pensions under special acts, or public aid under special acts to mothers for the care of dependent children, or relief to veterans under special acts.

"Amend the title so as to read: 'A bill to authorize appropriations for the construction of rural post roads in the several States for the purpose of furnishing employment and thereby relieving the hardship and suffering caused by the existing depression, and to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes.'"

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. The senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] has issued a statement analyzing the proposed amended substitute which has just been read. I ask unanimous consent that his analysis may be read at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield for that purpose?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I do.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ROBINSON OF ARKANSAS

The substitute bill has two features: The first, to provide jobs by an expanded program of road construction; and the second, to authorize loans to the States for relief to the needy when local resources have proved inadequate.

The provisions of the substitute designed to increase employment are regarded as consistent with the Wagner Act establishing the policy of carrying forward necessary public works as rapidly as may be practicable during times of general unemployment.

To the extent that the accelerated building of highways contemplated by the substitute will give work to many who are now unemployed, the burden on charity, from whatever source, will be substantially diminished.

With respect to the feature of the substitute authorizing loans to the States for emergency relief, it may be pointed out that the Costigan-La Follette bill is unprecedented in that never before has the National Congress been called upon to enact a measure applicable to all States by the appropriation of funds from the Federal Treasury to supply emergency relief to persons in want.

The obligation to provide such relief has heretofore been conceded to rest on the States and their subdivisions, and the substitute adheres to that principle to the degree that Federal funds are to be supplied only when it is made to appear from official sources within the States that the resources obtainable through contributions and local appropriations of public funds are inadequate.

Looking at the problem fairly and frankly, it appears that the amount of the proposed appropriation in the Costigan-La Follette bill is recognized by many of its advocates as the initiation of a movement which, if followed out, may cause the suspension or abatement of private contributions and local public appropriations and result in general reliance upon national emergency assistance, which heretofore has been limited to suffering from such disasters as floods, fires, earthquakes, and droughts. In the latter class of cases Congress has resorted to the loan system rather than to gratuities. Sponsors for the substitute adhere to the principle that States and communities must continue primarily to bear the burden of those in want and that Federal funds shall be made available only when imperative.

One of the important differences between the Costigan-La Follette bill and the substitute relates to the method of distribution. Under the former a central board is set up in Washington and a Federal bureau is empowered to administer the act, which means further and unnecessary centralization in Washington and the perpetuation of the new agencies proposed in a permanent bureau.

The substitute contemplates the distribution of any funds obtained from the Treasury by the States for the purposes of the act through agencies designated by the governor or State boards having jurisdiction of the financial affairs of the States obtaining the loan.

To avoid setting a precedent so far reaching that none can tell what may be its effect, it should be made to appear in an official way that private and public resources obtainable within the State have been so nearly exhausted that Federal aid is essential to prevent disastrous consequences.

Certainly this test is not measured up to in the Costigan-La Follette bill as presented. There is little evidence that some of the States, even in the opinion of individual witnesses, require Federal aid, although it has been shown, during the consideration of the bill, that in many communities there is a threatened breakdown of local relief.

When we speak of the condition of the credit of the States and cities as being impaired, it is well to remember that there is an enormous deficit in the Federal Treasury—a deficit that will soon exceed $2,000,000,000—that by no system of increased taxes proposed is it possible to balance the Budget in the early future; that many believe we shall be compelled to find new sources of revenue as well as to increase the income tax.

If we recognize that the primary responsibility for emergency relief is upon the national rather than upon charitable organizations and upon States and the subdivisions having the taxing power, the draft on the Federal Treasury will threaten to become immeasurable and unlimited.

Sponsors of the substitute do not mean that people shall be permitted to starve, but the substitute does require that before looking to the Federal Government for gratuities, local authorities must meet the responsibility of rendering assistance to the needy to the full measure of their ability.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, because of certain interruptions it was not possible for me to fully follow either the substitute proposed by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK] and his associates or the explanatory statement of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON]. May I, however, before I proceed, inquire, if the Senator from Arkansas will permit, whether he has any reason to assume that if the substitute shall be adopted by Congress it will be approved by the White House?

Mr. ROBINSON or Arkansas. Mr. President, in reply to the Senator's question, I desire to say I have no information whatever on that subject. I have not discussed the matter with the President and do not know his views concerning the proposed substitute.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, in reference to the final statement in the press release, if I correctly heard that statement, I shall take the liberty of reading before proceeding with my argument a statement made by the Senator from Arkansas on January 16, 1931, which is to be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date on page 2359. The Senator from Arkansas on that occasion was apparently discussing an amendment to a pending bill, the amendment providing:

There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $25,000,000 (in addition to such sums as may be or may become available through voluntary contributions), to be immediately available and to be expended by the American National Red Cross for the purpose of supplying food to persons otherwise unable to procure the same."

In the course of the discussion the Senator from Arkansas had this to say:

I remember, too, that an appeal was made to the Congress to appropriate $100,000,000 to feed hungry and starving peoples in Belgium and other foreign lands; that the banner of the Red Cross was uplifted in sight of the starving citizens of other nations, and the relief work done in Europe never hampered or impaired the activities of the great organization through whose efforts relief was carried on.

I remember, too, that in our own land, in numerous instances, a list of which was placed in the RECORD by the Senator from Tennessee in an address delivered by him a few days ago, our Government has made appropriations, and in some cases liberal appropriations, for the relief of citizens in distress, to provide them with food, to protect them against danger. Now, the question that is presented to the Senate is whether we shall stop wrangling about methods and means and agencies and do something substantial. The worst thing that can happen in this country is going on now, and that is the impairment of the morale of thousands of faithful, loyal citizens who think they are entitled to some consideration and recognition from their Government.

In ordinary times, under circumstances which have no relation to nation-wide distress, charitable organizations may be relied upon; but, in my judgment, it is fairer and better that the whole public should bear a responsibility and a nation-wide burden of this character than that the generosity of our citizens should be relied upon as an exclusive method of providing relief. In some of the great cities of the country already, for a period extending over several months, demands and requests have been made for contributions.

The Senator from Arkansas added:

I respect and admire the Red Cross. I must say, in frankness, that I do not feel that that great organization has measured up to the standard of efficiency which might have been hoped for in this emergency. Senators may agree with me that when it was said just a few days ago that ample funds were already provided with which to do the work in sight, and that now a nation-wide appeal is being made for more than twice the fund then in hand; that these circumstances disclose either a lack of comprehension of the conditions or a failure to grasp the measure of relief required.

I wish in this same connection, Mr. President, to read a few remarks made by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK].

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, before the Senator proceeds will he yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator may not recall because he was not then a Member of the Senate that the remarks he has read had relation to a condition that prevailed in quite a number of States; that there had been presented to the Senate, unanimously reported by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and passed unanimously by the Senate, bills or provisions in bills sponsored by myself authorizing appropriations of Federal funds to be used as loans in the relief work to which the remarks read by the Senator from Colorado had reference; that all bills to secure such loans had up to the time to which the Senator's reference relates failed of passage in the body at the other end of the Capitol; they had also been resisted by the administration; and, following that, the provision to which the remarks read by the Senator relate was presented; that I also said, in connection with that measure, that I preferred the loan process; that, in my opinion, it would prove effective when supplemented by local contributions; and finally legislation was enacted authorizing loans to be made in the drought areas, but no gratuity was extended.

I may add, too, that the results of those loans have been highly satisfactory in most of the areas to which they were applied.

It is true that the Red Cross was then administering relief, and it is true that the Red Cross then refused to receive a Federal gratuity for administration, on the theory that its activities should be confined to the distribution of funds voluntarily contributed for its purposes.

I still think, Mr. President, that the Federal Treasury should be resorted to only when there is no other method of supplying the demands of those in want, only when the States have exhausted their resources available for that purpose, and when adequate voluntary contributions can not be obtained. That is the principle of the proposed substitute. It recognizes that a condition does exist in some communities where Federal aid is necessary; but it is contemplated that the local authorities shall first officially indicate the necessity for a Federal fund, shall indicate their inability to meet the requirements of the situation, and shall undertake to attempt to have the funds repaid to the Federal Treasury.

I shall not further transgress at this time on the Senator from Colorado, and I thank him for yielding to me.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, the able Senator from Arkansas has made a statement in advance of any accusation. His remarks read from the RECORD are relevant to this discussion and were quoted in part because I desired to add his eloquent voice in behalf of the joint bill of the Senator from Wisconsin and myself. The statement of the Senator from Arkansas, however, leads me to ask his attention to a bill known as S. 1234, which passed the Senate about a week ago last Friday. I trust that the Senator, if he speaks further, will comment hereafter on that measure.

The bill referred to is of particular interest to the entire Senate, because it passed this body without a single comment or a single dissenting statement, so far as I am aware. It is a bill to authorize an emergency appropriation for special study of demonstration work in rural sanitation; and, while it is not a measure that relates directly to human relief, yet it sets up certain practices so similar to those which, as I understand, the Senator from Arkansas now condemns, that I feel it ought to be brought to the Senate's attention at this moment.

The bill authorizes the appropriation of $3,000,000 for studies of and demonstration work in rural sanitation. Three million dollars were authorized to be appropriated by the Senate the other day without a particle of protest on the ground of the great principles which are being urged upon our attention now—without one voice being lifted in a period when every factor presses for economy, for studies of and demonstration work in rural sanitation. Personally, I have no objection to the principle embodied in this measure; but, if I understand the position taken by the Senator from Arkansas and others here, the bill runs counter to their contention with respect to human relief.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Is that bill any different in principle from the ordinary appropriations for the Public Health Service?

Mr. COSTIGAN. It contains this proviso, if I may read it, and then I shall answer the Senator from Montana:

Provided, That no part of this appropriation shall be available for demonstration work in rural sanitation unless the State, county, or municipality agrees to pay such proportion of the expenses of such demonstration work as shall be required in regulations to be prescribed by the Public Health Service, in which due consideration shall be given to State and local economic conditions and human needs, the extent and circumstances of such cooperation in each case to be reported to Congress at the beginning of each regular session.

In answer to the Senator from Montana, it is my understanding that this bill is really in lieu of the customary appropriation made to the Public Health Service for that purpose. Nevertheless, I venture to call attention to the fact that under this bill, we are appropriating $3,000,000 to be expended with or without local cooperation in the States, as the Public Health Service may decree in rules and regulations, in a period when human need in America is indefinitely greater than the need for such an appropriation. When we ask you to deal with human needs, there are those in the Senate who begin to split hairs and draw distinctions which are not applied in the case of millions of dollars to be spent on sanitation in this country.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the junior Senator from Montana?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield, Mr. President.

Mr. WHEELER. Let me call the Senator's attention also to the fact that we appropriate each year, and have been appropriating for some time, large sums of money for building roads, to be matched with State funds. If the theory announced here upon the floor of the Senate is correct—that before we appropriate any money for human needs the States should exhaust everything they have, all their resources—then, of course, we should not appropriate a dollar out of the Treasury of the United States for road building until the State itself has exhausted its resources in building its own roads.

I sat upon this committee myself, and I heard witness after witness testify to the fact that in their particular communities they were not able to take care of the needs, and that their States were not able to take care of them. I, for one, may say that I am going to support the bill. I can not see any difference in theory between the idea that the State should exhaust its resources in building public roads before it shall accept money out of the Public Treasury or for any other purpose and the contention that money should not be taken out of the Public Treasury under the circumstances that this bill proposes.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, in answer to the junior Senator from Montana, permit me to say that the great merit of the bill under discussion is that it operates as a magnet to the States and the municipalities to come to the aid of their stricken people in an hour when, oppressed by many responsibilities, they have become hopeless of dealing with their local problems.

The Senator from Montana is entirely right. The whole principle of our later Federal aid acts, on which those who believe in those acts laid greatest stress, is the invitation they afford to the States and the localities "to come through" in the interest of the public welfare. That is the end which, by unanimous testimony of those competent to advise, will be achieved if the measure of the Senator from Wisconsin, to which my name is also attached, shall become a law.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. Let me call attention to the fact that the substitute, as I understand, while I have not seen it, provides that the governors of the various States shall promise to have their State legislatures pay back the money.

In the first place, of course the governor could not bind the State in any way, shape, or form; and it seems to me a rather ridiculous proposition to ask the governor of a State to say that at some future time his legislature or the people of that State will pay back the money. Secondly, if that is the correct theory upon which to base the passage of laws, then we ought also to say to the governors of the States, "Before you can have any of the money that is appropriated for Federal roads you must agree that your legislature or your State will pay it back at some future time." I can not subscribe to that idea, if I understand the substitute correctly.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the senior Senator from Montana?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I do.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Without at all attempting to engage in controversy with my esteemed colleague, I beg to remind him that the appropriations for public roads stand upon an entirely different footing. That legislation is based upon the power of Congress to regulate commerce and to establish post offices and post roads. The interposition of Congress in aid of the construction of the transcontinental railroads was justified upon those two grounds; and that legislation furnished a perfectly substantial basis for appropriations by Congress for the construction of wagon roads or roads for other wheeled vehicles.

I think perhaps my colleague will recognize that in principle the two classes of legislation stand on an entirely different footing.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President——

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield to the junior Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. I am not unmindful of the fact that the legislation can be differentiated in principle upon that theory. Nevertheless, in practice when money for road-building purposes is appropriated out of the Public Treasury to be matched by a State, it is not used entirely on post roads, or anything of the kind. As a matter of fact, it is generally used in building a through highway of some kind.

If we are going to stand upon the technicality that the Congress of the United States has not any authority to appropriate this money, of course, that is one thing; but when it is stated that before we appropriate this money the States should exhaust all of their resources, then I say that if we stand upon that principle it is no different, in my judgment, from the principle we are applying to this bill.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I was pointing out to my colleague that Congress might, if it saw fit, make appropriations entirely for the construction of highways.

Mr. WHEELER. Oh, of course; I appreciate that fact. There is not any question about it; but the principle of the thing, as I see it, is quite different when it is put upon the basis that the State should exhaust all of its resources before it comes to Congress to ask it to take care of human needs. My view about the matter is that the conditions in this country at the present time are such that action by the Federal Government is necessary, and in my humble judgment, much as I hate to say it, I think they are going to be much worse in the next year than they are at the present time. I think those who are hesitating about taking money out of the Public Treasury at this time will in six months' time come back here, if Congress is not then in session, and will be doing the very thing that we are asking now, except that they will be doing it in much larger proportion than is being asked at the present time.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, may I suggest to the Senator from Montana, in addition to what he has said, that while under the proposed substitute, if I understand it correctly, negotiations are being conducted, Americans in all probability will be starving.

I neglected to say that the bill to which I directed attention, Senate bill 1234, was, if I am correctly informed, introduced in the Senate by the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON].

When interrupted, I was about to quote from language which has relation to the substitute amendment and to the entire discussion of to-day, attributed to the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK] in the course of the same debate, in which the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] participated. I quote because I am happy to have the enforcing strength of the gifted Senator from Alabama in the argument being made by the Senator from Wisconsin and myself.

On January 16, 1931, as reported at page 2361 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK], speaking apparently on the subject of the proposed appropriation for the Red Cross, had this in part to say:

> What change has come about that made it right back in those days—

Evidently referring to the period of our appropriation of millions of dollars to feed the Russians—

> that made it right back in those days to appropriate money to feed the starving people in Russia, starving on account of a drought, but to-day wrong to take money out of the Public Treasury to feed starving Americans, many of whom are starving on account of identically the same cause, namely, a drought? What good reason has been advanced?

A little farther on, the Senator continued as follows:

> All over this country there are similar conditions. Millions need help. They need it now—this moment. The time has come when every man with his eyes open who looks at the situation fairly and impartially knows that the contributions made voluntarily are not meeting the situation adequately and fairly and justly, as American citizens have a right to anticipate it shall be met by their Government.
>
> Has the time come when this country worships so at the shrine of wealth and of money that it hesitates to dig down into the Public Treasury to feed the people who are starving in practically every State of this Union?

That, I take it, was good Democratic doctrine in January, 1931, and it is good Democratic doctrine to-day.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. BLACK. I desire to say to the Senator that it was good Democratic doctrine then and I consider it to be good Democratic doctrine now. When the Senator has completed his remarks I expect to show to the Senate that I have not deviated to the slightest extent from the position I held at that time.

I simply make this statement now, not to get into any argument but because I never then supported and I never shall support a measure such as the one for which the Senator is speaking. I shall show to the Senator the great difference between that proposition, as I conceive it, and this one.

May I be permitted simply to say to the Senator that I think probably there is far less difference between his views and mine than he might infer from reading this quotation. I recognize that this is a national calamity, a national distress, which calls for national legislation. There might be, however, an agreement among Senators as to a national problem but a difference among Senators as to the machinery to be put in operation to meet that problem.

I am stating that now to the Senator in order that he may know that I do not retract one word I stated, either of what the Senator read or any statement that was made on that day. I shall not retract it. I still believe that the proposition I advanced was sound. I think the national problem needs to be met by national means; but as to the machinery, I do not agree that the method adopted by the Senator is best for the country, is best for the starving people themselves, or best for the perpetuity of this Nation.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, as in the case of the Senator from Arkansas, the Senator from Alabama has made a reply before a charge has been lodged against him.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, the Senator is mistaken as to my making a reply with reference to a charge. Because the Senator had read the statement to which he referred, I wanted to state to the Senator, in interrupting his very able presentation, with practically all of which I agree, that the viewpoint I had then I have now. I agreed with almost all the Senator from Wisconsin said, but I do not agree as to the method adopted to meet the situation. It is a difference not in fundamental viewpoint and not as to the idea of the responsibility of the Government; and I did not take it that the Senator intended what he stated to be a charge. I think our friendship is such, and our general agreement along fundamental principles is such, that the able Senator would not make any charge.

I simply wanted to reinforce what I said on the occasion when I made the statement just quoted with the statement that I repeat it now, not in the exact language but that what I said then I believe to be true now. I have simply been working to bring about the same results sought by the Senator, by machinery which, rightfully or wrongfully, I believe to be the best to set up to meet the situation.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, those of us who believe in the form of legislation being offered to the Senate are happy to have supporting statements such as were made by the Senator from Alabama in January, 1931, whether the Senator goes further with us and supports the particular legislation or not. However, I am distressed to hear the Senator say that while he agrees as to the need and its overwhelming character, he is opposed to the measure which we at this hour are merely trying to bring to the attention of the Senate, and which has not yet been laid before this body.

May I add that in my judgment it is a fair construction of the remarks of the Senator from Alabama a year ago, in January, 1931, that he was not at that time so technical about the means to be adopted to achieve the end sought, as he says, by himself and the rest of us, and, of course, I do not question his word when he says that he seeks the same end.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. BLACK. Of course, it is always easy to use the word "technical." It covers a multitude of ideas, and frequently it is misleading, though I do not mean to intimate that the Senator would use it with that idea in mind. I do desire to say, however, that I do not believe that my objection to the measure which the Senator has proposed is technical. I think my objection is based upon a fundamental and sound principle of government, which I shall attempt to show to the Senate at a later time.

I do not desire to be placed in the attitude, either inferentially or otherwise, of being opposed to utilizing the wealth of this Nation, which has been accumulated by the toil of all the people, to relieve human distress in a perfectly legitimate manner. I am not going into detail as to the objections which I have to the machinery proposed to be set up. I do not believe those objections are technical, because I think the experience of all the ages has shown that the very people whom I desire to help by this legislation, and whom the Senator desires to help, can be more injured by legislation which, in its final analysis, in all the history of the ages of the world, has resulted in a bribery of the people, and taken away that good, sound, solemn discontent which we often have by reason of improper measures, than any other legislation that has ever been offered in all the world.

I object to the creation of a new Federal organization in the city of Washington to tell the people of Alabama how charity shall be dispensed to those who are in need there. I object to having the President of the United States appoint men, even though they are confirmed by the Senate, to determine how charity raised from the wealth of this Nation shall be administered to relieve my people down in my State. I do not think that is technical, and that is the fundamental objection which, personally, I have to the measure which the Senator has offered.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I readily concede that I may be entirely wrong. My views with reference to the proposition may not be supported by logic, precedent, experience, or fact; but I am convinced in my own mind that there has not been in the last generation a proposal made which would in its final analysis be more undermining of the virile strength and vigor and manhood of this Nation than the proposal to create a Federal bureau in Washington to dispense charity, with the great powers it could have to control the politics and the votes of the people of this country.

I beg the Senator's pardon. I do not desire to interrupt him, because, as I stated—and I think the Senator will find the statement accurate—when I have discussed the substitute which I have been partially instrumental in offering, he will see that his views and mine are exactly the same as to this being a national problem, and with reference to the necessity for digging down into the national wealth, produced by all the people, to solve the problem. I congratulate the Senator most sincerely and genuinely for the great public assistance he and his colleague, the Senator from Wisconsin, have rendered in having the hearings which they have held in connection with this subject. They have rendered a magnificent public service. But I feel sure, knowing the Senator's views and his universal liberality of thought, that the mere fact that we disagree, as we may or may not after he finds our viewpoint as to the method to accomplish the purpose, does not authorize the intimation that the objection is technical. Personally, I think it goes to the very roots and foundations of good, sound, solid government.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am prompted to rise because I think something the Senator from Colorado said just a few moments ago was calculated to lead to the conclusion, in the minds of some people, at least, that he and his colleague, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], were encountering some tremendous opposition to the consideration of their bill. Speaking for myself, I am unaware of any opposition whatever to the consideration of the bill, and doubtless a vote could have been had, and I have no doubt carried overwhelmingly, long before this time. I give to the Senator the very comforting assurance, of which I am sure he must be advised, that there is not the slightest disposition upon this side of the Chamber at least to oppose the consideration of the bill.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, it is pleasant to have the assurances of the Senator from Montana and of the Senator from Alabama. We all rejoice when people go with us part of the way, even though they are unwilling to go with us all the way, in the direction of public service. It none the less impresses me as remarkable that all the opposition to this admittedly humane legislative proposal, which has so far developed on this floor, should be on the side of the party of Thomas Jefferson, the party supposed to be dedicated to the welfare of the common man.

I trust that before we are done, instead of giving aid and comfort to the enemy, speaking in figurative terms, we shall be supporting great human welfare legislation designed to relieve human being in a national emergency.

I had not concluded my quotation from the remarks of the Senator from Alabama. May I preface further reading of them by saying that I desire nothing done or said by me on this floor to-day to be taken as an attack on the Senator from Alabama. I did, however, say a few moments ago that apparently the Senator from Alabama was not so technical a year ago. This may not be a proper interpolation, because I do not know the Senator's record, but so far as I am aware the Senator has never opposed Federal aid acts on the ground that they constituted bribery to the States. Perhaps he has done so. If so, I withdraw the suggestion.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, I desire to state to the Senator that I strenuously objected to certain Federal aid acts

where it was proposed to have them administered, in whole or in part, from Washington.

In the Committee on Education and Labor at the last session of Congress a bill was up for consideration which provided for the appropriation of funds with reference to vocational education. I stated then that I favored Federal aid in practically all cases for social advancement, that I believed that the wealth of the country was so concentrated in the hands of a few people in certain favored localities that the time had come when there must be more Federal assistance granted to the States which supplied that wealth.

But there was a provision in the bill to which I refer which left it up to the board here to determine by rules and regulations how the money should be spent, and I succeeded in having that provision stricken from the measure. If it had not been stricken from the measure, I stated that I would oppose the bill. There is no question in the world with reference to my position on that matter.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Of course, I accept the statement of the Senator from Alabama. My remarks were admittedly based on a lack of knowledge of the Senator's record. Nevertheless, I say to the Senator from Alabama, as I said to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], that a week ago last Friday, so far as the RECORD indicates, there was no dissent expressed when the Senate passed S. 1234, appropriating $3,000,000 for special studies of and demonstration work in rural sanitation. The Senator from Arkansas fathered that bill and, as already indicated, the distribution of the funds was left to the Public Health Service with a proviso that no part of the appropriation should be available for demonstration work in rural sanitation unless the State, county, and municipality agrees to pay such proportion of the expense of such demonstration work as shall be required—by State action? No! In regulations to be prescribed by the Public Health Service. Where? In Alabama? No; in Washington.

I shall now proceed to finish reading the remarks of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK] which I was quoting a short time ago. I may say that my purpose in reading them is to emphasize the fact that there was a time when there was less emphasis on the particular method to be employed in meeting human relief needs than there appears to be to-day in the Senate, at least on this side of the Chamber.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. I dislike to interrupt the Senator.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am happy to have the Senator do so. The Senator knows my respect for him.

Mr. BLACK. I might say to the Senator that it so happens that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] and I prepared the particular amendment to which he refers. There was no question of a Federal bureau. There was not the slightest attempt to establish the policy of an institution here in the city of Washington which would continue to function.

There is not the slightest analogy between the two propositions in so far as method is concerned. If the Senator will look at the amendment he will find that it proposes that the funds shall be distributed through the American Red Cross, and it was only after we secured another amendment which would provide that for which we had been seeking, a loan to the farmers in the drought-stricken areas, that I supported the other proposition.

The main thing to which I want to invite the attention of the Senator is that there is certainly no similarity in the methods proposed in that amendment and this one, and I think the Senator will agree to that.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Alabama on January 16, 1931, as shown on page 2362 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, continued as follows:

> Shall we continue a method of raising funds simply because we have used it in the past, or shall we adopt the only fair method open to us to-day?
>
> When the tocsin of war was sounded in this country in 1917, did we follow the old system of taking into the Army only those who would volunteer their services? We did not. When the country was threatened with danger we drafted men into the service by the millions.
>
> To-day we are met with the proposition that we must depend, not upon the only fair system which would enable us to raise the money necessary to take care of the suffering and the destitute of this land, but we must bow down before the old fetish, we must adhere to the ancient method of passing the hat.

I submit that what the Senator was saying was particularly attributable to the suggestion that we confine ourselves to voluntary contributions rather than to Federal appropriations. Nevertheless in principle there is nothing in the remarks of the Senator which does not summon every Senator here to forget the "old fetish" which seems for some reason to be dragged across the trail of this discussion of this relief legislation—to forget the "old fetish" and do the thing most effective to aid the starving people of the country. My memory goes back, Mr. President, vividly reminded by what the Senator from Alabama has just said, to the long-past day when it was my privilege to stand above the front lines in France while the war was in progress. As he suggests, the National Government had gone practically into every home. It had taken the flower of the youth of America. It had conscripted them. It had sent them into battle and far too many of them to death.

I realize that the Senator from Alabama is not opposing the treatment of this problem as a national one, but I want to take his remark as a text in part for the use of anyone in this Chamber who has any doubt of the national character of the problem, to say that a Nation which can send its sons to death owes those sons something in life. We are appealing to the Senate of the United States not to quibble while Americans starve. If there is anyone on this floor who believes that we are not quibbling, in my judgment, he should review the history of this long-delayed, increasingly inevitable legislation.

Of course I am not asking the Senator from Alabama to surrender his convictions. Rather would I go with him on a policy if I felt that it would assure proper relief to the unemployed. But if I understand the substitute which has been submitted here—though my attention was drawn from it somewhat when it was being read—it will neither serve the States nor the Nation and certainly will not serve public welfare standards in the country to anything like the degree to which they will be served by the passage of the bill under discussion. I shall, however, defer any further comments on the substitute proposal either until I have an opportunity to read it, if I am still making remarks on this floor, or until and if, as the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] suggests, the motion of the Senator from Wisconsin prevails and the bill under discussion comes before the Senate, when the substitute itself may be offered and fully discussed.

I do say, however, without hesitation that the expert judgment of America will not be found supporting the substitute measure of the Senator from Alabama and his associates, as it will be found supporting the measure of the Senator from Wisconsin, of which I am coauthor.

Mr. President, at the conclusion of my remarks I should like to have printed in part, with permission to strike out portions unless there is objection, an article published in the National Municipal Review for October, 1928, entitled "Federal Aid to the States." My purpose in submitting the request is merely to avoid publishing the full article which might be unduly long.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit A.)

Mr. COSTIGAN. The article is submitted because it is an excellent review of the subject of Federal aid to the States, including the question of the constitutionality of such legislation. It takes up in detail the history of the different types of such legislation which have developed from time to time in congressional experience. It reviews the growth of Federal subsidy, States rights and Federal aid, constitutionality of Federal aid, results of Federal aid, forest fire prevention, agricultural extension work, highways, the National Guard, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, and other legislation. Doubtless it would be

useful for subsequent consideration elsewhere, if not here, in connection with the legislation we are now discussing.

Mr. President, I have spoken at much more length than was expected without arriving at what appeared to be a more or less inevitable reference to some of the testimony.

As I said this morning, I shall endeavor to avoid reference to those portions of the testimony which were covered by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE]. For the most part it will be easy to do so. In any event it appears to me to be highly desirable that the Senate should understand—and many Senators have been too busy carefully to review the testimony—and that the country should understand what the evidence taken before the Committee on Manufactures disclosed with respect to certain features of prime importance in the problem now presented to the Senate.

May I say that when our hearings began there was a deep-seated prejudice, cultivated from sources which must be known to Members of the Senate as not wholly unselfish, against any form of Federal legislation for the relief of the needy, however desperate their distress. It therefore appeared proper, as some of the witnesses testified, to ask them what their view was on the subject of the dole. It may be of interest to Senators, for certainly everyone ought to know the facts whatever the conclusions, to learn that at the present time in the United States approximately 70 per cent of all the relief funds expended comes from public and not private sources. Most people are unfamiliar with that fact. They have been led by propaganda to assume that the real issue presented to the Congress at this time is whether public funds shall be used to relieve the unfortunate.

The facts show that public funds from the very beginning of our history have been used, and that at this time our entire relief system would break down, with indescribable suffering, if it were not for the use of public funds. It was, therefore, proper to ask questions along the line of what constituted the "dole." The testimony developed, as shown by a report of the Russell Sage Foundation which I hold in my hand, that—

The September relief bill—

That is, for September, 1931—

of the 449 reporting agencies—

Namely, those agencies in the country where there is organized relief and which made a report upon their expenditures and activities.

The September relief bill of the 449 reporting agencies was $10,822,000; $78,611,000 was the outright relief; $2,211,000 for wage relief.

And the Russell Sage Foundation report goes on, as follows:

Public departments—

That is, departments operating under public funds paid out of the taxpayers' money—

Public departments administered 73 per cent of the outright relief, 92 per cent of the wage relief, and 77 per cent of the two classes of relief combined.

A year ago 79 per cent of the total relief bill of these same agencies was met from public funds.

The other statements report with the same particularity on the extent of public-fund contributions. Perhaps I should add what is omitted from this report; that is, it does not indicate, by any means, the extent of relief in this country which is given from public funds, for this reason: In many sections of the country, especially in the rural districts, there are no voluntary contributions; all the contributions, 100 per cent of the contributions, out of which the public need is met, are from the local funds, through the poor laws. These statistics are confined, as already indicated, to the 449 reporting agencies in the United States.

The conclusion is obvious: We must either abandon the policy of public relief or we must say in regard to the suggested legislation that there is some line to be drawn, and that line marks our definite transition to what is contemptuously called "the dole." We must pass a technical barrier, and say that it is all right to give county relief, municipal relief, State relief, but the moment we pass to Federal cooperation with the States, to Federal aid, when we make the transition for human relief of Federal aid acts, then, by some curious alchemy, we have established a dole. With that statement, Mr. President, I want to read a word or two from the witnesses on the subject of the dole.

Mr. William Hodson, executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City, testifying before the Committee on Manufactures, said this in part:

I think it important to point out that a very prominent commentator on current events, Mr. Walter Lippmann, has an article in the Woman's Home Companion in which he refers to the dole—a word, by the way, which I hope this committee will attempt to define so that the country may know what is really meant by a dole. Mr. Lippmann in his objection to Federal relief, apparently based his discussion on the theory that the Federal Government would set up a bureau which is to give relief to individuals. I find myself in hearty agreement with his objection to such a proposition.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. LONG. There is no question that the majority of the Senate understands, from what I have been able to glean on the floor, that some measure of relief is necessary. I take it that the Senator from Colorado is familiar with the substitute that has been offered by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK] on behalf of himself, the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY].

Mr. COSTIGAN. May I say to the Senator that I have not read it. I have heard it read in part on the floor, but in the midst of interruptions.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him for a moment or two to try to explain what I understand the effect of the substitute to be?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am happy to have the Senator discuss the substitute.

Mr. LONG. As I understand, it simply proposes that $125,000,000, that is one-third of the $375,000,000, shall immediately be made available to the States in accordance with their population, to be disbursed by the States. We have been doing practically that in the State of Louisiana for the last six months. The State of Louisiana did not raise the fund, but by an agreement between the city of New Orleans and the State authorities we undertook to raise a fund of about $100,000 per month, aggregating about $1,000,000 in a year. Up until this time we have had that fund administered by a welfare board appointed by the Governor of Louisiana and by the mayor of New Orleans, and they have done magnificent service.

I do not see what difference it makes whether the fund now proposed is administered by a Federal bureau or a State bureau except that it can be far more efficiently administered and with less cost by a State bureau than it can be administered by a Federal bureau. For that reason I do not see why we can not get together and accept this amendment, so as to give people who are in need some real relief.

In the form in which the bill the Senator is advocating is couched I do not see that it has a great chance of becoming a law, but the substitute has. What would be the objection to accepting this amendment and letting the State bureaus dispense the funds?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The Senator from Louisiana raises a question which the Senator from Arkansas was unable to answer. Has the Senator from Louisiana any assurance that if the substitute bill shall be enacted into law the President will approve it?

Mr. LONG. I do not know what he will do, but I should be glad to have it presented to him.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am very happy to yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator from Colorado apparently is proceeding on the theory that he has some assurance that if the so-called Costigan-La Follette

bill shall be passed the President will sign it. I inquire of the Senator from Colorado whether he has any such assurance?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Not at all, Mr. President. I have not been and do not expect to be in communication with the White House. [Laughter.]

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I should like to answer his question. The bill that is now proposed by the Senators from Alabama, Montana, and Ohio will get nearer to the President's hands than the bill the Senator from Colorado is advocating. He will never have a chance to veto the measure of the Senator from Colorado, but he will have a chance to act on the proposed substitute.

Mr. COSTIGAN. The Senator may be a better prophet than some others on this floor, but, of course, one must follow his best light. All that the Senator from Wisconsin and I are endeavoring to do at this time is to bring to the attention of the Senate the best measure, approved by experts, tested by standards which we like to speak of in regard to Federal legislation, which, in our judgment, it is practicable to enact.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. LONG. What the Senator desires to obtain is quick relief for people who are starving, is it not?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Absolutely, and as quickly as possible.

Mr. LONG. If we can, within a very short time, get $125,000,000 sent to the 48 States of America, which means millions of dollars of actual relief to those who are suffering, that is what the Senator is trying to accomplish, is it not?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The talented Senator from Louisiana has correctly stated the position of the authors of this bill; but the Senator fails to give us any assurance that if his suggestion is followed, the bill was approved and enacted into law.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator permit one further observation?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. LONG. There are a great many States in the Union that dislike very much to have Federal bureaus set up to dispense funds. The Senator knows the general inclination of those of us who are supposed to be Democrats along that line. The proposed substitute eliminates that objection to start with, which removes one obstacle. Then it makes the disbursement of the fund far more effective, because the State boards know the local needs. Therefore, if the substitute can be passed, and we are trying to get money to people in need, why should we quibble on form and method? Why not let us take the most feasible and practicable plan we can and send money to those who are in want?

Mr. COSTIGAN. What the Senator has said is of course distinctly in point; in fact, it is entirely in line with the argument which has been made during the day. My strong suggestion—I did not dare to go farther—to the Senator from Alabama was that he should not insist on some technical question in dealing with this problem of human relief, and I am gratified that the Senator from Louisiana shares the same feeling. From the beginning of the hearings all the way through the consideration of this problem there has been every disposition on the part of the authors of this bill to facilitate a quick decision and the granting of substantial relief under sound conditions.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. BLACK. I did not exactly understand what the reference was, but I understood the Senator to make some reference to a technical objection on the part of the Senator from Alabama.

May I suggest to the Senator that the substitute provides $750,000,000. The bill of the Senator provides $375,000,000. There is a difference in methods which the Senator seems to think is technical.

If that is true, why should not the Senator from Colorado abandon his technical objection to a proposal for $750,000,000? Why should we be the only ones blamed if we stand on a technical objection to get $750,000,000 and the other side stand on a technical objection to get $375,000,000?

Permit me to say to the Senator that I do not think either objection is technical; but, certainly, if it is merely a technical objection, then there should be no difficulty whatever in getting together. Since we propose $750,000,000 and the Senator's bill proposes $375,000,000, we should get in hearty accord and pass the bill through immediately.

I may also state to the Senator that from the beginning I have intended to vote to bring up this measure. I think it should be brought up. If the motion had been put, I have always believed it would have been taken up immediately. I am heartily in favor of taking it up and passing the best possible bill in the shortest possible time.

Mr. COSTIGAN. In answer to the Senator from Alabama, may I ask whether the Senator is of the opinion that in this period, in which great stress is being laid on the need for national economy, there is greater likelihood of a bill for $750,000,000 receiving the approval of the White House than a bill for $375,000,000?

Mr. BLACK. In response to the Senator, I may state that I share with him the position he has stated of not being in communication with the White House. I have not requested the White House views. I do not know what would be the views of the White House; but, from a knowledge of the two bills, I am of the opinion that even though the Senator might think the differences are technical, the $750,000,000 bill can be defended upon sound governmental principles.

That bill creates no new bureaus. It leaves the method of distribution up to the States—the States that are best qualified to handle it. It tells the people of the State of Colorado that if they obtain some of the Government's funds to relieve distress and for charitable purposes—and, of course, distress exists there—it will be administered by their people, their friends, their associates, instead of being directed by rules promulgated from a bureau in Washington.

I may state to the Senator that it is my opinion, not from any communication from the White House but from a knowledge of the two measures, that there would be a far better chance of securing a signature to the $750,000,000 bill, based upon what I conceive to be sound governmental principles, than of securing a signature to the other measure for $375,000,000, based in part upon the creation of a new bureau, with new agencies, which, if once created, the youngest man within the sound of my voice will never live long enough to see abolished.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, the bill under discussion is not calculated to take relief work out of the hands of States and localities. It is true, as the Senator has suggested, that Federal funds, so far as practicable, are to be expended under rules and regulations laid down in Washington; but certainly the Senator will not object to safeguarding public funds in this field of necessary Federal legislation. There ought to be, where conditions reasonably so permit, uniformity in the expenditure of funds. The relief should be directed, other circumstances permitting, by those most skilled in social welfare in the respective States. Civil-service safeguards, so far as consistent with immediate relief, should be maintained. Otherwise, the country may eventually be confronted with "pork barrel" and "graft" charges.

It is inconceivable that the Senator from Alabama or any other Senator should object to the modest unifying relation which is preserved in other Federal aid acts between the Federal Government and the States.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALCOTT in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado further yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. BLACK. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that under the bill the rules can be promulgated here, and that it is necessary for the State to abide by those rules to the satisfaction of the board in Washington.

I am glad the Senator referred to the civil-service quota. My State is suffering to-day from failure to enforce the civil-service quota so as to give proper representation to deserving people in the South. An investigation will show that they have been discriminated against time and time again, and that another bureau in Washington has proceeded to employ people from the States it sees fit rather than to obey the law and employ people from Alabama and the other Southern States.

The point I am making to the Senator is that so far as not only this bill but all other bills are concerned, I am opposed to centralizing any more power in the city of Washington to determine what shall be done to my section.

I happen to know that my section of the country has been discriminated against for a long number of years. Daily I am receiving letters from people who stand high on the civil-service list who can not get employment. Of course, one reason or another may be suggested, but the law says that they shall have their part of the quota. They do not get it. Why? A Federal bureau in Washington, with the power to promulgate rules and to enforce those rules, with its greediness for power and its greediness for money, employs whomsoever it sees fit; and, as a result, all we have to do is to look to see how many of the Southern States are below their quota in the civil-service employment.

That is one of the objections, as I stated to the Senator a few moments ago. The Senator's State in times past probably has been discriminated against, though not as much as the States in the South, because, fortunately, the States in the South almost always vote right. But this new bureau which is to be created here, with the greatest possible power to arouse thirst throughout the Nation, if it is created and goes into effect will be the greatest political power that has ever been created to disturb the sound and sober citizenship of this Nation.

How much more in line it is with the principles of Jefferson, to which the Senator and I both adhere, when the Government helps, not to say that the money shall be distributed in Alabama and Colorado and other places according to rules established by a Washington bureau, but to let them have the money directly, and then trust the States and the people to distribute it as they should! That is the fundamental distinction, or one of the fundamental distinctions, between the substitute and the bill of the Senator. If that be a technical distinction, then there is no more reason why Senators who have offered the bill, which is the subject of discussion, should not give up fighting on a technicality when the time arrives than why those who are fighting on the other technical side of the question should not do so.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I shall not now debate with the Senator from Alabama the subject of the civil service. It appears to be but one other of the questions which are needlessly thrown across the path of early enactment of this indispensable legislation. I should like, however, to ask the Senator from Alabama, since his substitute bill has not been submitted in advance to Members of the Senate, at least to myself, on what basis he would divide the Federal funds among the States?

Mr. BLACK. I can read to the Senator exactly what the bill provides with reference to the method of apportionment:

> The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to deduct from amounts appropriated pursuant to section 3 of this act so much as may be necessary for administrative expenses incurred hereunder and the balance of the amounts so appropriated shall be apportioned among the several States in the proportion which their population bears to the total population of the States of the United States according to the Fifteenth Decennial Census.

In other words, the law itself makes the apportionment.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Is the money to be given or granted to the States without restrictions?

Mr. BLACK. The money referred to in the second subdivision of the bill is a loan to the States. The first $375,000,000 is an outright appropriation from the Treasury for building public roads.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Is the second $375,000,000 specifically described as a loan to the States?

Mr. BLACK. As to the second $375,000,000, it is specifically provided that it shall be loaned to the States upon certificate by the governor that it is needed, and he is also to agree to recommend to the legislature and to the people that appropriate legislation be enacted for the repayment of the loan.

Mr. COSTIGAN. In other words, the loan is to be made in advance of assurances from the States that the money will ever be repaid?

Mr. BLACK. The Senator is absolutely correct. As was brought out in the testimony—which, I may state to the Senator, I have read with much interest—there are numbers of States that by reason of constitutional inhibitions could not make loans without certain authority being granted. Recognizing this difficulty, and the fact that if a State needs the money it should not be delayed in securing it, the Senator is absolutely correct in his analysis of the bill.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Does the substitute provide for cases in which, under State constitutions, it apparently is not permissible to pledge the credit of States in aid of any individuals?

Mr. BLACK. As I stated to the Senator, the bill simply requires as a prerequisite to the loan the certificate of the governor, not in the exact language but in substance, that it is necessary in order to take care of the situation and that he will recommend to the legislature and to the people that the proper enactment be made to repay the loan.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Then, if I understand the Senator, the proposal is that the Federal Government shall make a deposit with the State rather than a loan to the State, and the State will be under no obligation to pay interest on the loan, or to return the principal, unless the legislature shall otherwise provide at some future session.

Mr. BLACK. I may state to the Senator that there is, of course, a difference between a legal obligation assumed in conformity with the Constitution and law and the obligation contemplated by this bill; but in so far as the idea is concerned that there would be no obligation on the States, I can not go that far. It is my judgment that there would be a moral obligation on the part of the States, and it is difficult to believe that the States would not respond to that moral obligation.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, if I understand the suggestion of the Senator from Alabama, the proposal, stripped of all legal verbiage, is that the Federal funds shall be apportioned among the several States, to be repaid by those States only if and when so provided by the respective State legislatures.

I want to discuss that subject briefly, much as I regret to detain the Senate longer. We have one historic precedent in the form of a somewhat similar deposit of funds, which was at the time nominally treated as a loan. The deposit was made with the 26 States then in the Union. I refer to a measure enacted in 1836, when Andrew Jackson was President.

At that time, as ought always to happen under a Democratic administration, the country was free from debt and had a large surplus in the Treasury. Andrew Jackson decided that the Treasury surplus, which came largely from sales of public lands and from tariff duties, might well be distributed among the several States and applied to State purposes rather than retained by the Federal Government.

Something over $28,000,000 in the Federal Treasury was finally distributed among the States. It was called a loan; it was called a deposit. In essence it was a deposit which the States, respectively, accepted as custodians for the Federal Government.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. Let me call the attention of the Senator to this phase of the subject. The constitutions of a number of the States have provided a certain limit to which the States can go in making loans. Some of the States

have probably already exceeded their constitutional limitations.

Now we come along and say to the governors of the States, "We will give you so much money in the event that you will promise to get the people of your State to modify the provision of their constitution and pay back this loan." It seems to me that it is not much more than practically to offer the people of a State, when they are in a depressed condition, a bribe in order to get them to violate a solemn promise written into the constitution which they made.

Secondly, it seems to me that no governor of a State can bind the legislature of the future. He may not be in office at the time, and I think a great many people would feel that under the circumstances there was neither legal nor moral obligation to pay the money back.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado permit me to interrupt?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let me ask the Senator from Montana as to whether he thinks any conscientious governor who has taken an oath to uphold the Constitution and the laws of the United States could comply with section 5 of this proposed substitute, which reads:

> At the time of making any such request the governor shall agree that he will make the reports provided by section 6 and shall also state that he will recommend to the legislature of his State and also to the people thereof such action as may be necessary and appropriate to insure the repayment to the United States of all amounts received by the State pursuant to such request.

Could any governor conscientiously subscribe to that requirement when there is a provision in the constitution of his State prohibiting the State from incurring any State debt at all?

Mr. WHEELER. I can not say what a governor would like to do, but if I were the governor of a State I would not want to do it myself.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am surprised that the Senator from Wisconsin or any Senator should feel that it ought to trouble the conscience of the governor of any State to recommend an amendment to the constitution of his State. It does not seem to me that there would be any strain on the conscience of the governor at all.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. But, Mr. President, the governor would have to recommend an amendment to the constitution of his State, which he had approved and sworn to uphold when he took office. If he did so, he would be forced, regardless of whether he thought the provision in the constitution sound or not, to recommend to his State and to the legislature of his State that it be changed.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. If he thought that, he would not subscribe to a statement that he would make any such recommendation.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Precisely, and the State could not get any money under the provisions of this measure.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Exactly.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Senators who are pleading State rights are now proposing, under this provision of the bill, to force the governor of every State of the Union, whose constitution contains a provision against the State incurring any debt, to recommend to the legislature of the State and to seek in all good conscience to secure an amendment of the fundamental law of the State, in order that they may receive assistance from the Federal Government in relieving the distress which exists within the borders of the State.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I did not rise to argue the wisdom of this provision at all. I simply rose to call attention to the fact that numberless governors have recommended amendments to the constitutions of the various States without in any sense violating their oaths of office. If a governor thought that it was very unwise to recommend an amendment and that the considerations were not sufficient to induce him to do so, he would not agree to make the recommendation.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Colorado will yield further, I may say that, in so far as the provisions of the constitution of my State relating to amendment are concerned, a proposed amendment must be agreed to in two successive sessions of the legislature and then has to be submitted to the people.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That is a common provision.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. So that in practice, at least, should the governor be able to persuade two successive sessions of the legislature and a majority of the people of the State to amend the constitution, a great number of years would pass before the Federal Government could hope to obtain any refund of money loaned under the provisions of the proposed substitute. I think that merely further emphasizes the fact that the substitute is, in and of itself, not a practicable or workable solution for this problem.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, I thank the Senators for their suggestive contributions to the discussion.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. LONG. I do not understand why the Senator is so worried about the governor paying the money back. All the governor has to do is to certify that there is an emergency and that the money is needed, and all he has to say is that he will ask the people to pay the money back. If the people do not pay the money back, in the meantime the hungry people have been fed. There is nothing of harm in that.

Mr. WHEELER. If the Senator from Colorado will pardon me, that, of course, would be one way of getting the money, but it seems to me that we should not justify that means of getting it, because it would at least have a semblance of fraud to it, as long as the governor actually went out and not only said he believed that the people would pay it back but that he himself would do everything in his power to see that they did. I am not going to vote for any subterfuge, and I am not going to vote to encourage the governors of the various States of the Union to perpetrate a fraud upon the people of the United States or upon the Treasury of the United States.

I think we ought to take one position or the other; we ought to say that we are in favor of giving a direct appropriation out of the Treasury of the United States to help the people of this country or that we are not. But we should not come here with some subterfuge, and I think it will be looked upon in the country as a subterfuge. For that reason I can not subscribe to it. I would like to see an amendment to the so-called Costigan-La Follette bill appropriating money to build roads throughout the various sections of the country where employment can be given to the farming community; and I think that should be done. But I am certainly not in favor of the second portion of the so-called substitute bill, asking that the governors say that at some future time they are going to try to get their people to pay the money back.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield again?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. LONG. I do not understand why the Senator calls this a subterfuge. On the contrary, it is a simple process of getting money for the people by the action of the States, rather than by setting up a Federal bureau. We all know what would be the complications and the difficulties of procuring the needed aid to individual counties and local communities from a Federal bureau operating in Washington.

Instead of its being a subterfuge, it simply sets up the State as an agency for the distribution of the money. It is intimated it would be asking a governor to certify to something he did not intend to do. If the governors of the various States and the officials of the various States are so unmindful of the needs of the people, and care so little about the actual process of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, that they are not willing to certify that there is such an emergency requirement, and that they will under-

take to pay the money back, then I do not see how the States could comply with the moral requirement necessary to obtain relief from this kind of a fund.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, the bill was referred to as a substitute because the authors of the amendment, when they offered it, if I am not mistaken, referred to it as a substitute.

With reference to the suggestion of the Senator from Montana about public roads, it need hardly be said that the authors of this bill are in favor of appropriations for public roads. The only criticism indicated this afternoon on that subject has been that we should not endanger appropriations for human relief by adding to the measure anything likely to bring about an Executive veto. If we are given assurances that the additional appropriation for public roads will aid in securing emergency relief for the starving of the country, of course there will be no objection to such a course.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. BROOKHART. I ask the Senator whether he has any assurance that the bill providing for direct relief to the hungry and starving will be signed; or will it be vetoed?

Mr. COSTIGAN. As stated when the Senator from Iowa was out of the Chamber, no assurances of that sort can be given by either of the authors of the bill. It is, however, to be hoped that a measure purely for relief in an overwhelming national emergency may, on grounds of public policy, receive Executive approval.

Mr. President, I hope to defer for the time being the further discussion of the so-called substitute.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. BLAINE. Will the Senator indulge me the opportunity to suggest to him that legislation providing for highway construction falls far short of the necessities of the present situation?

I speak with some degree of knowledge on this subject, because we went through a similar but a shorter period of depression in 1921, when I had the honor and responsibility of discharging the duties of the executive office of my State. I invite the Senator's attention to the fact that it takes all the way from 6 to 10 months for the most efficient highway departments in the United States to prepare a highway program, before work can be commenced upon that program.

Moreover it was demonstrated to me at that time and since that on certain highway construction or certain types of highway, particularly concrete highway, the amount of money paid for labor that actually goes into the pockets of the men who construct those highways does not exceed 8 per cent of the total amount of the contract. Economists will say, however, that it will run as high as 16 per cent. But even if it does, 16 cents out of every dollar expended will be the only amount that will go toward the relief of the unemployed. The larger portion of those expenditures is in profits to the contractors, the cement companies, and the various industries and interested parties. So that from the standpoint of practical need the men who are to-day starving will be long since dead and gone before we could start a highway program that would in any appreciable degree relieve the present situation.

If the Senator from Colorado will bear with me just for another observation——

Mr. COSTIGAN. With pleasure.

Mr. BLAINE. It seems to me, so far as I have observed the debates on the part of those who have criticized the bill which is being advocated by my colleague and the Senator from Colorado, they have wholly overlooked a very vital thing which is concerned in the whole situation.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Does the Senator mean the critics or the authors of the bill?

Mr. BLAINE. The critics—those who have criticized the bill. It is not a question of what governors may request. It is not a question of what cities may request. It is not a question of what individuals may request. It is not a question of who is responsible for the present situation.

The present situation is very similar to war, an emergency as great as war. Perhaps the actual distress among the citizens of the country is far greater than was any distress during the late war. When we are in war we do not quibble about what governors may request, what cities may need, what individuals may need. There is no such quibbling. A war is of national concern. The responsibility is a collective responsibility; and so in the present situation the responsibility does not rest upon the States, the cities, or the communities. They were not the cause of the present situation. As sovereign States or cities or individuals, they had nothing to do with bringing about the present depression, a depression that is nation-wide. It seems to me that we should not overlook the very essential consideration that in the present crisis there ought to be collective action. There is collective responsibility, and that collective responsibility can be discharged only by the collective action of the people of the United States operating through the Federal Government.

I thank the Senator for his courtesy.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. BLACK. I desire to state for the benefit of the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] that Alabama can start on a road program next week. Alabama has the plans made. They have everything ready but the money. I have that information from the department of my State. There is no question whatever of delay. Immediately after the money has been made available they can arrange to start work.

I desire to state also that I have secured from the Bureau of Public Roads, which may or may not be correct, but they give it authentically, the information that 85 cents out of every dollar goes directly and indirectly to human labor in road construction. I have those figures over their own signature. Not only that but in order to verify it I took it up with them over the telephone and they gave me the number of men who would be employed for a month on a $125,000,000 appropriation. It would be over 1,000,000 men.

I would like to state also that the amount provided for road construction, whether it be 80 per cent or 16 per cent or 85 per cent is over and above the amount which is provided in the other bill.

Why should we quibble, as has been said, over which bill shall be approved? Why should we argue and talk about fraud and substitute when, as the Senator has just pointed out, the question is, Will the money go to feed the starving? If the object is to feed the starving, why quibble about which bill shall be considered if one has a better chance to pass than the other? Why raise technicalities on either side? I do not admit that technicalities are raised with reference to the bill, because it contains provisions which I know are fundamentally opposed to every conception of the people in my part of the country. We believe that this work can best be done by the States and through their agencies without the control of a Federal bureau in Washington. We propose not $375,000,000 but $750,000,000. If it is only 8 per cent of the $375,000,000 that will give people a job who are now without it; it is worth while.

I invite attention to another thing. There is a provision in my substitute which says that the maximum amount of human labor shall be used consistent with economy. There is a statement in the evidence, which I hope all Senators will read, by the mayor of Grand Rapids, Mich., a most interesting statement, in which he says they have completely taken care of their unemployed by work with pick and shovel and wheelbarrow, and requests that there be no method adopted which might disrupt their plan. They have found that plan satisfactory there. They require each man, as the Senator will recall, to be examined by a doctor; and if he is physically able to work, they give him a job. It is easily

possible to increase largely the percentage of men who have performed human labor on road work if the direction which we put in the bill is carried out.

I do not know whether the Bureau of Public Roads is correct or not. Personally, I have a very high regard for that particular bureau with reference to its knowledge of road building and road construction. They give out those figures as correct. I invite the Senator's attention to the fact that that does not mean money paid directly to labor. They figure that both directly and indirectly. Personally, it is my judgment that if the legislation passes quickly, as I hope it will, and becomes a law, they will use more human labor than they have ever used on public highways; that they will make that the chief objective instead of the profits which the Senator says would be made by companies selling cement and things of that kind.

Of course, we can not control that completely, but I happen to know that in one county in my State last year with just a small expenditure it was transformed, according to information given me by the people, from a place where gloom and desperation had controlled the entire situation, to a good condition economically simply by a proper road-building program in that county.

It is a vital thing, and while I agree with the Senator that it is not as big a program as I would like to have, yet I remind him that I have spoken for a million-dollar appropriation for public-road building, and I introduced a bill last year and the year before practically in line with the one offered here now as to road construction. I think the Senator either has been misinformed or the Bureau of Public Roads is badly mistaken as to the number of men who are employed.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. BLAINE. I speak advisedly. I can get the published information in a public document if the Senator desires or I can give him references to it. The freight charges on road-building material, cement, gravel, and so on, will far exceed the 15 cents to which the Senator refers as left out of every dollar.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Assuming the Senator from Wisconsin is correct about it—and I have no doubt he is—I think the record shows that some 60 per cent of railroad expenditures is for labor, so that of the 15 cents paid for freight a very considerable proportion, perhaps as much as 60 per cent, would go for labor, would it not?

Mr. BLAINE. I have not the figures and facts before me any more than the Senator from Montana has, and it would be only a guess.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. The statement is that indirect as well as direct employment of labor aggregates 85 per cent.

Mr. BLAINE. I do not give any weight to the figures suggested by the Senator from Alabama. I know something about this matter from personal experience. I doubt if the department can furnish the Senator with detailed information that would justify the statement which they communicated to him. But that is not the issue at all. I do not want to intrude upon the time of the Senator from Colorado——

Mr. COSTIGAN. I hope that the Senator will proceed.

Mr. BLAINE. We could build highways until doomsday and we would not absorb any appreciable number of the 7,000,000 or 8,000,000 unemployed in the country.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield.

Mr. BYRNES. The question which Senators are now discussing was before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads within the last few days. A copy of the hearings, which I hold in my hand, shows that the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads stated in a table which he inserted in the record that $1,000 was carried clear through a breakdown, which showed that $910 was paid for wages and salaries, directly and indirectly, which would be 91 per cent.

I think the hearings have been distributed to-day showing in detail the breakdown of the $1,000 according to the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, no one here is disputing, so far as I am aware, the value of a public-works program; but I should like to add one observation to what the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] has just stated. It is that no public-works program will take care of innumerable women and children in America who are in dire distress at this hour and will not be reached through wages paid for work on public roads. They have no employable road workers to rely on and are indicative of countless others who will not be assisted by the road program, yet need relief now. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] properly said that this is the hour for relief. Undoubtedly, too, as he insisted, in some parts of this country, the actual inauguration of a public-works program will be substantially postponed even if funds are made immediately available.

In the Senate to-day we are primarily concerned with emergency legislation. The long-time program can wait some further consideration. Our people who are suffering, and in cases dying, can not wait. The S O S has been sounding over America and is still sounding. Men, women, and children are going down in the dark waters while unimportant substitutes are being prepared by Members of the Senate who have not even invited their associates into their sessions and have not collaborated with those particularly and faithfully interested in the preparation of the legislative measure under discussion.

Mr. President, a short time ago when I referred to the deposit of Federal money with the States—for, after all, though nominally a loan, it was really a deposit, subject to all future contingencies—I neglected, I think, to say exactly how much of a loan was made in 1836. The precise sum distributed among the States of the Union—26 at that time—was $28,101,644.91. The State of Alabama received out of that fund $669,000 in round figures; Virginia received $2,198,000 in round figures, the second largest sum; Arkansas, $286,750; New York, $4,014,000. These are illustrations of the apportionment of 1837.

Mr. President, it is proper to inquire at this time whether this money, which was in the form of a loan, but was actually a deposit, has ever been paid back by any Southern State or by any other State, for all the States in the Union at that time were beneficiaries of this distribution.

I hold in my hand a summary of a full discussion of this one historic example which appears at this late hour to have been more or less imitated by some Members of the Senate and incorporated into the so-called substitute for the Senate bill which we are discussing.

Debates over the obligations of the States to return the money distributed in 1837, under the act of 1836, have continued in Congress practically down to the present time. One of the most recent debates, I think, according to this report, was in 1911. Through all the years there has been a tendency to bring up the question of the moral responsibility of these States to return these funds. It will be observed that the constitutional prohibitions about loans, which are to be found in many State constitutions, to some of which I want to direct attention before I close, are evaded under this sort of a proposal by the method of depositing Federal funds with the States.

May I suggest in that connection that, in my judgment, if the funds are so deposited it does not necessarily follow that they will be fully and faithfully expended to relieve the unemployed or starving in all the States. We are urged to vote from the Federal Treasury to the States funds to be used by the States without restrictions from Washington. What has that suggestion to do with the thorough, expeditious, and wise relief of human need at this hour in Amer-

ica? Does such a plan appeal to the constructive statesmanship of a majority of the Senate?

It is largely an abandonment—and will prove such if adopted—of any careful proposal to relieve the distressed. Such funds might be used in the States in other ways; they might be devoted to other purposes; they might be dissipated while our people are sinking in the everlasting abyss. If I understand it—and I trust I am not misrepresenting it—such is the proposal offered here as a substitute for the bill submitted by the Senator from Wisconsin and myself.

Mr. President, the statement which I have here with respect to our one prior Federal experiment with advances to States was prepared by the Library of Congress. It is long, and I ask permission to incorporate in the RECORD the summary mentioned, which may be instructive and pertinent to this discussion. It should follow my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The summary referred to is as follows:

A SUMMARY OF A MEMORANDUM RELATING TO THE DISTRIBUTION TO THE STATES OF THE SURPLUS IN THE UNITED STATES TREASURY

(Prepared by the Legislative Reference Service)

On June 23, 1836, President Jackson signed a bill providing for the distribution to the States of the surplus in the United States Treasury. The sections providing for the surplus follows:

"SEC. 13. The money which shall be in the Treasury of the United States on the 1st day of January, 1837, reserving the sum of $5,000,000, shall be deposited with such of the several States, in proportion to their respective representation in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, as shall, by law, authorize their treasurers, or other competent authorities, to receive the same on the terms hereinafter specified; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall deliver the same to such treasurers, or other competent authorities, on receiving certificates of deposit therefor, signed by such competent authorities, in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary aforesaid; which certificates shall express the usual and legal obligations, and pledge the faith of the State, for the safe-keeping and repayment thereof, and shall pledge the faith of the States receiving the same, to pay the said moneys, and every part thereof, from time to time, whenever the same shall be required, by the Secretary of the Treasury, for the purpose of defraying any wants of the Public Treasury, beyond the amount of the five millions aforesaid: *Provided*, That if any State declines to receive its proportion of the surplus aforesaid, on the terms before named, the same shall be deposited with the other States, agreeing to accept the same on deposit in the proportion aforesaid: *And provided further*, That when said money, or any part thereof, shall be wanted by the said Secretary, to meet appropriations by law, the same shall be called for, in ratable proportions, within one year, as nearly as conveniently may be, from the different States with which the same is deposited, and shall not be called for, in sums exceeding $10,000, from any one State in any one month, without previous notice of 30 days, for every additional sum of $20,000, which may at any time be required.

"SEC. 14. The said deposits shall be made with the said States in the following proportions and the following times, to wit: one-quarter part on the 1st day of January, 1837, or as soon thereafter as may be; one-quarter part on the 1st day of April, one-quarter part on the 1st day of July, and one-quarter part on the 1st day of October, all in the same year." (5 Stat. 55.)

On November 1, 1836, the Secretary of the Treasury "sent a circular letter to the deposit banks, notifying them of the amounts they would probably be called on to transfer to the State treasuries on January 1, 1837, and during the coming year under the provisions of sections 13 and 14 of the deposit act." (Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, December 26, 1836, Congressional Debates, 24th Cong., 2d sess., Appendix, p. 101.)

In his annual message to Congress on December 5, 1836, Jackson stated that if the future receipts were not sufficient to meet the appropriations it would be necessary to use a portion of the funds deposited with the States. He continued:

"The consequences apprehended when the deposit act of last session received a reluctant approval have been measurably realized. Though an act merely for the deposit of the surplus moneys of the United States in the State treasuries for safe-keeping until they may be wanted for the service of the General Government, it has been extensively spoken of as an act to give the money to the several States, and they have been advised to use it as a gift, without regard to the means of refunding it when called for. Such a suggestion has doubtless been made without due consideration of the obligations of the deposit act and without proper attention to the various principles and interests which are affected by it. It is manifest that the law itself can not sanction such a suggestion, and that as it now stands the States have no more authority to receive and use these deposits without intending to return them than any deposit bank or any individual temporarily charged with the safe-keeping or application of the public money would now have for converting the same to their private use without the consent and against the will of the Government."

"The surplus in the Treasury on January 1, 1837, was $42,468,859.97. (Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, September 5, 1837.) On January 3, 1837, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury setting forth the sums apportioned among the States under the act of June 23, 1836, was laid before the House of Representatives.

Summary of distribution to the States

States	Electoral votes	Amount to be deposited during the year 1837
Maine	10	$1,274,451.02
New Hampshire	7	892,115.71
Massachusetts	14	1,784,231.43
Rhode Island	4	509,780.41
Vermont	7	892,115.71
Connecticut	8	1,019,560.81
New York	42	5,352,694.28
New Jersey	8	1,019,560.81
Pennsylvania	30	3,823,353.09
Delaware	3	382,335.31
Maryland	10	1,274,451.02
Virginia	23	2,931,237.34
North Carolina	15	1,911,676.53
South Carolina	11	1,401,896.12
Georgia	11	1,401,896.12
Alabama	7	892,115.71
Mississippi	4	509,780.41
Louisiana	5	637,225.51
Missouri	4	509,780.41
Kentucky	15	1,911,676.53
Tennessee	15	1,911,676.53
Ohio	21	2,676,347.14
Indiana	9	1,147,005.92
Arkansas	3	382,335.31
Michigan	3	382,335.31
Illinois	5	637,225.51
Total		37,468,859.97

The deposits were the subject of consideration by the Congress repeatedly. In the course of debate on the fortifications bill—

"Mr. Robertson, of Virginia, looked to the distribution of the surplus as a compensation to his State for the high tariff rates, and to the loss of wealth and population by reason of the westward migration. He said:

"'Until the ruling party shall reduce the tariff, or take some effectual method for limiting the revenues to the just wants of the Government, I will vote for a distribution; I call it a distribution, because in truth no one expects a dollar will ever be called for by this Government.'

"Mr. Yell, of Arkansas, saw in the distribution 'what every enlightened mind can readily discover, a deep and matured plan, conceived and nurtured by the high-tariff party, to continue and consolidate their odious scheme of injustice and oppression.'

"In May, 1837, so many banks had suspended specie payment that the law of June 23, 1836, with respect to public deposits became inoperative and President Van Buren called a special session of Congress to appropriate funds for the expenses of the Government. In his message to Congress Van Buren said:

"* * * the accumulated receipts into the Treasury would not, with the reserved five millions, be sufficient to defray the unavoidable expenses of the Government until the usual period for the meeting of Congress, whilst the authority to call upon the States for a portion of the sums deposited with them was too restricted to enable the department to realize a sufficient amount from that source.

"There are now in the Treasury $9,367,214, directed by the act of the 23d of June, 1836, to be deposited with the States in October next. This sum, if so deposited, will be subject under the law to be recalled if needed to defray existing appropriations; and as it is now evident that the whole, or the principal part, of it will be wanted for that purpose, it appears most proper that the deposit should be withheld. * * * I am aware this course will be productive of inconvenience to many States. Relying upon the acts of Congress which held out to them the strong probability, if not the certainty, of receiving this installment, they have in some instances adopted measures with which its retention may seriously interfere. That such a condition of things should have occurred is much to be regretted. It is not the least among the unfortunate results of the disasters of the times; and it is for Congress to devise a fit remedy, if there be one. The money being indispensable to the wants of the Treasury, it is difficult to conceive upon what principle of justice or expediency its application to that object can be avoided. To recall any portion of the sums already deposited with the States would be more inconvenient and less efficient." (Messages of the Presidents, vol. 2, pp. 1541, 1560.)

"In a letter to Congress, September 5, 1837, the Secretary of the Treasury reported a balance of $42,468,859.97 in the Treasury on January 1, 1837. After reserving $5,000,000 as provided in the law of June 23, 1836, $37,468,859.97 was available for deposit with the States. The first three quarterly installments had been paid, amounting to a total of $28,101,644.97, leaving $9,367,214.98 due in the fourth installment, October 1, 1837. (Reports on the Finances, vol. 4, p. 1.)

"The amounts paid to the States in the first three quarters are shown in the following table:"

Amount paid to States, first three quarters

States[1]	Amounts paid
Maine	$955,838.25
New Hampshire	669,086.79
Vermont	669,086.79
Massachusetts	1,338,173.58
Connecticut	764,670.60
Rhode Island	382,335.30
New York	4,014,520.71
Pennsylvania	2,867,514.78
New Jersey	764,670.60
Ohio	2,007,260.34
Indiana	860,254.44
Illinois	477,919.14
Michigan	286,751.49
Delaware	286,751.49
Maryland	955,838.25
Virginia	2,198,427.99
North Carolina	1,433,757.39
South Carolina	1,051,422.09
Georgia	1,051,422.09
Alabama	669,086.79
Louisiana	477,919.14
Mississippi	382,335.30
Tennessee	1,433,757.39
Kentucky	1,433,757.39
Missouri	382,335.30
Arkansas	286,751.49
Total	28,101,644.91

[1] Treasurer's accounts, 25th Cong., 3d sess., H. Doc. 233, p. 152.

"The Secretary of the Treasury continued to carry this sum, $28,101,644.91, as a balance in the Treasury with the note that it was not available for public purposes.

"In his letter of September 5, 1837, the Secretary of the Treasury reviewed the state of public finance and added 'Early legislation has likewise become necessary, either to withhold or postpone, for a reasonable period the fourth installment of deposits with the States, or to furnish such aid as may be necessary to complete them in a satisfactory manner.' An effort had been made to transfer deposits in the western banks to the East in order to meet the October payment to the States, but the banks had been unable to make the transfer. The Secretary of the Treasury, therefore, suggested that 'the last deposit with the States, not being a debt but a mere temporary disposal of a surplus, should be postponed until Congress, in some different state of the finances, when such an available surplus may exist, shall see a manifest propriety and ability in completing the deposit, and shall give directions to that effect. Consequently no further steps will be taken as to the deposit of any part of that installment till Congress has had an opportunity to act upon the subject in such a manner as, in the present posture of affairs, its superior wisdom may consider preferable.' (Report on the Finances, Vol. IV, pp. 5–7.)

"The Twenty-fifth Congress convened on September 4, 1837, and on September 12, Senator Wright, of New York, reported a bill (S. 1) from the Committee on Finance providing for the postponement of the fourth installment of the deposit with the States. (Senate Journal, 25th Cong., 1st sess., 30.)

"Rives, of Virginia, and Calhoun, of South Carolina, endeavored to have the consideration of the bill postponed, but Wright, of New York, and Niles, of Connecticut, urged the immediate passage of finance bills as the means of quieting the general uneasiness by reason of the business crisis." (Congressional Debates, 25th Cong., 1st sess., 7.)

After prolonged debate the following measure was passed, and signed on October 2, 1837.

"The act in its final form ran:

"The transfer of the fourth installment of deposits directed to be made with the States under the thirteenth section of the act of June 23, 1836, is hereby postponed till the 1st day of January, 1839: *Provided*, That the three first installments under the said act shall remain on deposit with the States until otherwise directed by Congress." (Ibid., 127, 129.)

The question of the postponement or payment of the Federal Government of the fourth installment and the related issue of the return of the three installments already paid the States agitated the Congress from time to time.

"The severe financial crisis did not pass without again raising the question of the actual status of the funds deposited with the States. Were those funds deposits for safekeeping; were they gifts or loans? Mr. Hubbard, of New Hampshire, in a speech of February 18, 1840, stated that the $28,000,000 deposited with the States under the act of June 23, 1836, must be added to any estimate of the total State debt. He said that every State regarded it as a part of their debt. He said his own State had instructed her representatives in Congress to oppose every measure intended to relieve the States of their liability to return the deposits to the Treasury when demanded. (Congressional Globe, 26th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, p. 196.)

"Some States regarded the fourth installment a debt owed them by the Federal Government. For several years Congress was deeply concerned with financial relief of the States. A distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands was offered as a solution by Western States, while assumption of the whole State debt by the Federal Government was proposed by many States."

"In his annual report of December 7, 1840, the Secretary of the Treasury stated that he did not regard it sound policy to issue Treasury notes or bonds to meet the anticipated deficiency after 1842. He said:

"'When we possessed an extraordinary surplus it was considered prudent by Congress to make deposits with the States, with a view to be returned in an exigency, rather than to invest a portion of it safely and productively, so as to be realized in such an event. It would, therefore, be consistent with that arrangement to recall in 1842 such part of the surplus as may then be needed. That course, however, appears not very likely to be adopted, since the former power given to this department to recall these deposits has been taken away by Congress.' (House Journal, 36th Cong., 1st sess, 1143.)

"The debate in the ensuing session of Congress turned more often to the question of further distributions, not of the surplus, to be sure, for there was none, but of the proceeds from the sales of public lands. Benton, of Missouri, warned those who favored distribution of the proceeds that the Treasury would have a deficit if deprived of this source of revenue, which could only be met by loans or higher taxes. Four years ago, Benton said, he had warned Congress that when the States once began to receive money from the Federal Treasury they would go on supplying themselves until the Federal Government was stripped of its property and its money.

"'The twenty-seventh millions deposited with the States until needed for the uses of the Federal Government have been needed, are now needed, and can not be had. They are gone forever. The public man is not in existence who dares to call for it or any part of it.'"

Bills providing for the recovery of the amounts deposited with the States were introduced from time to time, as well as those authorizing payment of the postponed installment.

"On December 16, 1879, Mr. Davis, of West Virginia, introduced a bill (S. 877) to relieve the Treasurer of the United States from the amount now charged to him and deposited with the several States. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 46th Cong., 2d sess., p. 124.) Mr. Davis explained that the $28,000,000 that had been deposited with the States under the act of June 23, 1836, had to be carried in every Treasury account, noted, and deducted or added. He had consulted with Treasury officers on the bill before introducing it. (S. Misc. Doc. 55, 46th Cong., 2d sess.) The bill provided an appropriation to meet the $28,000,000 and balance the Treasurer's accounts.

"On January 14, 1880, Mr. Davis reported the bill (S. 877) from the Committee on Appropriations with an amendment providing for the repeal of all laws or parts of laws authorizing a call upon the States to repay the money.

"Mr. Thurman, of Ohio, vigorously opposed the bill. He stated that this was clearly taxation for the sake of distribution. He was a young man just beginning to practice law in Ohio at the time the act of 1836 passed. The bill could not have passed in 1836, he said, if the constitutional objection had not been overcome by making the distribution a deposit instead of a gift.

"Mr. Thurman continued:

"'Some of the States refused to receive the money for a while. The old Commonwealth of Virginia refused for a good while to receive it; but at last, when all her sisters had surrendered their virtue in the premises, she gave way, too, and took her share, and so in time it came to pass that every State had a large slice of this money. My own State, if I recollect aright, got some $2,000,000, and then sent it to the county commissioners, to be loaned out to the people on good bond and security and real-estate mortgages. How much it cost the State to get it back never will be found out. Whether she ever did get it all back I do not know.'

"Mr. Johnston, of Virginia, asked Mr. Davis whether Virginia had ever received her share. He was of the opinion that the Federal Government had paid over Virginia's share to the State government at Wheeling, during the war.

"To that question Mr. Davis was unable to reply. He said that probably no one believed that the money would ever be collected. As a matter of convenience to the Treasury officers he wanted it taken off the books.

"On March 11, 1880, Mr. Davis, of West Virginia, asked leave to bring in a similar bill authorizing the Treasury officers to credit the United States with unavailable funds under the deposit act of 1836, but it provided for no appropriation. The fund was to be carried in the accounts as a debt of the States. (Senate bills, 46th Cong., No. 1458.) No action was taken on the bill.

"Mr. Teller, of Colorado, computed the interest on the deposit at 4 per cent, and found it amounted to $134,000,000. When western Senators had brought in a bill providing for a grant of 5 per cent of the sales of public lands, the States which were now trying to get a clear gift of $28,000,000 had charged the West with making a raid upon the Treasury. Colorado had had to build an agricultural college at State expense because she had not been able to get a member on the Committee on Education, and that committee would never report a bill for an agricultural college. Mr. Teller said he was very certain that the Government would never collect the money deposited with the States, yet there were Members in both Houses of Congress that denied the power of the Government to donate money to the States.

"Senator Conkling, of New York, maintained that what had been intended as a call loan was effectively a gift. The States had treated it as such, incorporating it into their funds, and Congress had stood by all these years, permitting the States to assume that no liability was ever to be enforced. That amounted to an estoppel and any court of law would grant the fullest right to the creditor if the case were one between individuals.



"Mr. Blaine, of Maine, pronounced the deposit act a great public folly growing out of the extreme views of the day as to the limitation of the power of Congress to use the resources of the Federal Government for internal improvements. Any attempt to recall the money now would work a great injustice. In Maine the fund was divided per capita. If the deposit were recalled, Maine would have to repay $800,000, while Michigan would have to pay only $200,000. The people of Maine who received the dole had moved out to Michigan, which was relatively a richer State than Maine. The people in many old States who had benefited from the distribution were now living in the new States which complained that they had received no benefit. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 46th Cong., 3d sess., pp. 262–268.) The bill did not come to a vote in the Senate.

"On February 2, 1900, Mr. Allison, of Iowa, introduced a bill (S. 2895) for clearing the accounts between the United States and the States relative to the proceeds for the sales of public lands. Almost identical bills on the subject had been introduced repeatedly. There appears for the first time in Mr. Allison's bill, however, a section 4 providing:

"'That to further equalize and settle the accounts between the several States and the United States for the proceeds arising out of the sales of public lands, the several deposits made by the United States with the 26 States in the Union under and by virtue of the act of June 23, 1836, first session, Twenty-fourth Congress, be and the same are hereby, donated to the several States receiving the same. And the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to balance the account and return to the several States all certificates of deposits or receipts for the same; and the obligations to pay or return said money entered into by and upon the part of the several States receiving the same are hereby canceled and fully discharged.' (Senate bills, 56th Cong., No. 2895.)

"This section 4 has an intesting history. It appears, in fact, in bills on land settlement for a number of years."

No.	Congress	Introduced by—	Date	Action
S. 2895	56th	Allison of Iowa	Feb. 2, 1900	S. Rept. 1380.
H. R. 8249	56th	Esch of Wisconsin	Feb. 8, 1900	H. Rept. 2004.
S. 1473	57th	Clapp of Minnesota	Dec. 10, 1901	S. Rept. 1743.
S. 1613	57th	Gamble of South Dakota	Dec. 11, 1901	Referred.
H. R. 6266	57th	Burke of South Dakota	Dec. 13, 1901	Do.
H. R. 10382	57th	Stevens of Minnesota	Jan. 20, 1902	Do.
S. 269	58th	Gamble of South Dakota	Nov. 11, 1903	S. Rept. 782.
H. R. 10859	58th	Volstead of Minnesota	Jan. 22, 1904	Referred.
H. R. 3133	59th	Burke of South Dakota	Dec. 5, 1905	Do.
S. 311	59th	Gamble of South Dakota	Dec. 6, 1905	S. Rept. 124.
H. R. 10123	59th	Volstead of Minnesota	Jan. 4, 1906	Referred.
H. R. 135	60th	Hall of South Dakota	Dec. 2, 1907	Do.
S. 415	60th	Gamble of South Dakota	Dec. 4, 1907	S. Rept. 2.
H. R. 18890	61st	Esch of Wisconsin	Jan. 21, 1910	Referred.

"On April 1, 1908, Mr. Gamble reported S. 415 from the Committee on Public Lands. In the course of the debate Mr. Gamble stated that more than $28,000,000 had been lent to the States with an assurance that at any time the Federal Government could demand from the several States the return of the money. 'Of course, it never has been returned,' he said. 'It is not expected, I presume, that it ever will be returned. The bill relinquished to the several States specified any claim for a return of the money, and this is understood as equitable recognition when we take into account the other considerations shown or expected to be shown to the other States that did not receive any part of that fund.'

"Mr. Teller, of Colorado, said that he often thought of this debt of the States when his eastern friends complained of what was being done in the West, and he had occasionally sat down and figured the interest. The amount would be tremendous. The bill would wipe off the books that debt which no one ever expected would be paid. The amount that would be paid under the bill to the other States would be less than one-third of what was deposited in the different States.

"On February 15, 1910, Charles D. Norton, Acting Secretary of the Treasury, wrote a letter to Mr. Tawney, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, recommending that Congress should enact legislation that would finally dispose of the deposits with the States which were then carried as unavailable funds on the Treasury accounts. The Secretary of the Treasury in an accompanying letter stated:

"You will observe that by this enactment (act of October 2, 1837) the transfer to the States of the fourth installment was not only postponed, but also that control of the first three installments previously transferred to and deposited with the States was taken from the Secretary of the Treasury, and the amounts thereof were to remain on deposit with the States until otherwise directed by Congress.

"The Congress in assuming direct control of these deposits by this enactment expected them from movement under the laws governing public moneys deposited in the general account to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, viz:

"'All public moneys paid into any depository shall be subject to the draft of the Treasurer of the United States drawn agreeably to appropriations made by law. (R. S. sec. 3593.)'

"The Government has on several occasions since 1837 been very much in need of money to pay the ordinary expenses, yet the Congress has never reinvested the Secretary of the Treasury with authority to recall to the Treasury the public money deposited with the States. And now, 73 years after the last enactment relating to these deposits, it may be safely assumed that the Congress will not authorize the recall of these deposits to the Treasury. For many years they have been stated as 'unavailable funds' in the annual reports of the Treasurer of the United States. They form a part of the general account, and are so stated quarterly by the Treasurer.

"There is no way by which these deposits, anomalous in character, can be taken out of the general account under existing law; therefore I have to request that recommendation be made to the Congress, in such manner as you may deem advisable, for legislation that will relieve the Treasurer of further accountability for said deposits with the States. (61st Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. 721.)

"Accordingly a clause was written into the deficiency appropriation bill (H. R. 26730) as follows:

"'Credit in accounts of the Treasurer: The proper accounting officers of the Treasury Department be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to credit the general account of the Treasurer of the United States with the amount of public moneys transferred to and deposited with the States under the provisions of an act of Congress approved June 23, 1836: *Provided*, That the credit herein authorized to be given to the Treasurer of the United States shall in no wise affect or discharge the indebtedness of the several States to the United States as is provided in said act of Congress approved June 23, 1836, and shall be made in such manner as to debit the respective States chargeable therewith upon the books of the Treasury Department, until otherwise directed by Congress.'" (Act of June 25, 1910, 36 Stat. 776. There was no debate on this clause.)

"On February 23, 1922, Mr. Andrews proposed that the deposits, which he termed 'loans' to the States, be recalled for the purpose of supplying a portion of the funds for the bonus to veterans of the World War. He computed the rate of 4 per cent on the loans and found that Pennsylvania would pay into the Treasury $12,735,000; New York, $17,825,000; Ohio, $8,912,000; Virginia, $9,761,000; and altogether the amount due the Treasury would be $124,770,000.

"A letter from the Under Secretary of the Treasury, of February 4, 1926, stated that in all $28,101,644.91 had been deposited with the States. Congress has never directed the return of the deposits and the matter stands at this time as it was left by the act of October 2, 1837, no part of the moneys deposited with any of the States ever having been returned to the Treasury. The certificates of deposit signed by the competent authorities of the respective States are on file in the Treasury Department. While the deposits may be regarded as an asset of the United States, no action may be taken toward any collection of the deposits with the States until Congress shall so direct. (CONG. RECORD, 69th Cong., 1st sess., p. 5718.)

"On March 16, 1926, Mr. SIMMONS, of Nebraska, introduced a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 201) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to call for the return to the Treasury of $28,101,644.91 deposited with certain States in 1837. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means." (CONG. RECORD, 69th Cong., 1st sess., p. 5753.)

Mr. President, the cart is far from the horse, and it may now be difficult to get them together. My recollection, however, is that when interrupted a considerable time ago, I was speaking of the dole. With the permission of the Senate, I will continue my references to some testimony given on that subject before the Committee on Manufactures. Doubtless the Members of the Senate who heard my earlier remarks will recall that approximately 70 per cent of the relief funds now spent in those cities from which reports are regularly received is from taxpayers' money, not from charitable contributions as commonly supposed. With that fact in mind, it may be easier to follow what some of the witnesses had to say on the subject of the dole.

[At this point Mr. COSTIGAN yielded the floor for the day.]

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator has occupied a full day and I am sure must be somewhat fatigued.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am not weary.

Mr. McNARY. It is the desire to hold an executive session. Would the Senator like to conclude at this time, or would he prefer to continue to-morrow?

Mr. COSTIGAN. It is entirely agreeable to me to yield at this time, if I may hold the floor and proceed to-morrow.

Mr. McNARY. That I can not promise. I am going to move frankly, I will say, for an adjournment to-day, but I am sure the Senator will be recognized at the expiration of the morning hour to-morrow at 2 o'clock to continue his address.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Very well.

TEMPORARY REMOVAL OF WASHINGTON PORTRAITS FROM THE CAPITOL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I desire to submit a concurrent resolution, which I should like to have printed and lie on the table. Before presenting it, I wish to state to the Senate its purpose.

On the 5th of March there will open in the Corcoran Art Gallery in this city the finest display of portraits of George Washington that ever were collected at any one place at any time. All the famous portraits now in existence will be on display in the Corcoran Gallery, except two which can not be secured. One is in Hartford, Conn., and can not be removed from the State capitol without an act of the State legislature, which is not in session. The other is the famous Stuart picture in the Athenæum, in Boston. However, portraits have come from all over the world, including the famous portrait owned by the Lord Roseberry estate, which was at one time owned by Lansdowne. That portrait is on its way here, and will be in the exhibit. We think that it would be rather inexcusable if the portraits of Washington now in the Capitol Building here were not also put on display in the Corcoran Gallery during this period. If permission is granted to remove them, they will be insured so that there can be no danger. I think the joint committee could provide for the removal and exhibition of the portraits now in the Capitol without any new grant of authority, but I should like to have the authority of the House and Senate, and therefore am offering the concurrent resolution. I will not ask for immediate consideration but will ask for consideration in a short time.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 14) was ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That consent is hereby given to the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, or a duly authorized committee thereof, to remove temporarily to the Corcoran Art Gallery for exhibition in the Bicentennial Potrait Exhibit to be held as a part of such celebration any portraits in the Capitol Building (not in the public corridors), including the following:

George Washington, by Rembrandt Peale, in the Vice President's room; George Washington, by Gilbert Stuart, in the Post Offices and Post Roads Committee room; John Marshall, by Martin, in the Supreme Court robing room; Frederick Muhlenberg, copied from a Wright portrait by Samuel B. Waugh, in the Speaker's lobby; Oliver Ellsworth, copied from an Earl portrait by Charles Loring Elliot, in the Supreme Court robing room.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting several nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

TREATY OF ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION WITH SWITZERLAND

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

To the Senate of the United States:

To the end that I may receive the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a treaty of arbitration and conciliation between the United States and Switzerland, signed at Washington on February 16, 1931.

HERBERT HOOVER.

(Enclosure: Treaty.)

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 3, 1932.*

TREATY WITH ITALY RELATIVE TO THE CAUSE OF GENERAL PEACE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

To the Senate of the United States:

To the end that I may receive the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a treaty between the United States and Italy, signed on September 23, 1931, abrogating article 2 of the treaty between the two countries, to advance the cause of general peace, signed on May 5, 1914, and substituting therefor new provisions in respect of the appointment of members of the international commission provided for in that article.

HERBERT HOOVER.

(Inclosure: Treaty.)

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 3, 1932.*

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported sundry nominations of postmasters, which were placed on the calendar.

Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported sundry nominations of postmasters, which were placed on the calendar.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported sundry post-office nominations, which were placed on the calendar.

THE CALENDAR

Executive KK (Seventieth Congress, second session), a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington February 25, 1929, was announced as first in order.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. In the absence of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, I ask that the treaty may go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The treaty will be passed over.

Executive A (72d Cong., 1st sess.), a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and the Republic of Poland, signed at Washington on June 15, 1931, was announced as next in order.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I make the same request as to that treaty.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The treaty will be passed over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of members of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. McNARY. I ask that those nominations may go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be passed over.

THE JUDICIARY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Hugh D. McLellan to be United States district judge, district of Massachusetts.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Matthew M. Joyce to be United States district judge, district of Minnesota.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Gunnar H. Nordbye to be United States district judge, district of Minnesota.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Joseph C. Shaffer to be United States attorney, western district of Virginia.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of John H. Grogan to be United States marshal, eastern district of Michigan.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Ira M. Ornburn to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 16, 1933.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I request that both nominations for the Tariff Commission may go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be passed over.

CUSTOMS SERVICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Andrew Wiedenmann to be collector, customs collection district No. 8, Rochester, N. Y.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Dan G. Stewart to be collector, sixth district of Missouri.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. ODDIE. I ask that the list of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, all postmasters nominations on the calendar will be confirmed en bloc.

That completes the calendar.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Committee on Banking and Currency this morning met and unanimously recommended the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Wilson McCarthy as a member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the chairman of the committee was authorized to report his name.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination has been reported by the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER].

Mr. KING. I beg the Chair's pardon. I just came in. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Mr. McCarthy's nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Wilson McCarthy, of Utah, to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a term of two years from January 22, 1932.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the board is now in session and has been for several days, except for Mr. McCarthy, who has not been a member heretofore. In view of the situation and the exigency of the case I ask that the President be notified.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the President will be notified.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, may I have the attention of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN]? I should like to ask the Senator when he will be willing to take up for consideration the confirmation of the members of the Tariff Commission.

Mr. COSTIGAN. At any early day, may I say to the Senator from Indiana. I have not in mind a particular day. As I understand, these gentlemen are functioning now.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, they may be functioning in a sense; but under the law they are merely sitting in, and have no vote, and can not have until they are confirmed.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Has the Senator from Utah or the Senator from Indiana any suggestion as to a date?

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to have them voted on to-morrow by unanimous consent.

Mr. COSTIGAN. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] has just spoken to me of some interest he has in the subject. I should prefer to discuss the matter further, and not definitely say that we shall take it up to-morrow.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator be able to-morrow to say whether he objects to it any further than to-morrow?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Certainly; I shall notify the Senator from Utah to-morrow.

Mr. SMOOT. I very much hope that early action will be taken one way or the other upon the nominations.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I have no disposition to delay consideration. I have given some attention to the first nomination. I do not know anything about the other one.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not think there was any objection at all to the other one in the committee.

Mr. COSTIGAN. May I say to the Senator from Utah that I objected to both nominations, not on personal but on public grounds. I voted against both in the committee and made a statement giving generally the grounds of my objection, which, as I say, were not personal but public.

Mr. SMOOT. I am glad the Senator corrected me, if that is the case. I did not remember the Senator making any objection to Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, suppose we just let them go over without any agreement. So far as I know, there is not any disposition on anyone's part to delay them. We will try to reach an agreement by to-morrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That action has already been taken by the Senate. The nominations have been passed over.

Mr. NORRIS. Then this discussion is all out of order, as it usually is.

Mr. SMOOT. No; I am glad to have the Senator say that the matter will be discussed to-morrow; and, if possible, decided at that time.

ADJOURNMENT

The Senate resumed legislative session.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn, the adjournment being until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 4, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 3 (legislative day of February 1), 1932

SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Leland B. Morris, of Pennsylvania, now a Foreign Service officer of class 3 and a consul general, to be also a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Oliver D. Burden, of New York, to be United States attorney, northern district of New York. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expired February 28, 1931.)

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

Charles A. Patton, of Colorado, to be United States marshal, district of Colorado, to succeed Richard A. Callen, whose term expired February 14, 1931.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

Guy Francis Barnes, of South Dakota, to be register of the land office at Pierre, S. Dak. (Reappointment.)

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 3 (legislative day of February 1), 1932

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Wilson McCarthy to be a member of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES

Hugh D. McLellan to be United States district judge, district of Massachusetts.

Matthew M. Joyce to be United States district judge, district of Minnesota.

Gunnar H. Nordbye to be United States district judge, district of Minnesota.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Joseph C. Shaffer to be United States attorney, western district of Virginia.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

John H. Grogan to be United States marshal, eastern district of Michigan.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS

Andrew Wiedenmann to be collector of customs, collection district No. 8, Rochester, N. Y.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

Dan G. Stewart to be collector of internal revenue, sixth district of Missouri.

POSTMASTERS

MARYLAND

Jessie P. Smith, Luke.
James J. Shoemaker, Sandy Spring.

MINNESOTA

Cora A. Ilstrup, Cromwell.
Charles F. Mallahan, Jackson.
Werl I. Smith, Proctor.
Mathew Rivers, Rollingstone.

MONTANA

Arthur D. Liberman, Fort Harrison.
Otto M. Christinson, Glasgow.

OKLAHOMA

Nealy Godwin, Alex.
Garnett O. Fields, Aline.
Elmer D. Orwig, Wewoka.

PENNSYLVANIA

Mayme S. Porter, Hokendauqua.

RHODE ISLAND

S. Martin Rose, Block Island.
Thatcher T. Bowler, Newport.
Catherine M. Green, Portsmouth.
Edwin S. Babcock, Saunderstown.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, while Thou art represented as being in Thy holy mountain and humanity is about Thy feet, help, Lord God, for the spirit of man never climbs toward the sky if the teachings of Thy begotten Son are not heeded and obeyed. Do Thou bless and give great impetus to every local and national agency which is seeking to alleviate the sufferings of the unemployed. The Lord God help the fortunate who may be blind and unmoved and those who are spiritually deformed who fail in this hour of distress. Touch their hearts, and may they transfer their allegiance to Him who went about doing good; may charity, which is that fine form of personal excellence, possess them. Our beloved country will never be altogether worthy until love and brotherhood are engraved on the many forms of its great heart. In the name of Jesus, our Savior. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1089. An act to establish a minimum area for a Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes;

S. 1291. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River, near Freeport, Fla.;

S. 2317. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Michigan and Berrien County, or either of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Joseph River; and

S. 2407. An act to authorize the sale of parts of a cemetery reserve made for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in Oklahoma.

EXTRANEOUS MATTER IN THE RECORD

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call attention to matters that are developing in the RECORD. This House undertakes, pretty rigidly, to exclude things that are not a part of our procedure. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. UNDERHILL] is frequently criticized somewhat because he objects to foreign matter being injected into our RECORD. I will say that as chairman of the Committee on Printing I have had a number of communications complimenting us because the House was acting in line of economy in what is published in the RECORD, and I want to commend the gentleman from Massachusetts for being instrumental in helping to do that.

If you will turn to the RECORD of yesterday, beginning on page 3095 and extending through to page 3260, you will see a 165-page extension permitted by another body, by one gentleman who was speaking on behalf of the poor. It cost $8,250 to print it; $8,250 distributed amongst the poor on the streets of Washington would have done the country infinitely more good. [Applause.]

I want to call attention to that fact, and to state that the Joint Committee on Printing has done its best to hedge about and restrict this, but necessarily we can not exclude everything. I hope that in the way of humble petition and vigorous remonstrance the other body will reform a little and not spend all the money we have left in printing irrelevant matter in the RECORD. [Applause.]

Mr. KVALE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. I yield.

Mr. KVALE. I would like to ask the gentleman in all seriousness if he does not believe that the matter therein contained brings some information to the country that may be worth a great deal more than $8,250 at this time?

Mr. STEVENSON. I want to ask the gentleman if he believes the country is going to read it in that shape? [Applause and laughter.] The gentleman could have had it printed as a public document or a Senate document and distribute it, and it would not have required anything like the amount of printing that this requires. Some people will read a Senate document. They believe that the Senate has something to say when it issues a document.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. I yield.

Mr. HOWARD. I want to thank the gentleman for the attitude he takes this morning, and I want to offer my encouragement in his effort to aid the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. UNDERHILL]. I think if the gentleman had listened intently a little while ago to the applause which followed his own remarks he would have reached the conclusion that this House is no longer in favor of this continued wickedness of discrimination. [Laughter.]

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes, sir. I will say in conclusion that the Joint Committee on Printing has enacted a rule which has the force of law under statute, which requires matters of this kind to be printed in small type. Of course, if this had been read in a speech it would have been about twice as big, as it would have been set in bigger type, and we have to be thankful that it was held down to the size type it was.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, if justification of the position I have taken in the last three or four years in the

House needed any vindication, it certainly has been vindicated this morning. The chairman of the Committee on Printing has only touched upon expense with reference to insertions in the RECORD. I would call attention to the fact that practically all of the RECORDS go through the mails, and additional weight is charged to the Government. It can be imagined, with the number of RECORDS going through the mails, how much additional expense this brings to the Post Office Department.

It has not been my primary purpose or my sole purpose to save money, although that has been a consideration. It has been to try to save Congress from the criticisms of the press and of the public in general throughout the country in the matter which is inserted in the RECORD. I do not suppose the Members realize the amount of criticism there has been in the press with reference to these extraneous matters. I do not suppose the Members realize that every insertion in the RECORD under unanimous consent is only there because we transgress the law laid down for the publication of the RECORD. The law which established the RECORD provides specifically that only the proceedings of the House and Senate shall be inserted in the RECORD.

TITLE 44. SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk.

We get by that by unanimous consent. It is a reflection upon Members of Congress when they make a law and then fail to live up to it. I have tried to use no discrimination in my objections. The Members of the House have cooperated with me pretty generally and very generously. But, Mr. Speaker, it seems to be a hopeless task. Some of the new Members are not aware that they can place petitions in the basket on the Clerk's desk and those petitions will be noted in the RECORD and referred to the proper committees. That is the place for them.

I now suggest to those who have not heretofore been aware of it that that is the procedure which they should follow.

I have some comment to make on the general practice of inserting radio speeches. It seems to me that after a Member has enjoyed speaking to an unseen audience of untold thousands or millions he ought to be content with that publicity; that he ought not to come in and put irrelevant matter in the RECORD; but, following my plan of procedure, I have never objected to any Member of the House inserting his own remarks in the RECORD. I do think, however, that that privilege has been somewhat abused, and hope Members will take the attitude they have taken on other irrelevant matter and will be a little careful in requesting permission to insert radio speeches in the RECORD that have no connection with legislative business.

In closing I would quote from the last report of the Public Printer:

Printing and binding the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the three sessions of the Seventy-first Congress, March 4, 1929–1931, cost $1,582,816.24, including $570,656.44 for the fiscal year 1931.

The daily RECORD for the three sessions of the Seventy-first Congress totaled 28,228 printed pages, which were consolidated and reprinted in 27,944 pages of the bound RECORD and made a set of 26 volumes for the entire Congress.

Free public distribution of the RECORD requires 36,000 copies of the daily edition and approximately 4,800 sets of the bound edition for each session. There were 636 paid subscribers at various times during the Seventy-first Congress.

The daily RECORD for the third session of the Seventy-first Congress averaged 108 pages for each issue. During the last six days the Record averaged 188 pages for each issue. The highest daily average of any former session was 83 pages.

The largest RECORD of the last session contained 256 pages, the most ever printed in one night. A previous RECORD of 366 pages required several days' work before it was issued in 1914. Both Houses held late sessions that night, the Senate not adjourning until 3 a. m. However, 6,000 copies of the 256-page RECORD were printed and delivered by 8 o'clock the same morning.

THIRD OF RECORD NOT PROCEEDINGS

Of the 7,779 pages in the daily RECORD for the third session of the Seventy-first Congress, 2,388 pages were printed in smaller type, which indicates that about one-third of the RECORD for the last session was devoted to matter other than the actual proceedings and debates in Congress.

I call attention to the 100 per cent increase in printed pages of the RECORD. Further comment is unnecessary.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION ON PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, I present herewith a supplemental report of the United States Tariff Commission on petroleum products with the request it be referred to the Committee on Printing, requesting that it be printed as a House document.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

DISTINGUISHED VISITOR

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure, in behalf of the North Carolina delegation in Congress, to present to you one of North Carolina's most distinguished citizens, Henry L. Stevens, the national commander of the American Legion. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, if any of the Members desire to meet Mr. Stevens he will be in the Speaker's office.

EXTRANEOUS MATTER IN THE RECORD

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, reference has been made this afternoon to matters inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to the great expense involved in inserting extraneous matters. Ordinarily I would agree with a protest of that kind, but it seems to me that the subject matter taken as an example for the protests made this afternoon does not come within the category of useless matter inserted in the RECORD. I consider this particular insertion in the RECORD not only timely and accurate but the most useful contained in the RECORD this session. Mr. Speaker, the subject complained of is a series of telegrams and letters from mayors and responsible officials of cities giving the American Congress direct and accurate information as to the unemployment situation all over the country, and it seems to me there can be no matter of greater importance than the information that is contained in the RECORD and placed in it by a most distinguished Member of another body. [Applause.]

Mr. STEVENSON. May I make an humble suggestion to the gentleman?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. The gentleman who inserted this matter is the chairman of the committee which reported the bill then under consideration. No doubt he had all of that information before the committee, and I assume it is printed in the hearings, as extensive hearings were held. If that is so, why print in the RECORD matter that has already been printed in the hearings? That is what I complain of. I have no complaint to make with reference to the information, but I do complain about the loading up of the RECORD with matter that has already been printed.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Matters printed in hearings are not generally known to the public and they are not even generally known to the Members of Congress. I know of no matter that is more impressive and that is more necessary to urge the American Congress into doing something to alleviate conditions than the distressful information criticized and contained in the RECORD. [Applause.]

I thank the gentleman for having so forcefully called attention to this information, and I hope that Members of Congress will take heed and that something will be done before long to alleviate the deplorable conditions which exist in this country to-day. I sincerely hope that the suffering unemployed people needing relief will be considered by Congress and something done for them. The information is most useful and timely. I hope it will shame

certain gentlemen from all opposition to direct relief. I have seen a great deal of trashy and worthless matter in the RECORD and nothing said about it. This information is a real record of distress, demanding the immediate attention of Congress. I sincerely hope and pray that Congress will do something immediately. [Applause.]

RESIGNATION FROM A COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following communication:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1932.

Hon. JOHN N. GARNER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I respectfully present to you my resignation from the District of Columbia Committee. During the present session I would like to concentrate upon the work of reorganization of the departments of Government, a problem now before the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, of which I am a member.

Yours sincerely,

F. M. DAVENPORT.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to address the House for 15 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense is now in session in Washington. This conference was addressed by Henry L. Stevens, jr., commander of the American Legion, whom I was very glad to join with other Members of the House in acclaiming this morning, and Mrs. Frederick C. Williams, national president of the Legion Auxiliary, and by Secretary of Labor William N. Doak.

Mr. FISH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McFADDEN. I will.

Mr. FISH. I would like to call the attention of the House to the fact that Hon. CARL G. BACHMANN also spoke.

Mr. McFADDEN. Yes; he addressed the same meeting. It was the next day, but I did not have the pleasure of hearing him.

I want to quote from Mrs. Williams's plea for adequate national defense, as reported in the press this morning. She is quoted as saying:

> We are convinced that in the present state of the world this Nation of ours can live in honor and security only so long as it is able to defend itself by force of arms.

I would like to repeat also what this article had further to say. Commander Stevens declared that "the poor old Regular Army" had been so reduced that the National Guard is now America's first line of defense, and that the Navy is "20 per cent behind the program of the London treaty." "There is now a threat to cut down the Army appropriation which, if it occurs, would demoralize the entire National Guard from Maine to California," and that the Army has been reduced to the point where it is "only a group of highly trained technicians; men who, in time of another war, would become the higher commanders and the Army professors upon whom would be built a great army from the people." His plea was not for a big Navy, but for sea power adequate to safeguard American interests, declaring that the American fleet "was taken out to sea and literally scuttled" eight or nine years ago. In this he was referring to the Washington disarmament agreement and the results thereof.

I am directing your attention to these two speeches because of the existing situation in which we find ourselves. Within a few days we will be taking up the Army and Navy appropriation bills in which I understand big cuts are to be made for economy's sake. I want to protest as vehemently as I can against the cutting of the necessary appropriations to maintain and to increase our defense forces. This is no time to enter into a reorganization of our various departments of national defense. It is more properly a time when we should be centralizing our efforts looking toward proper defense. It is a time when this House should be considering, and without further delay, the Vinson bill proposing the upbuilding of our Navy in accordance with the London naval treaty, instead of holding it in committee with a tacit understanding that it will not be taken up until after the disarmament conference. To withhold this bill from immediate consideration, Mr. Speaker, is a most foolhardy action. The Naval Affairs Committee should immediately report this bill and the House should consider it forthwith.

I want also to refer briefly to what Secretary of Labor Doak said last night as reported in the aforementioned article. He said that he "whole-heartedly" believed that the country "should be in a position at all times to defend its liberty and property." He declared it to be "an undisputed fact" that many who are advocating total disarmament as an example to the rest of the world "are of the same mind with those who not so many years ago, in the face of imminent danger, did what they could to make it hard for the United States vigorously to conduct a war that was forced upon it by the aggression of a foreign power." And furthermore he added that the United States at the present time "unhappily has enemies within, some of them Americans of long standing, who to-day are doing what they can to defend the activities of men and of women whose effort it is to disrupt this country."

I will refer to one of the outstanding of such organizations before I finish.

It is time for us to turn aside from the unsolved problems which confront our country from within and consider those which threaten us from without. We have had time enough to reach decisions as to our domestic needs, but the precious hours we should have used have slipped away from us. The busy routine of a congressional session has been crowded into a few short weeks; as many months would have been too short a time for the work that should have been done.

That the Congress is blameless for its idleness during the long months in which it should have been functioning on the national business is beside the point. We can not shift the consequences by shifting the responsibility.

We confront the results of an habitual folly into which we have been sunk for years. We have become enamored of words and have dreamed of a world in which every problem could be met with a pamphlet or a petition. Particularly have we become enamored of those floods of words called peace and disarmament conferences. Under the spell of the honeyed voices of the preachers of pacifism we have stripped ourselves of the means of defense as a noble example to a world which has been only too willing to take advantage of our blindness.

To-day the dark shadow of crisis rises upon the western horizon of the Pacific. A determined military empire, with the tradition and equipment of warfare sweeps aside treaties and conference agreements as they were swept aside in that July of 1014 when the hellbroth of the World War was being brewed in the kettles of European diplomacy.

All the world except ourselves stands armed and ready for the issue. The countries to whom we extended the recent moratorium have 50 trained soldiers for every one we can muster. Our defense funds have been spent to arm our possible enemies.

Our hampered Navy, far below even the limits of the strength assigned to it by diplomats who soon may be allied against us, faces bravely but hopelessly an emergency too great for it to meet successfully. Our air forces are poorly equipped in everything except the men who every few days demonstrate their willingness to die for their country. Our national defenses are but a skeleton of what they should be.

As though we were a conquered people, we have let councils of foreign diplomats determine the extent to which we might arm ourselves. Germany was forced to no greater a humiliation at Versailles. Almost as though we sought to

propitiate a conqueror, we have refrained from using even the limited permission to arm which we accepted as though it were a favor.

None of this has been accident, nor has the gospel of weakness been an inspiration of our own minds. We have been deftly persuaded into our folly.

The pacifist movement in this country has been liberally financed by organizations which exist for other purposes than to further the welfare of the United States. Prominent in the work of disarming America in an armed world have been the organizations which are endowed by the American-made fortune of the late Andrew Carnegie, that careful Scottish immigrant who has left to us an enlightening difinition of his hopes and aims in language too clear and unmistakable to be misunderstood.

Let me quote from the book Triumphant Democracy, written by Andrew Carnegie and published by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1893. The concluding words of this book, which appear on pages 548 and 549, are as follows:

> Readers will kindly note this as a look ahead—how far ahead I shall not attempt to guess; nevertheless, it is ahead, and sometime, somehow, it is to come to pass. I see it with the eye of faith—the faith of the devotee which carries with it a realizing sense of certain fulfillment.
>
> Time may dispel many pleasing illusions and destroy many noble dreams, but it shall never shake my belief that the wound caused by the wholly unlooked-for and undesired separation of the mother from her child is not to bleed forever.
>
> Let men say what they will; therefore, I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state—the British-American union.

Andrew Carnegie's body is dead, but his money marches on.

"The wholly unlooked-for and undesired separation of the mother from her child"! Undesired by whom? Surely not by that Washington whose anniversary we celebrate this year. Surely not by the inspired farmers and traders and hunters who beat back the British battalions on the slopes of Bunker Hill, brought Burgoyne to surrender at Saratoga, starved at Valley Forge, and rose to final triumph at Yorktown. Surely not the generations of simple and hardy women and men who shaped this Nation from the wilderness with no other tools than ax, rifle, and hope.

"The reunited state, the British-American union"! Are we, then, to return as did the prodigal son, bearing our own fatted calf, and turn back all that our fathers won to those from whose fathers they won it? Are we to say to ourselves and the world, "We are too weak of soul and too mean of spirit to carry the torch that was bequeathed to us"?

I speak for every Member of this House when I say that the answer to those questions is "No."

I hope that I again speak for every Member of this House when I say that the defenses of the United States are the business of the United States and that the sole authority which can determine their cost or extent or use is the authority of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the world to-day faces a swiftly mounting crisis. It is our duty to face it as men and women who have for their first and only consideration the interest and the safety and the independence and the integrity of the United States. Too often have we been swayed by waves of seeming public sentiment which were only the backwash from busy mimeographs of propagandists paid by those outside our borders who wish us to be weak. Never have the people we represent wished to see their country weak in the face of danger—and they do not wish to see it weak now, as the burning fuse of events sputters toward another explosion of the world.

Our people do not want war. They want peace. They know that peace can be maintained in an armed world only by strength. They know that weakness is an invitation to war. They know the folly of the delusion that wars can be ended by treaties. They see the covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg treaty, and the Pacific agreement signed in this very city of Washington less than 10 years ago as fluttering scraps of paper, flying to oblivion on the hot wind of war.

They know that to-day our delegates sit at Geneva in another conference whose announced object is to disarm the world. They know that the delegates of Japan and China sit at that same conference. Do our people think that Japan and China will disarm? They do not, and they wonder what is in our minds that we seem to think those nations will disarm.

We are in distress because our slowly saved earnings of generations have vanished into the bottomless pit of the Old World's wars. They do not wish to see their country vanish into the same destruction. They wish to see their country strong in arms so that it can enforce its right to stay out of the murderous frenzy which once more threatens to engulf the peoples of the earth.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that the first consideration of the Congress shall be the recommendations of the committees whose charge it is to provide for our Nation's armed defense against armed aggression. [Applause.]

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call to the attention of the House the fact that we have in the Speaker's reserved gallery very distinguished visitors—Mr. Samuel P. Town, the commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, his staff, members of the legislative committee, and auxiliary organizations.

These men belong to that vast army of patriots which is so rapidly dwindling. This morning they appeared in behalf of legislation in which they are interested before the Committee on Invalid Pensions, of which committee I have the honor to be the chairman.

It is a privilege and a pleasure for me to ask them to now rise and be presented to the Members of this body. [Applause, Members rising.]

WILLAMETTE RIVER PROJECT

The SPEAKER. This is Calendar Wednesday. The Clerk will call the committees.

Mr. MANSFIELD (when the Committee on Rivers and Harbors was called). Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors I call up the bill (H. R. 7248) authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. Evidently there is not a quorum present.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, when the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 14]

Amlie	Drane	Johnson, Ill.	Mansfield
Bacon	Eaton, N. J.	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nelson, Wis.
Baldridge	Estep	Johnson, Wash.	Nolan
Bloom	Fishburne	Karch	Oliver, N. Y.
Boland, Pa.	Flannagan	Kelly, Ill.	Owen
Briggs	Fulmer	Kennedy	Parker, N. Y.
Britten	Garrett	Kinzer	Peavey
Carley	Gifford	Kurtz	Pratt, Harcourt J.
Chapman	Gilbert	Lamneck	Quin
Chase	Golder	Larrabee	Reid, Ill.
Clarke, N. Y.	Granata	Lea	Romjue
Collier	Griffin	Lehlbach	Smith, Va.
Colton	Hart	Lewis	Smith, W. Va.
Connolly	Holmes	Lovette	Sullivan, Pa.
Cooke	Hull, Morton D.	McGugin	Warren
Cooper, Ohio	Igoe	McLeod	Wood, Ind.
Crowe	Jacobsen	McReynolds	Woodruff
Crump	James	Maas	

The SPEAKER. Three hundred and fifty-nine Members have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The motion was agreed to.

Under the rule the House resolved itself in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. BROWNING in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 7248, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H. R. 7248

A bill authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg.

Be it enacted, etc., That the project for the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., authorized by the river and harbor act approved July 3, 1930, is hereby modified in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers in the report submitted in House Document No. 748, Seventy-first Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. MANSFIELD] is recognized for one hour.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, the bill now before the House is to modify the terms of the project adopted by the river and harbor act of July 3, 1930, for an improvement of the Willamette River in the State of Oregon.

The estimated cost of the project was $205,000, $50,000 of which was to be paid by local interests.

Under the rules adopted and carried out by the engineers of the War Department in cases where local cooperation is required they never commence a work of that kind until the conditions are fully complied with.

It developed that there are no local interests to pay the $50,000. No one had ever agreed to pay it, and it was determined by the engineers that it would probably prove $50,000 beneficial value to the power company who have the power development at the dam in question.

It was this way: It simply lowered the water level below the dam to the extent of 2½ feet, and it was estimated that that would give additional power to the owners, but it was found that the power company would necessarily have to overhaul their machinery, lower their wheels, and make other changes, all at a cost greater than the value of the power that might be obtained.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. What is the object of this bill?

Mr. MANSFIELD. To remit the local contribution.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Will the United States Government or the reclamation project bear the rest of the expense?

Mr. MANSFIELD. There is no reclamation in this. It will be paid out of the annual appropriation for rivers and harbors.

I now yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, the first thing I want to impress upon the House is that this is not an irrigation or reclamation project. It is simply a modification for an improvement that was adopted for the Willamette River and nothing else.

By the river and harbor act of July 3, 1930, a project for the widening and deepening of the Willamette River 13 miles between Portland, Oreg., and Oregon City, the old capital of Oregon, was approved by this House.

That called for an appropriation of $210,000. At the falls of the Willamette, at the end of this improvement, is a dam which generates power for two large paper companies—the Hawley Pulp & Paper Co. and the Crown Willamette Paper Co. Here the river would be lowered 2½ feet, and the engineers without thorough investigation reported that the two paper companies would be benefited 570 kilowatt-hours of electricity for three months during the low water.

Congress adopted that project, and assessed the benefit on the two companies of $50,000. That was the first knowledge they had of it. As soon as this was brought to the attention of these companies they claimed that the change of their machinery to take advantage of the 2½ extra feet of water at the falls would be prohibitive; but, what was far more important to them, was that they did not own the falls at all. They belonged to a public-service company, the last company that would want an improvement, because it is a transportation company, and this would reduce the transportation cost of 643,000 tons of vessel cargo and a million tons of logs, which can with difficulty be handled along these tortuous 13 miles.

On this representation the Government engineers reexamined the matter and found on investigation that these benefits to local interests which the bill previously carried do not exist at all; that there are no local benefits to these companies. Therefore, as honest men, they so reported, the district engineer and the division engineer. It then came on here to the Board of Engineers on Rivers and Harbors, and then went to the Chief of Engineers, thence to the Secretary of War, and from the Secretary on to the Rivers and Harbors Committee. All the way down the line it was agreed that the $50,000 benefit does not and never did exist and never will. To complete the chain we went to the Budget officer. He agrees that it meets with the Budget requirements. There is no objection from that quarter. Therefore, we come to you with the unanimous approval of all these people for a remission of these $50,000 of so-called local benefits.

With the present conditions of labor in my district, this is a serious matter. The engineers have the dredges there, with everything ready to go to work on this project. It will relieve the labor problem there to a very great extent at this time. Unless this is done you tie up the whole improvement which you have adopted. I hope the House may see its way clear to approve the action which has been unanimous all the way along the line.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Yes.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman tell the House whether this assessment has been made?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Oh, the assessment has never been made. These people were not consulted. As soon as they were notified they protested as vehemently as they could. I do not speak of this on secondhand information, because I know the conditions. I went on the project last July. I know that there are no local benefits to be derived by these companies, but that marked local benefits will come to that community as a whole if we improve this river. As it is now, where the Clackamas River comes into the Willamette at right angles an eddy is created, and it is necessary to have a deadman there with a chain to aid these vessels that go back and forth. Boats can carry only a half load. In spite of that, however, there is on that river between Oregon City and Portland 652,000 tons of vessel cargo and 1,000,000 tons of logs that go into these pulp and paper mills.

Mr. COX. And this bill has the favorable report of the Chief of Engineers?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Yes.

Mr. COX. And I presume it is unanimously reported by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, which considered it?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Yes. There is no opposition from any source among those who have investigated the merits of the matter.

Mr. CULKIN. There is some confusion here in the House as to whether or not this is a reclamation or irrigation project. Will the gentleman make that clear?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. This is not a reclamation or irrigation matter. We have all of the rain in God Almighty's world there. This is nothing but a simple river and harbor matter, a simple navigation project that should have been made years ago.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. I suggest that the gentleman explain what the Willamette River is. It is a river that runs by Portland, Oreg.?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Yes. The Willamette River between Portland and Oregon City has been used for transportation purposes since 1843, but it is in places a narrow, tortuous stream. In places there is only four and a half feet of water. This bill provides for 8 feet, which is the proper depth for the economic use of river steamboats. It has a width of 200 feet from Cedar Island—3 miles below Oregon City—to Portland, and of 150 feet from Cedar Island up to Oregon City. Another thing that interferes with navigation is the Clackamas River, which comes into the Willam-

ette at a right angle. The engineers will divert the Clackamas so that it will not strike the main river at right angles. As it is, as I have said, it creates an eddy there, and they have to have a deadman with a hawser to run boats around. I can not imagine a more meritorious project than this, especially at this time, when we are all ready to go ahead and give employment to so many men in the community needing employment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. HAWLEY].

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Chairman, the only question involved in this bill is whether the local interests at Oregon City shall be required to contribute $50,000 to an improvement of the river below Oregon City to Portland. The engineers in their original report thought that the local interests would benefit to the extent of at least $50,000 by the creation of additional power. The project proposes to lower the water below the falls and the dam two and a half feet by the removal of some rapids, about 2 miles below Oregon City, known as the Clackamas Rapids. Local interests never agreed that they would be benefited. The matter was again presented and the engineers made a thorough investigation and found that to lower the installation in these two mills so that the wheels would get the two and a half feet additional would cost the mills more than any power development that they might realize, as a benefit, and that it would be a losing proposition to them. Moreover, the two mills at Oregon City do not own the power. It belongs to another company, and the other company from which they buy the power is not interested in the further development. The mills already have supplemental steam power for the low-water period. So the engineers, after reviewing all factors in the case, found that the requirement of a contribution from the local companies was unwarranted, unjustified, and unfair. The district engineer so reported after careful investigation. The division engineer at San Francisco approved. It came to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, and that board approved it. The Chief of Engineers has approved the proposal contained in the pending bill, which is based on his recommendations. The Committee on Rivers and Harbors, after reviewing all the facts, has also approved and presented this bill, so that the local interests shall not be required to make this contribution.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. I assume there is no dispute that by this improvement there will be an additional 2½ feet of fall, whereby that much additional power will be generated, provided the expense warrants its installation at the present generating power station?

Mr. HAWLEY. There is no dispute but that the river will be lowered 2½ feet, and that if new installation be put in more power could be realized; but, as the gentleman says, it is not possible to lower the installations already existing with any profit to the concerns.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, that is the point. Do the hearings disclose what the cost would be to change the turbines so as to avail themselves of this additional 2½ feet of head? That is the vital question before the committee, whether the cost is more than the gain will be.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Much more.

Mr. STAFFORD. Well, on what does the gentleman predicate that? Is there anything in the hearings or in the report of the engineers to that effect?

Mr. CARTER of California. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. I yield.

Mr. CARTER of California. I think I can answer the question of the gentleman from Wisconsin by referring to the report of the chief engineer. That is to be found on the back of the report of the committee. There it is stated:

> The cost of reconstruction of the plants not now equipped to utilize the additional head was estimated at not to exceed $7,000, while at the current price of power in large blocks the increased head was computed by the district engineer as having a capitalized value of $70,000 to $100,000. As it was doubtful whether all of this estimated power could be practically realized, the recommended condition of local cooperation was placed at $50,000.

Then they said that a thorough investigation was made and that the cost of the reconstruction was out of all proportion to the benefits received by reason of the generation of the additional power, and therefore it was not a practical or feasible proposition at all. That is the finding.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, that is the finding, but is there any evidence as to the real cost? Is there any evidence as to whether these turbines in the power stations are obsolescent or not? This seems to be an instance where the power company is trying to avoid payment for something which they will ultimately acquire. They will get the benefit of the additional 2½ feet head of water at some time.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. The last people in the world who want this improvement are the people who own this dam and who would get the benefit of this additional 2½ feet. The main work of the Public Service Corporation of the Northwest is transportation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Transportation by what means?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Transportation by trolley—suburban lines. Their transportation is terrific. If this improvement is made, transportation costs will be lowered, and that is the last thing in the world that that company wants.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand the gentleman's argument to be that the utility company now having control of the power there does not wish it because they fear competition by the slow method of water transportation rather than by the fast method of electric trolley transportation?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Most of this freight is low-grade freight, such as logs.

Mr. STAFFORD. But what freight is transported by the utilities company on their trolley lines?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. It is logs, partly, and oil for these plants, sand, gravel, and sulphur.

Mr. STAFFORD. But if the power company is really going to be benefited by the additional 2½ feet head, why should they not be obliged to pay for it? They will some time get the benefit of it and the utilization of it, with the growing population of that country.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Because the electric-power business is a side show with them. Their main business is transportation, and that is where they lose money.

Mr. HAWLEY. May I say to the gentleman from Wisconsin the parties that are asked to make the contribution do not own the power?

Mr. STAFFORD. So I understand. There are two companies, the Hawley Co. and the other company.

Mr. HAWLEY. By the way, I may say that that company has no relation to myself.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, I understand that. That is a family name that is very general, although there is only one distinguished head, and he is a Member of this body.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. These paper mills are now struggling for existence.

Mr. STAFFORD. How long are the leases of these two companies that are utilizing water from this plant?

Mr. HAWLEY. I do not know. They are renewable from time to time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I will state that hereafter those interests can not change that dam nor the location of the machinery without permission of the Secretary of War, under the law.

Mr. STAFFORD. What provision of law does the gentleman have in mind?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The general law. All these matters are under the direction of the Secretary of War and they can make no changes in any fixture or structure in a navigable waterway.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the gentleman at all skeptical that as the years go by this power company will have any difficulty in acquiring the rights to this power whenever it sees it is to its best interest, without making any payment whatsoever to the National Government? There is not an in-

stance in the history of Government where they have been so scrupulously regardful of the public's interest.

Mr. CULKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. I yield.

Mr. CULKIN. Has not public conscience been quickened considerably in that respect?

Mr. STAFFORD. We are trying to quicken it, so far as Muscle Shoals is concerned; but we are not getting very far.

Mr. CULKIN. As I understand, the engineers have approved this in its entirety.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. CULKIN. The distinguished chairman of the committee has assured the gentleman that they can not get possession of this water or change the machinery without the consent of the Secretary of War. Surely the gentleman has faith in the Government in that regard.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have faith in the precedents of the past, wherein no charge has been made whatsoever by the War Department for utilizing additional water.

Mr. HAWLEY. In further reply to the gentleman from Wisconsin, let me call attention to this fact: If it were the company that owned the power that was required to make the contribution, that would be one thing; but the fact is the companies that buy the power are to make this contribution. If they were compelled to make the contribution, it would mean a direct loss, not benefit. In order to get any benefit at all they would have to reconstruct their plants and the cost would be much greater than any benefit which would accrue.

Mr. REILLY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. REILLY. Is it customary to require cities or communities to pay a part of the cost of river improvement?

Mr. HAWLEY. It has been the custom in some instances. The western part of Oregon has contributed more money in aid of navigation and the development of river and harbor projects than any similar part of the country.

Mr. REILLY. This bill proposes to relieve this city of any contribution?

Mr. HAWLEY. It is proposed to relieve this particular locality of a contribution that will be of no benefit to the people who are to make the contribution.

Mr. REILLY. In other words, the improvement does not benefit the citizens of the city?

Mr. HAWLEY. It benefits them in the matter of transportation, but everybody can use the river, and that being so, the engineers think these two companies ought not to be required to contribute, unless they are benefited directly. The matter was reviewed all the way from the district engineer to the Chief of Engineers, and they found that the benefit does not exist, but that the contribution proposed would be unprofitable to them.

Mr. REILLY. The benefit was assessed against those two companies?

Mr. HAWLEY. They will be the parties who will pay it.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. This is a matter of relief to the extent of $50,000, is it not?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I have been inquiring about this bill and have been told it involves $200,000.

Mr. HAWLEY. No; it is a matter of relieving these companies of a contribution of $50,000, so that the Government would be required to pay $205,000 for the improvement of this river.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I do not think the bill has been clearly presented to the committee, because I thought the bill was asking for something like $200,000.

Mr. HAWLEY. The project is to cost $205,000; $50,000 was to be paid by companies supposed to derive benefits to that extent. However, the engineers have found that is not so. They have found that that local benefit does not exist, and they therefore propose that the whole cost of the improvement, amounting to $205,000, shall be paid by the Government, relieving the local companies only of $50,000.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I do not see how they can do all of this work for $205,000. It seems to me you are getting a lot of work for that amount of money.

Mr. HAWLEY. It will be a very valuable improvement of the river.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. The appropriation was authorized by the last river and harbor bill. The gentleman has made that clear?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. And provision was made in that bill for this local cooperation?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. May I direct the gentleman's attention to the report of the district engineer?—

> Investigation by this office has determined that the wheels of the power plants are set too high to take full advantage of the head now available at low water. To take advantage of the additional head resulting from lowering tail-water elevation due to dredging the project channel below Willamette Falls would require resetting of wheels and expensive rock excavation.

That more than offsets the benefit which would accrue.

Mr. HAWLEY. That is correct. The readjustment of this machinery would require excavation in solid rock.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. COX. The execution of this proposed project—that is, the improvement of the river for navigation purposes—will create a condition that will offer a possibility of the generation of more electric energy at this particular dam.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. COX. In other words, it creates a condition that offers the possibility of the generation of more electric energy at this particular dam. However, the paper companies which are now renting the dam from the owner have all the energy they need for the operation of their business, and therefore are unwilling to readjust their machinery in order to use this increased headwater, a condition which is brought about by reason of the improvement of the river. Now, do I understand the gentleman to say that the paper companies, not being the owners of the dam, would not be interested, under any circumstances, in the necessary readjustments necessary to utilize the increased volume of water?

Mr. HAWLEY. They can not afford to do it.

Mr. COX. But the assessment in this case is not made, as I understand it, against the paper companies, but it is made against the owners of the dam whose property is specially benefited as a result of this river improvement.

Mr. HAWLEY. As a matter of fact, the only parties who would pay, if anybody paid, would be the paper companies.

Mr. COX. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the owners of the dam, rather than meet the expense incident to readjustment, would abandon their property?

Mr. HAWLEY. No; just continue it as it is.

Mr. COX. At any rate, to meet the objections raised by the gentleman from Wisconsin, hereafter the owners of the dam could not utilize this increased volume of water without first obtaining permission from the War Department.

Mr. HAWLEY. The chairman of the committee made a statement on that matter.

Mr. COX. Would the War Department, under such circumstances, have the right at that time to make a benefit assessment?

Mr. HAWLEY. I suppose the proper agency of Government could enter into whatever contract it thought was advantageous.

Mr. COX. As a condition precedent to giving consent.

Mr. HAWLEY. Here is a water power, and two companies in that place built factories. They constructed the necessary installations and developed the power by their own

machinery. They have a right to use the water acquired from another company. If a change is to be made the paper companies will have to assume the burden of lowering their construction in solid rock, and this will cost more than any possible development they can derive from the additional water that they might be able to use. They use now some auxiliary steam power, and it would cost a great deal more to make the proposed change than it would to continue the use of steam. Consequently they are not interested in lowering the wheels.

Mr. COX. Let me ask the gentleman this further question, and I am through: Can these paper companies get an increased volume of electrical energy with their machinery, set up as it is now, as a result of the river improvement which is proposed?

Mr. HAWLEY. No; not under present circumstances.

Mr. COX. In other words, in order to get any benefit from increased headwater there must be incurred the expense of a complete readjustment of their machinery.

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. I did not quite understand who is to pay the original assessment—the owners of the property?

Mr. HAWLEY. The lessees of the water power—the mills at the falls at Oregon City.

Mr. SNELL. What is the head there now?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. It is about 20 feet.

Mr. SNELL. Did I understand the gentleman to say that if they could get 2½ feet more they could not afford to do it, because it would be cheaper to use steam power?

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Oh, no.

Mr. HAWLEY. The cost of excavating in the rock—and it is good, hard rock—to lower their wheels the distance of 2½ feet would cost them more than it would to proceed as they are now, and a levy of $50,000 against them is an unfair levy.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Oregon five additional minutes.

Mr. SNELL. Would this necessitate lowering the wheel?

Mr. HAWLEY. I understand so.

Mr. SNELL. Could they not put a draft tube down and get the full benefit of the increased head in that way?

Mr. HAWLEY. I do not think so. They are very expert users of water power, and they say to make the changes proposed would not be of sufficient advantage to them to cause them to abandon their present system; that the cost of excavation in that solid rock to lower their wheels to get a higher head of water would be so great that they could not afford it, and that the $50,000 levy against them is totally out of proportion to any benefit they might receive, if there were any benefit.

Mr. SNELL. Perhaps a $50,000 levy would prohibit them from doing it, but I should think they could go to practically any reasonable expense to get that additional 2½ feet on a 20-foot head.

Mr. HAWLEY. The expense necessary for a reinstallation of their machinery is not a reasonable expense in comparison with any benefit that might be derived.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. In addition to that they would have to pay the power company for any additional power developed.

Mr. SNELL. Then it would be all right for the power company to pay the additional expense.

Mr. HAWLEY. But the owner of the water power is not to pay for the change. The installations are all put in by the manufacturing companies. They buy from the owner of the water rights.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I will state in this connection that there is no law to make these people pay this $50,000. They get nothing for it and, as a matter of course, they are not going to pay it. Unless this bill is put through, the action heretofore taken in adopting the project is a nullity, because the War Department will not go ahead and complete the work, under the present law, without the $50,000.

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. I notice the original project was only adopted in 1930. What new information has come to the committee since that time?

Mr. STAFFORD. A change of front on the part of the district engineer, that is all.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. A new survey.

Mr. HAWLEY. The matter was submitted, on the protest of the users, by the engineers for resurvey by the district engineer. He made a thorough investigation. He reported the facts to the division engineer at San Francisco, they reported them to the Board of Engineers here in Washington, they reported them to the Chief of Engineers, and they all agree that this $50,000 levy against the companies there should not be made.

Mr. SNELL. I agree with that procedure, but my question was what new information had come to the committee since that time that made the committee change its opinion?

Mr. HAWLEY. The information I have just stated—a new report from the Chief of Engineers to the committee—a further report.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. The fact is that the engineers in their original survey did not make the proper set-up. They went off, as it were, half-cocked, and when these people protested and showed they were wrong they reversed themselves.

Mr. SNELL. One thing I can not understand from the explanation made by the gentleman is that anyone who has a 20-foot head water power can not afford to make any reasonable improvements to get 2½ feet additional when he is using steam power. Specially that would be true in your section of the country.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. If the gentleman saw the condition there, I think he would understand.

Mr. SNELL. And especially up in that country where I suppose steam power is expensive.

Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. But not too expensive.

Mr. SNELL. Most companies would go to any reasonable expense to get an additional 2½ feet with a 20-foot head.

Mr. HAWLEY. Not to any expense.

Mr. SNELL. They would certainly go a long way to get 2½ feet on the top of 20 feet.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM].

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, after the lengthy talk of our friend from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] and the thoroughness with which he has gone into this subject, it seems to me it ought to be just about as clear as mud to us.

I am in favor of the bill. What seems strange to me is how they are going to accomplish so much for so little money; $205,000, I believe, is the authorization, and that is intended to dredge the Willamette River—it is very hard for me to pronounce it that way, because I have always pronounced it Willa-mette—for 13 miles.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINTHICUM. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I will state that the gentleman has not been out West in the last five years.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The gentleman's statement is absolutely correct, much to my regret.

The river and harbor act approved July 3, 1930, adopted a project for a stretch of 13 miles of the Willamette River, between Portland, Oreg., and Oregon City; it provided for a channel of 8 feet in depth and 150 feet in width. Then it also provided, from Cedar Island to Oregon City, for a width of 200 feet, 8 feet depth, and a stretch of 10 miles. So there is a stretch of 23 miles of river which they propose to dredge at a cost of $205,000. The river carried a tonnage in 1930 of 642,034 tons, valued at nearly $16,000,000; in addition, 1,064,000, plus tons of logs and piling, valued at nearly $4,000,000. There are $20,000,000 carried on this river, and

it is proposed to dredge it for a distance of 23 miles for $205,000.

I have always been interested in these projects. We have been treated so well at Baltimore that I felt it my duty to say a few words in the interest of this bill. It seems to me it has been seldom indeed that States or cities have been assessed anything when an appropriation or an authorization has been made. In view of the fact that there are really no benefits to be derived by these power companies by reason of this improvement it does appear that we should not, in view of the smallness of the authorization, ask them to contribute $50,000 of this money.

I feel interested in this section of the country, as I know we all are. It is one of our splendid sections of America, and the more we develop the rivers and harbors of this country the greater will be the prosperity of the country and the lesser will be the transportation charges.

Senator Burton came to Baltimore one time when he was the head of the Rivers and Harbors Committee of this House. He went down the river, and somebody remarked about the benefit that would accrue to Baltimore by the improvement of the river. He said:

> I am not thinking of the benefit it will particularly be to Baltimore, but I am thinking of the benefit it will be to the country generally.

It seems to me that the improvement of this stretch of Willamette River will not only be a benefit to Portland, Oreg., but that it will be a benefit to the whole hinterland. Senator Burton also said that the deepening of a river is a constant benefit to transportation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Because, he said—

> If you have a river which is deep enough to carry the necessary commerce it is a constant pressure upon the railroads to reduce their rates between the points covered by the river.

I feel this bill ought to be adopted, in spite of the lengthy and arduous speech of the gentleman from New York, my good friend LAGUARDIA. I am rather surprised that he spent an hour talking about water. He does not usually spend that much time on that subject. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I have no requests for further time.

The Clerk read as follows:

> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the project for the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., authorized by the river and harbor act approved July 3, 1930, is hereby modified in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers in the report submitted in House Document No. 748, Seventy-first Congress.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment. At the end of the bill insert a comma and add the words "third session."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I shall accept the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: In line 8, after the word "Congress," strike out the period, insert a comma and the words "third session."

Mr. BOILEAU. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

I would like to ask a question of some one who is familiar with this bill. I notice the report brings out the fact that the reason this $50,000 should not be assessed against these two paper companies is because they do not own the power but merely lease it. I am rising to seek information and would request some one to give me the information. In view of the fact that the power company, the owner of it, does get the benefit, why are they not assessed the $50,000 instead of the paper companies? If the paper companies should not be assessed, because of the fact they do not own the power, why not make the assessment against the owners of the power?

Mr. CULKIN. May I state to the gentleman that paragraph 6 of the report, Document No. 748, contains a complete explanation of that. I wonder if the gentleman has read that report?

Mr. BOILEAU. I have not.

Mr. CULKIN. Of course, we have to read these reports in the committee.

Mr. BOILEAU. I read the report that accompanied the bill. I am simply asking this for information and I am not opposed to the bill.

Mr. CULKIN. In a nutshell, it is that "any changes," reading from the report—

> That might be made to take the benefit of any possible increase in power would cost appreciably more than such power would be worth, and that the operating companies would be under obligation to pay the owning company for any such increased power. The district engineer finds that the wheels of the power plants are set too high to take full advantage of the head now available at low water and that conditions are as represented by local interests.

In other words, the district engineer, who is our technician, tells us that the cost of this improvement would be greater than the benefits.

Mr. BOILEAU. I grant that.

Mr. CULKIN. So there is no basis for local contributions.

Mr. BOILEAU. I grant that; but the point has been made here by those in favor of the bill, and the point has been emphasized, that these paper companies receive no benefits because they are leasing the power, but they do not explain why the power company should not pay this. I grant that the report shows quite conclusively that it would cost more to make this additional power available than the value of the benefits derived, but I do not see why the point should be stressed that the paper companies should not pay because they are not the owners. I think that is misleading.

Mr. CULKIN. I may say to the gentleman that that reaches to the whole scheme of things and applies not only to the lessees but to the owners. We have a further statutory safeguard, as stated by the distinguished chairman of the committee, that if this power ever does function these companies must pay the Government for its use in rentals. So that all along the line our technicians have given the situation a clean bill of health, and we will be standing in the way of a much-needed improvement if we oppose this measure.

Mr. BOILEAU. The gentleman does admit, then, that the point made that the paper companies should not pay anything because they receive no benefit should not have any consideration by this committee?

Mr. CULKIN. Not necessarily; no.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOILEAU. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have had difficulty in bringing myself around to the opinion that the War Department or the Government has the right to exact any additional cost from a power company for navigation improvements. I would like to have the chairman of the committee or some member of the committee cite the law whereby we can exact from a power company that is going to derive rights in the improvement of a stream through a greater power head, some return later on when they use it.

Mr. CULKIN. The gentleman must know—if I may respond to him——

Mr. BOILEAU. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CULKIN. In all these reports, as a matter of statute, the engineers must make a complete survey of possible power benefits to anyone or any possible creation of power by reason of any waterway construction. So the situation is always in the open; and, as the distinguished chairman has stated——

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like to have the law cited where the Government has such authority.

Mr. CULKIN. Might I ask Judge MANSFIELD a question? The gentleman from Wisconsin makes the inquiry as to where the statutory law is found that requires the beneficiaries in this case, assuming they use the increased head, to pay rental to the Government. I understood the gentleman from Texas to say that in the event that these power companies became beneficiaries of the increased head, they would have to reimburse or pay rental to the Government.

Mr. MANSFIELD. A statement was made previously that these companies, if they hereafter made any change in the structure, would have to get an act of Congress or the permission of the Secretary of War.

Mr. CULKIN. That would prevent them from utilizing the increased head without the consent of the Secretary of War.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; the Secretary of War has never granted a permit of this kind in navigable waters without proper investigation.

Mr. STAFFORD. The Secretary of War has no power or authority over this river except as far as navigation features are concerned.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is true. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BROWNING, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7248) authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., and had directed him to report the same back with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the amendments to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them in gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. TABER) there were 126 ayes and 3 noes.

So the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider by Mr. MANSFIELD was laid on the table.

AMENDING SECTION 3 OF THE RIVERS AND HARBORS ACT OF JUNE 13, 1902

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, I call up the bill (S. 2334) to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented.

The SPEAKER. This bill is on the Union Calendar. Under the rule the House automatically resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. BROWNING in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first paragraph of section 3 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "As used in this section the term 'commerce' shall include the use of waterways by seasonal passenger craft, yachts, house boats, fishing boats, motor boats, and other similar water craft, whether or not operated for hire."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, this is a simple bill, introduced in the Senate and passed by that body recently. Its purpose is merely to broaden the scope of the report of commerce movements of vessels in our waterways.

Heretofore there has been very little attention paid to the reports of passenger boats, pleasure boats, house boats, fishing boats, and various other craft now used extensively in many of our waterways. The chief purpose of this bill is to secure full and complete reports on these boats, as well as for other tonnage over our waterways. I have no requests for time.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. We would like to hear from the gentleman from Florida [Mr. YON].

Mr. MANSFIELD. I was just going to yield to the gentleman from Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. YON] 10 minutes.

Mr. YON. Mr. Chairman, this bill is not one of my own introduction. It was introduced in the Senate by the senior Senator from my State, and reported out of the Commerce Committee of that body, and it passed the Senate on the 25th day of January. A companion measure was introduced in the House by my colleague the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. OWEN]. The bill was reported out of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, of which I am a member, by myself, as a Senate bill. Though the sponsors of this bill are from Florida, the benefits to be derived from it will not inure entirely to my State. The provisions of the bill will apply to every part of the country where they have any waterways of a navigable nature. It will apply to the Pacific coast, to the Great Lakes, to the Mississippi Basin, to the Atlantic and the Gulf, from Maine to the Rio Grande. The Secretary of War said that the bill was not absolutely necessary, though he has no objection to it. Under the present system it is not mandatory that the individual district engineer shall consider as commercial craft pleasure boats, house boats, fishing boats, and other craft that are not run for hire. This measure will require him, in accumulating data to be presented by a community in behalf of some piece of legislation, to give credit for this class of craft. Some people will ask why we should place on the shoulders of the Government the responsibility of providing waterways for craft that are not now regarded as commercial. I might ask why we spend millions of dollars a year throughout the United States to develop our highway systems on the first principle of providing transportation facilities, and provide highways for personal use and not for commercial traffic? We hear a great deal of complaint throughout the country to-day about the clogging up of the highways by the commercial machines, trucks, and busses, run for hire. In this instance why should they not take into consideration all pleasure craft, whether it be of 1, 10, or 150 tons, whether it be a 10-foot skiff or a 150-foot yacht? Millions and millions of dollars are invested in this sort of craft, and millions and millions of dollars are paid to employees to construct this sort of craft, and millions of dollars paid to employees to operate them. I see no reason why anybody in this House should object to the provisions of this little amendatory act.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YON. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. As I understand it, this law would cover the operation of what we call John boats on the little streams, that are considered navigable streams by the Government—boats that are pushed by hand or by poles along on the bottom of the streams.

Mr. YON. Oh, no.

Mr. STAFFORD. Fishing boats, house boats, every conceivable kind of craft. A raft would be included that had a human being on it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What benefit is to be derived by this legislation?

Mr. YON. Where a question is raised as to the necessity for improving a waterway, the district engineer will be required to include pleasure craft that are used on that waterway in conjunction with the ordinary so-called commercial craft when compiling tonnage.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The gentleman said in his remarks a moment ago it would include 10-foot skiffs. That includes the smallest boats operated upon any stream.

Mr. YON. Yes; as it does down in my territory.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. How many people does the gentleman suppose would be necessarily employed to gather data as to these small boats that float around on the streams of the country?

Mr. YON. I do not know, but believe none.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YON. Yes.

Mr. GOSS. In the opinion of the gentleman, does he think the term "boat" would include a catamaran—one of these rafts that is made by logs lashed together, propelled by a sail or a paddle wheel, or even a so-called bicycle on skids?

Mr. YON. If they use it for a house boat, of course, it will be included in this legislation.

Mr. GOSS. Without specifically mentioning a catamaran I wondered whether the gentleman would be willing to have an amendment to include a catamaran?

Mr. YON. If the gentleman wants a catamaran in, why, put it in.

Mr. GOSS. I want to know whether the gentleman would approve that.

Mr. STAFFORD. He already says any form and every character of small craft.

Mr. YON. If the gentleman will look at the report of the bill, he will see the kind of boats mentioned—any boat that floats. He can amend the bill to put in his catamaran. The boats included are yachts, passenger craft, house boats, fishing boats, motor boats, and other similar water craft, whether or not operated for hire.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YON. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. What benefit will the owners of these boats receive from this legislation?

Mr. YON. I do not care what kind of a navigable stream is being used for commerce, the better the condition of a channel and the fewer disasters you have will make better navigation, even if you are just pulling the boat with an oar or by an outboard motor or any kind of propulsion. It will be of benefit to everybody using any kind of a boat.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Did I understand the gentleman to accept the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Goss]?

Mr. YON. I am not the sponsor of the bill, as I stated in the beginning, but if the Committee of the Whole wishes to accept that amendment, that is up to them.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It should include catboats and yawls.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would there be any value, in the expert opinion of the gentleman, in having statistics as far as ice boats are concerned?

Mr. YON. Of course, we do not use ice boats.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman comes from Florida, but ice boats are water craft.

Mr. YON. We do not use ice boats. They have ice boats up in the gentleman's State.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, I notice the gentleman has made the report on this bill. I do not see that it complies with the Ramseyer rule.

Mr. YON. I do not know anything about the Ramseyer rule. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. STAFFORD. Far be it from me on this occasion to displace on a point of order any bill that has been reported by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, but some Member might have lodged a point of order against this important bill, because it did not comply with the Ramseyer rule.

Mr. YON. Well, not being the parliamentarian of the committee, I must call upon the chairman for that point.

Mr. STAFFORD. But the gentleman who reports the measure—and this bears the gentleman's name—is obligated to see that it complies with the rules of this House. The gentleman should not place the burden upon the distinguished chairman of the committee, because he has other burdens to care for.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska where they have no navigable streams.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman from Florida yield?

Mr. YON. I yield.

Mr. HOWARD. I would like to know whether the gentleman from Florida has polled his delegation so that he may now be able to inform the committee whether or not the Florida delegation would be opposed to the proposed amendment to be offered by the gentleman from Connecticut to include tarmarins? [Laughter.]

Mr. YON. As I say, I will have to put that up to the Committee of the Whole House.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York, Judge CULKIN.

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Chairman, I do not know that it will be possible for me to get the House serious-minded on this bill.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. No; not yet. It seems that for some reason, and I will not mention the reason I suspect, this bill is regarded with humor and with suspicion and as being unworthy. When the fighting humor of the gentleman from Nebraska, for example, gets into a legislative situation, generally the bill is dead. I refer to the mild but savage humor of the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, that is all right. [Laughter.]

Mr. CULKIN. Now, if you will give me your attention for just a minute I will endeavor to make clear to you what the purpose of this bill is.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] some six years ago introduced this identical bill. From that time until now various similar bills have been introduced. This particular bill was introduced in the Senate by the Senator from Florida. It passed the Senate and came here, and the distinguished chairman turned it over to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. YON] for a report. I say to you that this is not a humorous subject from any angle, because it involves human life. It may surprise you to know that the subject matter affected by this bill amounts to 1,429,450 motor boats which are owned and operated in the United States and on the waters thereof.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. No; not yet.

The total disbursements for that craft, which has a definite effect on the economic life of our people, has been to date $3,647,000,000. In other words, this major sport has become an important economic factor in the life of our people, involving, as it does, that huge disbursement. The dividends in good health which are to be gained from this recreational source can hardly be described.

The dominant situation which England enjoyed in the world for so long and in large measure enjoys to-day is due to the fact that she put her sons on the water almost as soon as they were able to walk. This measure will help put the sons and daughters of the United States on the water and it will get them away—and this will appeal to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. HOWARD]—it will get them away from the "synthetic nineteenth hole" and get them out in the open.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. I yield.

Mr. MICHENER. Is there any provision made for providing water in Nebraska and those territories?

Mr. CULKIN. No. Of course, Nebraska is inland. Now, ladies and gentlemen, what does this bill do? It clears up certain doubtful ground in our statute law.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. I yield.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. Will the gentleman state what revenue is accruing to the United States from this source?

Mr. CULKIN. Well, there is no revenue now. The revenue statute was repealed, but up to some three or four years ago there had been collected in revenue approximately $4,000,000, not a cent of which ever was expended for the benefit of the small-boat owner.

I say—and I want to impress this upon your conscience—that this bill involves the protection and security of human life, because these 1,429,000 small craft carry during the course of a year probably fifty or sixty million people. At the present time the Government on my theory is powerless to adopt navigational aids for the purpose of these small boats.

Mr. FIESINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. I yield.

Mr. FIESINGER. Is not the purpose of this bill to explain the word "commerce" in section 3 of the rivers and harbors act?

Mr. CULKIN. Exactly.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And to provide additional statistical data.

Mr. FIESINGER. When the engineers go out to survey a project they want to know what traffc goes over that project in order to determine whether they should recommend it to the Rivers and Harbors Committee and to this House.

Mr. CULKIN. Exactly.

Mr. FIESINGER. They may consider in connection therewith the craft enumerated here which will specify what commerce means. Is not that the purpose and object of this bill?

Mr. CULKIN. That is the real purpose of the bill, and to give the engineers jurisdiction of the subject matter; also to give the Congress jurisdiction of the subject matter, so far as the improvement of these smaller channels is concerned.

Mr. FIESINGER. And they may consider whether a craft is operated individually or for hire?

Mr. CULKIN. Exactly. Gentlemen, it does not mean an additional cent of disbursement. It merely means, as I say, the safeguarding and the increasing of navigational aid for the purpose of small craft, on which some 60,000,000 of our people, more or less, are afloat every year. The boats number, as I have stated, 1,429,000. Of course, some of them carry 10 to 15 people and some of them carry 100 people. The bill is sound and its purpose is sound, and, as I say, it will encourage the art of navigation; it will give health to our young people and will safeguard their lives. That is the exact situation which this bill cures and aids.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. GOSS. I want to inquire whether, in the opinion of the gentleman, these little rowboats would have to have clearance papers from port to port and whether the locks would have to be emptied for them when they come along?

Mr. CULKIN. The gentleman must know that question is facetious.

Mr. GOSS. Oh, no. I understand that was asked in your own committee.

Mr. CULKIN. There is no such purpose in this bill.

Mr. GOSS. There is no such purpose, but would it require it?

Mr. CULKIN. In my judgment, it would not require it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would state to the gentleman from Connecticut that those boats operate now and will continue to operate just as they have heretofore, but they are not required to make reports to the War Department at present.

Mr. GOSS. It will not force small craft, then, to secure clearance papers each time they go out?

Mr. MANSFIELD. No; there would be no change over present conditions. They will continue to operate just as they have heretofore.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. SWING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. SWING. Is not this parallel to the case of spending Federal money and State money in the building of paved roads for pleasure automobiles, and yet the ruling has been that pleasure craft are excluded in the dredging of navigable channels?

Mr. CULKIN. I thank the gentleman for calling my attention to that. Each year we vote $125,000,000 or $150,000,000 for good roads, and yet this great health-giving recreation, with its tremendous industry in the background, gets no navigational safeguards. A report on the city of Washington was filed with our committee last year, and in that report the local engineer called attention to the fact that States and municipalities make provision for the golfer, they make provision for the automobilists, they build good roads for them all over the country, and yet there is not a cent disbursed or a thing done for this great army of people to go upon the waters. There is nothing done to safeguard them.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Do I understand from the gentleman's discussion that the object is to eventually require the owners of these small craft to take out a license in order to operate on all of the inland streams?

Mr. CULKIN. No. This bill merely classifies them as commerce and makes it easier for the engineers to give them some minor aids in certain places. There has been some unwillingness on the part of the engineers to extend commerce to these small boats.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I understand; but this bill is wide enough in its scope to include any kind of a boat that floats on the small streams recognized as navigable streams throughout the country.

Mr. CULKIN. Certainly.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. And this will ultimately require them to have a license.

Mr. CULKIN. No; this will not compel anybody to have a license. Two years ago 300 and 400 footers were exempted from taxation. Of course, those boats draw considerable water, but there is not anything in the bill which is intended to require licenses on the part of these smaller boats. The purpose of the bill is simply to give these recreational craft their place in the sun, give them protection, and safeguard the lives of those who operate them. This bill does not involve a cent of disbursement and will not involve very much in the future.

Mr. MURPHY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. MURPHY. I am a bit anxious to know what sort of protection they would get under this bill that they do not now enjoy. What other protection does this bill offer? I have been following the gentleman closely, and I am interested in the matter.

Mr. CULKIN. As I have stated, at the present time there is a sort of twilight zone between these small boats, and some of them, of course, are not so small, and commerce as defined in the river and harbor act. This clears that up and enables the engineers and enables, for example, the Lighthouse Board that has charge of lights on the sea and on the Lakes to make some provision for these small boats.

Mr. REED of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. REED of New York. All along the Great Lakes there are little fishing ports into which fishing boats of the type the gentleman is describing bring in tons and tons of fish, all the way down Lake Superior and Lake Ontario and Lake Huron and Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair, and it is their means of livelihood, and from these fishing ports carloads of fish are shipped to all parts of the country, but they will have no protection unless we have legislation of this sort.

Mr. CULKIN. What the gentleman says is true. It will clear up this mooted question, and I may state to the gentleman from New York it will give jurisdiction to the engineers over minor improvements where life needs to be safeguarded and where harbors of refuge at a nominal cost can be created for these boats.

Mr. MURPHY. Will it compel the boys and girls that operate power boats to get a license of some kind?

Mr. CULKIN. No; it will not. Their status remains as it is at present.

I think this is a very beneficial law, gentlemen. I have studied it carefully for three years, and I think you will save much human life and give much in real health to the young people of our country by the passage of this legislation. [Applause.]

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. I notice the Secretary of War, over his own signature, says this legislation is not necessary. Why is it brought on the floor here if it is not necessary?

Mr. CULKIN. May I say that while the Secretary states that——

Mr. COLE of Iowa. He ought to know.

Mr. CULKIN. He does not know everything, and he is not a lawyer. As I said, there is a moot question here, and this is a sort of border line, and will continue to be a border line, unless this statute is passed. Our young people, as well as older people, are using this type of craft and will be without necessary safeguards unless legislation of this type is put on the books.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. If the Government is going to be made to supervise everything of this sort, there will be no end to it. This is just another piece of paternalistic bunk.

Mr. CULKIN. No. The gentleman does not do me justice and he does not understand the question. As I explained a moment ago, there are 1,457,000 of these boats in America. Our young people are navigating these boats on the high seas, the inland lakes, and on our waterways. There are probably 60,000,000 people a year that go out on these boats. There is not any bunk about that. I repeat, there is not a cent of disbursement involved in this bill.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. I do not say there is any bunk about that.

Mr. CULKIN. That is what I understood the gentleman to say.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. But it looks to me like bunk to put the National Government into this business and make them the guardian of all these little boats that are rowed along the rivers of the country.

Mr. CULKIN. You are not doing that, I will say to the gentleman from Iowa, by this proposed legislation. It simply enables the Government, in a proper case, to extend these navigation aids to small craft.

Mr. LEAVITT. If the gentleman will permit, I understood the gentleman to say that the Secretary of War is not a lawyer.

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. LEAVITT. He is one of the most distinguished lawyers in the Nation. While this has nothing to do with the merits of the bill, I wanted to make the statement as a correction of the RECORD.

Mr. CULKIN. I do remember now that the Secretary of War is a distinguished lawyer. I defer to him not only in character and pulchritude but also to his high ability as a great Secretary of War.

Mr. DIES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. DIES. I want to know if rowboats would be included in this definition?

Mr. CULKIN. The gentleman is being facetious——

Mr. DIES. No; I am serious about the proposition. We have a number of rowboats in my district.

Mr. CULKIN. They would not be included.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CULKIN. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. May I point out that while the Secretary of War states that the legislation may not be necessary, he does not oppose the same.

Mr. CULKIN. Yes; that is true.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And if the gentleman will permit, the Secretary states it is not necessary for one class of boats only—pleasure craft. He does not mention fishing craft. There are thousands of tons of fish carried through Cape Cod Canal alone on which at present we have no reports.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the measure.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized for one hour.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. HOWARD].

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, I would be far more in favor of this bill if the gentleman in charge will agree to accept an amendment, making it apply to catamarans.

The gentleman from New York spoke a moment ago, maligning my own State. He said Nebraska has no waters. I would inform him and all others in New York that Nebraska has a river longer than any two rivers in New York.

Mr. CULKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. CULKIN. I think the remark in reference to Nebraska waters came from some gentleman on the floor. I do not think that I mentioned it directly.

Mr. HOWARD. I accept the gentleman's apology. [Laughter.] Now, Mr. Chairman, anybody acquainted with the conditions there will understand how harmful it will be to those of us who live on the Platte River if we do not have catamarans in this bill. [Laughter.]

To those of you unacquainted with a catamaran, I will explain, and I will not give you my own explanation, but I will give you a better authority. Mr. Webster says that a catamaran is a kind of raft or float made of logs or pieces of wood lashed together, moved by paddles or a sail, like a surf boat. That is a catamaran.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in order to convince my colleagues that I am not speaking selfishly when I insist that catamarans shall be included, I want to say that we use the catamaran largely on the Platte River as dispatch boats in connection with larger boats of our alfalfa navy. [Laughter.]

My selfishness disappears when I tell you that in Nebraska we have no woods to produce the logs for the catamarans, but I am trying to legislate for the whole country. Missouri, right next to us, has some magnificent timber, and there we will go for the logs.

I have been informed by gentlemen from Connecticut that they have something that we do not produce, and so we will have to go to Connecticut for our twin hulls for the catamarans.

Mr. Chairman, I hope my amendment will be adopted because the bill will be sadly deficient if catamarans should be left out of it. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, the main sponsor of the bill says that this measure has been in either House for three successive terms of Congress waiting consideration. That is sufficient almost to indict it as being an unworthy measure. If more is necessary—and I hope the gentleman from New York will not charge me with being facetious for the opposition I am voicing—it would be the argument made by the distinguished gentleman from New York.

He says that this bill will put the boys and girls out on the water. The great vice of the automobiles is in taking the boys and girls out of their homes, away from their parents, with the consequent debauchment, in many instances, that follows.

One of the great sociological problems resulting from the development of the automobile is that it has taken the boys and girls of tender age away from the protecting arm of the home, by their going into byways during their tender years, where there is no supervision whatsoever.

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman, I believe, is the owner of a motor boat. I believe he has a motor boat.

Mr. CULKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Has the gentleman a motor boat that plies on Lake Ontario?

Mr. CULKIN. No; I have a sailing yacht. I am not a monkey-wrench sailor.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman please explain what he means by a monkey-wrench sailor?

Mr. CULKIN. He is a monkey-wrench sailor who runs a motor boat. I have a sailing yacht.

Mr. STAFFORD. Taking up that question before I yield further, I have never heard any demand coming from any member of the Milwaukee Yacht Club—and there are hundreds of sailing yachts on Lake Michigan going out of Milwaukee harbor—for any supervision by the National Government of pleasure craft that go out from that port. I know of no instance where any mishap has occurred by



reason of want of supervision of this character of craft by the National Government.

Mr. CULKIN rose.

Mr. STAFFORD. I shall yield later on, if the gentleman will permit me to proceed. I regard this as but an entering wedge for the National Government to take supervision over the small pleasure craft of the country. There is no need for it. There is no need for similar legislation so far as automobiles are concerned. We leave that to the States. The gentlemen have not made out a case warranting the extension of the province of the National Government over these small water craft. What is the purpose of the bill? What does the bill provide? I was much concerned by the inquiry made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. FULBRIGHT] as to what the real purpose of the bill is. I am one of the few who still believe in the doctrine of State rights so far as the control of our internal policy is concerned. It is far better than the establishment of a bureaucracy to supervise internal affairs. What is the real purpose of this proposal? The gentleman says there are 1,429,000 motor boats, but he gives no reason for the bill other than the fact that we are now about to launch on the policy of improving our inland waterways for the benefit of pleasure craft.

I remember about 15 years—mayhap 20 years—ago, when the distinguished father of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], Mr. Martin Dies, sr., rose on the floor and attacked the outrageous appropriations being made by the National Government for intercoastal waterways in the country, many of them unjustifiable. I have been down to Atlantic City time and time again during the recesses of the House and have there seen little dories going out into tempestuous waters, braving tempestuous seas, and coming safely back again. The only justification for some of these intercoastal waterways was to spend money of the National Government for the benefit of pleasure craft. The gentleman who reports this bill, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. YON], has plenty of pleasure waterways in his country. The senior Senator from his State, as he stated, is the author of this bill, and he sponsored it through the Senate. Do we want the National Government to take supervision of all these pleasure craft? Do any of you gentlemen want to have the National Government invade the inland waterways of the country, go into the interior lakes, and take supervision of the watercraft plying those lakes?

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman now yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I have the floor. When the gentleman had the floor he determined the time when he would yield. I shall yield before I get through with my hour, although I do not intend to use it all.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. We have many more important bills under consideration than this bill. I tried to have the chairman bring up another bill rather than this measly, insignificant measure.

Mr. CULKIN. I do not suppose the gentleman would yield now?

Mr. STAFFORD. I am not given to changing my mind in one minute. Let us read the provisions of the bill.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; not at present. I am not playing favorites here as to whom I shall yield to. I have nothing against the gentleman from New York except his sponsorship of this little, insignificant measure.

Mr. CULKIN. Now will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has declined to yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. The bill provides that the term "commerce"—

> Shall include the use of waterways by seasonal passenger craft, yachts, house boats, fishing boats, motor boats, and other similar water craft, whether or not operated for hire.

This is but the first step to have the National Government invade the province of the States to supervise every little activity where people are pleasure bent in a pleasure craft on waterways. I now yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CULKIN. Does the gentleman know that when he states there is no supervision of pleasure craft by the Government at the present time he is entirely and hopelessly wrong on the subject?

Mr. STAFFORD. I know there is no supervision of pleasure craft on the interior lakes of Wisconsin. I know that and assert it positively. I know, furthermore, that the supervision that we do have by the National Government of the passenger vessels on the Great Lakes has failed in emergency. I happened to be in Chicago the morning after that dreadful catastrophe when the ill-fated *Eastland* turned turtle, and I saw hundreds of bodies being taken out of the hull on that Sunday morning, because of the neglect of our national inspectors. I have seen recently on Lake Erie, going out of Sandusky, an old hull, 50 years old, that could not stand any storm, and yet which had the O. K. of the National Bureau of Inspection. I have been in Detroit and have gone down the river to Bois Blanc and down to Put-in-Bay on steamers where there was an inadequate supply of life-saving equipment to save the lives of people on overcrowded vessels should there be need for it.

I believe fundamentally that that government is best which comes closest home to the people. I place the responsibility for the character of the pleasure craft on the lakes of Wisconsin and their protection upon the State of Wisconsin. Bring home any disaster to the officials of the State of Wisconsin and hold them responsible—not upon some bureaucrat down here who can escape responsibility. That is my fundamental belief which I try to follow.

Mr. CULKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. CULKIN. Is it not a fact that all of these recreational boats—I do not like the term "pleasure craft"—all of those boats have to file with the Government.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; not on the interior lakes of Wisconsin. They are navigable waters, which would be brought within the purview of this bill.

Mr. CULKIN. Is the gentleman sure of that?

Mr. STAFFORD. I am sure.

Mr. CULKIN. In New York State, if we have a power boat, we must record it. They require all craft with power on it, even an outboard, to register with the Government authorities in New York State, and that is pursuant to a Federal law.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am only testifying as to the extent of Government officials supervising craft on the lakes of Wisconsin, and I can testify personally that we have no such supervision, as far as motor boats are concerned, because I have operated an outboard motor boat this past fall on the lakes of northern Wisconsin.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The bill proposes to add an additional burden by certain supervision of these motor boats. Has the gentleman given any thought to the number of people who will be employed and the money that will be expended to keep up this supervision?

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, this is an entering wedge. The purpose is to get statistics so as to make a showing that these little mud creeks that may be developed for the transportation of pleasure craft, which have no other commerce, are worthy of an appropriation. Then later on, of course, they will extend the supervision for inspection.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. But there will be required an appropriation?

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, of course. This is but an entering wedge.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I take it for granted that in the gentleman's State, just as in Missouri and many other States, the Federal Government exercises authority over streams

under the pretense that they are navigable, but they are, in fact, not practical for navigation at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. Certainly.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I will ask the gentleman if this bill is not wide enough in scope to take in the so-called pleasure boats which operate on the so-called navigable streams of the various States?

Mr. STAFFORD. There is no denying that. The bill proposes to amend the rivers and harbors act, which includes all navigable waters of the country.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In other words, in all seriousness, this bill, if it becomes effective, would authorize the Federal Government to go into the gentleman's State, or any State, on any small stream where the Government exercises jurisdiction over the stream, because it claims it is navigable, and require a report of these little boats that are pushed by poles?

Mr. STAFFORD. Not only that, but the little outboard-motor boat. If the United States inspector says "You have been using that outboard motor for four or five years, it is old style and you can not operate that boat any more, because I am a Federal official and I say it is not proper equipment," he must be obeyed.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. These little motor boats operated by motors of 3 or 4 horsepower, will come under the jurisdiction of this legislation. It is another illustration of the attempt of the Federal Government to reach into the States and control matters that are exclusively within the jurisdiction of the State.

Mr. STAFFORD. And where the States have full jurisdiction to-day. I hope the Members from those States which have no navigable streams within their borders, will take the judgment of those who have, and vote against this attempt to invade the sovereignty of the States over matters that pertain solely and exclusively to the States. There is no lack of authority within the sovereign States to supervise these vessels. There has been no case made out. This bill should be negatived. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The bill contains a rather subtle method of computing the commerce on streams. The existing law says:

> And in consideration of such works and projects the board shall have in view the amount and character of commerce existing or reasonably prospective which will be benefited by the improvement * * *.

By embracing all these pleasure craft as boats of commerce, it will necessitate increased Federal appropriations for river and harbor work.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, it is making out a case of the little peewee—if I may use a term used by the distinguished father of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES]—these little peewee streams—to justify an expenditure.

Gentlemen, I think I have proven that I am for economy. I think you Members on this side should carry out consistently a policy for economy and not vote for this bill that is ostensibly for what? I do not know, but whose real purpose will be larger and larger appropriations from the National Government.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. LANKFORD].

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I have not been in this House very long, but I submit that this bill is the most misunderstood bill of any bill I have ever heard discussed on the floor. Into this question there have been brought catamarans, the morals of our young people, and a few minutes ago pewee rivers. But that is entirely aside from the merits of this bill. Gentlemen, in the levity that has been thrown around it do not overlook the fact that this is a good bill. As a matter of fact, I do not believe the chairman of this committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MANSFIELD], would bring in any bill that was not a good bill. He is too serious, he is too good a legislator and too careful a man to present a bill that does not merit consideration.

Let me tell you what this bill does, and this is all it does. If you have not done so, look at the report and you will find that this bill does not have anything to do with the regulation of these little craft. This bill is not for that purpose. Here is what this bill does: It defines the word "commerce" so as to include pleasure craft as well as business craft which carry grain or any other articles of commerce.

Let me tell you the situation in my district. We have a great many pleasure craft, as does the gentleman from New York, coming down through our port on their way to Florida. Now, can you tell me the difference between $100,000 or $500,000 spent in the way of commerce by these small boats for food, gas, oil, and for the supplies they buy, and the commerce of a barge that is carrying grain? As a matter of fact, in many instances pleasure craft spend more money than the large business craft.

All this bill does is to simply allow pleasure craft to be considered along with business craft in order to see whether the War Department is justified in making an improvement. The Secretary of War very naturally says, "This, gentlemen, is a matter for Congress; it is not a matter for me to decide; it does not make any difference to the War Department, but we will take it into consideration if Congress wants it," and they leave it entirely to the Congress as to whether that is a proper regulation.

As far as rowboats go, you can not imagine that the Secretary of War is going to make an improvement for a rowboat or for a catamaran, as my friend from Nebraska says. The War Department is not going to consider it unless it is a project that has some merit in it.

I happen to know that pleasure crafts that come through Hampton Roads spend over $500,000 a year, and it is just to take into consideration pleasure craft along with business craft.

If you have ever had any experience before the United States engineers you have been confronted with the fact that in investigating these projects they can only consider commerce. They can take into consideration how much wheat is carried, as well as other features of commerce, but they can not take into consideration the fact that pleasure craft may spend as much as $500,000.

My friend from New York hit the nail on the head when he said what this bill meant; and if the House will fully understand the bill, I do not think it will think there is anything wrong with it.

I submit that pleasure craft should be taken into consideration when water-borne commerce is being investigated for the purpose of improving a stream. Then let me call your attention to the fact that a lot of these men live on these boats. They are not pleasure craft, strictly speaking, but these people have their homes on them, and I submit that this bill is proper in every way.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware. And we must not forget that human life is at stake and the number of passengers going through these waterways must be taken into consideration.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. That is true.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Gladly.

Mr. KETCHAM. In connection with the remarks the gentleman has just made concerning the importance of pleasure craft in determining the commerce that a certain port may have, I call the gentleman's attention to the last paragraph of the statement by the Secretary of War, in which he says:

> The enactment of the legislation is not considered necessary to the due consideration of the benefits of a proposed improvement to pleasure craft.

If I interpret that language correctly, the department is now able to take pleasure craft and the amount of commerce they contribute to a particular port into consideration in the matter of making any improvement.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. I have been confronted with that very question many times. Pleasure craft do not now have consideration, and this is to make it plain that they

can be considered. If the gentleman has had any river and harbor projects he has been confronted with the same thing, namely, that the word "commerce" is strictly construed by the War Department as commerce, and as the hauling of wheat, of brick, of building materials, and things of that kind. The department does not take into consideration pleasure craft.

Mr. KETCHAM. In view of that plain statement by the Secretary of War, does the gentleman believe that he would have the difficulties in the future that he has had in the past? I do not see how the gentleman can get around the plain statement of the Secretary that they now consider these craft.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. I am for this bill, and I would rather have it in this bill.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. GOSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. GOSS. I notice pleasure craft going through the Cape Cod Canal, for instance. At both ends of the canal Government vessels come out and stop the craft and ask what the tonnage of the boat is and get all that information, including the owner and all that sort of thing. This is being done now.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Certainly; that has nothing to do with this bill.

Mr. GOSS. What does this bill propose to do—have that information furnished to the department, or is it just scrapped?

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. As I understand it, this bill has nothing in the world to do with anything except to allow the War Department to take into consideration the tonnage and number of pleasure craft, in addition to the other craft, to justify a proposed project.

Mr. GOSS. I would say to the gentleman that the War Department on the Cape Cod Canal are the very ones that are doing that to-day.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. They are not doing it with us, if I understand what the gentleman means.

Mr. YON. That is the purpose of this amendment to the act of 1902. In some places, of course, the engineers could go ahead under the present law, as the Secretary of War says, but he still goes on and states that he has no objection to the enactment of this legislation. Some engineers may in some places do this, but in other places they do not.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The Clerk read the bill for amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the enacting clause.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the enacting clause. Does the gentleman desire recognition on his motion?

Mr. STAFFORD. No, Mr. Chairman; I am desirous of bringing the question to an issue, so we may proceed to the consideration of a really important bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin to strike out the enacting clause.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were—ayes 18, noes 35.

So the motion was rejected.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Goss: On page 2, line 1, after the word "yachts," insert "catamarans."

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, I should, indeed, be remiss in my duty if I did not offer this amendment at this time, realizing that my State might get some very great benefits from the adoption of the amendment.

As I recall it, the gentleman from Nebraska stated they would undoubtedly buy the pontoons for these catamarans from my State of Connecticut, and doubtless the gentleman from Missouri is interested, because they would probably buy logs and pieces of wood for these catamarans from his State.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I want to get the distinction between a cat-amaran and a ca-tamaran.

Mr. GOSS. It is the same thing.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. The gentleman from Nebraska refers to a ca-tamaran and the gentleman refers to a cat-amaran.

Mr. GOSS. It is the same thing, pronounced differently. [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I have been accused of being facetious here to-day, but I am in earnest in calling the attention of the committee to this particular amendment. Anything that will bring business to any of the localities of this great Nation is very much welcomed, and I sincerely hope that the House will adopt this amendment.

As a matter of fact, there are many kinds of catamarans. I do not desire to take up the time of the committee to describe all the various kinds and qualities of catamarans, but inasmuch as we have gotten down to the little row-boat——

Mr. YON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. I yield.

Mr. YON. Does not the gentleman think that since there are so many kinds of catamarans that they would go in with pleasure craft and other similar water craft?

Mr. GOSS. Oh, no; much to the contrary. They would not be included, and that is why I have offered this amendment; in fact, catamarans in various States differ with the different types of water. [Laughter.]

Mr. CULKIN. Did the gentleman ever see a ca-tamaran?

Mr. GOSS. Yes; it is the same thing. It is pronounced that way out in Nebraska.

Mr. CULKIN. And it belongs to the same family as the cat-amaran?

Mr. GOSS. Yes; it is the same thing.

Mr. CULKIN. Was the gentleman ever on one?

Mr. GOSS. Oh, yes; I have pushed them with my feet.

Mr. CULKIN. Was the gentleman ever at sea in one?

Mr. GOSS. On the Lakes; and sometimes there is quite a sea that comes up, but they are safe, I would say to the gentleman.

Mr. McSWAIN. Does it also belong to the genus gyascutus?

Mr. GOSS. That may be one of the offspring. I am not familiar with all the different kinds of catamarans in the various parts of the country.

I sincerely trust the committee will adopt this amendment, Mr. Chairman, so that all our States will have the benefit of this measure if it should pass and become the law.

Mr. MANLOVE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSS. Yes.

Mr. MANLOVE. I am speaking seriously. I am a landlubber and I do not know anything about creeks or rivers or harbors, but I would like to know if there is such a thing as a catamaran.

Mr. GOSS. Oh, yes; it is in Webster's Dictionary. The gentleman from Nebraska read the definition of a catamaran from the dictionary.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I ask that the amendment be again read.

The Clerk again read the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Goss].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Goss) there were 21 ayes and 38 noes.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill favorably to the House.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BROWNING, Chairman of the Commit-

tee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill S. 2334 and directed him to report the same back with the recommendation that it do pass.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were 49 ayes and 7 noes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I challenge the vote, and make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin makes the point of order that no quorum is present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and two Members present, not a quorum.

The doors were closed, the Sergeant at Arms directed to notify absent Members, and the Clerk called the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 229, nays 90, answered "present" 1, not voting 113, as follows:

[Roll No. 15]

YEAS—229

Abernethy	Dalaney	Kleberg	Sanders, N. Y.
Aldrich	DeRouen	Kopp	Sanders, Tex.
Allgood	Dies	Lambeth	Sandlin
Amlie	Dieterich	Lankford, Ga.	Schneider
Andresen	Dominick	Lankford, Va.	Schuetz
Andrew, Mass.	Drane	Larsen	Seger
Andrews, N. Y.	Drewry	Leavitt	Seiberling
Arnold	Englebright	Lichtenwalner	Selvig
Auf der Heide	Erk	Lindsay	Shannon
Bachmann	Eslick	Linthicum	Shott
Bankhead	Evans, Calif.	Lonergan	Shreve
Barbour	Fernandez	Loofbourow	Sirovich
Beam	Fiesinger	Lozier	Smith, Idaho
Beedy	Fish	McCormack	Snell
Beers	Fitzpatrick	McReynolds	Snow
Black	Free	Magrady	Somers, N. Y.
Boehne	Fuller	Major	Spence
Bohn	Fulmer	Maloney	Stalker
Boileau	Gambrill	Mansfield	Stevenson
Boland	Garber	Mapes	Strong, Pa.
Bolton	Gasque	Martin, Oreg.	Sullivan, N. Y.
Bowman	Gavagan	Mead	Summers, Wash.
Boylan	Gibson	Michener	Sumners, Tex.
Brand, Ga.	Goldsborough	Millard	Swank
Browning	Goodwin	Mitchell	Sweeney
Brunner	Granfield	Milligan	Swick
Busby	Green	Montague	Swing
Butler	Greenwood	Montet	Tarver
Campbell, Pa.	Gregory	Moore, Ky.	Taylor, Colo.
Canfield	Guyer	Moore, Ohio	Temple
Carden	Haines	Murphy	Thatcher
Carter, Calif.	Hare	Nelson, Me.	Tierney
Carter, Wyo.	Harlan	Niedringhaus	Tilson
Cartwright	Hartley	Norton, N. J.	Turpin
Cary	Hastings	O'Connor	Underwood
Celler	Haugen	Overton	Vinson, Ga.
Chase	Hess	Palmisano	Vinson, Ky.
Chavez	Hill, Wash.	Parker, Ga.	Wason
Christopherson	Hooper	Parker, N. Y.	Weaver
Clague	Hope	Partridge	Weeks
Clancy	Hopkins	Patman	Welch, Calif.
Clark, N. C.	Hornor	Patterson	Welsh, Pa.
Cochran, Pa.	Horr	Peavey	Whitley
Cole, Md.	Houston, Del.	Person	Whittington
Collins	Huddleston	Pettengill	Williamson
Colton	Hull, Morton D.	Pittenger	Wilson
Condon	Jeffers	Prall	Wingo
Connery	Johnson, Okla.	Purnell	Wolcott
Cooper, Tenn.	Johnson, Tex.	Ragon	Wolfenden
Corning	Jones	Ramspeck	Wolverton
Cox	Kading	Ransley	Woodruff
Coyle	Kahn	Rayburn	Woodrum
Culkin	Keller	Reed, N. Y.	Wright
Cullen	Kelly, Pa.	Rich	Wyant
Dallinger	Kemp	Rogers, Mass.	Yon
Darrow	Kendall	Rogers, N. H.	
Davenport	Kerr	Rudd	
Davis	Ketcham	Rutherford	

NAYS—90

Adkins	Campbell, Iowa	Eaton, Colo.	Hardy
Allen	Cannon	Finley	Hoch
Almon	Cavicchia	Foss	Hogg, Ind.
Ayres	Christgau	French	Holaday
Barton	Cochran, Mo.	Fulbright	Howard
Beck	Cross	Gilchrist	Jenkins
Blanton	De Priest	Gillen	Johnson, Mo.
Buchanan	Dickstein	Glover	Kniffin
Bulwinkle	Dowell	Goss	Knutson
Burtness	Doxey	Griswold	Kvale
Byrns	Driver	Hall, Ill.	LaGuardia
Cable	Dyer	Hall, Miss.	Lambertson
Larrabee	Miller	Robinson	Sutphin
Luce	Morehead	Sabath	Swanson
Ludlow	Nelson, Mo.	Schafer	Taber
McClintock, Ohio	Norton, Nebr.	Shallenberger	Thomason
McFadden	Parsons	Simmons	Thurston
McGugin	Perkins	Sinclair	Tinkham
McKeown	Polk	Sparks	Vestal
McSwain	Rainey	Stafford	Wigglesworth
Manlove	Ramseyer	Stewart	Williams, Mo.
Martin, Mass.	Rankin	Stokes	
May	Reilly	Strong, Kans.	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Bacharach

NOT VOTING—113

Arentz	Dickinson	Hull, William E.	Owen
Bacon	Disney	Igoe	Parks
Baldrige	Doughton	Jacobsen	Pou
Bland	Douglas, Ariz.	James	Pratt, Harcourt J.
Bloom	Douglass, Mass.	Johnson, Ill.	Pratt, Ruth
Brand, Ohio	Doutrich	Johnson, S. Dak.	Quin
Briggs	Eaton, N. J.	Johnson, Wash.	Reid, Ill.
Britten	Estep	Karch	Romjue
Brumm	Evans, Mont.	Kelly, Ill.	Smith, Va.
Buckbee	Fishburne	Kennedy	Smith, W. Va.
Burch	Flannagan	Kinzer	Steagall
Burdick	Frear	Kurtz	Sullivan, Pa.
Carley	Freeman	Lamneck	Taylor, Tenn.
Chapman	Garrett	Lanham	Timberlake
Chindblom	Gifford	Lea	Treadway
Chiperfield	Gilbert	Lehlbach	Tucker
Clarke, N. Y.	Golder	Lewis	Underhill
Cole, Iowa	Granata	Lovette	Warren
Collier	Griffin	McClintic, Okla.	Watson
Connolly	Hadley	McDuffie	West
Cooke	Hall, N. Dak.	McLaughlin	White
Cooper, Ohio	Hancock, N. Y.	McLeod	Williams, Tex.
Crail	Hancock, N. C.	McMillan	Withrow
Crisp	Hart	Maas	Wood, Ga.
Crosser	Hawley	Mouser	Wood, Ind.
Crowe	Hill, Ala.	Nelson, Wis.	Yates
Crowther	Hogg, W. Va.	Nolan	
Crump	Hollister	Oliver, Ala.	
Curry	Holmes	Oliver, N. Y.	

So the bill was passed.

The following pairs were announced until further notice:

Mr. Crisp with Mr. Bacharach.
Mr. McDuffie with Mr. Reid of Illinois.
Mr. Garrett with Mr. Golder.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Nolan.
Mr. Pou with Mr. Crowther.
Mr. Quin with Mr. McLeod.
Mr. Romjue with Mr. Cooper of Ohio.
Mr. Kelly of Illinois with Mr. Kinser.
Mr. Igoe with Mr. Buckbee.
Mr. Tucker with Mr. Connolly.
Mr. Griffin with Mr. Watson.
Mr. Crump with Mr. Britten.
Mr. Smith of Virginia with Mr. Arentz.
Mr. Oliver of New York with Mr. Yates.
Mr. Smith of West Virginia with Mr. Johnson of Washington.
Mr. Karch with Mr. Kurtz.
Mr. Williams of Texas with Mr. Clarke of New York.
Mr. Steagall with Mr. Harcourt J. Pratt.
Mr. Evans of Montana with Mr. Treadway.
Mrs. Owen with Mr. Sullivan of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Douglass of Massachusetts with Mr. Doutrich.
Mr. Kennedy with Mr. Crail.
Mr. Bland with Mr. Johnson of Illinois.
Mr. Lewis with Mr. Hollister.
Mr. Collier with Mr. Chindblom.
Mr. Disney with Mr. Wood of Indiana.
Mr. Oliver of Alabama with Mr. Brumm.
Mr. Carley with Mr. Johnson of South Dakota.
Mr. Lanham with Mr. Hadley.
Mr. Burch with Mr. Frear.
Mr. McClintic of Oklahoma with Mr. Curry.
Mr. Bloom with Mr. McLaughlin.
Mr. Crosser with Mr. Lehlbach.
Mr. Warren with Mr. William E. Hull.
Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Bacon.
Mr. West with Mr. Hall of North Dakota.
Mr. Hill of Alabama with Mr. Underhill.
Mr. Wood of Georgia with Mr. Burdick.
Mr. Hart with Mr. Chiperfield.
Mr. Lamneck with Mr. Maas.
Mr. Parks with Mr. Eaton of New Jersey.
Mr. Briggs with Mr. Hawley.
Mr. Dickinson with Mr. Hogg of West Virginia.
Mr. Lea with Mr. James.
Mr. Fishburne with Mr. Hancock of New York.
Mr. Crowe with Mr. Lovette.
Mr. Doughton with Mr. Mouser.
Mr. Chapman with Mr. Gifford.
Mr. Douglas of Arizona with Mr. Estep.
Mr. Flannagan with Mrs. Ruth Pratt.
Mr. Hancock of North Carolina with Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin.
Mr. Jacobsen with Mr. Holmes.
Mr. Withrow with Mr. Granata.
Mr. Baldrige with Mr. White.

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Speaker, did the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. CRISP, vote?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia is not recorded.

Mr. BACHARACH. I have a general pair with the gentleman from Georgia. If I were allowed to vote, I would vote "no." As it is, I answer "present."

Mr. FIESINGER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York, Mr. GRIFFIN, is absent on account of sickness.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

On motion of Mr. MANSFIELD, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, the following leave of absence was granted:

To Mr. ROMJUE (at the request of Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri), on account of illness;

To Mr. CHAPMAN (at the request of Mr. LAMBETH), until February 6, on account of an official visit to Kentucky in connection with the George Washington Bicentennial program of the Kentucky Legislature; and

To Mr. GRIFFIN, for to-day, on account of illness.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the filibuster that has occurred I am not going to move to adjourn. I want the call of committees to proceed.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, I will state that the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries is the next committee on the calendar to be called. We have a bill with 13 sections, and it could not be concluded this afternoon. I understand that if it is called that ends the call of the committee on this Calendar Wednesday. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 4, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Thursday, February 4, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS—SUBCOMMITTEE

(10.30 a. m.)

Private bills.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Interstate commerce act, section 15a (H. R. 7116 and 7117).

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS—SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 1

(9.30 a. m.)

To fix more equitably the responsibility of postmasters (H. R. 7720).

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

Reduction of prices of surplus stock to relief organizations.

ELECTIONS COMMITTEE NO. 1

(10 a. m.)

Hearing argument in Kent *v.* Coyle case.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

(10 a. m.)

National defense act.

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS

(10 a. m.)

Uniform widows' bill (H. R. 7230).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

425. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of a proposed joint resolution to amend the settlement of war claims act of 1928, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. EVANS of Montana: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 8087. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to vacate withdrawals of public lands under the reclamation law, with reservation of rights, ways, and easements; with amendment (Rept. No. 349). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. MANSFIELD: Committee on Rivers and Harbors. H. J. Res. 271. A joint resolution amending section 1 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 3, 1930, relating to the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Illinois River and Minneapolis; without amendment (Rept. No. 350). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 4149. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to pay E. C. Sampson, of Billings, Mont., for services rendered the Crow Tribe of Indians; without amendment (Rept. No. 348). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 7051) granting a pension to Mary R. Currier; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 4345) granting a pension to Ann Matthews; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GAMBRILL: A bill (H. R. 8814) to amend the portion of the District of Columbia appropriation act of March 3, 1917 (D. C. Code, title 20, sec. 1040), relating to delivery of water from the water system of the District of Columbia to the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission of Maryland; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SWING: A bill (H. R. 8815) granting a bonus by way of a pension of $10 per month on the pensions of all veterans of the United States Army who remained in the Philippines after the original term of enlistment had expired and continued in action during the Philippine insurrection until honorably discharged from the service; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mrs. KAHN: A bill (H. R. 8816) for the relief of officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps retired for wounds received in battle; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8817) to provide for fees for entry of a publication as second-class matter, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8818) to amend section 287 of title 39 of the United States Code, Supplement V; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8819) amending the annual rate of payment of irrigation-construction assessments on the Wapato irrigation project; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8820) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, and acts in amendment thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8821) to amend the longshoremen's and harbor workers' compensation act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 8822) to prevent erosion of soil, to protect the national watersheds, and to promote the highest general uses of the public domain, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. CELLER: A bill (H. R. 8823) for compulsory use of parachutes by airplane common carriers and penalties for violations thereof; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 8824) to restore certain lands to the San Carlos (White Mountain) Indian Reservation, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. MONTAGUE: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 275) to authorize participation by the United States in the Interparliamentary Union; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr HARE: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 276) consenting that certain States may sue the United States, and providing for trial on the merits in any suit brought hereunder by a State to recover direct taxes alleged to have been illegally collected by the United States during the years 1866, 1867, and 1868, and vesting the right in each State to sue in its own name; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULMER: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 16) creating a joint committee to investigate the activities of the Federal Farm Board; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CONNERY: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 17) to provide for the printing of 1,000 additional copies of the hearings held before the Committee on Labor during the Seventy-first Congress on Old-Age Pensions; to the Committee on Printing.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

Memorial of the State of New Jersey, proposing a convention to repeal Article XVIII of the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Memorial of the State of Arizona to the Congress of the United States, requesting Congress to appropriate or to cause the proper governmental bureau to expend sufficient funds to pay for one-third the cost of construction of a bridge across the Colorado River at Parker, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDREWS of New York: A bill (H. R. 8825) for the relief of Arthur W. Bradshaw; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BLAND: A bill (H. R. 8826) to compensate Prince William County, Va., and York County, Va., for certain of their public roads and highways seized by the United States for the use of a permanent Marine Corps post at Quantico, Va., and a Navy mine depot at or near Yorktown, Va.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8827) granting an increase of pension to Whitmill T. Eason; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CABLE: A bill (H. R. 8828) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Benson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8829) granting a pension to Mary Vance; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 8830) for the relief of Frederick Henry Pollman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CHAPMAN: A bill (H. R. 8831) granting a pension to Robert W. Creech; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8832) granting a pension to Nannie Floyd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8833) granting a pension to James W. Flynn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8834) for the relief of Lloyd Massie; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8835) for the relief of Joshua Standeffer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8836) granting a pension to Sallie J. Barnes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8837) granting a pension to Mariah Matilda Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8838) granting an increase of pension to George Bunch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLANCY: A bill (H. R. 8839) granting a pension to William Leder; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DICKINSON: A bill (H. R. 8840) granting a pension to Mary E. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8841) granting a pension to Chloe M. Ranbarger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 8842) for the relief of Frank Bielky; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8843) to extend the benefits of the employees' compensation act of September 7, 1916, to Eugene L. Berg; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. EVANS of California: A bill (H. R. 8844) granting a pension to Homer Moore; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8845) granting a pension to Katie A. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8846) granting a pension to Ira Roberts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULMER: A bill (H. R. 8847) for the relief of Capt. Alexander C. Doyle; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GAMBRILL: A bill (H. R. 8848) for the relief of Elmer W. Morton; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. GRANFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8849) granting a pension to Peter Koutsaymanes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8850) for the relief of Robert Francis Connell; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8851) authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Thomas Lougharan to the position and rank of first-class sergeant in the Army of the United States and immediately retire him with the rank and pay of a first-class sergeant; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARE: A bill (H. R. 8852) for the relief of Thomas Lee Mitchum; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOGG of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 8853) granting a pension to Theron Ritchie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8854) granting an increase of pension to Charles V. Barr; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 8855) for the relief of Samuel Renville; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8856) for the relief of John M. Green; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8857) for the relief of Lydia Wakanna; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8858) for the relief of George Henry; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8859) for the relief of Joseph Redwing; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8860) for the relief of Abraham Redwing; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8861) for the relief of Ray Whipple; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8862) for the relief of Delia Whipple; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. IGOE: A bill (H. R. 8863) granting a pension to Karl M. E. Owen; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MANSFIELD: A bill (H. R. 8864) granting a pension to John Elmo Lee; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 8865) granting an increase of pension to Jane Richards; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mrs. OWEN: A bill (H. R. 8866) granting a pension to Alta Manypenny; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REID of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8867) authorizing the Secretary of War to award a distinguished-service medal to August F. Lohmann; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia: A bill (H. R. 8868) to compensate Prince William County, Va., and York County, Va., for certain of their public roads and highways seized by the United States for the use of a permanent Marine Corps post at Quantico, Va., and a Navy mine depot at or near Yorktown, Va.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THATCHER: A bill (H. R. 8869) for the relief of A. W. Kliefoth; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WEST: A bill (H. R. 8870) for the relief of Charles Schilliger; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1198. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petition of Eva J. Esten and 38 other citizens of East Greenwich and Wakefield, R. I., opposing the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1199. Also, petition of Dr. John Champlin and 63 other citizens of Westerly, R. I., advocating a reduction of the Federal salary and wage scale and other economies in the administration of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1200. By Mr. AUF DER HEIDE: Petition of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey (J. Res. 1, Laws of 1932), proposing a convention to repeal the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1201. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Belle Plaine, Kans., against any modification or repeal of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1202. By Mr. BUCKBEE: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Sandwich, Ill., asking for the support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and protesting against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal, with the request that their petition be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1203. By Mr. CARTER of Wyoming: Petition of Pearl Ferguson, president of the Wyoming Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other citizens of the State of Wyoming, relative to the prohibition question; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1204. Also, petition of Hon. R. Anderson, mayor of Newcastle, and other prominent citizens of the State of Wyoming, urging Congress to pay the final one-half of the adjusted-service certificates due the ex-service men of the World War this session; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1205. By Mr. CHRISTGAU: Resolution adopted by the Minnesota Cooperative Wool Growers Association, expressing opposition to proposals to repeal the agricultural marketing act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1206. By Mr. CONNERY: Memorial of the Ipswich Post, No. 80, of the American Legion of Massachusetts, favoring the immediate cash payment of the remaining 50 per cent of the adjusted-compensation certificates; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1207. Also, memorial of Massachusetts Federation of Post Office Clerks, Amesbury, Mass., opposing wage cuts and dropping of employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1208. By Mr. EVANS of California: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Pomona, Calif., representing 300 members, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1209. By Mr. FRENCH: Petition of citizens of Bonners Ferry and Boundary County, Idaho, urging that the Government grant a quarterly tribal allowance and annual annuities to the Kootenai Indians until such time at least as they can become self-supporting and that they retain Phena Anderson as field matron of the Kootenai Indians at St. Michael's Mission and that the Indian school be kept open; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

1210. By Mr. FULLER: Petition of Earle G. Soule and 394 other residents of Madison County, Ark., requesting that a bill be passed in Congress permitting the legal manufacture of 4 per cent beer on the theory that it would bring large revenue into the county by reason of the manufacture of staves and furnish labor to many out of employment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1211. Also, petition of I. L. Mayne and many other World War veterans of Springdale, Ark., requesting support for the payment of the adjusted-service certificates as set forth in House bill 1, by Mr. PATMAN; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1212. By Mr. FULMER: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Leesville, S. C., protesting against the interference of the prohibition law looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1213. By Mr. GIBSON: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of East Hardwick, Vt., opposing resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1214. By Mr. GILCHRIST: Petition of Daisy Redhead, president Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Dolliver, Iowa, and 60 citizens of that vicinity, urging maintenance of existing prohibition enforcement laws and activities and protesting against any change; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1215. Also, petition of Louisa I. Prettyman, county president Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Coon Rapids, Iowa, and 97 citizens of that vicinity, urging maintenance of existing prohibition enforcement laws and activities and protesting against any change; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1216. Also, petition of Josephine Hamilton, president Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Glidden, Iowa, and 35 citizens of that vicinity, urging maintenance of existing prohibition enforcement laws and activities and protesting against any change; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1217. By Mr. HALL of North Dakota: Petition of members of the Federal Land Bank Borrowers Protective Association; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1218. Also, petition of the Civic and Commerce Association of Valley City, N. Dak., indorsing the program of the American Alliance of the United States in their fight against communism; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

1219. By Mr. HAUGEN: Petition of citizens of Fayette, Maynard, Randalia, Eldora, Arlington, and Volga, Iowa, opposing the repeal, resubmission, or any modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judicary.

1220. By Mr. HOOPER: Petition of citizens of the third district of Michigan, urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1221. By Mr. HUDDLESTON: Petition of Mrs. E. R. Jones and numerous other members of the Woman's Missionary Society of Shady Side Methodist Episcopal Church, Ensley, Ala., favoring maintaining prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1222. By Mr. KADING: Joint resolution adopted by the Wisconsin State Legislature, memorializing Congress to pass one of the bills introduced by Wisconsin Members to restore to the States control over the liquor traffic within their borders; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1223. By Mr. LUCE: Petition of Abbie Goddard Bassett Auxiliary, No. 51, of the United Spanish War Veterans, urg-

ing enactment of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1224. By Mr. McLAUGHLIN: Petition of DeWitt S. Osgood and 55 other residents of Muskegon County, Mich., opposing passage of the compulsory Sunday observance bill, S. 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1225. Also, resolution passed at public meeting in Muskegon Heights Baptist Church, opposing resubmission or repeal of the eighteenth amendment and urging its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1226. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of Holy Name Society of St. Gerard's Church, Buffalo, N. Y., opposing Federal control of education; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1227. Also, petition of National Guard Association of the State of New York, with respect to erection of a memorial to the World War National Guard of the United States at Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

1228. Also, petition of Ogden (Utah) Branch, Railway Mail Association, opposing reduction of Federal salaries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1229. Also, petition of residents of Buffalo, N. Y., opposing modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1230. Also, petition of residents of Buffalo, opposing modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1231. Also, petition of Veteran Corps Artillery of the State of New York, relative to the President's recommendation for a department of public works; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1232. By Mr. MURPHY: Petition of Henry Holland, of East Liverpool, favoring the passage of immigration laws; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

1233. Also, petition of Maggie C. Eells, of Lisbon, Ohio, and 24 other members of the local union, supporting the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1234. By Mr. O'CONNOR: Resolutions adopted by the board of directors of the American Oil Burner Association (Inc.), opposing tariffs and/or embargoes on crude petroleum and/or petroleum products, including fuel oils; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1235. By Mr. RAINEY: Petition of Edgar Mason and 29 other veterans of Waverly, Ill., favoring legislation to make immediate payment of the adjusted-compensation certificates; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1236. Also, petition of Max Smith and 16 other veterans of Glasgow, Ill., favoring House bill 1; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1237. Also, petition of Alex Howard and 44 other veterans of Glasgow, Ill., favoring House bill 1; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1238. Also, petition of Ira Cottingham, president, and three other officers of the Jerseyville Mutual Fire Insurance Co., against taxation of mutual fire-insurance companies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1239. By Mr. RICH: Petition of officials and employees of the Lycoming Manufacturing Co., of Williamsport, Pa., favoring the reduction of salaries of Federal employees and a reduction in the expenditures of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

1240. Also, petition of First Methodist Church, Renovo, and Bethany Lutheran Bible school, Montoursville, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or by State legislatures, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1241. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of Joseph H. Colyer, jr., of Burns Bros., New York City, opposing any reduction of strength of the Regular Army or National Guard, or the elimination or postponement of summer training camps; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1242. Also, petition of Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States, New York Commandery, favoring the passage of House bill 5659, investigating communist activities in the United States, and House bill 1967, deportation of alien communists; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

1243. Also, petition of American Machine & Metals (Inc.), New York City, favoring an embargo on manganese; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1244. Also, petition of Frank R. Oastler, M. D., New York City, favoring the passage of the Everglades National Park, in the State of Florida, bill; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1245. By Mr. SANDERS of Texas: Resolution of Carl E. Azbell Post, No. 340, American Legion, Winnsboro, Tex., recommending full payment of the adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1246. By Mr. SEGER: Joint resolution of Legislature of New Jersey, calling upon Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution by repealing the eighteenth amendment and substituting therefor an amendment restoring control to the States and vesting in the Federal Government power to give protection to States desiring to exclude intoxicating liquor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1247. By Mr. SHOTT: Petition of the council of the town of South Charleston, W. Va., protesting against using the United States naval ordnance and projectile plants located in that city for a Federal penal institution; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1248. Also, petition of the West Virginia League of Building and Loan Associations, urging the passage of House bill 7620, believing this bill will materially benefit the business generally and the building and loan organizations; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1249. Also, petition of Fort Henry Chapter, No. 9, of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, urging the passage of the appropriation bill for the War Department; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1250. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of E. G. Ranum and 39 other residents of Van Hook, Sanish, N. Dak., and vicinity, protesting against an increase in taxes on automobiles, parts, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1251. Also, telegram from John H. Seibert, Flaxton, N. Dak., protesting against proposed tax on telephones and electric current in hotels; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1252. By Mr. SNOW: Petition of A. B. Hagerthy and many other citizens of Ashland, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1253. Also, petition of G. P. Hamilton and many other citizens of Limestone, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1254. Also, petition of James H. Mack and other citizens of East Millinocket, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1255. Also, petition of Thomas Fournier and many other citizens of Eagle Lake, Me., requesting the enactment of appropriate legislation to place highway trucks and bus lines under regulations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1256. By Mr. SPARKS: Petition of Osborne (Kans.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, properly indorsed by Nellie La Rosh, president, and Laura Hobbie, secretary, of Osborne, Kans., protesting against change in eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1257. Also, petition of M. L. Williams and Ruth Williams, of Alton, Kans., protesting against the compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1258. Also, petition by direction of University Friends Church, representing 1,000 members, of Wichita, Kans., protesting against any change in eighteenth amendment, signed by Charles O. Whiteby, minister; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1259. By Mr. STEWART: Joint Resolution No. 1, Laws of 1932, State of New Jersey, providing for application by the Legislature of the State of New Jersey to the Congress of the United States to call a convention for proposing an amendment to said Constitution for the repeal of Article XVIII (eighteenth amendment, prohibition of the liquor traffic) and the substitution of a new amendment therefor, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1260. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Joint Resolution No. 1, Laws of 1932, offered by the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, proposing a convention to repeal the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1261. By Mr. SWEENEY: Petition to amend section 2 of section 4463 of Title LII of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on Labor.

1262. By Mr. TABER: Petition of certain adult residents of the State of New York, opposing the passage of compulsory Sunday observance bill, S. 1202; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1263. Also, petition of Amelia A. Jackson and others, urging maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1264. By Mr. VINSON of Kentucky: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Salt Lick, Ky., and the Salt Lick Woman's Club, against the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1265. By Mr. WEEKS: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Swanton, Vt., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1266. By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH: Petition of sundry citizens of Braintree and Weymouth, Mass., protesting against the passage of Senate bill 2882 authorizing and directing the discontinuance of transport service of the Army and Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1267. By Mr. WYANT: Petition of Lydia I. Altman, chairman local legislative committee, Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Irwin, Pa., opposing repeal of eighteenth amendment or referendum; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1268. Also, petition of Mrs. S. C. Daugherty, teacher, representing 14 members of class No. 30, First Presbyterian Church, Jeannette, Pa., urging support of enforcement measure of eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1269. Also, petition of Olive W. Matchett, president, and Adda Niblock, secretary, representing 42 members of the Phila Logue Bible class of the First Presbyterian Church of Jeannette, Pa., urging support of the enforcement measure of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1270. Also, petition of Frank T. Fink, president, and Mrs. W. A. Kemerer, secretary, representing 30 members of Bible class of the First Presbyterian Church of Jeannette, Pa., urging support of enforcement measure of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1271. Also, petition of Sloan R. Hall, certified public accountant, Jeannette, Pa., urging that a tax of 10 per cent be added to the cost of advertising over the broadcasting systems of the country; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1272. Also, petition of Mrs. J. S. Houston, president, and Mrs. J. Wyke, secretary, representing 57 members of the Mizpah Bible class of the First Presbyterian Church of Jeannette, Pa., urging support of the enforcement measure of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1273. Also, petition of Glenn M. Crawford, pastor, and Frank Trimble, clerk of session, representing 950 members of the First Presbyterian Church of Jeannette, Pa., urging support of enforcement measure of eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1274. Also, petition of Kenneth Small, president, and Ernest A. Lefevre, secretary, representing 25 members of the progressive young men's Bible class of the First Presbyterian Church of Jeannette, Pa., urging support of enforcement measure of eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1275. Also, petition of J. G. Waddell, president, and J. B. Basehore, secretary, representing 58 members of the brotherhood Bible class of the First Presbyterian Church of Jeannette, Pa., urging support of enforcement measure of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1276. By Mr. YATES: Petition of members of the Ben L. Jones Auxiliary, No. 52, United Spanish War Veterans, Department of Illinois, Waukegan, Ill., urging support of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

SENATE

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1932

The Chaplain, Rev. Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Most Loving Fater, who hast brought us in safety to the beginning of this day; give us thankful hearts as again we pause in Thy presence to invoke Thy blessing and guidance. Help us to cast all our care upon Thee, who carest for us, that being strengthened by Thy Spirit in the inner man and taking sweet counsel together as friends in this the Nation's sanctuary, we may bring to glad fruition the hopes of our fellow men.

Watch over us as our days increase, keep us unspotted from the world, make us to dread nothing but the loss of Thee, and preserve us from all faithless fears that our efforts may be crowned with the blessing that cometh to those who quit themselves like men. Thus unto Thy gracious keeping we commit ourselves, dear Lord, ever mindful of Thy love, which binds us close in bonds of holy fellowship through Him who is the Master of mankind, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Monday last, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment the bill (S. 2334) to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 7248) authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Coolidge	Hatfield	Norbeck
Austin	Copeland	Hayden	Norris
Bailey	Costigan	Hebert	Nye
Bankhead	Couzens	Howell	Oddie
Barbour	Cutting	Hull	Patterson
Barkley	Dale	Jones	Pittman
Bingham	Davis	Kean	Reed
Black	Dickinson	Kendrick	Robinson, Ark.
Blaine	Dill	Keyes	Robinson, Ind.
Borah	Fess	King	Schall
Bratton	Fletcher	La Follette	Sheppard
Brookhart	Frazier	Lewis	Shipstead
Broussard	George	Logan	Smith
Bulkley	Glass	Long	Smoot
Bulow	Glenn	McGill	Steiwer
Byrnes	Goldsborough	McKellar	Stephens
Capper	Hale	McNary	Thomas, Idaho
Caraway	Harris	Metcalf	Thomas, Okla.
Carey	Harrison	Moses	Townsend
Connally	Hastings	Neely	Trammell

Tydings	Walcott	Walsh, Mont.	Wheeler
Vandenberg	Walsh, Mass.	Watson	White
Wagner			

Mr. McNARY. I wish to announce the necessary absence of the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] due to illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] on account of illness. I shall let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. BAILEY. I wish to announce that my colleague the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. MORRISON] is necessarily absent on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, I present numerous letters and communications in the nature of memorials from various church organizations in Wyoming protesting against any modification or change in the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution. I also present a petition, numerously signed by citizens of Sweetwater County, Wyo., praying that the eighteenth amendment be repealed. I ask that the communications may be sent to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The memorials and the petition will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. KEAN presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Woodstown, Salem, and Sharptown, N. J., remonstrating against the proposed modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. TYDINGS presented resolutions adopted by Baltimore & Ohio Post, No. 81, American Legion, in the State of Maryland, favoring the establishment of a World War Veterans' Committee of the Senate, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WHEELER presented a petition of sundry citizens, being patients of the United States Veterans' Hospital No. 72, of Fort Harrison, Mont., praying for the passage of House bill No. 1, providing for the immediate payment in cash of the soldiers' bonus, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Butte branch, Montana division, American Association of University Women, favoring the limitation of armaments and indorsing the holding of the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CAPPER presented petitions of sundry citizens of Hutchinson and members of the adult Sunday school class of the Methodist Church of Mound City, Kans., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Farm Bureau Club and the Gleaners Class of the Community Church, of Mound City; the Church of the Nazarene of Independence; the official board of the Methodist Church of Osage City, the First Methodist Episcopal Church; the Alpha class, the men's Bible class, and the Cornelius Bible class of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, of Independence, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against a proposed modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented memorials of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Clinton Corners and of Glove City Lodge, No. 641, International Order of Good Templars, of Gloversville, in the State of New York, remonstrating against a proposed referendum on the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Jamestown, N. Y., praying for the imposition of a tariff on crude oil and its refined products, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of New York City, N. Y., praying for the passage of legislation to investigate communist activities, to amend the Constitution so as to exclude aliens in a count of population for apportionment of Representatives in Congress, and to establish a Federal department of education, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., remonstrating against the proposal to abolish the citizens' military training camps, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. BLAINE presented a resolution adopted by the Polish White Eagle Society, Branch No. 704, of the Polish National Alliance, at Kenosha, Wis., favoring the issuance of a special series of 2-cent stamps in honor of Brig. Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Polish White Eagle Society, Branch No. 704, of the Polish National Alliance, at Kenosha, Wis., favoring the passage of legislation requesting the President to proclaim October 11 of each year as General Pulaski's memorial day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, which was referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution relating to the United States Forest Products Laboratory conducted in conjunction with the University of Wisconsin

Whereas it is reported that the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives has decided to recommend a reduction in the appropriation for the operation of the United States Forest Products Laboratory of more than $20,000 for the next fiscal year; and

Whereas this proposed reduction comes at the very time when the Federal Government has erected a large second building for the Forest Products Laboratory at a cost of $900,000, which building was erected because it was deemed desirable to expand the work of this laboratory; and

Whereas the experimental work done at the United States Forest Products Laboratory has resulted in valuable discoveries regarding new uses for and better utilization of forest products worth many millions of dollars to the people of this country; and

Whereas Wisconsin is peculiarly interested in the United States Forest Products Laboratory, not only because it is located within this State but because so many of its manufacturing industries are dependent upon forest products, and nearly one-third of the land area of the State is better suited for forestry than any other use: Therefore be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That the Legislature of Wisconsin hereby respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to at least not reduce the appropriation for the operation of the United States Forest Products Laboratory; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to both Houses of the Congress of the United States and to each Wisconsin Member thereof.

HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
CHARLES B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Mr. BLAINE also presented the following joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

STATE OF WISCONSIN.

Joint resolution relating to a preferential excise tax on tobacco products manufactured from tobacco purchased from a cooperative marketing association

Whereas the Secretary of the Treasury has recommended a material increase in the excise taxes on manufactured tobacco products and hearings on these recommendations are now being conducted by the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives; and

Whereas even the present excise taxes on tobacco products are considerably higher than the price paid for tobacco as it leaves the farm, as illustrated by the facts that the present tax on manufactured tobacco (in which form 70 per cent of the entire

Wisconsin tobacco crop is consumed) is 18 cents per pound, equivalent to 10.8 cents on the unmanufactured tobacco as it leaves the farm, while the average price realized by the members of the Northern Wisconsin Cooperative Tobacco Pool in the last 10 years has been but 9 cents per pound; and

Whereas an increase in the excise taxes will render this disparity even greater and will very probably operate to further reduce the return to the grower, it being proposed to increase the excise tax on manufactured tobacco to 21 cents, which is equivalent to 12.6 cents on the raw material as it leaves the farm, while the price realized by the tobacco growers of this State on their 1931 crop is less than 7 cents per pound, making the proposed tax 180 per cent of the return received by the grower; and

Whereas both the Federal and State Governments are committed to the policy of aiding cooperative marketing associations, to the end that farmers may secure a better price for their products; and

Whereas this policy can best be given practical application as far as the tobacco growers are concerned through a provision in the Federal excise tax laws allowing a reduction equivalent to 4 cents per pound on the unmanufactured tobacco in the tax payable on tobacco products manufactured from tobacco purchased from or through a cooperative marketing association; and

Whereas this is a practical measure of farm relief for a large group of farmers in this country who at present are in a very serious situation: Therefore be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That the Legislature of Wisconsin hereby respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States not to increase the excise tax on manufactured tobacco unless this is absolutely necessary in balancing the Federal Budget, and in any event to allow a reduction equivalent to 4 cents per pound on the unmanufactured tobacco in the excise taxes payable on all tobacco products manufactured from tobacco purchased from or through a cooperative marketing association; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to both Houses of the Congress of the United States, to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, the Federal Farm Board, and to each of the United States Senators from Wisconsin and each Wisconsin Member of the House of Representatives.

HENRY A. HUBER,
President of the Senate.
R. A. COBBAN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
CHAS. B. PERRY,
Speaker of the Assembly.
C. E. SHAFFER,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

DISPOSAL OF FARM BOARD WHEAT

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask consent to have a resolution favoring the distribution of 40,000,000 bushels of Farm Board wheat to suffering flood victims in China, which was unanimously adopted by the Kiwanis Club of Lawrence, Kans., on January 11, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Kiwanis Club of Lawrence, Kans., on January 11:

Resolution

"Whereas the holding of more than 180,000,000 bushels of wheat by the Farm Board and the constant threat of its going on the market is greatly depressing the price of wheat, which results in great losses to the farmer; and

"Whereas these losses are delaying and retarding the desired financial recovery in our State and Nation; and

"Whereas many millions of Chinese are suffering starvation, not because of any act or neglect of their own, but because of the worst flood that has occurred in that country in hundreds of years: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the Kiwanis Club of Lawrence*, That we instruct our secretary to write to our Members of Congress urging them to authorize and instruct the Farm Board to donate the necessary wheat, up to 40,000,000 bushels, to the suffering flood victims in order to alleviate the severe need.

"We urge this fully conscious of our own Government's need of money, but we believe that this is good business because of the good will it creates in addition to being an act of humanitarianism."

Respectfully submitted.

E. S. WEATHERBY, *Secretary.*

GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I have a letter from Mrs. Frederick C. Williams, national president of the American Legion Auxiliary, inclosing a cablegram addressed to Hugh S. Gibson, acting chairman of the American delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, and ask that the letter and cablegram may be printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the letter and cablegram were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY,
Indianapolis, Ind., February 1, 1932.

Senator HALE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR HALE: Inclosed you will find a copy of a cablegram which I sent to Hugh S. Gibson, acting chairman of the American delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, January 30. The cablegram was sent upon instruction of the Eleventh National Convention of the American Legion Auxiliary, in Detroit, September 21 to 24, 1931. As you will see, it declares that the disarmament petitions carried to Geneva by various American women's organizations do not represent the viewpoint of the 412,000 mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of American World War veterans who compose the American Legion Auxiliary.

Inasmuch as the petitions purport to represent "the women of America," I feel that this cablegram should be a matter of public record, and I should be very grateful if it could be read into the records of the United States Senate.

Sincerely,

LOUISE W. WILLIAMS,
National President.

The American Legion Auxiliary, composed of mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of American World War veterans, by national convention action at Detroit instructed me to inform the American delegation that the disarmament petitions as presented by various women's organizations do not represent the viewpoint of the women of the American Legion Auxiliary. We ask your delegation to safeguard the security of the United States of America by preserving our national defense act intact and our Navy at London treaty strength.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. McNARY, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 959) relating to the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 164) thereon.

Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 3237) to legalize a bridge across the Mississippi River at Grand Rapids, Minn., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 165) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 3132) to extend the times for the commencement and completion of the bridge of the county of Norman and the town and village of Halstad, in said county, in the State of Minnesota, and the county of Traill and the town of Herberg, in said county, in the State of North Dakota, across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 166) thereon.

Mr. WHITE, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 188. An act for the relief of Tampico Marine Iron Works (Rept. No. 167); and

S. 1216. An act for the relief of the owner of the barge *Mary M* (Rept. No. 168).

Mr. STEPHENS, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2909) for the relief of Ross E. Adams, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 169) thereon.

Mr. GLENN, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 212) for the relief of Messrs. Short, Ross, Shaw, and Mayhood, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 170) thereon.

Mr. BROOKHART, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 213. An act authorizing adjustment of the claim of Kenneth Carpenter (Rept. No. 171); and

S. 219. An act authorizing adjustment of the claims of Orem Wheatley, Kenneth Blaine, and Joseph R. Ball (Rept. No. 172).

Mr. HOWELL, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 486) conferring jurisdiction upon certain courts of the United States to hear and determine the claim by the owner of the 4-masted auxiliary bark *Quevilly* against the United States, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 173) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally with an amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 366. An act for the relief of Dr. Luis H. De Bayle (Rept. No. 174);

S. 800. An act for the relief of Ellingson & Groskopf (Inc.) (Rept. No. 175); and

S. 2335. An act for the relief of O. R. York (Rept. No. 176).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

Mr. BORAH, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably the nominations of the following persons:

Sydney G. Gest, of Pennsylvania, now a Foreign Service officer, unclassified, and a vice consul of career, to be also a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America; and

Holmes C. Smith, of Virginia, to be a Foreign Service officer, unclassified, a vice consul of career, and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America.

Mr. JONES, from the Committee on Commerce, reported favorably the nomination of Lieut. Robert C. Sarratt to be a lieutenant commander in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from September 15, 1931.

Mr. NYE, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, reported favorably the nomination of George C. Crom, of Florida, to be register of the land office at Gainesville, Fla. (Reappointment.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations reported will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 3482) for the relief of Talmadge L. Boyd; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

A bill (S. 3483) for the relief of the George C. Mansfield Co. and George D. Mansfield; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3484) granting an increase of pension to William H. Yoho; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3485) to establish a fish hatchery; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 3486) granting a pension to Annie Mong (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KENDRICK:

A bill (S. 3487) granting a pension to Mary S. Jenkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

A bill (S. 3488) to authorize the leasing of unallotted tribal Indian land in the Red Lake Indian Reservation, Minn.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 3489) for the relief of Maj. Richard K. Smith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3490) granting a pension to Mary E. Verrill; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

A bill (S. 3491) for the relief of Clarence Rufus Fullerton;

A bill (S. 3492) for the relief of Louis Gaeta; and

A bill (S. 3493) for the relief of Grant MacInnes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WAGNER:

A bill (S. 3494) for the relief of Zinsser & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMITH:

A bill (S. 3495) for the relief of Capt. Alexander C. Doyle; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BLAINE:

A bill (S. 3496) for the relief of Robert Templeton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3497) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Burkholder (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DILL:

A bill (S. 3498) granting a pension to Francis Gerrity; and

A bill (S. 3499) granting a pension to Ardelle Melco; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 3500) to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. WHITE:

A bill (S. 3501) to amend section 14 of the shipping act, 1916, as amended by section 20 of the merchant marine act, 1920; and

A bill (S. 3502) to amend section 8 of the act of June 19, 1886, as amended by section 2 of the act of February 17, 1898 (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 289); to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

A bill (S. 3503) providing for the completion of fence construction, repairs, and improvement of refuge areas in the Wichita National Forest and game preserve in the State of Oklahoma, and authorizing appropriations therefor; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 3504) for the relief of Lyman L. Miller; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3505) for the relief of John Ernst (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FESS:

A bill (S. 3506) authorizing the selection of a site and the erection thereon of a suitable monument indicating the historical significance of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. HOWELL:

A bill (S. 3507) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of bridges across the Missouri River at or near Farnam Street, Omaha, Nebr., at or near South Omaha, Nebr., and at or near Florence, Nebr.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. FRAZIER:

A bill (S. 3508) to amend section 1 of the act entitled "An act to provide for determining the heirs of deceased Indians, for the disposition and sale of allotments of deceased Indians, for the leasing of allotments, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910, as amended;

(By request.) A bill (S. 3509) relative to restrictions applicable to Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma;

(By request.) A bill (S. 3510) to restore certain lands to the San Carlos (White Mountain) Indian Reservation, Ariz.; and

(By request.) A bill (S. 3511) to promote the production and sale of Indian products and to create a board and a corporation to assist therein; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HARRIS:

A bill (S. 3512) for the relief of Margaret Doyle, administratrix of the estate of James Doyle, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3513) for the relief of Edward Gantt; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 96) authorizing the erection in Washington, D. C., of a monument in memory of Col. Robert Ingersoll; to the Committee on the Library.

HOUSE BILL PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The bill (H. R. 7248) authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., was read twice by its title and ordered to be placed on the calendar.

AMENDMENTS TO AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. FLETCHER submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to House bill 7912, the Agricultural Department appropriation bill, which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

Strike out all after the colon in line 13, page 65, to the end of the sentence in line 16.

In lines 9 to 12, inclusive, page 56, strike out the words "together with $55,000 of the unexpended balance of the appropriation for the Mediterranean fruit fly contained in the agricultural appropriation act for the fiscal year 1931" and insert "for a survey and investigation of claims for losses and damages by fruit and vegetable growers in Florida growing out of the work of eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly and quarantine regulations in connection therewith, the unexpended balance of the appropriation for the Mediterranean fruit fly contained in the agricultural appropriation act for the fiscal year 1931, $55,000."

INVESTMENTS IN FOREIGN SECURITIES

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I rise to pay a tribute to the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] for the inestimable service he has rendered to the country in disclosing the circumstances attending the sale of billions of dollars of foreign securities to American investors. The occasion of my doing so is a letter which I received a few mornings ago from a constituent who for many years has been a mechanic working in the shops of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. at Livingston, Mont. He retired on a small pension and invested the savings of a lifetime, amounting to $10,500, in the bonds of various foreign countries and subdivisions thereof. He wrote me a letter, which I sent to the Secretary of State for comment. I ask that the letter be read at the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

LIVINGSTON, MONT., *January 15, 1932.*

Senator WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: I understand there is a Senate committee investigating the foreign bond issues. I am sure you will take notice as to how the foreign bonds were put on the market.

I am one of the victims that invested every dollar I had to provide a little income for the rest of my days and afterwards for my widow. Now all is taken from me and I am a dependent to an extent. I started work for the Northern Pacific Railroad in Livingston in 1888 as a machinist in the repair shop. Was retired on age limit in 1927 with a small pension—$48.96.

You might ask me why I bought foreign bonds? The answer is, I thought they were a sure good investment and the interest was higher than domestic bonds. Then I was under the impression the bonds had to have the approval of the United States Department of State. I never could imagine the Equitable Trust Co., Dillon, Read & Co., Blair & Co., of Wall Street and Broad Street, would put bonds on the market for the American public to buy unless they were a sound investment.

Now I know to my sorrow how I have been duped by the big banks and the Secretary of State Department, United States. The bonds I hold have defaulted and I am broke. My wife doesn't own enough to bury me, and I after being so saving. I inclose the invoices and you can see what I paid for the bonds—some above par. One thousand-dollar Bogota bond belongs to my son, whom I advised to invest all he had.

There have been lots of crooked deals put over the American investors, and I suppose all crooks will go free. The different houses that issued the bonds have transferred their agency to other banks, some once and some twice. I am completely at a loss to know how and where I can get some reliable information as to the policy of Colombia, Antioquia Department, City of Bogota, Government of Bolivia, and Hungarian bonds. The letter I am mailing you may be useful when you get the Senate committee report.

If you can help me in any way I am sure I will be very grateful to you. I have voted in Livingston since 1888.

I remain, yours very truly,

JOSEPH MORIARITY.

P. S.—When through with the papers please return to me.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, the victim of this tragedy, only one, I suppose, of thousands, invested in the bonds of the Department of Antioquia, a Department of the Republic of Colombia, $2,500; in the bonds of the city of Bogota, Colombia, $3,000; in the bonds of the Republic of Bolivia, $2,000; and in the bonds of the Hungarian consolidated municipal loan, the amount of $3,000.

I hold in my hand, Mr. President, the advertisements of the great New York bankers inducing the public to invest in these securities, which I ask may be incorporated in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The advertisements referred to are as follows:

$3,750,000 DEPARTMENT OF ANTIOQUIA (REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA) 7 PER CENT 20-YEAR EXTERNAL SECURED SINKING FUND GOLD BONDS, SERIES "D"

Dated July 1, 1925. Due July 1, 1945.

Authorized, $20,000,000. To be outstanding in the hands of the public, $5,753,800 series "A," $5,679,700 series "B," $2,366,100 series "C," and $3,750,000 series "D" (out of a total of $5,500,000 series "D"). Principal and semiannual interest, January 1 and July 1, payable in United States gold at the office of Blair & Co., New York, fiscal agents, free of all taxes, present or future, of the Department of Antioquia and of the Republic of Colombia. Coupon bonds in denominations of $1,000, $500, and $100, registerable as to principal only.

A cumulative sinking fund sufficient to retire the series "D" bonds by maturity is provided, payable semiannually, to call bonds by lot at 100 and accrued interest on the next succeeding interest payment date.

Callable as a whole only, except for the sinking fund, at 102½ and accrued interest on July 1, 1935, and on any interest date thereafter.

Descriptive circular on request.

We offer the above bonds "when, as, and if" issued and received by us and subject to approval of our counsel, Messrs. Hornblower, Miller, & Garrison. Interim receipts or temporary bonds may be delivered in the first instance.

Price, 95½ and interest, to yield 7.45 per cent to final maturity.

Blair & Co. (Inc.), E. H. Rollins & Sons, and Chase Securities Corporation.

[From the New York Times, Friday, June 2, 1922]

New issue.

$24,000,000 REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA EXTERNAL 25-YEAR SECURED REFUNDING 8 PER CENT SINKING-FUND GOLD BONDS, TO BE DATED MAY 1, 1922; TO MATURE MAY 1, 1947; NOT CALLABLE FOR 15 YEARS

Coupon bonds in $500 and $1,000 denominations, registerable as to principal. Interest payable semiannually, May 1 and November 1. Principal, premium, and interest payable in United States gold, free of all present and future Bolivian imposts, contributions, and taxes at the principal office of the Equitable Trust Co. of New York, trustee.

Redeemable as a whole only at 105 and accrued interest upon 90 days' notice, at the option of the Government, on any interest date on and after May 1, 1937, and redeemable in part at the same price on May 1 of each year, beginning May 1, 1938, through the operation of the sinking fund.

Application will be made to list the bonds on the New York Stock Exchange.

Bolivia, one of the largest of the South American Republics, is more than 10 times the size of the State of New York and larger than England, France, and Germany combined. In mineral resources Bolivia is the third richest country on the Western Hemisphere, being surpassed only by the United States and Mexico. Its silver, tin, copper, and bismuth mines are among the richest in the world. Rubber, coffee, cacao, tobacco, sugarcane, and other products of the Tropical as well as many of the Temperate Zone are successfully cultivated. Coca, from which cocaine is derived, is raised and exported in large quantities, and the forests contain numerous species of valuable woods. Oil deposits have also been discovered and Chuquisaca is said to contain among the largest oil fields in the world. The population of the Republic is over 2,800,000.

Security of bonds: The bonds will be the direct obligations of the Republic of Bolivia and, in addition to the full faith and credit of the Republic, will, upon completion of present financial operations, be specifically secured by:

(1) A first lien and charge upon all import and export duties, surcharge on import duties, and taxes on the following: Mining claims, alcohol monopoly, 90 per cent of tobacco monopoly, corporations (other than mining and banking), interest on mortgage cedulas, net income of banks, and net profits of mining companies.

(2) A first lien and charge upon the Government's continuing controlling-stock interest in the Banco de la Nacion Boliviana (National Bank of Bolivia) and the dividends declared upon such stock.

(3) A first mortgage upon the Atocha-Villazon Railroad, now under construction, and the Potosi-Sucre Railroad, about to be constructed, together with a pledge of the net income of such railroads.

If the foregoing taxes and revenues should at any time be insufficient to meet the service of the loan, the Government agrees to provide the deficit out of its general revenues. Additional taxes or revenues, to be approved by the trustee, will be pledged as security for the loan if the proceeds derived from those pledged fall below one and one-half times the amount required for the annual service of the loan.

Receipts from pledged revenues: According to officials of the Republic of Bolivia, the average receipts from the taxes and revenues to be specifically pledged for the service of this loan amounted, for the 10 years ended December 31, 1921 (1921 partly estimated),

to a sum which, if converted into dollars at the average rate of exchange prevailing during this period, would have been equivalent to over $4,800,000, or more than twice the fixed annual service charge of $2,400,000 on the bonds to be presently outstanding.

Collection of pledged revenues: So long as any of these bonds are outstanding, the collection of all taxes, revenues, and income of the Republic will be supervised by a permanent fiscal commission, to be appointed by the President. This commission will consist of three commissioners, of whom two will be appointed upon the recommendation of the bankers. One of the commissioners appointed upon the recommendation of the bankers will be chairman and chief executive of the commission. All taxes, revenues, and income pledged as security for the loan will, as collected, be deposited in a special account in the Banco de la Nacion Boliviana, and such deposits will continue to be made until the amount deposited each month shall be equal to one-twelfth of the annual service of the loan. The amounts so deposited will be remitted monthly by the Banco de la Nacion Boliviana to the trustee in New York.

Sinking fund: A fixed annual service equal to 10 per cent of the largest amount of bonds at any time outstanding will provide for the amortization of this issue. Until May 1, 1937, such part of this fixed service as shall not be required for bond interest shall be used by the trustee to purchase bonds at not exceeding 105 and accrued interest, and any unexpended balance shall be retained by the trustee until a fund of $500,000 shall have been accumulated. After this $500,000 fund shall have been accumulated, any further unexpended yearly balances, up to May 1, 1937, will be returned to the Government. After May 1, 1937, any unexpended balance of the annual service will be applied to the redemption of bonds, by drawings, at 105 and accrued interest. The $500,000 fund, or so much as may have been accumulated by May 1, 1937, shall be used by the trustee to purchase bonds at not exceeding 105 and accrued interest, and any portion remaining unexpended shall at maturity be applied to the payment of bonds pro rata at par. In the event of default said funds shall be applied to the payment of bonds pro rata at 105.

The operation of this sinking fund is expected to redeem the entire issue of bonds before maturity, provided bonds can be purchased at or below 105 and accrued interest during the 15-year period that the issue is noncallable.

Public debt: Upon completion of the present financing the total public debt will amount to approximately $31,300,000 United States gold, of which $28,300,000 will be external debt and $3,000,000 internal debt at current rates of exchange. Contingent liabilities are provided for in the annual budget.

Purposes of issue: The Bolivian National Congress has authorized $33,000,000 of external 25-year secured refunding 8 per cent sinking-fund gold bonds, of which $26,000,000 will be issued immediately. Of this amount, $19,000,000 will be issued for refunding purposes and for railroad and highway construction and $7,000,000 for exchange for a like amount of external (railroad loan) bonds of 1922 ($2,000,000 of which will not be delivered until January 1, 1924). The remaining $7,000,000 of bonds will be reserved for issue under careful restrictions to provide for the completion of the Atocha-Villazon Railroad and the Potosi-Sucre Railroad, and of this amount $2,000,000 will not be issued until after January 1, 1923, and the balance not until after January 1, 1924.

The building of the Atocha-Villazon Railroad will give the Republic of Bolivia direct railroad connections with Argentina. This railroad will be operated in connection with the Antofagasta & Bolivia Railway, thus providing a network of trunk lines radiating to Peru, Chile, and Argentine Republic. The Potosi-Sucre Railroad will provide railroad communication with Sucre, the legal capital of Bolivia, and will open up one of the most fertile agricultural sections of the country.

The legal matters in connection with this loan, including the contract with the Republic, and the form of bonds will be passed upon by Messrs. Curtis, Mallet-Prevost & Colt, of New York.

We offer the above bonds, subject to prior sale, if, as, and when issued and received by us at 101 and accrued interest.

Spencer Trask & Co., the Equitable Trust Co. of New York, Stifel-Nicolaus Investment Co., Hallgarten & Co., Halsey, Stuart & Co. (Inc.), E. H. Rollins & Sons, Cassatt & Co., Kissel, Kinnicutt & Co., J. & W. Seligman & Co.

The information and statistics given herein, while not guaranteed, have been obtained by us, partly by cable, from official or other sources which we believe to be reliable.

[From the New York Times, Thursday, October 16, 1924]

New issue, October 16, 1924.

$6,000,000 CITY OF BOGOTA (REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA) 8 PER CENT EXTERNAL SINKING FUND GOLD BONDS OF 1924

Dated October 1, 1924. Due October 1, 1945.

Interest payable April 1 and October 1. Total authorized issue $10,000,000. Coupon bonds in denominations of $1,000 and $500, registrable as to principal only. Principal and interest payable in United States gold coin free of all Colombian governmental and municipal taxes, present or future, at the office of Dillon, Read & Co., New York, fiscal agents for this loan. Callable for the sinking fund at 105 and accrued interest on any interest date to and including October 1, 1934, and thereafter callable on any interest date, as a whole or in part, by lot at 102 and interest. Central Union Trust Co. of New York, countersigning agent.

A cumulative sinking fund of 2 per cent per annum is provided to redeem bonds by purchase semiannually in the market at or below the then current call price or, if not so obtainable, by call by lot. Interest on bonds so acquired is to be added to the sinking fund, which, applied against the present issue, is calculated to redeem practically the entire amount by maturity.

Upon retirement of ₱2,250,000 internal bonds from the proceeds of this issue, these bonds will constitute the only funded debt of the city.

Application will be made in due course to list these bonds on the New York Stock Exchange.

The following information is summarized from statements furnished us by the president of the Municipal Council of Bogota:

BOGOTA

Bogota is the capital and the largest city of the Republic of Colombia, having a population of approximately 160,000. It is situated in the interior plateau region at an altitude of 8,600 feet, with a healthful climate, and is adjacent to the large coffee-producing areas and the emerald and salt mines. The city has manufacturing industries of importance and is a growing commercial center.

SECURITY

These bonds will be the direct general obligation of the city of Bogota, the full faith and credit of which is pledged to the payment of principal, interest, and sinking fund. In addition, this loan ($10,000,000 authorized) will be secured by a first lien on the gross receipts obtained by the city from the real-estate taxes (Impuesto Predial, including Servicio de Aseo, Servicio de Alumbrado, Servicio de Vigilancia), and also from all municipal tramways, water works, electric-power plants, and other specified sources, now owned or to be constructed with the proceeds of this issue. For the four years ended December 31, 1928, gross revenues from these sources averaged approximately twice the interest and sinking-fund requirements of the present issue. The city has covenanted to deposit each month with a depositary in Bogota for transmission to Dillon, Read & Co., as sinking-fund agents, all pledged revenues until the proportionate amount required for service of this issue has been provided for.

PURPOSE OF ISSUE

This loan is issued to refund the outstanding funded debt of the city of Bogota, amounting to the equivalent of $2,250,000. The balance of the proceeds of this issue will be employed in the construction of and improvements to municipal enterprises, including extension of the city water works, extension of the municipal tramways, and construction of an electric-power plant, the improvement of sanitation works, extension and improvement of a public market, the construction of workmen's houses and school buildings. All engineering and construction work in connection with the above will be carried out under the direction of American engineers and contractors.

COLOMBIA

The Republic of Colombia has an extensive seaboard on both the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. Its area approximately equals that of New England and the Middle and South Atlantic States, while in point of population it ranks third in South America. Colombia is the world's largest producer of platinum and emeralds and the second largest producer of coffee; over 60 per cent of its foreign trade is with the United States. The Colombian Government has reorganized its banking and fiscal system under the direction of an American financial mission which inaugurated a banking system modeled on the United States Federal reserve system, and the Colombian peso is now quoted in New York at a premium over the dollar. The United States has agreed to pay to Colombia the sum of $25,000,000 in connection with the establishment of Panama as a separate republic and annual installments of $5,000,000 each are now being paid.

(Colombian peso at par equals 97.33 cents. The conversion in the above statements has been made at the approximate present exchange rate of $1 per Colombian peso.)

We offer these bonds for delivery when, as, and if issued and received by us, subject to approval of legal matters by our counsel, Messrs. Root, Clark, Buckner & Howland, of New York, and Dr. Esteban Jaramillo, of Bogota.

Price 98 and interest. To yield 8.20 per cent.

Further information is contained in our circular, which may be had upon request.

Dillon, Read & Co.

The statements herein have been accepted by us as accurate, but are in no event to be construed as representations by us.

[From the New York Times, July 15, 1925]

$10,000,000 HUNGARIAN CONSOLIDATED MUNICIPAL LOAN 20-YEAR 7½ PER CENT SECURED SINKING FUND GOLD BONDS

Authorized by and issued with the approval and under the control of the Royal Hungarian Government.

The bankers are authorized to state that from the point of view of the League of Nations reconstruction plan, there is no objection to this loan.

Dated July 1, 1925. Due July 1, 1945.

Interest payable January 1 and July 1. Principal and interest payable in New York City, in United States gold coin of the present standard of weight and fineness, free from all Hungarian taxes, present or future, at the office of Speyer & Co., fiscal agents for the loan.

Coupon bonds in demoninations of $1,000 and $500, registrable as to principal.

Cumulative sinking fund of about 2.23 per cent per annum, sufficient to redeem the entire issue at or before maturity, to be applied to redemption of bonds by semiannual drawings at par.

Not subject to redemption before July 1, 1930, except for sinking fund. Redeemable, upon not less than three months' previous notice, as a whole or in part, on that date or any interest date thereafter at 102 per cent up to and including July 1, 1932, thereafter at 101 per cent up to and including July 1, 1935, and thereafter at par.

Pester Ungarische Commercial Bank, Budapest, trustee.

Dr. Johann Bud, Minister of Finance, and Dr. Ivan Rakovszky, Minister of Interior, of the Kindom of Hungary, have furnished us with the following statement:

"Security: The total authorized issue of these bonds is limited to $10,000,000. The bonds are issued with the approval and under the control of the Royal Hungarian Government and will be the direct obligations of 10 cities and of 38 towns of Hungary, each being liable as provided by Law XXII of 1925, authorizing this issue, in proportion to its share in the proceeds of the loan. These municipalities include all of the cities—except Budapest—and have about 1,550,000 inhabitants.

"The bonds will be specifically secured by a first charge on revenues, assigned to or collected by these municipalities, which for 1925 are estimated, in the aggregate, at $5,350,000, as follows:

"(a) The income tax on profits and the amount of the turnover tax on sales assigned annually to these municipalities, which taxes are collected by the Royal Hungarian Government	$2,250,000
"(b) Consumption and octroi taxes, collected directly by the municipalities	1,100,000
"(c) Net receipts of their public utilities and other properties	2,000,000
Total	5,350,000

"Or about five and one-half times the annual requirements for interest and sinking fund on the loan.

"The Royal Hungarian Government will place monthly the revenues specified in section (a) above, or others applicable to the service of the loan under the loan contract, in a special account in the National Bank of Hungary, which account is to be controlled by a trustee for the bondholders to be appointed by the bankers. The trustee will retain from these funds the sums required for semiannual interest and sinking fund on the loan and remit monthly the amounts so retained to Speyer & Co., fiscal agents.

"The bonds will be further secured by a first direct charge on all the assets of these municipalities, which covenant that, so long as any of the bonds are outstanding, they will not mortgage their real property, nor without the consent of the trustee sell any part thereof. The aggregate value of their lands, buildings, public utility, and other properties is estimated at more than $100,000,000, whereof about $76,000,000 is the estimated value of income-producing properties, to which substantial additions will be made from the proceeds of the loan.

"The assessed value of property subject to taxation in these municipalities is about $257,000,000.

"The bonds are legal investments for the Royal Hungarian Postal Savings Bank, for widows' and orphans' funds—controlled by the Government—and are acceptable for Government surety bonds in Hungary.

"Purpose: The proceeds of the loan will be expended under the control of the Royal Hungarian Government for capital purposes, over three-fourths for income-producing properties and the remainder for schools, roads, and other municipal improvements. The Royal Hungarian Government exercises a large measure of supervision and control over the administration and finances of the municipalities.

"Debt: The bonds are the only external debt of these municipalities and will be outstanding at the rate of approximately $6.50 per capita. The internal debt, at the close of 1924 was equal to about $2,650,000, or only about $1.70 per capita.

"General: These municipalities include the cities of Szeged and Debreczen, with a population of over 100,000 each, and six other municipalities with a population of more than 50,000 each. With only few exceptions, they report that their revenues for the year 1925 will exceed their expenditures.

"Hungary is primarily an agricultural country with important exports of grain, flour, sugar, livestock, poultry, and meat. The production of coal is nearly sufficient for the country's requirements. The area is about three times as large as that of Holland or Belgium and the population, over 8,000,000, exceeds that of either of these countries.

"In accordance with the plan of the League of Nations an international loan for reconstruction purposes was issued in 1924 in the United States, England, and other countries, yielding about $50,650,000, the American part of the loan amounting to $9,000,000 bonds. About three-fourths of the proceeds of the loan are still available. Hon. Jeremiah Smith, jr., of Boston, was appointed commissioner general of the league for Hungary and is now supervising the execution of the plan. Notable progress has been made in reconstruction, the receipts from taxes greatly exceeding the estimates of the financial committee of the league made in connection with the loan; for the first 10 months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, revenues have exceeded expenditures and it is expected that for the entire fiscal year the budget will balance. The establishment of the National Bank of Hungary, as a bank of issue independent of State control, has resulted in stabilizing the currency. The reserves of the bank in gold and foreign exchange are equal to more than 55 per cent of the notes in circulation.

"About a year ago Hungary funded its relief obligations to the United States, which were contracted immediately after the World War."

All conversions from gold crowns to United States currency have been made at the rate of 5 gold crowns to the dollar.

Application will be made to list these bonds on the New York Stock Exchange.

All proceedings in connection with the issuance of the above bonds are subject to the approval of our counsel, Messrs. Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft.

We offer the above bonds for subscription, when, as, and if issued and received by us, at 89 per cent and accrued interest, to yield about 8.67 per cent.

We reserve the right to close the subscription at any time without notice, to reject any application, and to allot a smaller amount than applied for. Amounts due on allotment will be payable at our office in New York funds on or about August 5, 1925, as called for, against delivery of interim receipts exchangeable for definitive bonds when ready.

Subscriptions will also be received in Amsterdam by Messrs. Teixeira de Mattos Bros.

Speyer & Co.

July 15, 1925.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, the advertisements represent that the bonds of the department of Antioquia would yield, at the figure at which they are offered, 7.45 per cent annually; that the bonds of Bolivia, sold at 101 and bearing 8 per cent, would yield about 8 per cent; that the bonds of the city of Bogota, bearing 8 per cent and sold at 98, would yield 8.20 per cent; and that the bonds of the Hungarian consolidated municipal loan at 89 would yield 8.67, as the advertisement tells.

These advertisements were put out by Speyer & Co., representing the Hungarian consolidated municipal loan; by Dillon, Read & Co., representing the city of Bogota; by Spencer, Trask & Co., the Equitable Trust Co. of New York, Halsey, Stuart & Co., J. & W. Seligman Co., and other houses; and the bonds of the department of Antioquia by the Chase Securities Corporation and others.

The investor very frankly says that he invested in these bonds because they promised a very high rate of interest. He may be subject to some criticism for that, but, if he was guilty of indiscretion in investing in these bonds, promising this high rate of interest, what must we say of these great banking houses that had better facilities than he to know of the value of the bonds inducing their purchase? These bonds are now practically valueless; they have all been defaulted, and are quoted somewhere around from 5 to 10 cents on the dollar.

Accompanying the letter were various memoranda showing the actual purchase of the bonds by Mr. Moriarty. The State Department say they are helpless in the matter. I ask that there may be read from the desk the answer from the Secretary of State to my communication on this subject.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 1, 1932.

The Hon. THOMAS J. WALSH,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: I have your letter of January 20, 1932, inclosing a letter from Mr. Joseph Moriarty regarding his holdings of Bolivia, Antioquia, Bogota, and Hungarian consolidated municipalities bonds.

The Department of State can, of course, express no opinion on the likelihood of the resumption of payments on Mr. Moriarty's securities, nor does it have information available for distribution regarding foreign securities. Reports received by the department from its representatives abroad regarding commercial and financial conditions in foreign countries are regularly transmitted to the Department of Commerce, which is charged with the dissemination of commercial information, and which has established a finance and investment division within the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The Department of State does not duplicate the work of the Department of Commerce in this regard.

As to information regarding individual loans, inquiries should be addressed to the fiscal agents of the loan in this country or to the bankers who floated it in the United States. Mr. Moriarty incloses letters from the fiscal agents of the Bolivia and Antioquia bonds. The department's information indicates that Dillon, Read & Co., New York, are fiscal agents for the city of Bogota bonds, and Speyer & Co., New York, for the Hungarian consolidated municipalities bonds.

I may say that it is understood, and has recently been reported in press dispatches from Bogota, that certain proposals for the payment in scrip of interest on Colombian state and municipal bonds are in contemplation. However, the only safe source for

information regarding matters of this kind is the fiscal agent of the individual loan in which the inquirer is interested.

The Department of State in no way ever expressed approval or favorable judgment of the bonds in which Mr. Moriarty invested. If Mr. Moriarty has any evidence of representations to this effect made to him by the sellers of these securities, he might have legal recourse against them.

I return Mr. Moriarty's letter and inclosures as you request.

Sincerely yours,

H. L. STIMSON.

UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I ask that an editorial, which is rather brief, published in the Florida Times-Union of February 3, entitled "United States Must Not Become Entangled in Foreign War," may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Florida Times-Union, Jacksonville, Fla., February 3, 1932]

UNITED STATES MUST NOT BECOME ENTANGLED IN FOREIGN WAR

This is the unequivocal mandate issued by the people of this country—that under no circumstances must the United States become entangled in any foreign war, in the Orient or elsewhere. Woe to the jingoes in the Congress of the United States, or outside that body, or those who near approach them in shortsightedness, who do anything of any character whatever that involves, or that will tend to involve, this Nation, at this or any other time, in armed conflict beyond the seas.

The present crisis is acute. It is fraught with great danger, from which the United States must keep as far away as possible. This not only is the desire of the people of this country—it is their most insistent demand and order on those who represent them in high places of Government and who will be held responsible if this Nation is permitted to become involved in foreign situations that are not of creating by the United States or for settlement by this Nation.

It is even a question whether or not the United States should go farther than up to the present it has gone in seeking, by peaceful means, the settlement of disputes that at this moment make near approach to war—horrible to contemplate and terrible in consequences sure to result if war, with all its inhuman atrocities, comes in the wake of what now is taking place in the Far East.

But what thus far has been done can not be undone. Only action in the immediate future is to be wisely considered and even more wisely taken, if, indeed, it were not better that the United States should withdraw instantly and decisively from further participation in this serious matter that has been thrust upon the world by nations that have used neither good judgment nor manifested desire to keep the peace that so earnestly and so prayerfully the people of all nations desire except those directly involved in the dispute that at any moment may blaze forth in actual and devastating war. In any event the United States must not go farther than in giving protection to its people within the war zone, and in doing even this great care and caution needs to be exercised in order that this country may not be drawn into the war holocaust that threatens at this very time.

People throughout the United States should lose no time to inform, emphatically and unequivocally, their representatives in Washington, from the lowest to the highest, that nothing whatever shall be done that even remotely will involve this country in war with any other country in the world. War is the very last thing that the people of the United States want, and they will hold responsible to the limit any act by which this Nation will be led or even permitted to become involved in any foreign war anywhere. Let the Nation's lawmakers and administrators take warning.

LEGAL EFFECT OF JUDGMENTS OF COURT OF CLAIMS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by Samuel T. Ansell, B. Tracy Ansell, and George M. Wilmeth showing the moral obligation of the Government as to matters decided by the United States Court of Claims.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAS CONGRESS THE RIGHT, LEGAL OR MORAL, TO REPUDIATE FINAL JUDGMENTS RENDERED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES BY THE COURT OF CLAIMS?

I

The House claims that right and has recently exercised it in the case here discussed. The Senate seems less certain as to whether Congress has such right; but, in any event, it has withheld action for payment of the judgment in the instant case herein discussed, Dalton *v.* The United States, K-317, rendered January 12, 1931, and less than a year ago Congress, at the instance of the Senate, remanded to the court for further hearing a case in which the court had already rendered a judgment.

The House in recently passing the first deficiency bill, acting upon the report and recommendation of the Committee on Appropriations, eliminated the Dalton judgment which the Secretary of the Treasury had in due course submitted to Congress for payment, and refused to make an appropriation for the payment of it. The judgment was rendered by the Court of Claims in due course of its normal general jurisdiction to try and determine certain actions against the United States. The judgment was final in form and judicial effect. The Government made no motion for a new trial and sought no review by the Supreme Court of the United States the time for which has long since expired.

As we were the attorneys for the plaintiff before the Court of Claims, in view of the injustice done this particular plaintiff and in view of the destructive consequences of such legislative assumption of judicial power, we beg leave to file this brief and to submit oral argument before the Senate Committee on Appropriations acquainting the committee with the character of the Dalton case and supporting our views to the effect that—

1. The Court of Claims, in the exercise of its normal general jurisdiction, is a court of the United States as much so as any any other court of the United States.

2. Its judgments against the United States are final and conclusive and binding upon the Congress.

3. Congress can not review, revise, or in any manner repudiate such judgments, and any attempt by it to do so is a legislative assumption of judicial functions and therefore void.

II

Dalton *v.* The United States was decided by the Court of Claims January 12, 1931. The court, after full hearing and argument, the Government being represented by its attorneys, Mr. M. C. Masterson and Mr. Assistant Attorney General Rugg, gave judgment for the plaintiff in the sum of $11,900, representing the amount of the retired Army pay of plaintiff (a retired brigadier general), at $4,500 a year, from July 9, 1926, to February 28, 1928. The facts were:

1. From January 18, 1889, plaintiff served continuously in the Regular Army in every grade from that of private soldier to brigadier general up to July 8, 1926, when he was retired from active service by direction of the President, upon his own application, after more than 37 years' active service.

2. On July 8, 1926, the trustees of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation organized a corporation under the incorporation laws of the District of Columbia in pursuance of section 11 of the act of Congress of September 7, 1916 (in order that it might do business as a private corporation freed from governmental restrictions), elected General Dalton president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and notified him that he had been so elected at a salary of $18,000, effective immediately.

3. Under the designation of president, or the subsequent designation of vice president and general manager without change in duties, authority, or compensation, he was employed by the corporation up to February 26, 1929, when he resigned from service with the corporation.

4. During the period of his employment with the corporation he was not paid his Army pay as a retired brigadier general. A few weeks after he entered upon service with the corporation, the finance officer of the Army, by letter of July 23, 1926, advised him that "It is the opinion of this office that while serving under such appointment you will not be entitled to both the salary from the Fleet Corporation and to your retired pay, as they are in excess of $2,500 per annum, and is prohibited by the act of July 31, 1894." Upon General Dalton's protest the matter was again considered and affirmed by the finance officer in a letter to him of February 1, 1927.

5. A few months after he resigned from the corporation he sought legal advice as to his right to both pays, and on July 11, 1929, filed his petition in the Court of Claims for the pay of a retired officer of the Army which had been withheld from him while he was employed by the Fleet Corporation.

6. The question was whether, under section 2, act of July 31, 1894 (28 Stat. 205), which provides that—

"No person who holds an office the salary or annual compensation attached to which amounts to the sum of $2,500 shall be appointed to or hold any other office to which compensation is attached unless specially * * * authorized thereto by law * * *."

General Dalton was entitled to both pays, he contending that the statute was directed only against offices of the United States, and that his office with the Fleet Corporation was not an office of the United States within the meaning of the act.

That action resulted in this judgment. The sole question involved in the suit was purely a question of law, a question of construction of United States statutes relating to compensation for dual Federal offices. These statutes have, in one form or another, been in existence for many years, and have been before the courts so many times on the question as to what constitutes "office" that the law may be regarded as reasonably settled. The question in this case, of course, was whether General Dalton, by reason of his employment with the Fleet Corporation, held in that capacity an office of the United States; or, stated somewhat differently, whether office in this private corporation is an office of the United States within the meaning of the statutes prohibiting the holding of dual Federal offices. Likewise the status of the Fleet Corporation in its relation to the United States Government has been passed on many times by the courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, and the decisions are to the general effect that the Fleet Corporation is not a part of the Federal Government and that its officers and employees are not officers and employees of the Federal Government.

The Court of Claims in this case, following law and precedents that would seem to be conclusive of the matter, held that the





claimant in his capacity as an officer and employee of the Fleet Corporation was not an officer of the United States and gave judgment accordingly. The Attorney General made no motion for a new trial and did not seek to have the Supreme Court review the decision; on the contrary, he accepted the decision as law, just as his predecessors before him had accepted other decisions exactly like the Dalton decision; that is, it was accepted as settled that a retired officer of the Army or Navy in the employment of the Fleet Corporation was entitled both to his pay as a retired service officer and to the pay for his services with the Fleet Corporation.

III

Under date of December 15, 1931, the President submitted to the House of Representatives "a list of judgments rendered by the Court of Claims, which have been submitted by the Attorney General through the Secretary of the Treasury and require an appropriation for their payment," which list included this judgment. The report of the House Committee on Appropriations (Rept. No. 10, January 4, 1932) eliminated this item and gave as the reason that a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, conducting hearings on independent office appropriations in 1928 was informed by General Dalton "that he was not drawing retired pay, and the subcommittee believed from his statement that there was no intention on his part to ask it."

The committee did not hear General Dalton or his counsel or anybody else concerned in his behalf. The House sustained the action of the committee. This action, as shown by the debate, was taken on the assumption (1) that the Court of Claims is not a court at all with power to render binding judgments, but simply a "fact-finding commission" whose decisions are only advisory to Congress, and subject, therefore, to be reviewed and set aside by Congress, and (2) on the further assumption in this particular case that General Dalton had stated to the subcommittee aforementioned in 1928 that he was not drawing his retired Army pay while employed by the Fleet Corporation and did not intend to draw it. In the debate upon the elimination of this item it was said by or on behalf of the committee—and the statement went unchallenged—that the Court of Claims "is purely a fact-finding court and not a judicial court at all." Assertions went so far as to accuse the court of being engaged in "protecting the fellows who have presented all sorts of claims, just or unjust, which will enable them to get their hands in the Treasury of the United States"; and it was charged that the court, in order to aid such claimants in thus despoiling the Treasury, had resorted to usurpation of authority and had "increased its jurisdiction, so that instead of being a fact-finding commission or fact-finding jury it is now a court that can render these judgments. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 4, 1932, p. 1232; ib., January 5, 1932, pp. 1306, 1307.) "It is time," it was said, "we called a halt on this court by reversing some of its decisions" (p. 1307). And in debate Mr. WOOD, senior minority member of the committee, said:

"Here is another case that was decided by the same court. There was a man by the name of General Dalton, who is from my county in Indiana. He was a brigadier general at the time of his retirement. After his retirement he was appointed president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Soon after his appointment he came before our committee to justify the appropriations asked by the corporation, and among other things we inquired as to his receiving his retired pay. It was provided in the Shipping Board act that we might pay as high as $18,000 to the president of this corporation, and we have been paying that amount. I asked General Dalton myself whether or not he expected to receive pay as a retired Army officer during the time he was president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and he said that he would not, stating he understood there was a statute forbidding it. In consequence, we let the $18,000 a year stand. He served about two years as president of the corporation and then went out. The finance officer of the Army refused to pay him his back pay as a retired Army officer when he asked for it, and not content with this he brought suit against the Government before this same so-called Court of Claims. They heard the evidence in the case and heard the evidence adduced before our committee, when the general himself said he did not expect to receive and would not receive his retired pay during the time he was occupying the office of president of the corporation. Notwithstanding this fact they gave him a judgment of $11,000, which was the full amount of his pay for two years with interest. To my mind that was downright dishonesty, and no man from Indiana can get that kind of money out of the Treasury if I can help it. [Applause.]"

IV

It may be said in passing that even if General Dalton had expressed it as his intention not to draw his retired Army pay—as he did not—such intention would be without legal significance, as it is established law, as declared time and again by the Supreme Court of the United States, that public policy forbids that any effect whatever be given even to an agreement to waive pay given by statute. (U. S. *v.* Andrews, 240 U. S. 90; 60 L. Ed. 341.)

But General Dalton expressed no such intention. What he actually said is set out, correctly, we assume, in the Government's brief in the Court of Claims, as follows:

"Mr. WOOD. Are you a retired Army officer?

"General DALTON. I was retired on the day I received my appointment, by the President, under the law authorizing my retirement on 30 years of service.

"Mr. WOOD. Do you draw retirement pay?

"General DALTON. No, sir; I am barred by statute from drawing retirement pay.

"Mr. WOOD. That is my understanding. You are occupying the same relation with reference to that as General Lord; is that right?

"General DALTON. General Lord occupies a position that was created, and the appointment to which was, as I understand it, confirmed by the Senate. In all cases where the appointment is made by the President and confirmed by the Senate a retired officer of any of the other departments of the Government draws his retired compensation.

"Mr. WOOD. I think that it is suspended during the time he is holding the position that he is now occupying, speaking of General Lord's case. If you get out of your position to-morrow, so far as your retirement pay is concerned, would it be reinstated?

"General DALTON. Yes, sir. That becomes effective on the date that I retire from any other Government position.

"Mr. WOOD. There is always some one who inquires about these things. I suppose that there are some people who think that you have been getting, in addition to your $18,000 salary, your retirement pay as an officer, and I wanted to get the matter straight in the record."

As said before, shortly after General Dalton accepted employment with the Fleet Corporation the finance officer of the Army on July 23, 1926, advised him that under the statutes he could not draw both pays; General Dalton questioned the correctness of this ruling, but the finance officer reaffirmed it on February 1, 1927. General Dalton did not know his rights then and did not know them until after he left the Fleet Corporation. It was then that General Dalton learned for the first time that other retired Army and Navy officers who had been similarly employed by the Fleet Corporation had drawn both pays; he also learned that the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, in a series of actions brought in 1921 by retired Army and Navy officers against the Fleet Corporation, had held that the Federal statutes prohibiting double compensation had no application to retired officers of the Army and Navy employed by the Fleet Corporation. (Black *v.* U. S. Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation (Law 65566); Baldwin *v.* Fleet Corporation (Law 65501); Carden *v.* Fleet Corporation (Law 65502); Foley *v.* Fleet Corporation.)

The Government, as losing party, noted appeals in all those cases, and then abandoned the appeals, accepted the decisions, and paid the judgments. In those cases the Army and Navy finance officers had paid those officers their retired service pay and it was the finance officer of the Fleet Corporation who first refused to pay them their Fleet Corporation pay on the ground that the statute, the same statute involved in General Dalton's case, prohibited the receipt of both pays. In General Dalton's case the Fleet Corporation paid him his Fleet Corporation pay and it was the finance officers of the Army who, resorting to the same statute, refused to pay him his retired Army pay. The same facts, the same statute, the same question—right to both pays—were involved in all the cases.

It is apparent, then, that when General Dalton accepted the position with the Fleet Corporation he had no reason to believe that his retired Army pay was affected and presented the question twice to the Finance Department; that when he said that he was not drawing his retirement pay he was speaking the truth; that when he said his retired Army pay was barred by statute he made the statement upon the strength of the ruling of the Finance Department and without being otherwise advised of his rights in the premises. The questions asked at the time by Mr. WOOD for the subcommittee show his own confessed uncertainty as to the law and likewise show his own lack of accurate knowledge of the law. No fair-minded man can read into this brief and casual examination of General Dalton anything but absolute truth and honest purpose; there is not a suggestion of General Dalton's future intention or that at the time he had any intention whatever; the statements do show that General Dalton knew nothing about his rights other than what the finance officer had advised him and that the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee certainly knew no more.

V

The Court of Claims in the exercise of its normal jurisdiction is a court of the United States as much so as any other court of the United States, and its judgments are entitled to full respect as such. They are final, conclusive, and binding upon the parties, one of whom is the United States, whose sovereignty is represented by Congress.

The contention that this court is but a fact-finding body whose conclusions are not judgments but are simply advisory to, and not binding upon, Congress rests upon an utter misconception. Of course, the United States, being sovereign, may not be sued in any court without its consent. This consent is to be given by Congress upon such terms and conditions as it sees fit to impose. (United States *v.* O'Keefe, 11 Wall. 178, 20 L. ed. 131; United States *v.* Lee, 106 U. S. 196, 27 L. ed. 171; Cohen *v.* Virginia, 6 Wheat. 264, 5 L. ed. 257; United States *v.* Klein, 13 Wall. 128, 20 L. ed. 519; United States *v.* Schurz, 102 U. S. 378, 26 L. ed. 167; Case *v.* Terrell, 11 Wall. 199, 20 L. ed. 134; Luckenbach S. S. Co. *v.* United States, 272 U. S. 533, 71 L. ed. 394; Murray *v.* Hoboken Land & Improvement Co., 18 How. 272; Belknap *v.* Schild, 161 U. S. 10, 40 L. ed. 599; Choctaw Nation *v.* United States, 119 U. S. 1, 30 L. ed. 306; United States *v.* Gleason, 124 U. S. 255, 31 L. ed. 421; Kendall *v.* United States, 12 Pet. 524, 9 L. ed. 1181; Morrison *v.* Work,

266 U. S. 481, 69 L. ed. 394; Stanley v. Schwalby, 162 U. S. 255, 40 L. ed. 960; Carr v. United States, 98 U. S. 433, 25 L. ed. 209.)

But when Congress gives its consent and subjects the United States to suit, it thereby creates a justiciable question; and having submitted the Government to the jurisdiction of a court, it is as much bound by the decision as an individual. (United States v. Nourse, 6 Pet. 470, 8 L. ed. 467; Klein v. United States, 13 Wall. 128, 20 L. ed. 519.) Congress, by general statutes, has subjected the United States to suit in the Court of Claims and to a lesser degree in the district courts of the United States in respect of all that large class of actions designated in the general terms of the statute, and when an action is begun within the purview of the statutes, and the United States is impleaded, and the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims or a district court has attached, the Government thereupon is before the court just as any other party; it may not then plead its sovereignty, nor can Congress then control the judicial decision or refuse to recognize it. It is subject to the same rules, and is bound by the judgment to the same extent as though it were a private party. (United States v. O'Grady, 22 Wall. 641, 22 L. ed. 772; Luckenbach v. The Thekla, 266 U. S. 328, 69 L. ed. 313; Klein v. United States, 13 Wall. 128, 20 L. ed. 519; United States v. Nourse, 6 Pet. 470, 8 L. ed. 467.)

The legislative history of the Court of Claims shows that while at first it was not a court, inasmuch as it was not empowered to adjudicate justiciable questions against the United States, it was soon given such power by Congress, and that power it has had for many years. That power it still has and exercises daily, such being its normal jurisdiction. When the "court" was first created in 1855 it was given a limited jurisdiction to "investigate" claims against the United States and to report its conclusions to Congress for legislative action (10 Stat. 612). As such, it was but an aid to Congress and its Committees on Claims. In a message in 1861, the President (Lincoln) recommended to Congress that the so-called Court of Claims be made a court in the legal sense of the term, saying—

"It is as much the duty of government to render prompt justice against itself in favor of its citizens as it is to administer the same between private individuals. The investigation and adjudication of claims in their nature belong to the judicial department."

And in 1863 (12 Stat. 765) Congress conferred judicial power upon the court, expressly empowering it to render final judgments, with right of appeal to the Supreme Court granted to either party where the jurisdictional amount involved was more than $3,000; but the act also provided in effect that the judgments were not to be paid by the Treasury until Congress had made an appropriation therefor "estimated for by the Secretary of the Treasury." But the Supreme Court held that the above authority given impliedly to the Secretary of the Treasury to revise the judgments of the court destroyed the judicial power attempted to be conferred upon the court, and that, therefore, the Supreme Court could entertain no appeal from such decision. (Gordon v. United States, 117 U. S. 697; 7 Ct. Cls. 1. See also Jones v. United States, 119 U. S. 477.) By the act of March 17, 1866 (14 Stat. 9) the section which had been held to be inconsistent with the concept of judicial power was repealed. From that day to this there has never been any question that the Court of Claims exercises judicial power.

In 1868 Congress gave the United States the right of appeal to the Supreme Court in all cases regardless of amount involved (15 Stat. 75). The Tucker Act of March 3, 1887 (24 Stat. 505) is the existing organic act and grant of power to the Court of Claims. So far as pertinent here, the Court of Claims will be found dealt with in the Judicial Code, sections 136–187; title 28, United States Code, sections 241–293. References hereafter will be to the United States Code. So far as material here, the jurisdictional sections provide as follows:

"SEC. 250. The Court of Claims shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine the following matters:

"First. All claims (except for pensions) founded upon the Constitution of the United States or any law of Congress, upon any regulation of an executive department, upon any contract, express or implied, with the Government of the United States, or for damages, liquidated or unliquidated, in cases not sounding in tort, in respect of which claims the party would be entitled to redress against the United States either in a court of law, equity, or admiralty if the United States were suable: * * *

"Second. All set-offs, counterclaims, claims for damages, whether liquidated or unliquidated, or other demands whatsoever on the part of the Government of the United States against any claimant against the Government in said court: * * *

"SEC. 256. The amount of any final judgment or decree rendered in favor of the claimant, in any case transmitted to the Court of Claims under the two preceding sections, shall be paid out of any specific appropriation applicable to the case, if any such there be; and where no such appropriation exists, the judgment or decree shall be paid in the same manner as other judgments of the said court.

"SEC. 285. The payment of the amount due by any judgment of the Court of Claims, and of any interest thereon allowed by law, as provided by law, shall be a full discharge to the United States of all claim and demand touching any of the matters involved in the controversy.

"SEC. 286. Any final judgment against the claimant on any claim prosecuted as provided in this chapter shall forever bar any further claim or demand against the United States arising out of the matters involved in the controversy."

Section 288 provides for certification of questions of law to the Supreme Court and for review by certiorari, and further provides:

"(c) All judgments and decrees of the Court of Claims shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court as provided in this section, but not otherwise."

Such is the general jurisdiction of the Court of Claims. The language of the statutes, their history, and the decisions of the Supreme Court can leave no question as to the judicial character of that jurisdiction. (See Klein v. United States, 13 Wall. 128, 20 L. ed 519; United States v. O'Grady, 22 Wall. 641, 22 L. ed. 772; Campbell v. United States, 107 U. S. 407; United States v. Borcherling, 185 U. S. 223; Brooks-Scanlon Corp. v. United States, 265 U. S. 106; United States v. State Bank, 96 U. S. 30.)

Two cases only need be read: The Klein case and the O'Grady case. In the Klein case, the points of the decision were:

a. That since the repeal of section 14 of the act of 1863, subjecting judgments of the Court of Claims to review by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Court of Claims has exercised judicial power with all the functions of a court, and the Supreme Court has taken full jurisdiction on appeal.

b. That the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims having been invoked, it was then beyond the power of Congress to say that when it ascertains that a certain state of things exists its jurisdiction shall thereupon cease.

c. It is beyond legislative power to prescribe rules of decision to the judicial department of the Government in cases pending before it.

d. The right to sue the Government is not a mere matter of favor. "It is as much the duty of the Government as of individuals to fulfill its obligations." The Court of Claims is a court established for that purpose.

The Klein case is a clear instance where Congress attempted to prevent the affirmance of a final judgment rendered by the Court of Claims against the United States. The Supreme Court, having held that the action taken by Congress was beyond the scope of the legislative power, proceeded with the appeal and affirmed the judgment. The judgment was paid. In the O'Grady case it was said by the Supreme Court:

"But the United States did not appeal from the judgment of the Court of Claims, nor does it appear that any application in their behalf was made to that court for a new trial, as expressly authorized by an act of Congress. On the contrary, it appears that the United States acquiesced in the judgment and claimed to deduct from it the amount now in controversy as due to the Government for the internal-revenue tax. Such a power is not vested in the Secretary of the Treasury, nor in any other executive officer of the Government, even if it could be; and it is clear that the judgments of this court, rendered on appeal from the Court of Claims, if no such power is conferred by an act of Congress, are beyond all doubt the final determination of the matter in controversy; and it is equally certain that the judgments of the Court of Claims, where no appeal is taken to this court, are, under existing laws, absolutely conclusive of the rights of the parties unless a new trial is granted by that court, as provided in the before-mentioned act of Congress."

VI

The district courts of the United States are given a concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Claims over suits against the United States in matters of claims not exceeding $10,000. This jurisdiction was also established by the Tucker Act of 1887, the act which restated the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims. (Sec. 41, subsec. (20), title 28, U. S. Code.) If this jurisdiction of the district courts were not judicial in essence and nature, it could not be exercised by the district courts and could not be conferred upon them by Congress. (Bakelite Corporation, 279 U. S. 483, 73 L. ed. 789; Gordon v. United States, supra; United States v. Jones, supra; Federal Radio Commission v. General Electric Co., 281 U. S. 464, 74 L. ed. 969.) As was said in the last cited cases, whenever the statute brings the United States before the court and presents for consideration the rights of the United States and the private party and calls for a judicial and binding determination of the matter so presented, this "makes the proceeding a case or controversy within the scope of the judicial power as defined in the judiciary article." In this respect there can be, of course, no distinction between such power when exercised by a district court of the United States and the Court of Claims of the United States.

VII

The argument that Congress has the lawful power to revise and reverse judgments of the Court of Claims has been advanced to Congress by the Comptroller General, and apparently with effect, but no other reputable authority has ever been known to express any such fallacious view. The fallacy is that merely because Congress can require those courts created by it under other clauses of the Constitution than that having to do directly with the judiciary to perform other than strictly judicial functions—to investigate facts, make findings of fact, and report its conclusions to Congress—that for that reason such courts are in all respects advisory to Congress. This is not true. It is true of those courts only when they are functioning, as they are occasionally required by Congress to do, as such advisory bodies and not judicially; it is not true of them when they are functioning as courts in the exercise of their normal jurisdiction. The distinction between the so-called legislative courts and the so-called constitutional courts (unhappy designations), in so far as the distinction is material here, is this: Congress may not require or empower the courts organized directly under the judiciary clause of the Constitution (par. 2, Art. III) to

perform other than judicial functions, whereas it may require the courts organized by Congress in the exercise of other constitutional powers to perform functions which are not those of judicial power but advisory to Congress. (See Bakelite Corporation, 279 U. S. 483, 73 L. ed. 789.) Such courts, of course, are the Court of Claims, all the courts of the District of Columbia, the Court of Customs Appeals, and all the Territorial courts. But these courts are also courts, and when acting as such, which is their normal jurisdiction, their final judgments are entitled to the same respect as are the judgments of the so-called constitutional courts.

Congress may refer, and has referred, matters to the Court of Claims and the other courts mentioned for findings which are inconclusive in character and subject to subsequent action by Congress. But this does not concern the normal jurisdiction which Congress has conferred on such courts. Decisions rendered under the normal jurisdiction of the Court of Claims are not advisory but entirely judicial. That jurisdiction is to "hear and determine" the matters which Congress has submitted to its jurisdiction. The judgments of the Court of Claims and the judgments of the district courts sitting as courts of claims are final and conclusive, subject only to review by the superior Federal courts. The Court of Claims is a court with all the functions and the established jurisdiction of a court. It is a court of the United States organized by Congress under the Constitution. Its judgments are the judgments of a court of the United States, which may be reviewed by the Supreme Court and which are entitled to respect and enforcement as such. Were it otherwise, power to review could not be conferred on the Supreme Court. This, as has been seen, has been declared and redeclared by the Supreme Court and never questioned by any. A judgment against the United States rendered by the Court of Claims is exactly like a judgment against the United States rendered by any other Federal court, including the Supreme Court of the United States, and entitled to like respect.

VIII

We are aware that the Comptroller General of the United States, in recent years and in lengthy communications presented to the Houses of Congress and appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, has contended that Congress has the lawful power to review, reverse, or ignore judgments of the Court of Claims on the theory that the Court of Claims is not a court, but only an agency advisory to Congress. Such a view is utterly untenable and has never been voiced by any other legal authority. Action in accord with such view would prove intolerable. The result would be something more than injustice to the individual citizen awarded a judgment against his Government by a court created by his Government doing justice in accordance with the law established by his Government. It would lead inevitably to destruction of respect for all courts and for all law. When Congress decides to follow such views, whether for one of the reasons advanced by the House committee, namely, that to do otherwise would be "unjust to the taxpayer," or upon any reasoning to justify a resort to legislative nullification of a particular decision and judgment, it should do so with the full realization that in that direction lie legislative usurpation, tyrannical abuse of power, destruction of lawful processes, disrespect for law and government of law, with disorder and chaos at the end. Lawmakers thus become law destroyers. We regard it as unsafe for a committee of Congress to accept a doctrine so destructive of law and the maintenance of law given to them ex parte and in camera by accounting officials or by Members of Congress voicing personal views. Without hearing any other view and without giving the question consideration and without appreciating the consequences of their action, the House committee, or spokesmen for it, disagreeing with the results of the court's decision upon a question of statutory construction, undertook to reverse the court. Not only that, it charged the court with gross misconduct and the claimant with personal dishonesty.

We concede, of course, that Congress has the arbitrary power to refuse to satisfy this judgment, but we say that Congress has no rightful, lawful power to do so. Congress has the brutish power to refuse to perform any legal obligation laid upon it by the Constitution and laws, but we say that Congress has not the lawful power to repudiate this judgment, or to substitute its judgment for that of the Court of Claims, or to retry the case, or to require that it be retried. Such legislation lies beyond the power of Congress, terrorizes the court, and sets up a train of evils and injustices.

We wish to take our stand on the proposition that Congress can not exercise any degree of judicial power and that it can not refuse to recognize its exercise by the courts; that it has no legislative power whatever over Court of Claims judgments, and that the legislation to satisfy a judgment is purely ministerial in pursuance of the original legislative act which subjected the sovereign to suit.

This proposition does not involve the doctrine of "the power of the purse" so prominent in the growth of English parliamentary government. That doctrine has no lawful place here where we have a written Constitution separating the various departments and defining the powers of each. It is, or it is not, the constitutional obligation of Congress to recognize the judgments of the courts and resort to "the power of the purse" to sustain Congress in exercising judicial power is a resort to irrelevancy if not sheer demagoguery.

Judicial power exercised by Congress would lead to the most uncertain, unstable, and unjust judgments. This truth was abundantly evidenced during the passage of this very deficiency bill, from which the Dalton judgment and one or two others were eliminated. One of the judgments eliminated by the House was restored by the Senate at the request of a Senator interested in the judgment creditor and the injustice done him. But our client, certainly a no less worthy citizen, was certainly less fortunate in having no such spokesman.

General Dalton served this country in the Army for nearly 40 years in every grade from enlisted man to general officer; for such service the law gave him a retired stipend for life without requiring further military service of him; the Fleet Corporation needed and procured his services, services which the Government could not require him to render, services he was specially fitted to render, services which he did ably render, services which were to be compensated for whoever rendered them. Why should General Dalton be penalized to the extent of his retired Army stipend for performing those services? The finance officer of the Army stopped his Army pay. Scores of retired Army and Navy officers have been employed by the Fleet Corporation, and not one except General Dalton has been denied his pay. He sued the Government, as he had the legal right to do. Congress provided for the submission of this and like questions, under its own terms, to its own tribunals, for hearing and determination.

Claimant and the Government appeared and presented the question and the court duly determined it and gave judgment accordingly. The question was simply one of law, of the proper construction of certain statutes having to do with official salaries. The court gave judgment that under the laws of the United States the United States is indebted to him in the sum of $11,900. For Congress to undertake to retry a question which has been finally tried and adjudged by a court of competent jurisdiction established for such purpose by the laws of the United States is an abuse of power, plain usurpation by Congress of purely judicial functions. If Congress wishes to change the law as it has been applied to other cases exactly like the Dalton case for many years, it may do so in the exertion of its own proper powers. Obviously such would be the only proper and only competent legislative course.

For the sake of justice to an individual citizen and for the sake of the maintenance of law and of a continuance of a government of law, we respectfully ask that Congress respect this judgment.

Respectfully submitted.

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REPORT OF NEW YORK SPECIAL HEALTH COMMISSION

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I have here a report to the Governor of New York prepared by the special health commission of that State and transmitted by the governor to the legislature. It is a very comprehensive report on health activities in my State, and I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany, February 19, 1931.

To the Legislature:

The success or failure of any government in the final analysis must be measured by the well-being of its citizens. Nothing can be more important to a State than its public health; the State's paramount concern should be the health of its people. We in New York can justifiably boast of our accomplishments in public health. The progress which we have made in the last 15 years is nothing short of phenomenal. For example, in 1913 the death rate in this State from all communicable diseases was 419 per 100,000 population; in 1930 it was only 196; in 1900 the expected span of human life was 47 years; by 1930 it was increased to 57 years. Tuberculosis mortality has declined more than one-half since 1913; typhoid fever, once quite common, is now a rare disease. Diphtheria has declined about two-thirds since 1913, and infant mortality has, in the same period, been reduced by a half.

Much that is enviable in the present status of our health work may be traced, I believe, to the legislation passed in 1913 upon recommendation of a State health commission, of which the late Dr. Hermann M. Biggs was chairman. The work of that commission brought about an entire reorganization of the State department of health and fundamental changes in its relation to local health authorities. Since 1913 there have been piecemeal amendments to the public health law as new questions arose relative to details of its administration. The rapid strides in medical science, however, and the experience we have gained in public-health administration since then convinced me last year that it was again time to make a comprehensive survey of the entire subject of public health as a governmental function—State and local. For these reasons, on May 1, 1930, I appointed an informal and unofficial commission of 14 members, under the chairmanship of President Farrand, of Cornell University, charged with the duty of making such a survey. The membership of that commission is indeed a distinguished one. A mere statement of the names is sufficient to inspire the utmost confidence in and reliance upon their recommendations. Even the preliminary report which the commission has recently sent me and which I am transmitting herewith to your honorable bodies, opens the way for a new health program during the coming years which, if well executed, should

bring to New York State far greater advances along every line of health protection than has been achieved during the recent years of which we are justly proud.

The commission makes recommendations for legislation further to improve the public health and administration of the health and sanitation laws of the State. These recommendations are intended to bring the provisions of our public health law up to date and to align our entire attitude on the question of public health more closely with the outstanding achievements and accurate knowledge of modern medical science. The commission in its report points out the important, pressing needs to which public-health authorities should devote their attention and itemize its major recommendations along these lines. I desire to call your attention to these recommendations with the earnest request that you proceed at once to translate them into legislation at the earliest possible moment. The expert technical knowledge, the administrative experience in public health, and the sound judgment of these commission members, who have so generously given of their wisdom and skill to the public service, should be utilized by us without delay.

An outstanding feature is the recommendation of the commission that county boards of health should be organized in all counties to provide for our rural areas more effective control of tuberculosis, venereal and other communicable diseases, the protection of maternity and infancy, the safeguarding of public milk and water supplies, more effective public-health-nursing service, and other elements of a modern health program.

Originally local public-health duties were imposed on the cities, towns, and villages of the State. As a result, there are now in this State as many as 1,099 different local health jurisdictions. This system, originally created to meet the conditions of 1850, can not possibly be adequate for the needs of 1931. Few, if any, of these small units can afford the services which modern public health demands. The same considerations which prove how obsolete are a great many of our forms of local government likewise prove the present inadequacy of this original arrangement for public-health protection. As time has passed new public-health duties have become imperative, and it has become clear that the small local units could not perform such duties. Some of them, therefore, such as the maintenance of a county tuberculosis hospital, of a public-health laboratory, of a public-health nursing service, and others, have been imposed upon county authorities. But it has been on a hit-or-miss plan with no one county authority clearly charged with the duty of developing a balanced and efficient health program. The result has been confusion of responsibility, lack of coordination, waste of effort, and excessive costs for the services rendered. Practically every scientific organization interested in public health has indorsed the idea of establishing boards of health on a county basis with full-time personnel. The commission, therefore, presents as its most vital recommendation, and I urge upon you the enactment of legislation substituting the county as the unit of local health administration in place of the town and village. It also recommends that cities be made a part of county health districts only when the city requests that it be included and that villages of more than 5,000 inhabitants be permitted, if they desire, to retain their local boards of health. I call your attention to the itemized list of advantages of a county health unit as compared with the town and village units set forth on pages 18 and 19 of the accompanying preliminary report.

The commission has not been academic or theoretical in its recommendations. It points out that our statutes have imposed certain health duties upon units which were so small in population and in wealth as to preclude the possibility of efficient performance by them of these duties. It, therefore, recommends that in counties having a population of less than 30,000 people the State department of health be empowered, on request of the county board of health, to delegate a member of its staff, without cost, to act as county health commissioner for one or more of such counties.

For like reasons the commission recommends that the program of tuberculosis hospitalization be rounded out by making hospital provision available to these counties through the establishment by the State of three district State sanatoria of moderate size, the cost of maintenance of which will be charged to the counties from which the patients come; and in admission to which the smaller counties, without tuberculosis hospitals of their own, would be given special consideration. This seems to be an instance in which further direct participation by the State is the only practicable plan for meeting an important need.

The various other recommendations of the commission relate to cancer, the venereal diseases, public-health nursing, crippled children, maternity, infancy and child hygiene, industrial hygiene, public water supplies, stream pollution, and public-health personnel, all set forth in detail in the accompanying report. I have given them all careful consideration and can not refrain from congratulating the State upon the serious scientific study which has been given to the whole program by these experts and to the opportunity which is presented for us to make these strides toward the goal of improved public health.

I need not point out to you how closely bound up is the prosperity of the State with its public health. It has been estimated that the average saving from the reduction in tuberculosis alone during the past 20 years, resulting now in 12,000 fewer deaths annually, amounts to a per capita of $5 for every man, woman, and child in this State each year, or an amazing total of $60,000,000 per year. Nothing can, of course, have so determining an influence upon the prosperity of the State as the continuous earning power of its citizens, unimpaired by preventable diseases or interrupted by premature death. Nor need I point out to you the great humanitarian value of protecting our people from the vast amount of what is so often needless disease and suffering and premature and preventable death.

There can be no reasonable differences of opinion as to the paramount importance of this kind of legislation. I know that you will cooperate with the members of the commission who have so clearly pointed out the way. These public-health experts have sent to me their prescription for their patient—the State of New York. You and I can, and should, join hands in filling this prescription in the form of legislation.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE NEW YORK STATE HEALTH COMMISSION PRELIMINARY REPORT

FEBRUARY 16, 1931.

His Excellency the Hon. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
Governor of the State of New York.

SIR: The special health commission appointed by you on May 1, 1930, has the honor to submit herewith a preliminary report in which is contained a summary of what the commission believes to be important health problems requiring legislative action before any real progress can be made toward their solution.

Your favorable consideration is urged for the recommendations presented herein, and their submission to the legislature for action during the present session.

In addition to the topics requiring legislative action which are presented in this preliminary report, the commission has embraced within its deliberations studies of a number of equally important subjects, and will present a final report later in the year covering the whole field of its study.

Respectfully submitted.

LIVINGSTON FARRAND, *Chairman.*
GEORGE W. COTTIS.
SIMON FLEXNER.
HOMER FOLKS.
EDWARD L. KEYES.
JOHN A. KINGSBURY.
AGNES LEACH.
HENRY MORGENTHAU.
MATTHIAS NICOLL, Jr.
JOHN M. O'HANLON.
THOMAS PARRAN, Jr.
WILLIAM H. ROSS.
KATHARINE TUCKER.
LINSLY R. WILLIAMS.

INTRODUCTION

The commission was asked to study and report to the governor upon the administrative and legislative aspects of public health in New York State. It was requested to take into consideration the activities of State and local health authorities and their relations one to another, the recent progress in public health in other States and abroad, and to examine the extent to which the needs of the people of the State were being met in the vital field of public health, in order that scientific knowledge may be utilized more fully for the prevention of disease.

The commission has carried on its investigations in accordance with this request. Information on many special features of health service has been gathered from abroad and from other States by personal visits of commission members and by examination of official records and reports. In particular, the division of responsibility between State and local health authorities and their relation to the medical profession and to the volunteer health associations throughout the State has been given careful study.

The commission has been fortunate in having available for its consideration also the recent reports from the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, which represent a complete statement of the status and needs in child health throughout the country. In the commission report covering this field the conclusions and recommendations are in harmony with the national findings, adapting them to fit the specific needs of New York State. An example is the fundamental recommendation that the whole system of rural health service in the State be reorganized on a county basis to replace the present inadequate town and village system.

Method and scope of commission work

After outlining the scope of its work, subjects were assigned on a topical basis to the 14 members of the commission, each of whom served as chairman of one or more committees for the study of a specific public-health problem. With each such committee was associated a group of persons having special knowledge of the particular subject. In all, a total of 86 persons thus participated directly in the work of the commission, and an even larger number contributed indirectly by furnishing valuable information and assistance. The facilities of the department of health have been utilized by the commission and a number of other State departments, together with a large group of cooperating organizations, have contributed to the value of the studies.

Inasmuch as the administration of public health in New York City is entirely separate from that of the rest of the State and as many of the health problems of that city are peculiar to it, the commission, after consideration, determined to exclude from its deliberations and recommendations matters concerned with health administration in New York City, as did the commission of 1913.

The State health commission of 1913

That New York State is in an enviable position among the 48 States in the standing of its health work is due in large measure

to the revision of the public health law made by legislative enactments in 1913. This vital legal revision was grounded upon the recommendations of a State health commission, of which the late Dr. Hermann M. Biggs was chairman.

The major recommendations of the commission of 1913 were the following:

"The creation of a public-health council with authority to enact sanitary regulations; security of tenure of office and satisfactory compensation for the State health commissioner to secure the most efficient man for that position; State supervision over local health officers and the enforcement of the public health law; division of the State into sanitary districts; increased salaries and added duties for local health officers; more efficient birth and death registration; authority for employment of local public-health nurses; more complete reporting and supervision of tuberculosis; provision of county tuberculosis sanatoria and additional State provision for incipient cases; creation of bureaus of child hygiene and public-health nursing in the department of health; adequate laboratory facilities readily available for all local health authorities; regulation of midwifery; extension of health educational work; and encouragement of courses in sanitary science in educational institutions."

Almost all of these recommendations have been translated into law and practice, and have resulted in many improvements in the extent and quality of health service to the people of the State. This is particularly true of the organization of the department of health on an efficient basis.

Eighteen years' additional experience, however, has shown that to carry into effect a modern health program dealing with such vital problems as tuberculosis, the venereal diseases, public-health nursing, and maternity and infant hygiene, further steps are necessary, and that for this purpose the town and village is too small an administrative unit in point of view of population and wealth.

Health problems not involving legislation

In addition to the topics which are presented in this preliminary report, the commission has embraced within its deliberations studies of the important subjects of: Mental hygiene, medical care, control of communicable diseases, laboratory service, dental hygiene, and public-health education. The commission is formulating a series of administrative recommendations in regard to many of these problems. There is no pressing need at this time, however, for legislative action on these subjects, and they are, therefore, excluded from this preliminary report.

SUMMARY OF HEALTH PROBLEMS, 1931

The commission finds that the pressing immediate needs are:

(1) Effective local health departments with qualified personnel.

(2) More effective service in the control of tuberculosis, cancer, and the venereal diseases.

(3) More comprehensive measures to reduce infant deaths and deaths among mothers from causes incident to childbirth.

(4) Further coordination of school hygiene with other health services.

(5) Better organization for the discovery and cure, rehabilitation, and care of crippled children.

(6) The extension of public-health nursing throughout the State to reach the standards now in effect in a few areas.

(7) Protection of the public health through additional safeguards in the purification of water supplies and the prevention of stream pollution.

(8) More attention to the growing problem of industrial hygiene.

The most outstanding of these needs without which results in these and in all aspects of public health can not be secured is a reorganization of the whole system of local health service on a county rather than the town and village basis, with provision for qualified personnel both in counties and cities.

Major recommendations

1. County boards of health: That county boards of health be organized in all counties to provide for the rural areas and villages more effective control of tuberculosis, the venereal diseases, and other communicable diseases; protection of maternity and infancy; safeguarding of public milk and water supplies; more effective public-health-nursing service, and other elements of a modern public-health program.

2. Local health administration: That in cities of more than 50,000 population and in the large counties health commissioners hereafter appointed be required to devote their entire time to the duties of their office.

3. Tuberculosis: That the State establish three additional State tuberculosis sanatoria, primarily to receive patients from counties which are too small in population and wealth to maintain suitable sanatoria, the counties reimbursing the State for maintenance of their patients; that the administration of the State sanatorium at Ray Brook be placed under the department of health, and that provision be made for early diagnosis and more effective home supervision and assistance of tuberculous patients through county health departments.

4. Venereal diseases: That provision be made for the diagnosis and treatment of the venereal diseases as a public-health problem.

5. Cancer: That a division of cancer control be established in the department of health.

6. Maternity, infancy, and child hygiene: That adequate measures for protecting the health of mothers and children be included in the program of every city and county health department.

7. Public-health nursing: That public-health-nursing service be extended, particularly in the rural areas, as an integral part of the program of county health departments.

8. Crippled children: That the administration of the State reconstruction home at West Haverstraw be placed under the department of health, and that State and local services be extended for the discovery and care of crippled children.

9. Industrial hygiene: That the inspection of certain industrial establishments in villages and towns be performed by the department of labor instead of by local health officers.

10. Public water supplies: That the approval of plans for proposed new and extensions of existing public water supplies, in so far as the sanitary quality is concerned, be vested in the department of health.

11. Stream pollution: That the pollution of streams by industrial wastes dangerous to the public health be regulated in the same manner as pollution of streams by sewage.

12. Public-health personnel: That the present authority of the public-health council to establish qualifications for certain public-health personnel be extended to include other positions in the public-health field.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH

Public health in New York State compares very favorably with that of other States in the marked improvement which has occurred in recent years.

The recent gains

In 1900 the expected span of human life was 47 years. By 1930 the span of life was increased to 57 years. In 1913 the death rate in the State for all communicable diseases was 419.3 per 100,000 population; in 1930 it was 196.4. Tuberculosis mortality has declined more than one-half since 1913; and the general death rate has declined 14 per cent during the same period. Typhoid fever, once very prevalent, is now a rare disease. Diphtheria has declined about two-thirds since 1913. Infant mortality likewise has been reduced 50 per cent.

If the death rates of 1913 from these several causes had continued to prevail, there would have been in 1930, 43,478 more deaths from all causes; of children under 1 year of age now living 10,961 would have died; 12,304 additional deaths from tuberculosis, 1,184 from typhoid fever, and 2,091 from diphtheria would have occurred in New York State.

In addition to the measurable direct benefits from these lower death rates there has been an even larger reduction in sickness from preventable causes and from their many complications. These indirect benefits in improved health, while not accurately measurable, have none the less added to individual efficiency and prevented the economic waste of sickness among the citizens of the State.

This notable progress in the prevention of sickness and of death has been due to a variety of factors. A greater knowledge of the causes, and consequently the cure or prevention of disease, a better quality of medical service, the general education of the public in matters of health, the improvement in standards of living, as well as more efficient health administration, all have contributed.

The present opportunities

What has been done in the improvement of public health is only a small part of what can be done if available knowledge were translated into concerted action for the prevention of sickness and death throughout the State.

Through improved individual and community care it is possible again to cut in half the death rate among babies. Through further improvement in water and milk supplies, and the control of typhoid carriers, typhoid fever should disappear entirely. Diphtheria can be marked off the list as a cause of death if all babies are protected by toxin-antitoxin. Tuberculosis is still the most frequent cause of death between the ages of 20 and 40. Here the death rate can be cut in half once more by the earlier diagnosis and better care of patients, and by general measures to improve the individual health. There are far too many deaths of mothers during childbirth, when better medical and nursing care would reduce materially this needless loss of life.

Among the diseases in which less progress has been made, syphilis, with its many and serious end results, continues almost unabated as a major health problem; yet syphilis is one of the few diseases which can be wiped out completely if well-known methods for the discovery and treatment of cases were used everywhere. Cancer now ranks second only to heart disease as the most frequent cause of death. It can be cured in many cases if recognized earlier and properly treated.

Even in the fields where the gains have been greatest, accomplishment has been uneven in the different localities of the State. Any further progress will depend upon strengthening the weak links in the chain by the establishment of a satisfactory system of local health administration.

The State health organization

The commission believes that in the organization and functioning of its department of health New York stands second to no other State in the Union. In fact, the State itself has been obliged to assume a larger measure of responsibility and to develop a more extensive organization than would have been necessary except for the inadequacy of local health machinery.

Public-health council: One of the most far-reaching results of the work of the commission of 1913 was the creation of the public-health council, having no executive or administrative function, but authorized to enact a sanitary code dealing with the security of

life and health in the State and having the force and effect of law. The value of this flexible health code has been amply demonstrated. Through its authority to prescribe qualifications for certain personnel, the council has had great influence in promoting uniformity and in improving the standards of health service.

Budget and salaries

The support of successive State administrations and legislatures has made possible the development of many highly efficient health-department services. The salaries of the major professional and technical personnel in the department of health, however, have not kept pace with positions of comparable responsibility in other State departments and with salaries for similar positions in other States. Deplorable also is the lack of a compensation policy for this personnel.

The commission makes no specific recommendation at this time regarding salaries, but desires to call attention to this situation, which menaces the standards of the department.

State health activities: The activities of the department of health have been the subject of critical scrutiny and detailed analysis, and will be discussed in the final report.

The commission has no recommendation for any major change in the essential structure or policies of the State department of health itself.

State and local responsibility: Consideration has been given by the commission to the future logical division of responsibility between the State and local authorities. Certain health problems, particularly those of a state-wide character, and those which require highly technical training must be handled by the State. In the rural districts experience has shown also that it is necessary for the State to stimulate the development of modern health service through professional advice and financial aid. Throughout the report it is recommended that the local authorities assume all responsibility for public health which they can handle, for the major part of the direct health service to the people is primarily a local responsibility and should be rendered by the communities themselves.

State aid

Careful consideration has been given by the commission to the policy of State aid in public health which has been in operation for 10 years. The conclusion has been reached that State aid is a necessary policy, particularly in the rural areas and in the development of new health activities. Sound precedent for it is to be found in other phases of community welfare. In fact, the commission is of the opinion that the only alternative of State aid for rural health service is operation by the State itself of direct health services to the people. Those who believe that State aid is undesirable must concede that its inevitable alternative is even less desirable.

Under the present conservative policies of granting State aid for local laboratories, for the rehabilitation of handicapped children, for county nursing services, county health departments, county general hospitals in rural areas, and similar health services much has been accomplished in promoting the public health which would not otherwise have been done.

The commission recommends, therefore, that State aid be continued for the development and operation of local health activities.

Local health organization

The primary responsibility for health protection always has been vested in cities, villages, and towns. In recent years, however, permissive laws have been passed which enable counties to create boards of health and to conduct health services which obviously were possible only on a county basis.

Present local organization: There are now in the State 1,099 local health jurisdictions, consisting of four county, 59 city, 293 village, 597 town, and 146 consolidated (village and town) boards or departments of health. Excluding county and city health units, there is a total of 1,036 local health units, with a population ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand persons. In towns the town boards, and in villages the trustees, constitute the boards of health. These boards appoint a physician as local health officer at an annual salary of not less than 15 cents per capita, amounting usually to from $150 to $200 per year.

Present system inadequate: Designed to meet conditions of 1850, the present system of town, village, and small-city boards of health fails utterly to meet needs of 1931 because these units of population are too small to provide the services which modern public health demands. Public health as a science had its origin and has had its remarkable development since these local boards of health were established. Advances which have been made in laboratories and research centers throughout the world in knowledge of the methods for the prevention of disease necessitate the employment for this purpose of trained personnel who will devote their entire time to protecting community health. In the modern health program, qualified health officers, nurses, engineers, laboratory directors, and other professional personnel are essential if satisfactory service is to be expected. Moreover, better methods of communication by reason of the telephone, improved highways, and the automobile, make it easier to serve the larger territory of a county than it was to serve a single town a half century ago.

Present county-wide health services: The recognition of the fact that the individual town and village is too small a government unit to support economically many health services has led in recent years to the general development on a county basis of several highly important services, such as tuberculosis prevention, public-health nursing, and laboratory activities. In four counties county boards of health have been organized which are providing for the people a much more effective service than is secured in the other counties. In each of these four counties the work of the county health departments has been very satisfactory

Need for county health unit: The present system of town and village boards of health, upon which there are usually superimposed a number of county services for public health, results in a confusion of responsibility, lack of coordination, waste of effort, and excessive costs for the services rendered. The imperative need, therefore, is to seek out the most effective governmental units, and impose upon them the needed powers and full responsibilities. The county is the only available unit for this purpose. In New York State county boards of health have been indorsed by the State Medical Society, the State Sanitary Officers' Association, and many other organizations interested in public health. That the county with full-time personnel is recognized as the best possible unit for satisfactory local health administration is evidenced also by the active sponsorship of the United States Public Health Service, and by the fact that there are now in 35 States more than 500 county health departments, some of which have been in successful operation nearly 20 years. The commission feels that this is the most vital matter it has had to consider, and urges that legislation be enacted substituting the county as the unit of local health administration in place of the town and village.

Advantages of county health unit

1. The unit of population is sufficiently large to permit the employment of trained personnel.

2. One responsible board will be substituted for the many town and village boards of health, the county nursing committee, county milk inspection committee, county clinic committees, and boards of managers of county laboratories.

3. A plan of continuing health service can be developed for the whole county, and all of the health personnel can be mobilized to meet emergency conditions in any part of the county.

4. Duplication and overlapping of effort which now exists will be prevented, and better health protection can be furnished for present expenditures.

5. The relative needs for various types of health service in the county can be determined, and available public funds allotted in proportion to these needs.

6. School nursing activities now lacking in many rural schools can be furnished by nurses employed by the county board of health.

7. If school medical inspection is made a function of county boards of health, this important activity can be conducted more efficiently on a county-wide basis with trained personnel than under the present system.

8. Through the permissive provision under which tuberculosis control activities may be administered by the county board of health, this activity can be directly coordinated with other health services. This is particularly desirable in the smaller counties.

9. Under the permission granted to cities to join the rest of the county for purposes of health administration further coordination of health work on a county-wide basis is made possible. Such a union is desirable for cities of less than 50,000 population.

10. New and much needed health activities can be undertaken which are not now carried out and not possible under the present system.

11. Vitally important maternity and infant hygiene measures can be organized and efficiently conducted.

12. Treatment facilities for the control of the venereal diseases can be provided.

13. The sanitary quality of milk can be assured through a county-wide inspection service.

14. The sanitary quality of water supplies can be supervised through a county sanitary engineer.

15. Modern epidemiological methods can be applied for control of the communicable diseases in place of the present ineffective system. Toxin-antitoxin, smallpox vaccination, and other activities can be conducted by personnel provided for these and other services.

16. Less intimate State supervision and fewer direct services from the health department will be required because of the better local organization.

Recommendations

1. That county boards of health be appointed in all counties.

2. That the county health commissioner devote his entire time to the duties of his office in counties having a population under the jurisdiction of the board of health of more than 30,000; and that for smaller counties there be available without cost the services of a district health officer or other member of the State staff, who, with the approval of the State commissioner of health, will act as county health commissioner for one or more of these counties.

3. That local health officers now in office be continued as assistants to the county health commissioner for the term for which they previously have been appointed, and thereafter at the discretion of the county board of health.

4. That at least three physicians be placed on the membership of the county board of health.

5. That cities be excluded from the county health districts except by vote of the city authorities, and that villages of more than 5,000 population be permitted to retain their boards of health as now provided by the county health district law.

6. That the effective date for the appointment of county boards of health be not later than September 1, 1931, and the appointment of county health commissioners be not later than December 1, 1931.

7. That the county board of health be authorized to delegate to the county health commissioner its present authority to abate nuisances affecting the public health.

HEALTH ADMINISTRATION IN CITIES

Although emphasis has been placed on the urgent needs in the rural areas and smaller municipalities for better health services, the commission has been impressed also by the failure of many cities in the State to provide adequately for the health of their citizens.

Ideally, cities of less than 50,000 population should combine with the surrounding county for purposes of health administration. There are also instances where a city of larger size, particularly if the city contains the greater part of the county population, could join the county advantageously in a combined health administration unit.

The basic reason for shortcomings in city health service is the lack of an adequate salary and security in tenure of office for the city health officer, with the frequent result that a part-time, poorly trained official is appointed. There is needed for the position of health officer in all cities of over 50,000 population full-time service by qualified personnel not engaged in the practice of medicine. Similar qualified service for the smaller cities should be provided on the county basis with a deputy county health officer assigned to the city areas.

Because of inadequate budgets, such vital health activities as maternal and infant hygiene, venereal-disease control, and tuberculosis service are not receiving sufficient attention in many city health departments.

Recommendations

1. That in cities of more than 50,000 population health officers hereafter appointed be required to devote their entire time to the duties of their office.

2. That cities of less than 50,000 be encouraged either to employ qualified health officers at adequate salaries or to include themselves in a county department of health for purposes of health administration.

3. That more adequate budgets be provided in cities in order that basic health activities may be effectively conducted.

TUBERCULOSIS

Since 1907 the tuberculosis death rate has been reduced by 53 per cent in upstate New York and by 50 per cent in New York City. This represents an annual saving of nearly 9,000 lives from this cause alone, and tuberculosis has dropped from first to sixth place as a cause of death.

The success so far gained should give an incentive for more direct application of successful experience; an increased effort will be peculiarly opportune in the next few years.

The tuberculosis situation in New York State to-day

The fact must be faced squarely that the tuberculosis situation in the State is still far from satisfactory.

1. In 1930 there were approximately 9,000 deaths from tuberculosis in New York State, of which nearly 4,000 occurred upstate; by a conservative estimate there are 45,000 active cases of the disease, of which 20,000 are upstate. If modern facilities for the prevention of tuberculosis could have been provided in all parts of the State for all classes of people, a large proportion of these cases and deaths could have been prevented.

2. The tuberculosis death rate in the rural areas is not declining satisfactorily. This apparently is due to the inadequate facilities for prevention and care of this disease in rural districts, ordinarily considered more favorable to a low prevalence of the disease.

3. There is a need for more sanatoria: This is regarded by the commission as of extreme practical importance at the present time. Since 1909, when the county tuberculosis hospital law was passed, nearly all of the larger counties have created sanatoria. Many of the smaller counties, however, most of which have populations of less than 35,000, have not found it possible to create such institutions. It is not economical for such counties to maintain sanatoria. As a result there are 25 counties in up-State New York, having a total population of nearly 1,000,000, without public sanatorium facilities. Moreover, the State and counties together have only about 60 per cent of the hospital beds necessary for the adequate treatment of tuberculous patients. Further, a number of the smaller counties which have constructed sanatoria find it increasingly difficult to maintain proper standards because of cost. In these counties without sanatoria and in small counties with sanatoria that can not meet the accepted standards of medical and other care there seems to be no alternative except the provisions of modern sanatorium facilities by the State.

4. In many counties field services for the discovery, nursing, care, sanitary supervision, and social welfare and relief are not provided for tuberculous patients. Although early diagnosis, treatment, and care are essential in the success of the control of this disease, 53 per cent of all the patients admitted to public tuberculosis sanatoria of the State are in the advanced or moderately advanced stages of the disease.

5. Tuberculosis still takes largest toll among children, and among men and women of 20 to 35 years of age, the period of their greatest economic and social value and the period when their responsibility to their families is greatest.

General consideration as to policies

The commission has considered practical ways in which this situation can be met:

(1) The possibility of wider and more efficient application of existing knowledge: Actual experiments and demonstrations have shown that further reduction can be effected by the use of available methods of combating the disease. These methods include (a) more adequate facilities for the early discovery of active cases as sources of infection; (b) protection of persons, particularly infants and children, against infection from active cases in the family; (c) the hospitalization of cases in the early stages, which serves the double purpose of protecting others from infection and providing the best opportunity for cure of the individual patient.

(2) The development of efficient city and local health departments is essential to effective tuberculosis activities: The experience of 25 years has clearly shown that tuberculosis prevention and cure can be brought about most effectually only when integrated with well-organized local health programs, when there is active cooperation with the medical profession, and when proper facilities are available for hospital and social service relief. But it is almost useless to attempt to coordinate State and other antituberculosis activities with ineffective local health administrations which are unable to discharge the responsibility for the discovery, diagnosis, reporting, and sanitary supervision of cases of the disease in the areas where they occur. For this reason the commission regards the more rapid development of well-rounded city and county health departments throughout the State as basic to the further development of the antituberculosis work of all agencies during the coming decade.

(3) The quality of services now rendered in the prevention and care of the disease and in the care of tuberculous patients should be improved: This involves better equipment for diagnosis; qualified sanatorium superintendents assured by standards to be prescribed by the public health council; more effective methods in tuberculosis clinics and sanatoria; better supervision of private nurses' homes for the care of tuberculous patients; special instruction in tuberculosis for nurses and social relief personnel; a further coordination of activities relating to tuberculosis as carried on by the departments of health, education, and social welfare; better facilities for the wider information of the public as regards the disease; more effective health teaching in the schools; uniform records of cases and of tuberculous families; and a marked improvement in the vocational training and rehabilitation of cases.

These improvements are necessary if the facilities and services which the State has already undertaken to provide are to keep abreast of modern methods of preventing and treating the disease. There is no new policy involved here; rather it is the application of the sound principle that the State should do efficiently what it has set out to do.

(4) Social welfare and relief are an essential part of an effective antituberculosis program: The serious social consequences of tuberculosis to the affected individual and his family make it necessary that adequate provision should be made for the efficient administration of social welfare and relief. Provision is already made for some welfare and relief activities, but at present they are inadequate, poorly coordinated, and not well supervised. The commission is of the opinion that adequate provision should be made by new legislation to supplement the existing laws; that State, county, and city tuberculosis hospitals and sanatoria should be authorized to employ hospital social workers; and that administrative improvements should be effected better to utilize the provisions in the public welfare law and the child welfare act for charitable relief in tuberculous families.

State district sanatoria

At the present time a portion of the State is excellently served by a group of county tuberculosis sanatoria. On the other hand, there are 25 counties, with a total population of nearly 1,000,000, in which there are no public tuberculosis hospitals, and 6 counties in which existing institutions are not suitable for continued use. The areas of the State not adequately served by public tuberculosis hospitals at present are in general the following: (1) The central western area, (2) the central area, (3) the Catskill area, and (4) the Adirondack area. The 25 counties without public sanatoria are each too small to build and furnish such services for themselves, and in practice it has been impossible to secure combinations of counties for joint sanatorium service.

It is clear, therefore, that a need exists for additional State sanatorium facilities to supplement the State tuberculosis hospital at Ray Brook. This institution in the Adirondack area should be considered as a unit in a system of State sanatorium service, with three new State district sanatoria in the other areas designated above. The entire administration of the Ray Brook institution should be centralized in the department of health in place of the present divided responsibility in several State departments; except for this there should be no change in its present status until the three other district sanatoria are in operation. When these become available, incipient cases now sent to Ray Brook should be hospitalized nearer home in the nearest available sanatorium.

A study of the annual average number of resident deaths from tuberculosis in the three districts would warrant in each an adult bed capacity of 175 and in addition 75 beds for children. The present bed capacity reserved for New York City cases at Ray Brook should continue to be utilized for such cases. After needed

alterations are provided, the remaining beds would be available for patients in all stages of the disease from the near-by counties. Except for the costs of construction for the State sanatoria, the costs of maintenance, care, and treatment of patients should be borne by the county from which the patient comes.

The scientific facilities and technical services of the department of health and district State sanatoria should be made available for full cooperation with local authorities in providing field facilities for diagnosis, nursing, and social welfare services. Provision should be made also for epidemiological, clinical, and other needed studies in tuberculosis.

Recommendations

1. That the State provide three additional State district tuberculosis sanatoria of not less than 200 beds each for all types of tuberculosis cases to be located geographically with reference to the unmet needs of sections of the State; and that the cost of maintenance of patients in these sanatoria be borne in large part by counties served.

2. That legislation authorize the establishment of these sanatoria, and funds be appropriated as soon as possible for the purchase of sites and the preparation of plans.

3. That the administration of the State sanatorium at Ray Brook be centralized in the department of health, and that when the other district sanatoria are constructed the facilities at Ray Brook be available as at present for incipient cases from New York City, and also for all types of cases from surrounding counties.

4. That the State provide through the department of health and the district State sanatoria facilities for: (a) Cooperation with local health departments in the diagnosis, instruction, and follow up of patients; (b) scientific studies of tuberculosis; (c) instruction of physicians and nurses in tuberculosis diagnosis treatment and care; (d) a uniform system of records for use by local health authorities.

5 That field activities for the control of tuberculosis be coordinated with other local health activities under county departments of health, with the consultative assistance of the State; and with an adequate social service and relief program of local public-welfare authorities.

6. That the public health council be authorized to prescribe the qualifications for the position of chief medical officer of all public tuberculosis sanatoria in the same manner as qualifications now are prescribed for other public-health positions.

THE VENEREAL DISEASES

The venereal diseases constitute a great menace to public health by reason of their wide prevalence and the frequency with which they are followed by serious complications and disastrous-end results. In its final report the commission will deal with the whole subject of social hygiene but will limit this report to the medical aspects of venereal-disease control.

Prevalence: The commission has reviewed critically information submitted by the department of health as to the number of cases of syphilis and gonorrhea constantly under treatment and the annual number of new infections. In addition to current reports and checks of laboratory examinations a special census was made of cases under treatment in 1927 and again in 1930. From these data the commission finds that in up-State New York more than 15,000 cases of syphilis and nearly 11,000 cases of gonorrhea are constantly under treatment; that approximately 25,000 new cases of syphilis and 40,000 new cases of gonorrhea are diagnosed each year; and that between 1927 and 1930 the number of gonorrhea cases under treatment did not decline, while the number of syphilis cases under treatment increased by nearly 3,000. Present public-health methods do not seem to be reducing the prevalence of these diseases.

Economic importance: Syphilis ranks with cancer and tuberculosis as a chief cause of illness, death, and economic loss. More than 2,000 patients in State mental hospitals are suffering from general paralysis of the insane, a syphilitic disease. This represents 10 per cent of the total admissions to these institutions, and it costs $8,000,000 to provide beds now occupied by these patients. In other words, if syphilis were eliminated as a public-health problem, and the commission believes this to be possible, $8,000,000 of the recent $50,000,000 bond issue for State institutions could have been saved. The cases of general paresis constitute only a small part of the total economic loss from syphilis, practically all of which can be saved for the State by well-organized control methods.

Possibilities of control

For the control of syphilis accurate methods are available for prompt diagnosis and remedies are at hand which will speedily sterilize the infectious case. In these two facts lie the possibility of a marked reduction in prevalence and even the virtual elimination of syphilis a public-health problem. The commission has reviewed data from European countries, particularly Great Britain and Denmark, which show that a marked reduction has occurred in the prevalence of this disease, due apparently to the utilization of diagnostic and treatment centers where modern facilities are freely available for the control of this disease.

Success may be expected in smaller measure in the control of gonorrhea by better facilities for diagnosis and treatment, and while gonorrhea is less serious in the individual case, in the aggregate it is almost as much a source of disability and economic loss as is syphilis.

Present facilities

There are 54 local clinics in 30 up-State counties which treat more than 6,000 new patients annually. There are 27 counties, however, in which there are no organized public-treatment facilities whatever. In many of the 30 counties with clinics the services are provided by cities and are not available to patients from the surrounding villages and rural areas. In standards of service these clinics vary widely. Some are now functioning satisfactorily, while others are not meeting the minimum needs.

Another important service being rendered by the State and approved local laboratories is in the diagnosis of the venereal diseases. Nearly half a million Wassermann tests are made annually to diagnose or to control the treatment of syphilis.

The treatment of the venereal diseases at present is seriously handicapped by provisions of law which require that the patient be in an infectious stage and that he be indigent before being entitled to public treatment. In the many border-line cases, it is difficult to decide whether a given case is in fact infectious or is indigent. In consequence many cases in need of treatment do not secure such treatment from clinics or private physicians, and continue to be a source of infection or later become a charge upon the State by reason of general peresis, heart disease, or other disabling-end results. These restrictions of the law, therefore, should be removed.

Recommendations

1. That present laws be amended to provide for treatment of the venereal diseases as a public-health problem, irrespective of whether or not the individual case be indigent or infectious.

2. That the county and city boards of health be required to provide facilities for the diagnosis and treatment of the venereal diseases which meet the standards prescribed by the State commissioner of health.

3. That provision be made in the programs of county boards of health for the diagnosis, treatment, and follow-up of cases of the venereal diseases. If county boards of health are not generally established with State aid, then it is recommended that State financial aid be given to encourage local boards of health to establish satisfactory facilities for the diagnosis and treatment of these diseases.

CANCER

With more than 15,000 deaths from cancer in New York State in 1930, this disease ranks second among the causes of death. It is a public-health problem, since by early diagnosis and proper treatment this mortality can be reduced.

Present State services

For many years New York State has interested itself in this problem through the State Institute for the Study of Malignant Diseases, at Buffalo, at which intensive research is being conducted, and diagnostic service and treatment rendered to many people. Last year approximately $300,000 worth of radium was purchased for this institute, giving it the largest single supply of any institution in the world.

During 1930 a total number of 1,697 new patients presented themselves for examination. This was an increase of 247 over the figure for 1929 and is the largest number on record at the institution. Of this total 1,392 were accepted for treatment. Although many patients with cancer apply for treatment only when the disease is in the more advanced stages, the record of cases which have been cured demonstrates the possibility of doing much to prevent deaths from this disease. One such cancer center fails to meet the needs of the State.

Local diagnostic and treatment facilities: Complete facts as to the number, location, and efficiency of tumor diagnostic clinics, and the number of hospital beds for cancer patients are not available to the commission at this time although sufficient information has been collected to show that many parts of the State are not provided with this needed service. The commission has been impressed by numerous reports of the lack of qualifications on the part of pathologists who make tissue diagnoses of cancer. This is a serious matter, since an error on the part of the pathologist will result either in a needless operation or in the failure to operate when the patient is in need of it. The department of health and the public-health council have done much to improve the quality of bacteriological service in public-health laboratories throughout the State through a system of approval issued to such institutions. The same principle should be extended to include pathological laboratories and pathologists.

Services needed: The commission has considered the suggestion that the State establish additional treatment centers for malignant disease but has refrained from making such a recommendation at this time in the hope that individual communities can be induced to provide themselves with the needed services in the diagnosis and treatment of cancer. These services should include:

(a) Special hospitals for the treatment of advanced cases of cancer.

(b) Special departments of general hospitals where surgical and radiation therapy can be given by qualified experts.

(c) Out-patient services at these hospitals for the early diagnosis of cases.

(d) Intermittent clinics in the smaller centers of population where expert diagnostic skill can be made available.

County and city health departments can do much to follow up patients who have been treated to see that they return for the necessary continued treatment. Local health departments also should organize diagnostic clinics and carry out a campaign of popular education. Another important part of the program is to

keep the medical profession fully informed as to what progress is made in the diagnosis and treatment of cancer.

Division of cancer control: The commission is convinced that the organization of the department of health should embrace a division of cancer control, of which the State Institute for the Study of Malignant Diseases would be a part. Through this division the present studies of malignant disease should be extended to include inquiries as to the nature and extent of the facilities available in the State for the diagnosis and treatment of cancer, and cooperation should be given to county and city health departments, hospitals, medical societies, and volunteer agencies in the development of such facilities. The information which would be collected by such a division of cancer control during the next few years and the status of scientific knowledge concerning cancer at that time, would enable a decision to be made as to what, if any, further activities should be undertaken by the State in regard to this important cause of death.

Recommendations

1. That a division of cancer control be established in the department of health, of which the State Institute for the Study of Malignant Diseases will be a part.

2. That existing studies now being conducted at the State institute in Buffalo be extended to include field studies of the nature and extent of facilities available in the State for the diagnosis and treatment of malignant disease.

3. That the department of health conduct general public and professional education concerning the diagnosis and treatment of cancer, and that it cooperate with local authorities and agencies in the development of needed services for diagnosis and treatment of this disease.

4. That the present system of approval by the public-health council of the laboratories and of bacteriologists be extended by the department of health to include pathological laboratories and pathologists.

MATERNAL AND INFANT HYGIENE

Among the most vital public-health problems of the present day is that of adequate protection for the health of mothers and infants.

Importance as a public-health problem

During the past 15 years the infant mortality in New York State has been cut in half, although among infants under 1 year of age there are still 60 deaths per 1,000 births. There has been no corresponding reduction among mothers from causes incident to childbirth, and from these causes there are about 600 deaths annually upstate. Added to this loss of life also are about 3,400 stillbirths.

Adequate care during pregnancy and childbirth will save the lives of many mothers as well as reduce materially the deaths among infants in the first months of life.

A large proportion of preschool children are suffering from physical defects and disabilities which later lead to more serious conditions, impairing normal growth and development. An analysis of examinations made by the department of health of 5,000 rural children in its preschool clinics shows the following:

	Per cent
Defects of ears, nose, and nasopharynx	44
Defects of mouth and teeth	35
Rickets	32
Definitely underweight	27
Orthopedic defects	23
Behavior difficulties	15
Visual defects	7
Defects of heart and lungs	4
No smallpox vaccination or toxin-antitoxin immunization against diphtheria	90

These facts indicate roughly the great need of health protection for the preschool child.

Health department activities: Since its organization in 1914 of the first State unit for child hygiene in the United States, the department of health has been deeply concerned with this problem. In order to stimulate local child-health activities, the department has conducted nursing demonstrations, educational clinics, and family-health conferences, particularly in the rural areas. In addition a field laboratory and teaching center for physicians and nurses has been operated for several years. At present the department of health, at the request of the New York State Conference of Mayors, is engaged in a survey of existing facilities available for the protection of maternal and child health in the cities.

Local services

Preventive work for saving the lives of mothers and children has been built up slowly by local health authorities. The need is being met in part by volunteer health effort in urban communities, but the activities of various groups are poorly coordinated. In the rural areas very little is being done.

Data from child-hygiene stations and other public-health studies indicate that less than 50,000 infants and children and less than 10,000 expectant mothers enjoy the benefits of health supervision. Comparing these figures with the child population and the number of births, it is apparent that a wide zone exists between the number of mothers and children needing care and those actually receiving it.

Effective state-wide program

In addition to its own studies of this problem, the commission has reviewed the findings of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection and will incorporate in its final report many of the conference recommendations which are particularly applicable to child-health problems in New York.

The White House conference stated: "Prenatal care is poorly organized and inadequately done, and in the country as a whole only a small proportion of women receive adequate prenatal care." Throughout the entire report attention is called to the need for applying more widely the well-established principles of health protection for mothers and babies. The findings in New York State support these views.

Special activities for conserving the health of mothers and children are inseparable from the health activities for the whole population and for best results must be integrated with other essential elements of a community health program. In the urban and rural areas alike health authorities should assume leadership in and responsibility for health-conserving activities for mothers and children, under the general guidance of and with technical advice and assistance from the State.

Services needed

The special services and facilities needed for maternity care include: Hospital services during confinement for all women in need of them; qualified medical care throughout pregnancy and during and after confinement; prenatal educational clinics; home nursing care; laboratory service and dental care. Medical care should be available similarly for infants and preschool children not only during illness but for the prevention of illness. For those unable to pay private physicians clinic services should be provided and educational and diagnostic clinics (well-baby clinics) should be available for all children.

Public-health nursing is perhaps the most essential element of any program of maternity and infant hygiene. In rural areas the home nursing care is particularly inadequate and should be furnished by county health departments.

Real progress in providing the needed services for reduction in maternal and infant deaths can best be made through the organization of adequate county-wide health services, through county health departments in which maternity and infant hygiene is an integral and important part.

Recommendations

1. That activities for saving the lives of mothers and children need to be made a vital part of a general health program for the community. For rural and village areas this can be done best through the organization of county health departments.

2. That more extensive health measures for mothers and children should be organized and carried out in all local health departments.

SCHOOL HYGIENE

The commission has given careful study to the complicated health problems presented by children of school age. It seems certain that under the present organization of health and educational services, both in the State and locally, adequate provision for the health of the school child must receive consideration both by health and by educational authorities.

Coordinated effort necessary

This requires a close cooperation and a sharing of responsibility by these two agencies rather than a disassociation of the problem of services or the administration of these services in their entirety by one agency alone.

It is generally recognized that health authorities can not relinquish the responsibility for the protection of the health of school children, since they have a responsibility for the health of all citizens regardless of age, and for the best results there must be a continuity of program planning and of service through the different age groups.

It is likewise recognized that certain aspects of health promotion can be achieved only through education of the individual, and that for the school child the school system is the best agency to plan and carry out this service.

Elements of school health services

The responsibility of the two departments as indicated above can be met by activities organized under three main divisions:

(1) Medical service should provide for control of communicable diseases for periodic physical and mental examinations and correction of handicapping conditions, and for guidance of the educational program for health teaching.

Many communicable diseases are very prevalent among school children, and the school offers an opportunity to detect cases in the early stages and to control such diseases.

The discovery of physical defects is of value only when steps are taken for their correction. Wherever inadequate treatment facilities exist in a community it should be the responsibility of the local health department either to provide such facilities or to see that they are made available through other local agencies.

The present provisions of law which require that each public-school child receive a medical examination annually should be changed so as to provide for possibly less frequent and for more thorough examination. The importance of dental hygiene in the school health program warrants special attention.

Medical examinations should be the starting point of school health service both for correction of defects and for health instruction, and should be conducted so as to develop in pupils sound hygienic practices. A consulting medical service should be available to principals and teachers in the development of the general program of health education and in dealing with specific problems as they arise in training the individual child.

(2) School nursing should assist in the correlation of health services of the school with the home and family in the interest of the school child. School nurses can translate the health teaching of the school into practice in the home, and are invaluable instruments in carrying to the home the needed encouragement for parents to have the physical defects of their children corrected.

(3) Health instruction and training should aim to equip each child to carry the full load of responsibility for his personal health by the development of sound health habits and practices as well as by the imparting of actual health information. The most important, but until recently the most negelected, side of school health service deals with the appreciation of personal and community health on the part of the pupil. This needs the services of the teaching staff and of physicians, nurses, dentists, and physical-education directors, all properly trained and working toward a common goal.

Administration of school health service

In three cities of the State, school medical and nursing services are administered by the city health departments. In other cities, villages, and rural areas this is a function of the local boards of education. Examples can be cited of satisfactory administration under each of these plans. In the smaller villages and rural areas, however, the present school units are too small to provide for these needed services by the employment of trained full-time personnel. Without discussing in detail the present inadequacies in the rural areas, it can be stated that the problems are essentially the same as those discussed at more length under the general subject of local health administration.

In rural areas it is obviously wasteful to maintain specialized nursing services and there is universal recognition of the desirability of a generalized nursing service which should include all of the special phases of public-health nursing. In a number of counties public-health nurses now employed by county boards of supervisors or county boards of health are rendering a satisfactory generalized service which includes the school nursing.

In the larger cities the commission will make further studies as to the general efficiency of the two methods of school health administration now being followed.

In the rural areas and small villages, the commission is convinced that school health services should be administered on a county or other comparable basis in order that the unit of population will be sufficiently large to permit the employment of full-time personnel.

In its final report the commission will present a more detailed review of this problem. At the present time it wishes to call attention to the desirable principle involved in school health administration, but believes that the passage of legislation to change the administration of school medical and nursing services in the rural districts and smaller centers of population could well wait until county boards of health have been organized and are functioning.

ORTHOPEDICS

The rehabilitation of the crippled child is far from being adequately secured throughout the State, in spite of the participation of many authorities and agencies in this problem. Both urban and rural surveys show that a considerable proportion of crippled children have not been discovered, and that many others are not receiving proper treatment.

Development of services for the handicapped

Following the epidemic of infantile paralysis in 1916 the department of health organized traveling orthopedic clinics for aftercare in order to minimize the development of deformities in those who had been stricken with the disease.

In 1924 a temporary State commission was appointed to inquire into and report upon the number, distribution, and condition of the crippled children throughout the State; the existing facilities and legal provision for promoting care, treatment, education, and general welfare of such children; and to recommend methods to meet the needs.

The commission approved the orthopedic work of the department of health, but stressed the necessity of extending widely the State's service for the treatment, education, and rehabilitation of the handicapped. Following its recommendation laws were enacted providing the present State program for the medical care and education of the physically handicapped.

The law defines physically handicapped as "any person who by reason of physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury, or disease, is or may be expected to be totally or partially incapacitated for education or remunerative occupation." The State departments have limited their services to children with orthopedic and special malformations; severe defects of eye, ear, nose, throat, and speech; heart, lung, and nervous conditions. Furthermore, it is provided that the State may reimburse a county for one-half the cost of treating and educating the handicapped upon the order of a children's court judge, with the approval of the commissioner of health for medical care and of the commissioner of education for education. Substantial appropriations are made each year to meet these costs.

Through the annual school census the department of education is expected to record all handicapped children between birth and 18 years of age, and is also required to meet the educational needs of crippled children by providing special education and a placement service for the handicapped over the age of 14.

Present status of orthopedic services: The orthopedic services of the department of health are now organized under the direction of 1 full-time orthopedist, with 4 part-time assistants and 13 field nurses. The nurses made a total of 11,833 home visits to orthopedic cases in 1930, and more than 400 clinics in about 170 centers were held, where approximately 10,000 examinations were made.

Number of cripples: The State departments of health and education have records of approximately 18,000 active cases. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection concluded that there are in the country 2.5 cripples to each 1,000 of the population. This estimate is too low for New York State. Several intensive surveys in various areas warrant the conclusion that there are at least 40,000 cripples in the State, one-half of that number being outside of New York City. The present problem is to make available adequate service for the cases now requiring care and steadily to extend that service until all children who need advice or help are found.

Finding of cripples: Through the annual school census of crippled children, through medical inspection in the schools, through the records of clinics for infants and preschool children held by the State and local departments of health, and through reports from private physicians methods are available for the early discovery of orthopedic defects. Instruction as to crippling conditions and the possibilities of correcting them should be given in training schools for physical instructors, teachers, and public-health nurses. The discovery of adult cripples is largely dependent upon the extent to which the physicians and the general public become conversant with the corrective methods available.

Public education: The success of any continued effort for the early discovery of conditions which may lead to deformities depends upon the knowledge of the general public concerning these conditions and what can be done for them. There should be developed a public-education service to secure the help of all the various groups which can contribute to the early discovery of orthopedic conditions. While local hospitals generally can be used only for the correction of the less serious forms of orthopedic conditions, it is desirable for the State clinics to be held in local hospitals, schools, and health centers wherever accommodations make it possible so that they may become educational centers.

Hospital care

The experience of the department of health indicates that while county and local hospitals are useful for the treatment of some types of cases, better results in major orthopedic adjustments and operations can be secured by using orthopedic hospitals or hospitals having a distinct orthopedic service. The department of health has found no difficulty in securing beds for all patients in hospitals so equipped.

Except for the additions planned and recommended at the New York State Reconstruction Home at West Haverstraw there is no immediate need for additional orthopedic beds in the State.

There are several small privately organized reconstruction or convalescent homes in the State, all receiving public funds for the care of cripples. Such institutions should be organized only when they meet a proven local need.

Private agencies: Many private agencies are interested in one way or another in the welfare of cripples. Some of these have been leaders in directing the attention of the public to the needs of cripples, and their initiative has been invaluable. The commission believes, however, that the State has been wise in developing a program for the discovery, treatment, and education of cripples under governmental leadership. It believes that private agencies will be useful only to the extent to which they direct their energies toward the common objective. It is suggested that no private agency should undertake work for cripples without definitely considering the relation of its proposed program to that of the State.

New York State Reconstruction Home

The administration of the rehabilitation home at West Haverstraw is now divided between the health, social welfare, and executive departments. The department of health should be made entirely responsible for the administration of this institution.

Its work may be definitely integrated with the field service for crippled children, and should be affiliated with several of the medical schools as a training center both for physicians and nurses in the orthopedic field. The additions to this institution already authorized should be constructed as soon as possible.

Unimprovable cripples: There is no provision in the State for cripples who can not be further benefited by medical, surgical, or nursing care and who have no means of self-support. A separate building should be provided at the State Reconstruction Home, with suitable facilities to care for such cripples.

County health units: As county health units are organized, it will be desirable for the larger counties to set up local services for the handicapped. Similar services should be available in the larger cities. The department of health should approve the plans for local orthopedic units and supervise this work.

Legal recognition of orthopedic division: In the early days the orthopedic work of the department of health was technically assigned to the division of maternity, infancy, and child hygiene. Later the commissioner of health created a division of orthopedics. This division should be perpetuated by recognition in the public health law.

Recommendations

1. New York State Reconstruction Home: It is recommended that the State department of health be made entirely responsible for the administration of the reconstruction home at West Haver-

straw in order that its work may be integrated with other health services for crippled children.

2. Unimprovable cripples: It is recommended that a separate building be provided at the reconstruction home with suitable facilities to care for such cripples.

3. Legal recognition of orthopedic division: It is recommended that the designation "orthopedic division" be legally authorized in the public health law.

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING

Public-health nursing is generally recognized as one of the most essential factors in any health program, and the people have come to regard the public-health nurse as an indispensable aid. She is expected to give health guidance and assist in carrying out the instructions of the family physician and health officer.

Number of nurses

There are approximately 1,400 public health nurses employed in the State, exclusive of New York City, by various agencies as follows:

County boards of supervisors	128
County tuberculosis and public health committees	15
Local boards of health	334
Local boards of education	353
American Red Cross	34
Industrial corporations	146
Visiting Nurses' Associations	227
Other private organizations	53
Insurance companies	72

Exclusive of school nurses, there are 640 nurses paid entirely from public funds, 555 from private funds, and 94 paid jointly from public and private funds.

Nursing service

Public health nurses are most unevenly distributed, large sections being poorly provided with this service. This is particularly true of the smaller communities and rural districts in which few private organizations are functioning, and in which local authorities are not meeting their responsibility for a nursing service.

Many public-health nurses have been appointed without special training or experience, and the qualifications of the public health council often are disregarded.

Nurses frequently are appointed for specialized fields such as tuberculosis, infant welfare, communicable disease nursing, tuberculosis control, and school nursing, all working in the same territory. Sometimes three or four nurses meet in the same home for different branches of work. One instance is recorded where six nurses met in a home to the obvious disgust of the members of the family. A generalized plan of public-health nursing is needed to replace present extravagant and uncoordinated efforts.

There is a lack of adequate nursing supervision of local nurses by a qualified local supervisor, or by the nursing staff of the department of health. The efficiency of the service being rendered by the local nurse frequently can not be determined because inadequate records are kept and no reports of work required.

There is urgent need for more and better-qualified nurses engaged for a general nursing program with competent supervision, so that public-health nursing may be developed to reach the standards now in effect in more favored areas. For all of the State outside of the larger cities this can best be accomplished through a county health department functioning under a full-time health commissioner with a qualified supervising nurse.

Recommendations

1. That county departments of health be developed throughout the State with a qualified supervising nurse under the direction of the health officer, who will supervise and coordinate the work of all public-health nurses employed in the county.

2. That the department of health be given facilities to continue and extend its efforts to promote the qualifications of public-health nurses in the State.

INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE

An important phase of the health-conserving activities of the State is assurance of safe and sanitary workshop conditions for industrial workers. If the growth of industry in the future continues as in the past this problem will assume even greater importance as a larger proportion of the population finds employment in industry.

Health activities under State labor law

The State labor law clothes the industrial board with broad powers of investigation and rule making to safeguard employees in "any trade, industry, occupation, or process" involving danger to their lives, health, or safety. The board may make special rules to guard employees against elements of danger by "establishing requirements as to temperature, humidity, the removal of dusts, gases, or fumes; by requiring licenses to be issued upon application to the department of labor as a condition of carrying on any such industry, trade, occupation, or process; by requiring medical inspection and supervision of persons employed or applying for employment; and by other appropriate means." The rules made under the authority thus given the industrial board have the force and effect of law. The customary method of preparing and adopting such rules is by appointment of advisory committees, composed of representatives of employers and employees and qualified experts, to advise the industrial board, which holds public hearings on the draft of the proposed rules before proceeding to their formal adoption. To conduct the scientific research necessary to enable the preparation of these protective and remedial rules, a bureau of industrial hygiene has been organized in the department of labor, and this bureau in the performance of its functions frequently seeks and secures the cooperation of the department of health and other agencies.

By these means several health-conserving codes already have been promulgated which are supplementary to the general and specific provisions of the State labor law designed to "protect the health and safety of employees." These codes require the removal of dusts, gases, and fumes from contact with workers; regulate operations under compressed air and in tunnels; and regulate lighting in factories and mercantile establishments. The industrial board is now formulating a code to remove the hazards to employees engaged in the spray painting of automobiles.

Workmen's compensation

The operation of the workmen's compensation law since its enactment in 1913 has also contributed greatly to safeguarding the life and health of employees. It has stimulated active and successful cooperation between employer, employee, and the State to reduce the sources of disabling accidents. Although insufficient occupational diseases are named in the law as compensable, yet the effect is substantial in minimizing the causes of the scheduled occupational diseases. It is evident that if the restricted schedule of acknowledged disabling diseases were replaced by a more general provision bringing under the terms of the law any disabling disease which in fact arises out of employment, the field of source-prevention cooperation would be extended, and a further reduction accomplished in the sum of personal disability and loss of productive service.

The commission has not yet had an opportunity to study in detail the operation of the workmen's compensation law in all of its aspects, since it presents complicated medical and legal problems.

Health officers enforce labor law: The labor law now provides for the inspection of certain manufacturing establishments and business offices located in cities, by the Department of Labor, but inspections of similar establishments located in villages and towns are made the duty of local health officers. This is not a duty which the local health officer is equipped to perform, and the inspection of these establishments wherever located should be done by the Labor Department.

Industrial-accident prevention: Factory management and employees' safety shop committees have demonstrated a mutuality of interest in the application of preventive and first-aid measures for the reduction of accident and disease causes which greatly aid the State in promoting the health of industrial workers. In this work local public-health authorities should join by providing the scientific workshop surveys needed and by helping to draft safeguarding regulations.

New industrial hazards

Many new chemical compounds are constantly being developed and are finding industrial use. Frequently little or nothing is known of their toxic effects on the workers engaged in their manufacture or handling. The State has an important responsibility in investigating the effects of these substances and processes. This requires research facilities and a collaboration of chemists, pharmacologists, physicians, and other scientists to ascertain the facts and to devise practical methods for protecting health.

The facilities of the departments of health and labor should be available for such joint studies. In this way the duplication of laboratory and other facilities can be avoided.

Further problems for study: The health and medical services now provided by industries in the State, the relation of the general problem of medical care to wage earners, and the broader health influences of factory employment, including hours of labor, special industrial processes, wages, and other factors, are subjects which the commission will discuss in its final report.

Recommendations

1. That the present requirement of the labor law which makes it the duty of local health officers in villages and towns to inspect certain business offices and factories be changed so that this duty is performed by the department of labor, as now provided by law for business offices and factories located in cities.

2. That the present limited schedule of occupational diseases be extended to include all diseases arising out of employment, and that the industrial board be given authority to make awards in cases of such occupational disease when it is established that the particular disability in fact arose out of the employment.

3. That the department of labor be given additional facilities to conduct investigations of health hazards in industry with a view to their prevention and that facilities be made available in the department of health for participating in joint investigations.

SANITATION

Greater progress than among any other group of diseases has been made in reducing typhoid fever and other infections caused by contaminated water and food. Most of the municipalities of the State have improved the quality of water supplies in recent years. The safeguarding of these supplies, however, requires the skillful operation and laboratory control of complicated purification processes and close State supervision of these methods.

Water supplies: The department of health now supervises 620 public water supplies through periodic visits of engineers and constant checking of results by regular laboratory examinations. Although this supervision is exercised with good results over the operation of these plants, existing laws do not give the health department definite authority to approve plans for construction of new plants. The authority to pass upon the sanitary quality of proposed new water supplies is now lodged in the State water

control board under the conservation law. This is an undesirable division of responsibility and should be remedied by giving to the department of health authority to approve the plans and proposed methods for purification of public water supplies as related to sanitary quality.

Sewage disposal: The growth in population results in an increased pollution of the streams of the State, and vigorous steps are necessary to insure better purification of sewage. Existing laws give the department of health authority to require that municipalities install and operate sewage-treatment plants in accordance with approved plans. In practice the limitation on the allowable debt of the city and the difficulty in securing the affirmative action by municipalities sometimes results in continued pollution of the streams. The commission has considered a recommendation that authority be given to the State to abate the nuisance created by a municipality through the pollution of a stream in the same manner that nuisances on private property now are abated by public-health authorities. This, however, is not now recommended, since the commission believes continued attempts during the next several years should be made to secure adequate purification of sewage under existing laws. If these attempts are unsuccessful, the commission would recommend future strengthening of these laws by the legislature.

Industrial wastes: The rapid growth of industry also adds sources of pollution to streams. At present the department of health has authority to require purification of industrial wastes when such wastes are combined with sewage, but not when the industrial waste alone is discharged into the stream. This situation should be corrected by a change in the law to bring the control of stream pollution by industrial wastes not containing sewage under the same provisions of law which govern industrial wastes which do contain sewage.

Qualifications of operators of water-purification and sewage-treatment plants: A modern water-purification plant or sewage-treatment works requires competent local supervision. Without it, such an installation becomes worse than useless because a false sense of security is engendered. Conditions may be cited where the inefficient operation of water-treatment plants has resulted in epidemics. Many properly designed sewage-treatment works have been constructed, but as a result of absolute neglect or improper operation have failed entirely to carry out their function. In order that the money expended for such works may not be wasted and that the public health may be conserved, all operators of water-purification plants or sewage-treatment works should be required to meet qualifications prescribed by the public health council.

State parks: The State parks are being increasingly utilized for recreational purposes by citizens of this and other States. The presence of large numbers of people in these areas makes it important that all necessary sanitary safeguards be provided. Local health authorities are not in a position to exercise control and it therefore becomes the duty of the department of health to supervise the sanitary conditions of these areas and of the department of conservation to see that these requirements are met.

Milk control: State-wide survey of the milk supply made by the department of health during the past year shows that although milk control in larger cities and a few county health districts with qualified milk inspectors was relatively satisfactory, in the smaller communities milk control was very unsatisfactory and most of the milk below accepted public-health standards. Improvement in local milk supplies can not be expected so long as supervision is in the hands of poorly paid part-time local health officers with no special training, with no assistants, and with inadequate funds. The commission is convinced that the safeguarding of milk supplies outside of cities should be placed on a county basis with trained and experienced milk inspectors as a part of the county health department.

Recommendations

1. That the laws be amended so as to give the department of health specific authority to approve of plans for proposed new and extensions to existing public water supplies, in so far as the sanitary quality of the water supply is concerned.

2. That the pollution of streams by industrial wastes not containing sewage be regulated in the same manner as such wastes which do contain sewage.

3. That the public health council be given power by law to prescribe the qualifications of and grades for operators of water-purification plants and sewage-treatment works.

4. That specific authority be given and sufficient facilities provided for supervision of the sanitary conditions of State parks.

5. That milk-inspection service outside of cities be organized on a county basis as a part of county health departments.

PUBLIC-HEALTH PERSONNEL

The efficiency of any effort depends upon the competence of the persons administering it. This is particularly true in public health, where a high degree of technical knowledge is essential, and the principle should be recognized by appointing officials and the public generally that physicians without additional special training are not qualified as health officers. The public-health officer is a specialist comparable to other specialists in medicine, and needs as thorough postgraduate training and as sound a background of experience as does a competent surgeon.

Training courses under department of health

During recent years the department of health has conducted short courses of instruction for local health officers and nurses. The courses for health officers embraced the problems of the average small village and town. Residence study has been limited to short periods and has been supplemented by correspondence courses for the benefit of the practicing physicians, who are the present part-time town and village health officers.

The courses of instruction and practical training for public-health nurses had been particularly profitable, since the earlier public-health nurses had been appointed with little or no special training. Others had received their training in large cities where very different problems exist. Utilization of nurses on the staff of the department of health as instructors has stimulated advanced study by these nurses and has made possible better State guidance of local nursing programs.

Need for additional training courses

Health officers to be properly qualified for major administrative positions in public health need in addition to a good basic medical training postgraduate training and experience in the theory and practice of public health.

Throughout the deliberations of the commission and of its several committees, the necessity of securing qualified personnel for the conduct of modern health activities has been the subject of frequent discussion. The commission has considered the measures which will be necessary to provide the considerable number of full-time county and city health commissioners who will be needed in this State during the next few years. The most likely applicants for these positions will be the present able local health officers. Their background of good medical education and their experience as local health officers, with an intensive course of instruction over a period of a few months, should give the minimum qualifications necessary. This should be followed by subsequent courses in succeeding years in special subjects. Later, at least one full resident year of study, plus several years of public-health experience on a whole-time basis, should be required for the position of county and city health officer.

In addition to instruction in the sciences underlying public health, field training stations should be established so that actual experience and supervised instruction can be acquired under model conditions.

The department of health should assume responsibility for leadership and should utilize its excellent facilities to conduct intensive training courses in public health which will enable otherwise qualified local men to do effective work in public-health positions. The department should cooperate also with one or more medical schools in the State in the development of courses in public health.

Courses comparable to those for general administrative health officers should be organized for other professional and technical personnel in the public-health field.

The practical training of public-health personnel is one of the most important functions which the Department of Health can exercise.

Qualifications prescribed

For a number of years the law has authorized the public health council to establish qualifications for directors of divisions in the department of health, district State health officers, county health commissioners, local health officers, directors of approved laboratories, and public-health nurses.

In a number of sections of this report attention is called to the necessity of extending the list of positions for which qualifications and grades are prescribed to include such personnel as pathologists in charge of approved laboratories, medical superintendents of public tuberculosis sanatoria, and operators of water-purification plants and of sewage-treatment works.

Career service: Regardless of the efforts to provide training and standards for qualified personnel, it will not be possible to obtain for such training or to retain in public-health positions persons of the needed professional and executive ability, unless appointment to and retention in office is placed solely upon the basis of efficient service. There also must be provided for the qualified health officer satisfactory compensation for the various positions, and an opportunity for advancement.

Recommendations

1. That the present authority of the public health council to establish the qualifications of public-health officers, nurses, and other personnel named in the law be extended to include operators of water purification plants and of sewage treatment works, pathologists in charge of approved laboratories, superintendents of public tuberculosis sanatoria, and other professional and technical personnel as the needs arise.

2. That the existing activities of the department of health in providing special training for public-health personnel be extended and that the department cooperate with educational institutions in the development of courses in public health for health officers and other public-health personnel.

PROPOSED ANTI-INJUNCTION LEGISLATION

Mr. NORRIS. From the Committee on the Judiciary I report back favorably with amendments the bill (S. 935) to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes, and I submit a report (No. 163) thereon. This is the so-called anti-injunction bill.

I understand that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. HEBERT] desires to submit with it the views of the minority of the committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. President, on behalf of the minority of the committee from which this report comes, I desire to have some time allotted to us in which to prepare the views of the minority. I understand the Senator from Nebraska will not object, and I will explain that we will not ask for an unreasonable length of time.

Mr. NORRIS. It has now been one week since the committee took action, and I have been waiting ever since for the minority to prepare its views. I do not want to be unreasonable about it, but it seems to me that the time which has elapsed has been sufficient. I inquire if the Senator can file the minority views within two days?

Mr. HEBERT. I can not, for the reason that the minority members of the committee are preparing some amendments and will probably submit with their views a substitute bill. That will take more time than two days. The fact is, that this bill has been under consideration for many, many months, and in the preparation of a modified form of the bill I think the Senator will agree with me that more time than two days will be required.

Mr. NORRIS. I would agree, Mr. President, if that were the only time at the disposal of the minority members; but, as the Senator says, we have been considering this bill for a long while; the committee, in fact, has had it under consideration for more than three years, and the final action of the committee was taken one week ago yesterday. Ever since I have been waiting for the minority to get ready. We have been confronted from the very beginning with delays. I am not now charging the Senator with trying to delay the measure; but it seems to me, under the circumstances, there ought not to be much time granted. I am willing that the Senator should name his own time if he will include in his request that the delay caused by the time asked for by the minority shall not interfere with the consideration of the bill.

I realize that we can not take up the measure right now, but I should like to get it up just as soon as I possibly can. I have no objection to any time the Senator wants, if we may have it understood that that shall not interfere with the consideration of the bill by the Senate if we can reach it in the regular course of procedure.

Mr. HEBERT. May I ask how soon the Senator expects to take up the bill for consideration?

Mr. NORRIS. I should like, if I can, to take it up as soon as we get through with the bill which is now before the Senate.

Mr. HEBERT. Of course, that would not afford us sufficient time.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. HEBERT. I do.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Permit me to make a suggestion. The minority of the committee may report at any time they see fit. It seems to me there is no occasion for any discussion on the subject at all. They will not be precluded from submitting a report at any time they care to submit it.

Mr. NORRIS. I have not any objection; but when I undertake to get this bill up, I do not want to be confronted with the proposition that we must delay it because the minority have not yet submitted their report. If that is not to be interjected and we can get the bill up, I have no objection.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. President, I might observe that this is the first time the bill has had a majority report out of the Judiciary Committee. The bill was on the calendar at the last session of Congress on a minority report.

Mr. NORRIS. It was on the report of a majority and a minority.

Mr. HEBERT. And I may add that those of the majority of the committee, opposed to reporting the bill at that time, made no objection to its consideration. It was not reached, but they had no objection to its being taken up; and it does seem to me that some consideration should be given the minority at this time to give us enough opportunity to prepare what we consider to be a desirable substitute.

Mr. NORRIS. May I refresh the Senator's memory by saying that when the present majority was a minority, and the Senator's minority was a majority, there was no demand on the part of the minority then for delay. We were ready with our minority report before the majority report was ready. The majority then, those opposed to the bill, got the time. We did not ask for any delay. Now, after all these years of consideration, we are confronted with the proposition that seven days have not been enough for the minority to prepare their report.

The majority would have had their report ready the next day if it had been necessary, and their report is on file. If the minority follow the argument they made before, it would be but a short time before they could change a majority report into a minority report and file it.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. President, as I recollect, some three weeks elapsed after the bill was reported to the Senate before the majority report was filed at the last session.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; but the proponents of the legislation were not to blame for that delay.

Mr. HEBERT. No pressure was brought to bear upon any one at that time. As the Senator has very properly said, I do not desire to delay the consideration of this bill beyond the time necessary to prepare what we consider a proper report on behalf of the minority; and my own view is that that should be accompanied by a substitute bill, which is now in course of preparation. I do hope the Senator will give us sufficient time in which to consider it and to make a report, and I again assure the Senator that I have no desire to delay the consideration of the measure.

Mr. NORRIS. Would the Senator be willing to file the minority views on next Monday?

Mr. HEBERT. So far as I am concerned, I would be willing, Mr. President; but if the Senator would change his suggestion so as to require us to file a report some time next week I think we would be in better position to meet that suggestion.

Mr. NORRIS. If the Senator filed the minority report on next Monday, of course, we probably would not be able to take it up at least until Tuesday, and then whether or not we could get it up would depend on what was before the Senate. If we say "next week," that simply means more delay.

In the first place, we ought to remember that both political parties in their national conventions have pledged the country for legislation on the injunction process of Federal courts. We have had this subject before the committee for more than three years, thrashing it up and down. After long consideration by the committee itself at this session more than one week has elapsed since the committee took final action on the bill, and still the minority are not ready to report.

I submit to my friend that it does not seem to me that the minority are acting with the expedition that ought to be resorted to if we expect to dispose of this matter at this session. If the bill is passed, it will have to go to the House. It is a Senate bill; and if we continue this procrastination, it simply means that there will be no legislation in this Congress.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HEBERT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KING. I should like to state to the Senator from Nebraska that we have other duties. I confess that I have not been able to find the time to read the report or the bill submitted by the majority; and it has not been because of any desire to delay, or, to use the Senator's word, because of procrastination. The Senator will realize that there are other committees, and that all Senators have other important duties. I shall be very glad to give attention to this matter as soon as possible. Speaking for myself, and myself only, I have no desire to delay the matter; but I should be glad to have an opportunity to examine the bill.

May I say, although, of course, I can not speak for the Republicans, that I do not think either party pledged themselves to the phraseology or the provisions of the bill which the Senator has reported.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HEBERT. Yes; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. NORRIS. It is true that neither party has had an opportunity in national convention of considering this bill, which was only gotten together finally a few days ago, and in their national conventions they did not set out a bill. It is also true, however, that, so far as I know, this is the only bill that has been presented to Congress; and if those who represent the great parties of this country want to act in good faith with the people of the country, they ought not to wait for years to elapse before they undertake to carry out the pledges made in their national conventions. It comes with poor grace now for any Democrat or any Republican to say, "My party has not had an opportunity to consider this matter." They have had all the time we have had; and if they are acting in good faith with the American people they ought to have been ready long ago, if this bill did not suit them, with a bill that did suit them.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. President, surely the Senator can not accuse me of bad faith, or of trying to delay the consideration of this measure. I attended every meeting of the Judiciary Committee called by the distinguished chairman for the consideration of that bill, to the exclusion of other meetings where my presence was very much desired; and let me add that I was one of the few Senators who attended those meetings. There were times when, in the consideration of this bill in committee, there were only 4 Senators present out of the 17 in the membership of the committee. I think the Senator will bear me out in that statement.

I have repeatedly assured the Senator that I do not want to delay the consideration of this bill; but I think he will be willing to agree with me that it is a very important measure. It requires extended consideration. There are some phases of it upon which some of us on the committee are not in accord; and I am desirous of having their views considered and matured, so that we can bring in here a bill which perhaps all of us, or very likely a majority of the Senate, will be willing to support.

That is my attitude.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. HEBERT. Yes; I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not want to be understood as casting any reflection upon the motives of any Member. I think the Senator is wrong when he says there were times in the committee when we had only four members present. I tried to be and I think I was careful never to get it up until we had a quorum, which, under the rule of the committee, is six members. Many members, however, had devoted days and weeks to the consideration of the bill in the subcommittee and otherwise; and they were tired out with its consideration and wanted to dispose of it. They had made up their minds as to what they were going to do, either for or against this bill. Hence, it was often difficult to get them there.

The Senator from Rhode Island was, I think, very prompt and attentive in connection with the meetings of the committee. I do not want to cast any reflection on him; neither do I want to contend, as everybody knows we could not successfully contend, that Senators do not have other duties to perform. They do. They have other committees to attend, and in the same breath they say this is an important measure. I agree with that, too. If it is important, then Senators on the committee ought to devote some time to it, if it is necessary.

Mr. DALE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. HEBERT. I do.

Mr. DALE. When the Senator from Rhode Island said that there were some four or five members of the Committee on the Judiciary present at the hearings, I desire to ask him whether it is not a fact that my colleague [Mr. AUSTIN] was one of those four?

Mr. HEBERT. I think the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN] was present at every meeting when the bill was considered.

Mr. NORRIS. I believe he was—all but one, at least.

If I may continue with just one further word, I concede that all these members are acting in the best of faith; but, regardless of that, the effect is just the same as though there were a deliberate intention on the part of somebody to delay this bill. It is being delayed. It has been delayed for two or three years. It has been more than two years since the great political parties met in national convention, and each one of them put in its platform a plank saying that it believed in legislation on this subject. This is the only attempt that has been made to carry out that plank. This is the only bill that has been up for consideration. So, regardless of the Senator's good intentions and the purity of his motives, if we keep on delaying, the effect is going to be just the same as if his motives were not good; and I submit that the time has come now when we ought to get action on this legislation.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. President, I suggested that there be an agreement here that the minority may file a report some time next week. Would not the Senator agree to having a time fixed, say, on or before Thursday of next week? That would not be an undue delay.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not think I would be justified in agreeing to postpone the taking up of this bill until next Thursday. It may be that I can not get it up before next Thursday. If there had not been any delay, it would have been up long ago. If the opportunity is presented in the Senate to get it up before that time, I do not want to make an agreement now that would prohibit me from calling it up.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. President, I have an idea that the minority would be prepared to report definitely between now and Thursday, and I hope that the Senator will give us that much time to express our views in a minority report.

REMONETIZATION OF SILVER

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], I am in receipt of a letter from the national secretary of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, which is one of the very largest farm organizations in the United States. He says:

> DEAR SENATOR: There are here in Washington a delegation of more than 70 farmers, representing the Farmers Union of nine States of the Middle West, and the officers and directors of the National Farmers Union.
>
> At a meeting of the group Monday evening, a resolution was unanimously passed, asking that you arrange, if possible, for a hearing on Senate bill No. 2487, before the proper committee in charge of this bill, while this delegation is in Washington.
>
> Our group expects to be in the city at least for the rest of the week. We will appreciate your assistance in this matter.
>
> E. E. KENNEDY,
> *National Secretary.*

I may say that the bill in question is the bill which I introduced for the remonetization of silver. I was going to ask the Senator from Utah whether it would be possible to arrange to give these farmers a chance to be heard briefly upon the bill some time this week.

Mr. SMOOT. It could not be done unless the hearing were fixed for Saturday.

Mr. WHEELER. I think if they could have a hearing Saturday, that would be agreeable to them. They are very anxious to be heard on the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. I will check up to see what is to come before the committee to-morrow and the next day, and I assure the Senator that if it can be arranged so as not to interfere with carrying out promises already made or notices which have been sent out, I shall be glad to see that the delegation is given a hearing.

Mr. WHEELER. I thank the Senator.

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF FARMERS

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address by Gov. Franklin D.

Roosevelt before the New York State Grange, at the State armory in Albany, on February 2, 1932.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Worthy master and members of the New York State Grange, I am here to-night to extend as governor of the State a friendly greeting to the farmer citizenship represented in the New York State Grange; but I do more than to extend a formal greeting—I welcome the opportunity to discuss with you the attitude that we ought to take toward matters that are vital to our welfare and our honor as farmers, as citizens of the greatest State in the Union, as citizens of the United States of America, and as dwellers in a world in which economic and political conditions that affect one nation affect many nations.

I speak with freedom on these matters to an audience of farmers, because I have found in many previous contacts with you that you take seriously and deal thoughtfully with the problems that democratic self-government imposes on all citizens.

It is peculiarly true to-day that your problems are not yours alone but are the common problems of all the people in our great Republic—problems that are world-wide in their scope.

If you consider, for instance, your own economic situation—your status as a farmer trying to support his family worthily on the soil of the State of New York—you find quickly that it is many-sided; that you are directly and vitally affected in your efforts to earn a living by the activities of local government, by those of the State government, and by those of the Federal Government. And you will find, too, a fourth element that affects your own personal and family problems of finance, of markets, of taxes, and of living—the relationships between this Nation and other nations.

In your consideration of local government you find that the major part, the overwhelming part, of your tax burden is that which goes, not to the support of State government but to the support of strictly local government. If you want to save any considerable part of your expenses for government, you have got to reduce your local government costs. It is true that the State can help you in many ways—by improving market conditions, by giving you better roads, by improving your schools, by supervising your accounting systems, by protecting you against crime, and by searching out and passing on to you information that is of practical value. The Federal Government also can contribute to your welfare by its information service, by its regulation of interstate commerce, and by working out a sound policy to guide the movement of population so as to bring about a more stable distribution both of population and industry.

But I wish to speak to-night about a more general problem, to discuss particularly means by which the products of American industry and of American farms can find a better outlet than they have now. The question of markets is to-day our most vital question. Without adequate markets industry is stifled, and when industry is stifled the demand for farm products and the prices of farm products sink to levels that mean privation, hunger, and dispossession. Without such markets an era of low prices and an army of unemployed will long be with us.

There are two outlets for our products; the first, an increase of home consumption, and the second the sale of more of our industrial and agricultural products to other nations throughout the world.

You in the State of New York, whether you live on the farm or work in the factory, are personally and deeply interested in the problem not only of finding home markets but of finding foreign markets. Volumes of technical phrases have been written and uttered, but it all comes down to this plain truth:

The nations of Europe, South America, and the Far East are not buying our products of factory and farm for the very good reason that they have not the means to do the buying. International cash is gold or its equivalent, and they have not got the gold.

For 10 years, between 1920 and 1930, we Americans helped these other nations to buy our goods by lending them our own money to do the buying. We have stopped doing that now for good and obvious reasons.

There was and is only one other way by which other nations could buy our goods—and that is by using the old-fashioned method of bartering or exchanging their goods for ours. Unfortunately that is an impossibility for them because our Government, in its wisdom, put up a tariff fence so high that they could not use this old-fashioned method of exchange of goods. Furthermore, when our Smoot-Hawley tariff law went into effect three years ago, over the protest of thousands of our own business men and farmers, the foreign nations, by way of retaliation, raised high tariff fences of their own.

By way of parenthesis I might add that our own tariff fence increased the cost to the farmer of manufactured articles used by him on his farm and in his household, while at the same time it did not prevent foreign competition with him in many lines of agricultural products. It is a simple fact that the farmers of America have been buying in a protected market and selling in a market open to the competition of the whole world.

It is time for this Nation to use a little horse sense about the objective we seek and the results of our present tariff law. It is time for us to sit down with other nations and say to them: "This tariff-fence business, on our part and on yours, is preventing world trade. Let us see if we can work out reciprocal methods by which we can start the actual interchange of goods. We do not ask you to buy our goods for cash because we know you have not got the cash, but we do suggest that it would be good for us and for you if we could send to you each year a large volume of American products in exchange for your products. But we do recognize the fact that we can probably use many of your articles and at the same time we can start our own wheels of industry going in manufacturing the things you need and want—all with adequate safeguards for the American standards of labor."

I have good reason to believe that many nations who, like us, are suffering from stoppage of industry, will meet us halfway and put all the cards on the table for the purpose of breaking an actual deadlock which has paralyzed world trade and thrown millions here and abroad out of useful work.

Let me at the same time make it clear that a trade conference with the other nations of the world does not and should not, by any stretch of the imagination, involve the United States in any participation in political controversies in Europe or elsewhere. Nor does it involve the renewal in any way of the problem of 12 years ago of American participation as a member of the League of Nations.

In common with millions of my fellow countrymen I worked and spoke, in 1920, in behalf of American participation in a league of nations, conceived in the highest spirit of world friendship for the great object of preventing a return of world war. For that course I have no apology to make.

If to-day I believed that the same or even similar factors entered into the argument, I would still favor America's entry into the league; and I would go so far as to seek to win over the overwhelming opposition which exists in this country to-day.

But the League of Nations to-day is not the league conceived by Woodrow Wilson. It might have been had the United States joined. Too often through these years its major function has been not the broad, overwhelming purpose of world peace but rather a mere meeting place for the political discussion of strictly European political national difficulties. In these the United States should have no part.

The fact remains that we did not join the league. The league has not developed through these years along the course contemplated by its founder, nor have the principal members shown a disposition to divert the huge sums spent on armament into the channels of legitimate trade, balanced budgets, and payment of obligations. American participation in the league would not serve the highest purpose of the prevention of war and a settlement of international difficulties in accordance with fundamental American ideals. Because of these facts, therefore, I do not favor American participation.

What the world needs most to-day is a national policy which will make us an example of national honor to other nations. The first lesson for all the world is recognition that a treaty is a nation's word of honor to another nation, and that all just national debts are "debts of honor"; that, therefore, no honorable nation may break a treaty in spirit any more than they may break it in letter; nor, when it is a debtor, may repudiate or cancel a national debt of honor. On the other side, it should be remembered also that the creditor on his part should use every honorable means to help the debtor set his house in order.

Europe owes us. We do not owe her. Therefore we should call a meeting of our debtors here and not in Europe and demand an understanding. If it were considered advisable in the present condition of world finance to postpone the payment of debts for a while, we should nevertheless insist upon an accord as to when payments should begin and in what amount.

Europe has indulged herself in an orgy of spending and finds herself at the moment in a crippled financial position. She should look at the facts of her spending and bring about a change of policy to restore her financial equilibrium and enable her to meet her just obligations. She should cease to blame us for all the ills which have followed this reckless course of spending and try to remember the aid we gave her in time of need; aid for which she was once grateful but which she has forgotten.

The world ship of state can not regain its safe course to port by reckless spending and by reckless vituperation, but it can steer safely home by unity of action and a determination eventually to meet its just obligations.

By economic cooperation this Nation can revive the trade of the world as well as trade within our own borders. In so doing we can extend a helping hand to our debtors as well as to ourselves. The highest ideals of America demand that with strict adherence to the principles of Washington we maintain our international freedom and at the same time offer leadership to a sorely tried humanity.

REDUCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT SALARIES

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I desire at this time to ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations be discharged from the further consideration of Senate bills 3116, 2495, and 2494, relating to salaries, and that the bills be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. DALE. Mr. President, I do not care about having the particular bills in question referred to my committee, but I think there is at least a matter of political ethics involved in them. The Committee on the Civil Service has had juris-

diction of all such bills in the past, measures relating to classification and reclassification, where the question of salaries has come up. So, according to my recollection, every such bill has been referred to the Committee on the Civil Service, and I am wondering why these bills should not take the natural course and go to that committee.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the Senator, of course, is correct with reference to a certain class of bills; they have always gone to his committee. Heretofore bills introduced for the purpose of raising salaries have not gone to the Senator's committee. I have felt that bills to reduce salaries should follow the same course.

The Senator has stated publicly that he is opposed to the measures to which I have referred and that he is opposed to reducing salaries. I have no desire to quarrel with the individual views of the Senator, but if the Senator will assure me that there will be a report upon the bills, either favorable or unfavorable, within a reasonable time, I have no objection to the bills going to his committee.

Mr. DALE. Mr. President, the Senator is correct in his statement of my position. I am opposed to his bill. I did not realize, however, and I have no idea now, that any bill is ever referred to any committee with any consideration of the personal opinions of the members of the committee. If that were so, I might say that I am informed that my colleague on the committee, the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART], is just as much in favor of the Senator's bill as I am opposed to it.

As far as the other question the Senator raises is concerned, I hope the Committee on Civil Service has not the reputation of holding up matters; and, so far as I am concerned, I will see there is an immediate report on the bills, and I am perfectly willing to report them out tomorrow.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, that is entirely satisfactory. Of course, I expect the Senator to exercise his judgment as to whether he will vote for the bills or against them. All I desire is a report within a reasonable time—for or against.

Mr. DALE. I think the Senator is entitled to a report within a reasonable time. There is no question about that.

Mr. BORAH. Then, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations be discharged from the further consideration of the bills I have mentioned, and that they be referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Committee on Appropriations was discharged from the further consideration of the following bills, and they were referred to the Committee on Civil Service:

S. 2494. A bill to amend section 4 of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act, passed and approved March 4, 1925, relating to the compensation of Members of and Delegates to Congress;

S. 2495. A bill to repeal section 17 of the act passed and approved July 28, 1866, relating to mileage of Members of Congress; and

S. 3116. A bill to reduce the compensation and salaries of employees and officials of the Federal Government.

Mr. DALE subsequently said: Mr. President, I desire to make a statement in connection with what I said in reference to the bills proposing to reduce certain salaries.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The Senator will make his statement.

Mr. DALE. I was informed that the Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART] was in favor of the measure. I was very much surprised at the information and I inadvertently made the statement before I conferred with him. I feel that I owe him an apology for doing so, but the matter came up quickly on the floor and I did not have time or opportunity to confer with him. Immediately afterwards I got in touch with the Senator from Iowa and he informed me that I had been misinformed and that he is not in favor of the measure. I desire to correct the statement which I formerly made.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President, the Senator's statement is entirely correct.

PROPOSED INVESTIGATION OF CAUSES OF DEPRESSION

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I believe we have now reached the order of business under which a motion I made on the last calendar day will come up, my motion being to discharge the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate from the consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 5. After I had entered my motion, as I gather from a reading of the RECORD, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS] made a report on the concurrent resolution. I am very sure the RECORD is not correct with respect to that matter, and I desire to have it amended.

I was present at the time the report was made. I was expecting, of course, that some action would be taken by the committee, in view of my motion to discharge the committee. I listened attentively to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS], who said he desired to make a report from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. If he said anything else, it was inaudible; at least, I had no idea that he had reported anything further, and I assumed, as a matter of course, that a written report had been made.

The RECORD says, then, that he "reported it without amendment and moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, which was agreed to." As I have said, if the Senator from Ohio made any such motion, it was inaudible. I was expecting something of the kind, but did not hear him make any such motion, and I am very certain that no action by the Senate was taken on the matter. If the then occupant of the chair, the President pro tempore, made any order in the matter, it was likewise inaudible.

I had the attention of the Senate immediately afterwards to offer an amended resolution in the nature of a substitute for the concurrent resolution. I accordingly ask that the RECORD be corrected.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. Will not the Senator delay his request until the Senator from Ohio is present?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, this resolution went to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate on the 21st day of December. After a great deal of annoying experience in endeavoring to get it out, I was finally forced to make a motion to discharge the committee. Now, I want action on the motion.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Ohio was called from the Senate just a few moments ago, and he told me to ask that this matter go over until he could return, and I simply now make the request.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. When he returns, the present order of business will have passed. The chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate is here and can speak for the committee.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I yield.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I will say to my friend the Senator from Montana that the instructions from the committee were to report the resolution back, recommending that it be sent to the Committee on Banking and Currency. I was not able to be in the Senate on the morning it was to be reported, and I asked the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS] to make the report.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That does not change the situation at all. The Senator from Ohio did not make any such report, further than to say that he had a report from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and there the matter ended. I assumed, as a matter of course, that it would go over.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator can bring the matter up at any time, and I ask him if he will not allow it to go over until the Senator from Ohio is in the Chamber.





Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I want to make some observations with respect to the concurrent resolution. It went to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as I stated, on the 21st day of last December. If anybody at that time had desired to have the resolution sent to the Committee on Banking and Currency, of course, there was an opportunity to do that. That might have been a very appropriate disposition of the resolution at that time. That was not done, and the resolution went to the Committee to Audit and Control.

Since that time the rule in relation to this matter has been amended so that it provides that whenever a resolution of this character is introduced it shall first be referred to some committee having jurisdiction of the general subject matter. That amendment was not in effect at that time, so the resolution went, in accordance with the ordinary procedure, to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. Accordingly, the amended rule has no application whatever to this particular resolution, which was introduced and referred before the amendment to the rule was adopted. As a matter of course, the amendment to the rule was not retroactive in operation; it looked to the future. It considered matters which were to transpire in the future.

If this measure goes to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and then comes back to the Senate, then, under the rule, it will have to go back again to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and we would be playing battledore and shuttlecock.

I have no objection to the measure going to the Committee on Banking and Currency if the Committee on Banking and Currency can report it out presently; but I understand they are now engaged in the consideration of a very important measure, which would undoubtedly further delay the consideration of my substitute for the concurrent resolution. If there is any assurance that within the week this matter may have the consideration of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I shall not object to it being sent to that committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Chair may interrupt the Senator, the present occupant of the chair was not in the chair at the time the action to which he has referred was taken, but the present occupant of the chair would hold that the concurrent resolution having once gone to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, it would not have to go to that committee again.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I yield.

Mr. KING. I would like to inquire of the Senator the nature of the resolution. I have been detained from the Chamber and have just returned. I would like to say to the Senator that I have a bill pending before the Committee on Banking and Currency the object of which is to restrain, if not prohibit, short sales. I was wondering if the resolution of the Senator is cognate to that subject.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. It deals with that subject. The resolution really does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Banking and Currency at all. It calls for an investigation into the causes of the general depression as a basis upon which we may hereafter act to remedy that condition, but it does call attention to the fact that the depression was contemporaneous with the debacle on the stock market and that it was preceded with great inflation of credit and speculation and was followed by a depression of prices induced by short selling. That is one of the subjects of the inquiry.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I yield.

Mr. GLASS. In the absence of the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I take leave to state that the Banking and Currency Committee made a rather searching investigation into these matters and has accumulated a vast amount of data on the subject, but only with a view to restricting the uses of Federal reserve certificates for stock speculative purposes. In the bill now under consideration by the committee we do not undertake to circumscribe stock speculative activities further than that we are undertaking to prohibit merely the uses of the Federal reserve banking system for that purpose. Even that provision of the banking bill is now being bitterly antagonized, and organized propaganda is being pursued against that provision. The Banking and Currency Committee, as the Senator from Montana very properly stated, has no jurisdiction of a question like this to regulate the stock exchange.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That the Senate may be advised, I ask that there be read at the desk the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by me.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the amendment be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Amendment (in the nature of a substitute) proposed by Mr. WALSH of Montana to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 5):

"Whereas the country is suffering from the most profound industrial depression in its history entailing enormous losses and widespread unemployment; and

"Whereas many different causes have been assigned by economists, financiers, and other students of business and public affairs for the condition to which reference has been made; and

"Whereas the condition referred to became generally evident after, and was greatly intensified by, the debacle on the New York Stock Exchange in the month of October, 1929; and

"Whereas the sudden collapse of prices of securities dealt in on the said exchange was preceded by an extraordinary inflation in the prices of such securities and of loans through which transactions therein were effected, was accompanied by a tremendous contraction in bank credits, and was followed by a rapid and continuing fall in the prices of commodities generally and particularly of agricultural products; and

"Whereas measures to avert the recurrence of similar catastrophes, and to alleviate the disastrous results of the existing crisis can be predicated only upon an accurate knowledge and appreciation of the causes giving rise to the same: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved, etc.*, That a joint committee, consisting of five Members of the Senate and five Members of the House of Representatives be appointed, the House Members by the Speaker thereof and the Senate Members by the Vice President; and that the said committee be, and it hereby is, authorized:

"(a) To inquire into the causes of the depression so existing, and particularly the relation to it of the collapse of prices of securities dealt in on the said stock exchange;

"(b) To inquire into the means whereby the inflation in the prices of such securities and in such bank credits was induced, and later the shrinkage referred to was brought about, including the effect of short selling as a factor in such fall of security prices;

"(c) To take testimony concerning the means that should be employed and the legislation that should be enacted either to prevent a recurrence of such periods of depression, or to lessen or reduce the malign effects thereof; and

"(d) To recommend to the Congress such action as in the judgment of the committee may contribute to that end.

"The said committee is hereby authorized to sit and perform its duties at such times and places as it deems necessary or proper and to require the attendance of witnesses by subpœnas or otherwise; to require the production of books, papers, and documents, and to employ stenographers, at a cost not exceeding 25 cents per 100 words. The chairman of the committee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to and sign subpœnas for witnesses; and every person duly summoned before said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, who refuses or fails to obey the process of said committee, or appears and refuses to answer questions pertinent to said investigation, shall be punished as prescribed by law. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed $20,000, shall be paid, one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee."

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I now move to strike from the RECORD, on page 3062, the following:

And moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, which was agreed to.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I do not understand the purport of the Senator's motion.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am moving to correct the RECORD in relation to Senate Concurrent Resolution 5 wherein it states that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate having made a report on last Tuesday, it was thereupon moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and that that motion was agreed to by the Senate. I have asserted that no such proceedings took place, and

that the clerks apparently inadvertently included this language in the report of what took place.

Mr. FESS. I do not claim that my memory is better than the record of the clerk. I do claim—and every member of the committee on both sides of the aisle will verify what I say—that it was decided that the concurrent resolution included substantive matter and under the rule which had been amended as to the reference of bills, and so forth, it could not be acted upon by our committee and that it should be sent to the Committee on Banking and Currency. I made that report here in the open Senate. I assumed that the concurrent resolution went to the Banking and Currency Committee. I do not recall whether there was any action of the Senate or not, but that was the report of the committee, and it was a unanimous report.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. While the Senator was out of the Chamber I stated that I heard the Senator from Ohio say that he submitted a report from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and that that was all that was done so far as I was able to hear it.

Mr. FESS. No; the Senator is mistaken about that. I can recall what I said.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am not mistaken at all. I said if the Senator said anything further it was inaudible. I was expecting a report of the concurrent resolution and I followed his statement with care.

Mr. FESS. I am not responsible for the Senator's not being able to hear what I reported. I reported that the committee recommended that the concurrent resolution go to the Banking and Currency Committee, and stated why. I stated to the Senate, and especially to the Senator from Montana, that his resolution had been introduced and had come to our committee several days before the change in the rules, but that he did not appear before the committee until after we had adopted the change in the rule. I made that statement.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I have no controversy with the Senator with respect to that matter at all. My only controversy is as to what happened on the floor here on Tuesday morning. If the Senator says that he made the motion, of course, I shall be obliged to consider that my hearing is defective and that I did not hear him. I will change my motion and amend it by moving to strike out that portion of the statement in the RECORD which says "which was agreed to." The Presiding Officer then in the chair, the President pro tempore of the Senate, assures me that he has no recollection of anything of the kind transpiring.

Mr. FESS. I am not yet conversant with what the Senator from Montana is attempting to do.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am attempting to correct the RECORD which says that the report of the committee was agreed to.

Mr. FESS. I can only repeat that I made the report for the committee at the suggestion of the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Delaware [Mr. TOWNSEND]. I specifically stated in the report that the commitee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Banking and Currency Committee, and after I had made that statement I stated the reason for it, in the presence of the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I do not want to take issue with the Senator on that matter at all. I have stated what the facts are. However, Mr. President, I accept the statement of the Senator that he made the motion.

Mr. FESS. I have in my hand now, just sent to me by the clerk at the desk, the notes on the original concurrent resolution:

Reported by Senator FESS; referred to Banking and Currency Committee.

That is on the original resolution which I reported, just handed to me by the clerk.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I move to strike out that portion of the RECORD which states that "the motion was agreed to."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana. [Putting the question.] The ayes seem to have it. The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I have no objection to the concurrent resolution being referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be so referred.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Wisconsin. [Putting the question.] The ayes seem to have it. The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to. The Chair lays the bill before the Senate.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Manufactures with amendments.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, last evening when I moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business the able Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN] expressed the desire to occupy the floor further this morning. I told him there was no way to make that promise, but that I should do what I could to aid him in obtaining the floor. He is not now present, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Couzens	Kean	Schall
Austin	Cutting	Kendrick	Sheppard
Bailey	Dale	Keyes	Shipstead
Bankhead	Davis	King	Smith
Barbour	Dickinson	La Follette	Smoot
Barkley	Dill	Lewis	Steiwer
Bingham	Fess	Logan	Stephens
Black	Fletcher	Long	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	Frazier	McGill	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	George	McKellar	Townsend
Bratton	Glass	McNary	Trammell
Brookhart	Glenn	Metcalf	Tydings
Broussard	Goldsborough	Moses	Vandenberg
Bulkley	Hale	Neely	Wagner
Bulow	Harris	Norbeck	Walcott
Byrnes	Harrison	Norris	Walsh, Mass.
Capper	Hastings	Nye	Walsh, Mont.
Caraway	Hatfield	Oddie	Watson
Carey	Hayden	Patterson	Wheeler
Connally	Hebert	Pittman	White
Coolidge	Howell	Reed	
Copeland	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	
Costigan	Jones	Robinson, Ind.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, yesterday I undertook to summarize a portion of the testimony taken by the Committee on Manufactures. Included in the testimony were various comments on the dole. I was reading from the testimony of Mr. William Hodson, executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City, and at that point was interrupted. I shall continue with extracts from the testimony.

Mr. Hodson said, among other things:

I think it important to point out that a very prominent commentator on current events, Mr. Walter Lippman, has an article in the Woman's Home Companion in which he refers to the dole.

Some words are omitted and the witness proceeded:

Mr. Lippman, in his objection to Federal relief, apparently based his discussion on the theory that the Federal Government would set up a bureau which is to give relief to individuals. I find myself in hearty agreement with his objection to such a proposition. These bills—

At the time the witness testified there were two substantially similar bills before the committee, which were later combined into the bill now under discussion in the Senate—

These bills have the merit of following an already well-established principle of cooperation on a financial basis between the

Federal Government and the States, namely, the principle of grants-in-aid, whereby the administration of a particular job, such as maternity and infancy, roads, reforestation, and vocational rehabilitation is carried on by the States and their subdivisions; and the Federal Government participates only by assisting these local governments financially and by making available to them the experience which is gained by a national office in observing what is being done in other parts of the country, and focusing that experience upon the needs of a particular State.

It would be a great mistake if any action taken by the Federal Government resulted in any loss of a sense of responsibility on the part of the local community, either for taking care of its own or providing the necessary funds.

The witness, in the course of his testimony, expressed his general approval of the bills then under consideration.

Dr. Jacob Billikopf, executive director of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Philadelphia, read from an address delivered by him on June 15, 1931. The address was delivered before the National Conference of Social Work in Minneapolis on the subject "What Have We Learned About Unemployment?" In that address Doctor Billikopf used this language:

I want to warn you, my fellow social workers, that we will be guilty of duplicity; we will be betraying the interest of the millions of unemployed who expect us to articulate their needs, if, in our vast enthusiasm to fill our community chests we should give the impression, directly or even inferentially, that all a community has to do is to raise its chest quota and the unemployed will be provided for. This is the way I see the situation. As a result of the policy of drift, and of utter lack of mastery in directing it, our Government will be compelled, by the logic of inescapably cruel events ahead of us, to step into the situation and bring relief on a large scale—a scale commensurate with the vast importance and the tragedies of our problem. Private philanthropy is no longer capable of coping with the situation. It is virtually bankrupt in the face of great disaster. With the bravest of intentions, the community chests, comprising as they do a multiplicity of institutions, are altogether unequal to the task ahead of us. Let us be honest, therefore, and say so—not wait until the disaster assumes larger proportions. Let us be frank and admit that if any American method of meeting unemployment is ever devised, it will be something more fundamental than relief. If the spirit of irony were hovering over this land, he would find a source of sardonic amusement in the spectacle of a country which for a decade has protested that it did not want unemployment insurance because it was a dole, and which still so protests, slowly realizing that under its boasted American methods all that it can offer to those who are in great need from unemployment is the real dole of public or private charity.

Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, executive director of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia, questioned by me, responded as follows:

Senator COSTIGAN. Does the word "dole" apply to Federal funds and not to local funds?

Mr. MURPHY. The use of the word "dole" at the present time follows the American habit of grabbing a slogan. We damn very precious things with illegitimate terms. To use the epithet "dole" as something to characterize much that is done or can be done in terms of public-welfare work is very unfortunate. It is ignorant and unfair. There is not time to enter into a comparative study of the picture as to the European relief set up, but certainly if the modern state is to rest upon a firm foundation, its citizens must not be allowed to starve. Some of them do. They do not die quickly. You can starve for a long while without dying.

Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, editor of the Survey, a New York social-welfare journal, testified, in part, as follows:

When you scratch the outcry against "the dole," you find that it merely echoes propaganda put out in high places, reflects some childhood teaching, is a defense for the wealthy, or is a serious fear lest we undermine local responsibility or set up a pork barrel that will be worse than any we have known in pensions or river and harbor appropriations. The first three objections are a mixture of dope, emotion, and class interest. The last two are subject to rational discussion, but they ignore the advance we have made in the techniques of State aid and relief work.

* * * * * * *

Senator COSTIGAN. Mr. Kellogg, several times during your remarks you referred to "the dole." What is your definition of the dole?

Mr. KELLOGG. My definition of the dole is that it is a catchword being employed to confuse the public.

Mr. Linton B. Swift, executive secretary of the Family Welfare Association of America, who testified as an individual, of course, testified with respect to his organization that it served some 4,000,000 people in this country directly, and in addition between one and three million people indirectly. He said further:

I refer back to the use of the word "dole." I should be against any system of Federal relief which involved the setting up of complicated Federal machinery over the entire country for the giving of relief directly from the Federal Government to individuals.

I think that the fear of the consequences of that sort of procedure is what is back of the common misuse of the word "dole." That is the reason why the term "dole" is attached primarily to relief given by the Federal Government.

But the analogy with the English situation, for instance, leaves out of account the fact that we have a totally different governmental set-up in this country; and that we have intervening between the Federal Government and the communities, the State governments, which are in themselves sovereign governments.

Therefore, you have the possibility of guarding against the setting up of tremendous, complicated, centralized machinery in this country through which relief would be given directly to individuals by the Federal Government. And that makes possible the first safeguard which seems to me to be necessary in any Federal legislation.

Senator COSTIGAN. Is not that safeguard in both of these bills?

Mr. SWIFT. I think that safeguard is in both of these bills through the requirement that Federal grants shall not be disbursed directly to the unemployed, but shall be made to the State governments and the disbursements left to those governments.

* * * * * * *

I wish to make clear my conviction as a social worker that proposals for Federal aid have no relation to the establishment de novo of a dole. A dole is a dole, whether it is given by an individual, a private charitable agency, a city, a State, or the Federal Government. It is a dole whether given in cash or in kind.

Mr. Frank Bane, director of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, testified as follows:

I think the first step is the local government, subsidized to as great an extent as possible by private philanthropy.

That is the first step to relief.

I think that the next step is the State government. I think that the third step is the Federal Government.

I do think, however, that private philanthropy should be used wherever it is available to as great an extent as possible. But I do contend at the same time that the primary responsibility is the responsibility of all of us.

Senator COSTIGAN. You are not terrified by the word "dole"?

Mr. BANE. The word "dole" seems to be susceptible to many interpretations which change with time. The term has been used in Virginia by the State department. We interpreted the dole to mean meager assistance given without adequate investigation or supervision.

Senator COSTIGAN. In other words, you wanted to give more ample assistance under more scientific conditions?

Mr. BANE. We wanted to give assistance where assistance was necessary, under proper supervision.

The elimination of the dole 10 years ago in Virginia was one of our chief arguments before the State legislature for the establishment of a State welfare system.

Senator COSTIGAN. Charity includes doles as interpreted by you? Is that a correct generalization?

Mr. BANE. I would say yes and no. It would depend entirely upon how the charity is given.

Senator COSTIGAN. Assuming that you say "yes," you imply that charity which is inadequate is a dole?

Mr. BANE. I would say that charity which is inadequate and which is given automatically without supervision is a dole.

Mr. Walter West, executive secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, testified in part as follows:

I would like to say that I think the social workers of this country would like to be on record here, if I can speak for them, as not at all satisfied with what we call the "American system" of dealing with the unemployed.

Senator COSTIGAN. You mean through voluntary contributions? A previous witness spoke of the "American" system as helping the unemployed through local or State taxes.

Mr. WEST. I was thinking of the total composite and piecemeal and miscellaneous and uncoordinated way of doing it without any single responsibility underlying all of those efforts. Expressing it in my own terms, I will say that I have no feeling that relief that comes from public sources is any worse than that coming from private sources.

A little further on:

There is nevertheless what I would consider a rather primitive system in this country of dealing with the subject of relief, and not the least of that is the fact that we wait until there has been such complete deterioration of the social situation before we even start with relief; that is, the burden is carried for a long, long time by the individual and the family before the community, through our system, steps in at all.

Mr. Gifford, head of the President's Unemployment Commission and president of the American Telegraph & Telephone Co., testified as follows:

Senator COSTIGAN. Is it your view that relief carried on through public funds constitutes a dole?

Mr. GIFFORD. I do not think much of the word "dole" one way or the other.

Senator COSTIGAN. It does not disturb you?

Mr. GIFFORD. No, sir.

Senator COSTIGAN. As it appears to disturb some others?

Mr. GIFFORD. No, sir; facts are what are important and not the word.

In view of these recitals, it will, I assume, not surprise anyone that we find Mr. Walter Lippman, at the end of a discussion of Federal relief, writing as follows: I quote from the New York Herald Tribune of December 31, 1931:

I find to my own astonishment that I have written an article on relief without mentioning the "dole." It is just as well. In fact, it would be helpful if the word were expurgated from the discussion. For no two people mean the same thing when they use it. Some say "dole" when they mean unemployment insurance. But with the present emergency, unemployment insurance has nothing to do. For insurance is something that can be developed only in normal times; you can not insure your house when it is on fire. Some speak of "the dole" when they mean public money for relief. That is not an issue. Public money is being used for relief and has to be used. Private money can do much in some places, but in the country at large it is not now meeting and can not hope to meet the need. The real issue is whether public and private money raised within each State for the needs of that State must in some of the poorer States be supplemented by Federal money.

No light is thrown upon that problem by talking about "the dole."

So much for the dole, Mr. President. I now turn for a moment to bring before the Senate in more concentrated form some testimony on the effects of unemployment on public health in the United States.

There appears to have been some doubt as to whether the economic conditions which have prevailed in the United States since October, 1929, have undermined the public health of those particularly affected by the depression. I wish to quote first on that subject from Mr. Hodson, to whom I referred a moment ago—a thoroughly qualified expert. I asked Mr. Hodson about hospital conditions, with respect to which he had testified, saying to him, among other things, this:

I hold in my hand what purports to be a news release bearing the caption "United Hospital Fund of New York, 122 East Twenty-second Street, Friday, September 11, 1931, Homer Wickenden, general director." I would like to read from this release a few paragraphs and ask you whether your information confirms or tends to make you disagree with what is here stated.

The release starts out by referring to reports from Washington that the economic situation "seems to have had no general adverse effect on health and mortality rates." This statement is challenged by the United Hospital Fund. From the release I read as follows:

"The municipal hospitals are overflowing and the visits to outpatient departments had increased up to August 1 last by 25 per cent over the corresponding seven months of 1930. The municipal hospitals treated 2,000 more patients in the first seven months of 1931 than they did in the first seven months of 1930. This compares with an increase of something over 1,500 in 1930 or 1929 for the same period.

In other words, the percentage was rising in the later period.

"In January, 1929, the patients in the city hospitals numbered 14,653. In the following spring the total had risen to 16,202, and in May of the present year to 17,572."

Reading at another point:

"The statement at Washington giving the impression that the public health has not been adversely affected by the economic situation, and which has since been quoted over the radio as reflecting the situation throughout the country, appears to us unfortunate in that it is susceptible to misinterpretation in several respects.

"It excludes epidemics and, covering only 13 unmentioned States, deals only in mortalities. It takes no account of recoveries, of which there is an increasing percentage because of the advance in medical science and modern hospital treatment. Again, there is every evidence of neglected illnesses. To put it one way, hospital patronage, like that of other institutions, has suffered from hard times. There are many persons who ought to be treated but who feel that they 'can not afford to be sick.' These include, as welfare workers well know, a very large number who can not afford to pay for treatment and are not willing to accept charity. Physicians report cases where operations are indicated but are being deferred because those needing the operations fear to jeopardize their positions by being absent from their places of employment for the period that the operation or convalescence would require.

"This brings out startlingly one of the grave dangers of the situation. It certainly is not in the interest of the public health for sick persons to continue to go and come among their fellows. In many instances those who are ill are carriers of disease, and disease uncontrolled is a potential breeder of epidemics. It would be deplorable if the public did not recognize the threat to public health that accompanies deprivation.

Have you any comment to make on this?

Mr. HODSON. It unquestionably stands to reason that when the standard of living drops, as it has dropped during this depression, families will be undernourished and badly nourished, which must have its effect upon the health and well-being of the members of the family.

It is difficult at this time, however, to cite specific figures either of mortality or morbidity which show that situation. We have to rely upon general impressions until true figures are available.

As to the figures that are cited as showing an increase in the use of free clinics in hospitals, those figures, as I said to Senator LA FOLLETTE a moment ago, can be explained in part on the theory that those needing free care are no longer able to pay for care and are going to the free clinics and the free beds in hospitals.

On the other hand, it seems to me inevitable, as we see a declining standard of family life which must be affecting millions of families in this country, that there will be much depleted vitality and disease which we can not now trace immediately to the effects of the depression but which undoubtedly will have had their roots in the fact that families were undernourished, and also that they did not seek medical assistance and care at a time when they should have done so.

Miss Dorothy Kahn, executive director of the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, testified, in part, as follows:

We have no measure in Philadelphia to-day of the overcrowding that is a direct or indirect result of our inability to pay rent for families. Only the other day a case came to my attention in which a family of 10 had just moved in with a family of 5 in a 3-room apartment. However shocking that may be to the members of this committee, it is almost an every-day occurrence in our midst. Neighbors do take people in. They sleep on chairs, they sleep on the floor. There are conditions in Philadelphia that beggar description. There is scarcely a day that calls do not come to all of our offices to find somehow a bed or a chair. The demand for boxes on which people can sit or stretch themselves is hardly to be believed. I would not have believed it until I got actual testimony from our workers in the field and workers in this bureau—who have been coming to classes that I have been teaching for these workers—that families were living with the paucity of household goods, to say nothing of the total lack of income, that people in this country, in a civilized community, are having to experience at this time. Of course, that is on the physical side.

I think it is not necessary to go into great detail about the effect of that sort of living conditions on standards of health, personal hygiene, family relationships, and all the rest of it.

Only the other day a man came to our office, as hundreds do day after day, applying for a job, in order not to have to apply for relief. I think we have already stressed the reluctance of individuals to accept relief, regardless of the source from which it comes.

I pause in the reading here to say that Mr. Clarence E. Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee, which has been extending aid particularly in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois, in the coal-mining regions, testified that almost without exception these men who have been without work month after month in this country want work, not charity. He spoke as though it were in every respect exceptional when these individuals sought charity. As I recall it, according to his testimony, more than 99 per cent seek relief only in the last extremity. This should be said in measuring the gravity of the situation with respect to the country as a whole.

As I have just said, Miss Kahn testified that the same situation prevails in Philadelphia. At one point she said:

This man said to our worker: "I know you haven't any money to give us. I know there isn't enough money in the city to take care of the needs of everybody, but I want you to give me a job." Now, we have so many applications of that kind during the day that it has gotten to the point where we can scarcely take their names as they come in, because we have no facilities for giving jobs. In this particular case this individual interested me because when he heard that we had no jobs to give him, he said: "Have you anybody you can send around to my family to tell my wife you have no job to give me? Because she doesn't believe that a man who walks the street from morning till night, day after day, actually can't get a job in this town. She thinks I don't want to work." I think it is not necessary to dramatize the results of a situation like that. And there are thousands of them. It is only one illustration.

Another thing it seems to me to be important to stress is the effect of this situation on the work habits of the next generation. I think it has not been brought out that in the early period of this so-called "depression" one of the most outstanding features of it was the fact that young people could get jobs even when old people—

"Old people"—mark the words—

of 40 years and over could not get jobs, and it has become quite customary for families to expect that their young members who are just coming of working age can replace the usual breadwinner, the father of the family. It is easy to forget about these young boys and girls reaching 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 years of age, who have had no work experience; and if we think of work not as merely a means of livelihood but as an aspect of our life and a part of our life, it has a good deal of significance that these young people are having their first work experience, an experience not with employment but with unemployment.

Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, whom I have already quoted, and who is engaged particularly in the work of helping the children in Philadelphia, said this on the subject of health:

The department of health reported that in June, 1931:

"Our attention was attracted to the increase of malnutrition reported among the children generally. Malnutrition among children shows definite increase in 48 counties and slight in 18, not including Philadelphia. Dealing definitely in percentages, the rates of increase in the counties range from 10 to 30 per cent. It would be safe to say, or to assume, that the percentage of undernourished free-school children is greater than the previous figures which we have quoted. Reports from our State tuberculosis clinic show definite increase in applications. In October of this year 1,468 presented themselves, against 1,298 last year, and our annual monthly average in normal years of about 1,000."

Dr. Theodore B. Appel, secretary of public health in Pennsylvania, said this:

In addition, the trend of the general death rate is definitely upward and the figures for 1931 will probably show an increased number of deaths over the low point of 1930, and also the 5-year average. As another index of largely lowered resistance to disease, full reports of practically all the communicable diseases in the absence of epidemic conditions show definitely increasing trends.

Since this testimony was given Doctor Appel has replied to a further inquiry on the subject of health conditions in Pennsylvania. His letter addressed to me from Harrisburg, under date of January 29, 1932, follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Harrisburg, January 29, 1932.

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your telegram asking for information on the relation of the economic depression to our child-health situation in Pennsylvania, I have the following to say:

Unemployment is having a marked effect on the health of children on several counts, as it has been encountered in the rural areas of this State.

Whole communities where the fathers are out of work are showing the results in malnutrition of children as seen by our field workers.

Where intensive work has been done by our department physicians in giving physical examinations to young children in the small towns and rural areas, it has proved more difficult than in any previous year to secure defect correction because of lack of funds. This means a continuance of damaging conditions, particularly in the eyes, ears, noses, and throats, which will still further lower the resistance in those whose physical status has already become unsatisfactory.

Even in communities where unemployment has been compensated for by keeping young children at least partially fed, the harvest of morbidity which, in my opinion, is almost inevitable, will be revealed in statistics during the coming months. I believe no one can doubt that lowered resistance results from long-continued underfeeding, whether in epidemics from infectious diseases or from maladies belonging to the group of non-infections with which dentists and surgeons in particular are concerned.

Tuberculosis, which in our State as elsewhere has been showing a decline, will much more easily claim its victims among young children where physical resistance has been steadily kept at a low level. It is too early to get figures for this.

A less-tangible harm, but an unquestioned one in the light of our present-day psychiatric knowledge, is the result upon childhood of the home atmosphere of parental worry and anxiety brought about by unemployment. Social problems thus created dovetail with physical conditions, of course.

It is too early for us to be able to give reliable statistics to reinforce the apparent situation as stated above, but I believe we all fear for the young children of the country more serious results than for the other periods of life.

Very truly yours, THEODORE B. APPEL, M. D.

Mr. Jacob Billikopf testified on the subject of health as follows:

Dr. Mark L. Fleming, the general medical supervisor of all the municipal hospitals in New York, was quoted as saying:

"The municipal hospitals are overflowing and the visits to outpatient departments had increased up to August 1 last by 25 per cent over the corresponding seven months of 1930."

The municipal hospitals in New York treated 2,000 more patients in the first seven months of 1931 than they did in the first seven months of 1930. This compares with an increase of something over 1,500 in 1930 over 1920 for the same period.

In 1929 the patients in the city hospitals numbered 14,600. In the following spring the total had risen to 16,200, and in May of the present year to 18,572.

Then the United Hospital Fund management added the following statement:

"There has been little doubt in local medical circles concerning the adverse effect of hard times on the public health; but as we deem it of vital importance that the public be not mislead by optimistic generalizations, we have made a survey of 140 hospitals in New York City definitely to determine whether hospital cases have increased in the years since the peak of prosperity out of proprtion to the increased population. The figures show that the increase has been abnormal and progressive. The survey included all the public and private hospitals of the city, with the exception of the relatively few proprietary hospitals and sanatoria having a negligible number of beds and for which figures are not at the present moment available."

The secretary of public health in the State of Pennsylvania, Doctor Appel, in a speech delivered before a joint session of the senate and legislature in Harrisburg, presented a statement from which I quote the following salient points—and this refers only to the rural sections of Pennsylvania, excluding Philadelphia and Pittsburgh:

"1. Malnutrition of children above average in 48 counties. Reported increase 10 per cent to 300 per cent. Average probably 25 per cent increase.

"2. School examinations in fourth-class school districts: Incomplete reports indicate 27 per cent of school children undernourished. Approximately 216,000 out of a school population of 800,000. Increase of 50 per cent over normal.

"3. New patients per month at tuberculosis clinics have nearly doubled since 1929.

"4. Waiting list at sanatoria, 1,426—against 1,085 in 1930 and annual average of 600.

"5. Tuberculosis mortality rate for 1931 will probably show first increase in years—indicated from trend for first eight months.

"6. General death rate will show an increase.

"7. Fall reports on prevalence of disease in absence of epidemics show increase."

In quoting Doctor Appel, the secretary of health for the State of Pennsylvania, I am safe in my generalization that the above statement might have been made by any department of public health in virtually any State in the Union. The facts presented in Pennsylvania are not peculiar to Pennsylvania. No one State or city has to-day a monopoly on depression.

Doctor Billikopf presented a letter and charts which he had received from Mr. William J. Ellis, Director of the Department of Institutions and Agencies of the State of New Jersey. I shall only call attention to certain summaries in the letter prepared by Mr. Ellis. It shows that there has been an increase in the population under the care of the various State institutions and agencies under the supervision of the State department of institutions and agencies. The letter follows:

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES,
Trenton, N. J., December 24, 1931.

Mr. JACOB BILLIKOPF,
Federation of Jewish Charities, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. BILLIKOPF: We are sending you, under separate cover, a series of charts which illustrate the figures compiled by our research division concerning the increase in the population under the care of the various social-welfare institutions and agencies under the supervision of the department of institutions and agencies.

In summary the figures show that the population under the care of the various institutions and agencies increased about 37 per cent in the 4-year period between 1925–1929, and 31 per cent in the 2-year period between 1929–1931, following the onset of the economic depression.

Type	Per cent increase in number under care	
	2-year period, 1929–1931	4-year period, 1925–1929
Total	31.0	36.8
Dependent children	46.3	57.2
Tuberculous	24.2	43.7
Mentally ill	12.9	12.9
Feeble-minded and epileptics	21.0	[1]43.4
Adult offenders	23.2	26.9
Juvenile delinquents	3.8	4.7

[1] Large increase due to opening of new institution.

In the number admitted a similar tendency is observable:

Type	Per cent increase in number admitted	
	2-year period, 1929–1931	4-year period, 1925–1929
Total	57.9	33.8
Dependent children	187.4	17.2
Tuberculous	15.1	16.8
Mentally ill	30.3	15.8
Feeble-minded and epileptics	2.9	[1]102.5
Adult offenders	36.4	16.0
Juvenile delinquents	3.8	15.9

[1]Large increase due to opening of new institution.

An increase of less than 35 per cent is shown in the admissions to the various institutions and agencies in the 4-year span between 1925–1929 and an increase of almost 60 per cent in the two years between 1929–1931. The pressure for the care of dependent children was particularly marked during the last two years, an increase of almost 200 per cent having taken place in the number of dependent children committed to the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians between 1929–1931 as against an increase of less than 20 per cent in commitments during the previous four years, 1925–1929. The figures on institutional admissions also show marked increases in the number admitted to the institutions for the mentally ill and adult offenders in the last two years as against admissions in the previous 4-year period, 1925–1929.

The large increase in the admissions of mental patients is ascribed as to the financial and industrial depression by Dr. Arthur G. Lane, clinical director of the New Jersey State Hospital, at Greystone Park:

"In studying the clinical pictures and case histories of our patients it is apparent that this factor has been an important and serious incident in directly and indirectly furnishing situations which have acted as precipitating causes for unsettling the adaptations of a large number of individuals who previously, without the stress of this factor, were making adequate social adjustments."

Sincerely yours,

DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES,
EMIL FRANKEL, *Director of Research.*

Population under care and admissions to institutions and agencies under supervision of New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, by years, 1925–1931

Type	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925
NUMBER UNDER CARE AT END OF FISCAL YEAR							
Total	50,028	42,903	38,180	35,405	32,701	30,196	27,901
Dependent children	27,275	21,883	18,649	16,635	14,896	13,321	11,864
Tuberculous	2,343	2,113	1,887	1,675	1,509	1,394	1,269
Mentally ill	11,770	11,079	10,423	10,402	9,985	9,613	9,229
Feeble-minded and epileptic	4,285	3,837	3,542	3,142	2,819	2,634	2,470
Adult offenders	3,408	3,175	2,767	2,669	2,595	2,357	2,198
Juvenile delinquents	947	905	912	882	895	877	871
ADMISSIONS DURING FISCAL YEAR							
Total	17,869	12,860	11,316	10,704	9,294	8,678	8,459
Dependent children	7,067	2,849	2,459	2,213	1,413	1,422	1,132
Tuberculous	3,463	3,461	3,008	3,035	2,900	2,586	2,576
Mentally ill	4,073	3,519	3,127	2,972	2,777	2,599	2,700
Feeble-minded and epileptic	825	729	802	621	424	387	396
Adult offenders	1,874	1,715	1,374	1,371	1,253	1,197	1,184
Juvenile delinquents	567	587	546	492	527	487	471

Mr. BILLIKOPF. The charts show graphically how the curves for dependent children, tuberculosis, the mentally ill, the feeble-minded, and for juvenile offenders have gone up.

Mr. Billikopf added:

I am not an authority on health; but it seems to me, as one who is dealing day after day with the underprivileged, both in the field of philanthropy and applied economics, that where a family is granted so woefully inadequate an allowance as $5 per week in Philadelphia, or $5 a month in Altoona, and where, as in the distressed mining districts, even $5 a month would seem to be a generous sum, it would seem, in the light of these facts, that it does not require very much imagination to trace the correlation between that type of allowance and underfeeding, undernourishment, and all of the concomitant diseases to which the body and mind are likely to be subjected.

Attention was also directed by Doctor Billikopf to the statement which President Hoover presented to the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, which not so very long ago was widely heralded throughout the country. At the opening session of the White House conference, President Hoover, according to Doctor Billikopf, presented a remarkable statement, in which he cited the following statistics:

One of your committees reports that out of 45,000,000 children in the United States, 35,000,000 children are reasonably normal; 6,000,000 children are improperly nourished; 1,000,000 children have defective speech; 1,000,000 have weak or damaged hearts; 675,000 present behavior problems; 450,000 are mentally retarded; 383,000 are tuberculous; 342,000 have impaired hearing; 18,000 are totally deaf; 300,000 are crippled; 50,000 are partially blind; 14,000 are wholly blind; 200,000 are delinquent; 500,000 are dependent.

"To date," said President Hoover, "there are a total of at least 10,000,000 deficient children in this country." And President Hoover made the following comment:

"If we do not perform our duty to these children we leave them dependent or we provide for them the major recruiting ground for the army of ne'er-do-wells and criminals."

If at this stage we assume a policy of laissez faire, then not only will we not be able to meet President Hoover's challenge with reference to the 10,000,000 children who were so carefully and so scientifically classified but we will add many casualties to the above-mentioned categories.

Senator COSTIGAN. A cursory glance at the charts placed before us by you, Doctor Billikopf, would indicate a relatively heavy increase among the feeble-minded and among the dependent children. What is the significance of those facts, if they be facts?

Mr. BILLIKOPF. In the case of dependent children what is happening is this: Two and three families are combined, either through eviction or the threat of eviction. They move into one house; children are moving with parents and vice versa. There is a breaking down of family life, with the result that more commitments are being sought to-day for children in custodial institutions than at any previous time. The figures for New Jersey would merely indicate that the stress and strain under which families are laboring is so great that there is a larger appeal for commitment for their children than at any previous period.

Senator COSTIGAN. That relative increase has apparently been marked since 1919?

Mr. BILLIKOPF. Yes. As stated before, whereas between 1925 and 1929, a 4-year period, the increase in New Jersey State institutions was 37 per cent in all of the types of commitments, during the past two years the increase has been 31 per cent, almost as large as during the previous two years. Now, in the case of the tuberculous, we social workers began to pride ourselves on the fact that we had so checked the ravages of tuberculosis that whereas only a few years ago it held a premiership in the hierarchy of diseases it rapidly got into the sixth place. There were many people, particularly the health authorities connected with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., who were able on the basis of past ascertainable factors to predict that within a given period of years—let us say 15, 20, or 25 years—tuberculosis would be unknown and our tuberculosis sanitora would have to be utilized for other purposes. In the last year or two tuberculosis has again increased, and, as you have gathered from the data submitted by Doctor Appel, secretary of public health in the State of Pennsylvania, whereas the number of applications was 600 per year now it has risen to about 1,400. In the categories of dependent children, tuberculosis and particularly the mentally ill, the ratio of increase has been considerable.

Dr. Sidney Goldstein, of New York City, chairman of the executive committee of the Joint Committee on Unemployment, which is a national organization composed of 15 or more organizations that are deeply interested in the problem of unemployment, testified as follows:

In the hospitals that I have been able to visit in my travels from place to place, I have found that not only are all the beds occupied, but they have cots upon the floor, and that in many cities and many sections they have not been able to find room for the number of people who are now pleading for treatment in the dispensaries and hospitals.

That is very important. That has never happened before, as far as I know, during the last two generations.

I think it is also significant that the orphan asylums are greatly overcrowded. This means that children can not now be cared for by parents, but are being referred to the city and State for care. In other years our families have tried to take care of children, and relatives have tried to take care of the children, but now they find that utterly impossible.

The insane asylums are greatly overcrowded and it is impossible for the institutions to take care of the number of insane. Furthermore, we have estimated that the number of suicides in the United States has nearly doubled during the last two years. That is based upon statistics that have come to us from different sections of the country. Men and women, in other words, are simply unable to bear the strain of the present breakdown in our economic life and they themselves are breaking down physically and mentally and ending their lives rather than to endure the burdens placed upon them, for the burdens are too heavy to bear.

Mr. President, I think I have sufficiently presented the general situation with respect to the effect of the economic depression upon the health and lives of our fellow citizens. I want now to turn briefly, if I may, to one or two other aspects of the testimony.

Yesterday an inquiry was addressed to me by some Senator, I think the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] with respect to what was said by witnesses on the subject of the amount sought to be appropriated by the Federal Government in the measure before us. I answered, in general, that the testimony was to the effect that the amount indicated was not excessive. Mr. Karl de Schweinitz, secretary of the community council of Philadelphia and also of the committee for unemployment relief, testified on that subject. The chairman of the committee, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], was questioning him. I quote from his testimony:

The CHAIRMAN. But even under the appropriation which the State legislature—

That is, referring to the State legislature in Pennsylvania—

has passed you would only get $2,500,000, which will only carry you until the 1st of July, if the load does not increase?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. Exactly. It seems to me that those who do not favor Federal aid have the burden of proof resting on them. We ask them to show us where the money is coming from.

Senator COSTIGAN. Assuming that Federal aid is given, do you regard the amounts specified in the bills before the committee—

The highest amount of the two bills was the sum proposed by the pending bill, namely, $375,000,000—

as reasonable, under all the circumstances, for the country as a whole?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. I think it is the least you ought to consider—that is, I refer to the $250,000,000 figure.

Senator COSTIGAN. Or the $375,000,000 in a year and a half?

Mr. DE SCHWEINITZ. Yes. That, I would say, was the lowest.

Mr. Walter West, another expert in the field of social work whom I have already quoted, testified in answer to questions as follows:

Senator COSTIGAN. Do you regard the problem as a national one calling for some national assistance?

Mr. WEST. It seems to me to be national in origin, national in scope, beyond the reach of any local administrative unit or of the State in its magnitude, and therefore national.

Senator COSTIGAN. Have you any comments to make, Mr. West, on the amounts specified for appropriation in the bills before the committee and the method or methods for distributing those amounts?

Mr. WEST. On the amounts, it seems to me that it is pretty much of a guess. I could not add up the amounts needed here and there and in other places and come to any figure, because we do not know what those figures are.

Senator COSTIGAN. Have you any reason to assume that the amounts specified are excessive?

Mr. WEST. No; and I would rather see them a little larger, as long as they have the provision that any unexpended amounts shall be returned to the Federal Treasury than to see them smaller. I think that the figure between $250,000,000 or $375,000,000—either one would do. My preference is for a larger amount.

Senator COSTIGAN. Larger rather than smaller?

Mr. WEST. Yes. I do not believe these figures would cover all of the relief needed, but I think the problem is going to be to get the country organized to expend the fund properly.

Senator COSTIGAN. You understand, of course, that the $375,000,000 is divided into $125,000,000 for the next six months and $250,000,000 additional for the following fiscal year, is required?

Mr. WEST. I understand that; yes.

Then he proceeded to approve both of the bills. He said:

Now, as to the bills, it seems to me that both of them have my approval, because they include the main point of practicability in the application of a Federal program of this kind to local needs; that is, the cooperation, the cooperative arrangement between the Federal Government and the States and localities.

I shall not read further from his discussion of that subject.

Mr. Allen T. Burns, executive director of the Association of Community Chests and Councils, to whom I referred yesterday, testified in part as follows:

Senator COSTIGAN. To come more immediately to the purposes of this hearing, do you feel that the need in the country at this time either wararnts or requires Federal assistance?

Mr. BURNS. Well, I take it that is what these hearings are to determine, and, speaking officially, I do not have adequate facts upon which to base that conclusion. I am stating that the funds we have—

The comunity chest funds—

are altogether inadequate to meet that situation, and we are not yet aware that local public funds have been appropriated in any such amount as to meet the situation.

Senator COSTIGAN. Speaking unofficially, have you anything to say?

Mr. BURNS. Then I am still speaking on a surmise rather than on a basis of facts which we are to gather in January, that would give me more adequate basis of facts. I have tried to indicate what our guess is, and as a result of those, or when we gather those facts, and we find the situation in cities like Philadelphia and Cleveland, our most successful chests, cities like Pittsburgh, we are just appalled, absolutely dumfounded as to how they are going to get funds to get through. The conclusions are rather obvious without our having the facts upon which to base them.

Senator COSTIGAN. For the purposes of this record it would be helpful if you felt you might venture an opinion as to the probable need in the country—I mean as to whether the country will need Federal cooperation with State and other local agencies.

Mr. BURNS. Well, my own personal surmise is that it will be needed decidedly. I say that we have not officially gathered the facts as to whether local public funds will be sufficient, and only when such facts have been gathered will there be sufficient basis for a positive statement that Federal funds are necessary.

Senator COSTIGAN. Your experience and reputation are so considerable that I understand your hesitation in regard to these questions, yet for those reasons I should like to know, Mr. Burns, whether you feel that the sums specified in the two bills before the committee—$250,000,000 in Senator La Follette's bill and in the other bill $125,000,000 for the first six months of 1932 and $250,000,000 for the following fiscal year—would be regarded by you as reasonable or excessive?

Mr. BURNS. By no means excessive. I am interested both in the amounts and your method of administering them, because I think with our very inadequate fact base, which I think is the most startling thing in the whole situation, you will discover in the process of administering those amounts how nearly adequate or inadequate they are. Unfortunately we do not seem to have any other process of determining the need except to go at it and begin meeting it.

Mr. President, in this connection I regret the absence of the Senator from Kansas, who was here a moment ago, because I want to call attention to what another witness, Mr. Benson Y. Landis, executive secretary of the American Country Life Association, had to say. Mr. Landis, who is, of course, deeply interested in the problems of country life, said, in part, this:

I think that the farm population is also very much concerned about the tendency to place the relief burden on local governments, particularly the counties, because the farm population will be taxed for unemployment relief that is voted by the counties.

Our local governments rely also largely on real estate taxes, and I should like to express the personal opinion that we have certainly about reached the limit in taxing farm property. In fact, there are conservative economists who contend that in some areas at least the tax burden is now so high——

Senator COSTIGAN (interposing). You are speaking of the country as a whole, Mr. Landis, when you say that the burden on farms has "about reached the limit"?

Mr. LANDIS. I think the studies on taxation run fairly uniform in that respect. That is a point on which there is pretty accurate information. A number of the State agricultural colleges have that information.

I think that the policy of placing the main burden—

That is, the burden of relief—

on local governments is a mistake and from the point of view of rural statesmanship is very unfortunate.

Doubtless we will all agree that the farmer is to-day disproportionately burdened by taxation, and it is admitted by all experts that he is least able to shift his tax burden.

The farmers of the country—

Declares the National Industrial Conference Board—

have had a heavier tax burden to bear, in view of the circumstances of their occupation, than other economic groups. As long as the general property tax is the predominant element in the tax system of the United States that condition must necessarily persist.

I quote the following from a report on The Farmer's Tax Burden, by Mr. Basil Manly and Mr. C. M. Kelley, published by the Rawleigh Foundation in December, 1930, as follows:

An analysis of our methods of financing State and local governmental expenditures would disclose that the above statement is fully warranted—

Referring to the declaration of the National Industrial Conference Board as to the tax burden of the farmers of the country—

It directs attention to a fact that needs consideration and emphasis in any attempt to readjust tax payments.

This subject is mentioned at this time because it strengthens the argument for a national contribution in order to avoid placing upon the farmers of this country an additional burden by depending solely upon local taxable resources to meet the desperate need.

The Senator from Wisconsin quoted in full—and I shall not repeat—the testimony of Mr. Gifford, head of the President's organization on unemployment relief, revealing his lack of knowledge both in respect to the extent of unemployment and the available funds for relief. Perhaps, however, I should add a word from the testimony of Mr. Allen T. Burns, who has worked closely with the President's unemployment organization and with the Red Cross, and of course the association of community chests, of which he is the head. I put this question to Mr. Burns:

May I ask one other question? Are you in a position to say in how many cities we have anything like reasonable information as to human need at the present time?

Mr. BURNS. Well, I think the number of unemployed, city by city is known for the larger communities.

Senator COSTIGAN. In how many cities, approximately?

Mr. BURNS. Probably in those of the size that we are most conversant with, those of 25,000 or 30,000 and over. But if you ask an exact measure of the need, no one knows how much is going to be absolutely needed.

Senator COSTIGAN. Even in those cities?

Mr. BURNS. No. It is mounting and movable—not feast but famine in this case.

Senator COSTIGAN. Approximately how many such cities or known regions are there, so far as social work is concerned?

Mr. BURNS. Our facts are based on some 500 communities—376 of 25,000 and over—because that is the total there are of that size. Then we have chests in some 130 others, and we do know something about them.

Senator COSTIGAN. Are those other cities of about 25,000 each?

Mr. BURNS. No.

Senator COSTIGAN. They are below that?

Mr. BURNS. Three hundred and seventy-six is the total of cities over 25,000. They do not all have chests. We had a relation to their problem this fall.

Senator COSTIGAN. Am I correct in stating that there are about 4,500 cities or municipalities with a population between 2,500 and 25,000?

Mr. BURNS. I am not sure whether it is above 2,500 or above 1,000. But that is the number of communities listed in the census as communities other than towns or counties under 25,000.

Senator COSTIGAN. As to how many of those have you information?

Mr. BURNS. About a hundred only. It is not significant.

Senator COSTIGAN. Have you information as to the needs in the rural areas of America?

Mr. BURNS. Not at all.

Senator COSTIGAN. Do you know whether the Red Cross or any other agency has such information?

Mr. BURNS. So far as the systematic gathering of information, we do not have any systematic gathering.

Senator COSTIGAN. You have been in touch with these various agencies, have you not?

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

I shall not detain the Senate much longer on this subject. Before concluding, however, I ought to say that I have received, in response to a request directed to the Secretary of Labor, a report on the effect of the economic depression upon the health and welfare of children. This report was prepared by the Children's Bureau and was transmitted to me by the Secretary of Labor.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] read from it extracts in part. I wish to read one or two additional statements from the same report. It is dated January 22, 1932. The report states:

In two or three districts where the mines had been abandoned and the men were totally unemployed every child in school was seriously underweight. Teachers of both white and colored schools reported that the children entering school were inattentive, listless, and unable to learn. As one teacher expressed it, they were "in a dazed condition all the time." Wherever funds could be raised—even in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties—school lunches were started, and remarkable improvement in the physical condition and scholarship of the children was noted in almost every case where such lunches were served.

One teacher stated that her children entered in the fall so thin and pale and lifeless that she herself took over the janitor work in order to use the $8 saved monthly for noon lunches. The children improved immediately, but after a month's closing for quarantine returned in almost as bad condition as at the beginning of the term, and the work of building them up had to be done over.

There is included in this report a quotation from a director of the maternity and infancy division of a State board of health, reading in part as follows:

We are receiving numerous letters of appeal from time to time from expectant mothers whose husbands are out of employment, who have large families, and who are receiving very little in the way of material relief adequate for the needs of themselves and their children. The physicians on the prenatal consultations report that almost every other woman coming to the clinics reports unemployment and shows evidence of getting, not so much an inadequate quantity of food but an insufficient amount of essential foods—insufficient milk, meats, eggs, and vegetables. Many families report that they are subsisting almost entirely on potatoes. In the case of young children there is not so much evidence of loss of weight, because this diet seems to keep it up pretty well, but their color is very poor, they are listless, and in some cases show an accentuation of evidences of rickets.

Under the subject of "Consumption of Milk," the report says, in part:

The New York Times on September 11, 1931, stated that a study of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor showed that milk consumption in New York City was 20 per cent lower during the week studied than during the corresponding week of 1930.

The Illinois Health Messenger, the official bulletin of the Illinois Health Department, for November 15, 1931, in discussing a survey which was made from April 1 until the middle of September, of the milk supply of the drought area of southern Illinois, stated:

"The results of this survey indicate that consumption of milk has decreased in some communities as much as 30 per cent. This estimate is based on the amount of pasteurized milk distributed as compared to previous years. The decrease is accounted for to some extent by the fact that dissatisfaction with declining prices of market milk has caused many producers to become distributors of their own product. This has resulted in a demoralization of the retail prices of pasteurized milk with a resulting loss of profit to the pasteurization-plant operators and slackening of vigilance in maintaining a satisfactory standard of sanitation.

From the New Jersey Department of Agriculture, as reported in the New York Times of December 27, 1931, comes the following statement: "Figures available to the Bureau of Markets indicate a curtailment in per capita milk consumption in New Jersey. This curtailment is surprising in face of very low retail prices which make milk among the cheapest items in the family budget."

Further on, the report says this on the subject of "Increased Demands on Existing Health Agencies":

There is evidence of increased demands on agencies ministering to individual and the public health. Increased demands for health service may be due to increased appreciation of such service, diminished financial ability to employ private-paid medical or nursing service, or increase in illness.

The following statements are from a report of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing:

"Many local organizations are being forced to drop their program for disease prevention and to devote all their time to nursing and clinical service."

* * * * * * * *

"Already, since October, 1929, the demand for bedside nursing alone increased in 73 per cent of the reporting agencies; ranging from four-tenths of 1 per cent in Louisville, Ky., through an 11 per cent increase in Milwaukee, to the peak of 78 per cent reported by Pittsburgh."

* * * * * * * *

"Although the demands upon public-health nurses have increased enormously during the past two years, 42 per cent of the agencies have suffered from a reduction of appropriation, 33 per cent are operating on the same budgets, but 25 per cent have had increases."

* * * * * * * *

"Nearly two-thirds of the public-health nursing units reported a decrease in fees received for their services. Many of the associations make a small charge for each visit, which is based on carefully computed costs. Wherever the patient is unable to pay the full amount, however, he is charged according to his ability to pay. One association in Detroit states that free visits constitute 40 per cent of the total work done, an increase of 10 per cent over 1929. In Norfolk, Va., a public-health nursing agency has suffered a 25 per cent reduction in fees."

* * * * * * * *

"The demand for medical relief which consists of supplying bandages, medicine, proper clothing, etc., to those who are ill, has increased in nearly three-fourths of the associations who give this type of relief."

There follow quotations from the reports of the United Hospital Fund, which are substantially in line with those already read.

Mr. President, in the light of data like these, furnished by the leading experts in America, it seems that there can be no doubt of the duty resting on the Congress to meet this national problem by national means.

Indorsements of the bill before us have come from every part of the country. I wish to read, for the purposes of a permanent record, a few of the messages received by me within a very brief period of time.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] read a message from Mr. D. B. Robertson, chairman, and Mr. E. J. Manion, secretary, of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, sent from Chicago on February 1. On the same day I received a telegram signed by Mr. P. C. Bradley, chairman of the International Association of General Chairmen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, reading as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 1, 1932.*

Hon. E. P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate.

The International Association of General Chairmen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, now in session at Chicago, respectfully petition favorable action by Congress on La Follette-Costigan bill appropriating $375,000,000 for unemployment relief. Employees represented by this association in train and yard service together with all other classes of railway employees in United States, effective to-day, have agreed to contribute 10 per cent of their earnings to relief of present economic conditions, thereby reducing their ability to aid the thousands of their fellow unemployed railway workers, and believe that the people of the United States would gladly contribute the proposed appropriation to the relief of unemployment distress. Congress has generously assisted industry, and we earnestly urge Members of Congress to enact this humanitarian relief measure.

P. C. BRADLEY, *Chairman.*

They do not say that this contribution was made under compulsion, but doubtless refer to the 10 per cent reduction in their wages which they resisted until compelled to yield.

Here is a telegram of January 30 from my home city of Denver:

DENVER, COLO, *January 30, 1932.*

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Denver Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, strongly indorses the Federal relief bill, No. 3045.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Here is a telegram of date of January 27, addressed to me:

PITTSBURGH, PA., *January 27, 1932.*

Senator EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate:

Pittsburgh Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, unanimously indorses Costigan-La Follette bill.

ISABEL P. KENNEDY,
Chairman Pittsburgh Chapter,
American Association of Social Workers.

A telegram from Yonkers, N. Y., addressed to me, dated January 30, reads as follows:

YONKERS, N. Y., *January 30, 1932.*

Senator COSTIGAN:

Heartily indorse and urge passage of La Follette-Costigan bill, Senate bill 3045.

Helen Elting, Mrs. William Austin, Mrs. Ernest Bower, Mrs. James A. Clark, Mrs. John Kerin, Miss Catherine Coe, Miss Mary Holderness, Mrs. Harold Larowe, Mrs. C. P. Melber, Mrs. William L. Saunders, Mrs. F. D. Sheibly, 257 North Broadway, Yonkers, N. Y.

A telegram of date January 31, addressed to me from New York City, reads as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 31, 1932.*

Senator COSTIGAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting of the executive committee of the National Federation of Settlements, held in New York January 30, representatives from Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Louisville, New York, and other centers, canvassed the emergency unemployment needs of the industrial districts in which settlements are located and heartily indorsed Costigan-La Follette Federal relief bill, Senate bill 3045.

LEAH D. TAYLOR,
President.
Mrs. V. G. SIMKHOVITCH,
Vice President.
ALBERT J. KENNEDY,
Secretary.
HELEN HALL,
Chairman Unemployment Division.

A telegram of January 20 from San Diego, Calif., addressed to Mr. Walter West, American Association Social Workers, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York City, and forwarded by Mr. West to me, reads as follows:

SAN DIEGO, CALIF., *January 20, 1932.*

WALTER WEST,
American Association Social Workers,
130 East Twenty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

San Diego chapter (American Association of Social Workers) wishes to indorse the Costigan Senate bill, and desires that you urge all Congressmen to bend every effort to pass this bill at the earliest possible date.

MARY WYSOR KEEFER, *Chairman.*

A telegram from Los Angeles, dated January 30, 1932, addressed to me, reads as follows:

Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies composed of 180 member agencies and public departments with 350 delegate members indorsed Senate bill 3045 and urges its passage.

KATHERIN L. VAN WYCK.

Mr. President, I shall not burden the RECORD with all the messages. I am endeavoring to select merely a few which will reflect the sentiment in the country growing out of the extraordinary economic conditions which have been reviewed.

Perhaps before I pass to another subject I should mention, however, one or two other communications received by me. I have received a telegram from Pueblo Colo., as follows:

Urge support of La Follette-Costigan relief bill.

E. A. BLOOMQUIST,
Chairman Colorado State Legislative Board, Brotherhood
of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

In that connection, Mr. President, while, as indicated by the testimony of Mr. Bane—and that feature of his testimony was, I believe, reviewed in full by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE]—the conditions in Colorado are reported to be relatively better than those in other parts of America, I think in fairness I should direct attention to some specific conditions prevailing in the State. The communications I have tend to show the utter inadequacy of the report, although it was a service to the country to make even that insufficient information available. Mr. Bane's statement entirely ignored the conditions in the industrial regions of our State. The only suggestion of any distress in Colorado was confined to the mining districts of the State, where the conditions were reported to and by Mr. Bane as increasingly bad.

The report of Mr. Bane, it might be added, was, according to the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER], inadequate with respect to conditions in Montana. It described conditions in that State as fair. The Senator from Montana speaks of them as distressing and bad.

To return to Colorado again, I have a telegram from Mr. O. E. McGuire, president, and Mr. Earl M. Kouns, secretary, of the Pueblo Trades and Labor Assembly, with respect to conditions in Pueblo. They are both responsible citizens of Pueblo where the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. has an extensive industrial plant, and they report as follows:

PUEBLO, COLO., *January 28, 1932.*

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Pueblo is furnishing sleeping quarters and two meals per day to 400 and 500 single men—one-half transients. The community chest drive in November went over the top. Twenty-six thousand dollars of this amount was for heads of Pueblo families unemployed. There have been registered over 1,400 heads of families badly in need. Nine hundred and fifty of these have been given two days' work per week at $3 per day on made work for the past eight weeks. These funds were exhausted last night and the men layed off. Another drive for $30,000 will be started at once. These heads of families will be practically destitute unless this drive is a success. In addition to the above there are many thousands of unemployed men in Pueblo who will be compelled to seek aid before long. The situation is critical and the community will not be able to take care of it much longer. We believe that Federal aid is imperative.

PUEBLO TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY,
O. E. MCGUIRE, *President,*
EARL M. KOUNS, Secretary.

Conditions in Denver are indicated by a telegram from Mr. John E. Gross, secretary-treasurer of the Colorado State Federation of Labor. It should be added that Mr. Gross has

an official connection with unemployment committees in Colorado, as a member of the Denver Citizens Employment Committee, representing the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the State committee on unemployment, appointed by the Governor of Colorado, and representing labor.

Mr. Gross telegraphed as follows, under date of January 28, 1932:

DENVER, COLO., *January 28, 1932.*

Senator EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Denver chest raised $735,000; citizens' employment committee, $400,000; Denver city budget for 1932 poor relief, $153,000. Total funds, including relief and administration, $1,288,000. Per capita relief basis for 21,400 unemployed registered by citizens' committee, approximately $5 per month. This is indicative of Colorado unemployment situation.

JOHN E. GROSS.

I have also received the following indorsement of the bill by the American Association of Social Workers:

The commission on unemployment of the American Association of Social Workers has indorsed the general plan for a Federal relief program as proposed in the bill introduced in the United States Senate jointly by Senators EDWARD P. COSTIGAN, of Colorado, and ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr., of Wisconsin. This action was taken at a meeting of the commission in New York City.

By vote of the commission Federal relief was approved as an emergency measure necessary to care for the widespread distress due to unemployment throughout the Nation. The action was based on the conclusion that whereas relief is ordinarily a method of dealing locally with individual casualties of social life, a condition of mass need has now developed which is national in origin, national in scope, and beyond the capacity of many local communities to deal with, and is, therefore, a primary Federal responsibility.

The commission secondly based its approval of the bill on the principle of local administration which it upholds. A practicable plan of local, State, and Federal partnership is outlined in the measure. Responsibility for dealing directly with the unemployed would remain in the hands of local authorities, and, where possible, with existing agencies. The part of the Federal Government and States would be to contribute funds and assist in the upholding of standard methods of administration.

The commission made it clear that the emergency need of a Federal relief program for the next two or three years was the basis of its indorsement, but called for more permanent and constructive measures for dealing with unemployment in the future. It viewed relief as a makeshift for dealing with unemployment, particularly on a large scale, but saw no other method which was practicable to prevent widespread distress throughout the Nation during the depression. Indorsement of this Federal relief proposal includes recommendations to the executive committee of the association to take necessary steps to forward its passage by the present Congress. Members of the commission are: Neva R. Deardorff, New York City, chairman; Jacob Billikopf, Philadelphia; Sophonisba Breckinridge, Mollie Ray Carroll, and Joel D. Hunter, Chicago; Richard K. Conant, Boston; Harry L. Lurie, Linton B. Swift, Francesa Taussig, Mary Van Kleeck, and Walter West, New York City.

While speaking on general unemployment conditions, to which I made reference in connection with the telegrams from Colorado and the testimony with respect to Montana, perhaps I should add one or two statements bearing upon conditions in other parts of the country. Here is a telegram received from West Virginia by me under date of February 1:

CHARLESTON, W. VA., *February 1, 1932.*

Senator COSTIGAN,
Senatorial Committee on Unemployment, Washington, D. C.:

Extensive tour of West Virginia coal fields shows frightful conditions. Seventy families inhabiting tents in Kanawha County alone; 30 unemployed living in abandoned coke ovens at Fairmont. Communities and relief agencies woefully inadequate. People desperate and in dangerous mood.

AMICUS MOST,
MURRAY BARON,
National Organizers, Socialist Party.

Following is a statement from the Salt Lake City Tribune in its issue of Wednesday morning, January 27, 1932. I read in part from the article:

Warning that the county emergency relief commission can not continue to operate beyond February 10 unless more funds are received was sounded Tuesday at a meeting of the commission at headquarters in the chamber of commerce.

According to Chairman Milton E. Lipman, only $6,436.41 in supplies and cash remains on hand, and careful management will be required if that sum is made to suffice, since disbursements during the past two weeks have been at the rate of about $500 a day.

I pass without further quotation of the article, which is devoted to a specification of reasons, through the increasing unemployment, for the great strain placed upon the emergency relief in the State of Utah.

In the Chicago Daily Tribune of January 26, 1932, appeared an article which ought not to be omitted from this record. It is entitled "Relief Fund Leaders Appeal to Illinois Public to Support $20,000,000 Appropriation Plan."

In part the article reads as follows:

An urgent appeal to all citizens of Illinois to support the $20,000,000 appropriation program for relief of the State's needy and unemployed that is to be presented to the general assembly at Springfield this afternoon was issued yesterday by President Edward L. Ryerson, jr., and other officials of the joint emergency relief fund of Cook County. Their statement said:

I am going to read just a few extracts from the statement, omitting the intervening portions:

On the verge of the emergency reassembly of the legislature to consider bills to provide $20,000,000 for the relief of the destitute and unemployed of Illinois the officials of the joint emergency relief fund of Chicago and Cook County, a volunteer body constituted to provide the means and direct the work of caring for the needy during the present unparalleled depression, wish to call the attention of the citizens of the State to the situation, in the belief that they will back up the hoped for action of their senators and representatives in supporting the needed legislation.

I omit a reference to the fact that the Cook County Board of Charity has been carrying some 20,000 families, and proceed.

Cook County usually carries about 70 per cent of the load—

That is interesting because it is confirmatory of testimony already given that about 70 per cent of relief in the country generally is borne by taxation. In this case—

Cook County usually carries about 70 per cent of the load, appropriations being made regularly out of county funds for that purpose by the county board.

The statement proceeds:

A year ago last fall a campaign for $5,000,000 was launched and successfully carried out, which met the most urgent needs of last winter and spring.

EXTENT OF CRISIS UNFORESEEN

Then it was thought that the peak of joblessness had been reached and that returning prosperity would automatically wipe out the demand for more assistance.

No one could foresee the extent to which the present crisis would bring us.

I pass on and read further from the article:

Whereas the county usually bears about 70 per cent of the charity load and the private agencies 30 per cent, that has now been reversed in this emergency and the agencies have so far borne two-thirds of the expense. Their resources are now exhausted.

If it were possible to stage another campaign for popular subscriptions to care for the 500,000 people now penniless and facing starvation here unless the legislature comes to the aid with the requested emergency appropiration, it would be done. But Chicago has given to the limit.

* * * * * * *

The situation is worse than a disaster, no matter how extensive. It is having the effect of a military occupation or blockade, where slow starvation wears down the resistance of a besieged population and does injury to health and morale for years to come.

Health impairment and malnutrition are now being endured by hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans, especially little children, which will be a blight to them all through their lives. Lack of food and proper medical care, improper housing, and overcrowding are destroying the labors of years.

CROWDS OF APPLICANTS FOR AID

Public hospitals never have had such crowds of applicants. Most of those seeking help do not come until they have exhausted every resource, and have cut down their living rations until hunger drives them to the charity offices.

Even in this situation, it is possible to allow only sufficient to maintain life. Nearly all casework standards have been abandoned for the time by the relief agencies, and now it is a matter of providing enough food to keep people from starving and enough coal to keep them from freezing—even rent is being paid.

With 125,000 families in Chicago to care for and hundreds more needing help every day, donations to families averaging 4 or 5 persons each, with 2 or 3 children involved in nearly every case, have been cut to $20 or less a month. It is apparent that all they can do on that is to keep barely away from the hunger line.

UP TO THE LEGISLATURE

Yet this small ration, which is now costing about $3,000,000 a month to provide, will have to be cut off, as rent allowances already have been, unless the legislature grants the emergency appeal.

The appeal continues:

Citizens of Illinois, it is more than an emergency. It is a condition unparalleled, appalling, desperate. If it were not no such appeal for public aid as this would be made. But when absolute starvation for hundreds of thousands looms it is like war, requiring heroic measures and warranting them.

APPEAL IN NAME OF HUMANITY

Because Chicago and Cook County have put forth every energy, every resource to meet the need, which now has swept beyond the power of local agencies, public and private, to meet, there is every justification for this request. It is made in the name of humanity and for the sake of men, women, and children who will otherwise starve.

Help must come and come quickly.

* * * * * * *

This statement is made that the information may be broadcast among the people of Illinois.

The article concludes:

Besides Mr. Ryerson, the statement was signed by Clifford W. Barnes, Victor A. Olander, Frank D. Loomis, Howard W. Fenton, James B. Forgan, jr., D. F. Kelly, Sol Kline, and Lewis E. Myers, the other members of the committee.

Following an appeal of that sort other items in the daily news may appear to be relatively unimportant, but I do not wish to neglect including in the RECORD a reference in the Washington Daily News of yesterday about conditions in the State of Arkansas, as follows:

Lack of cash has forced the closing of 725 schools in Arkansas. Nearly 37,000 children have been affected by suspension of teaching activities and about one-third of the State's teachers are on part-time pay.

So much, Mr. President, for this group of specific and illuminating items. I think it desirable, before I take up one or other aspects of the question—and I trust I shall not be long now in reaching the final essential discussion—to take up some letters received by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] and myself jointly, in part, and others received by me individually. The following letter was addressed to the Senator from Wisconsin and myself under date of January 5 from La Jolla, Calif. It is written by Mr. J. C. Harper, a distinguished lawyer, who for years has been connected with liberal movements in behalf of the public welfare of this country. The letter says in part:

LA JOLLA, CALIF., *January 5, 1932.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr., and Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIRS: Many, many years ago, when I resided in Cincinnati, I became deeply interested in the bituminous-coal situation in eastern Ohio, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. Since coming to California I have followed it up as best I could.

Learning from many sources the extent of unemployment, the inadequate wages paid to those that were working, and the atrocious conditions existing in all of the fields, notably in Harlan County, Ky., I have not only contributed to relief but have endeavored to awaken interest in the American Red Cross at Washington, to which I received a response stating, in substance, that the policy of the Red Cross distinguished between distress resulting from "natural" and "economic" causes, and the chapters undertake general relief work "only where financial support is provided locally."

I then wrote, under date of November 6, to Mr. Gifford, director of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, and received a reply, dated November 13, from Mr. Croxton, assistant director, from which I make the following quotation:

"It is believed that best results are obtained if responsibility for relief continues primarily as a responsibility of local public and private resources. If any locality is unable to meet the local needs, the resources of the State are the next recourse. Those isolated localities which are dependent upon a single industry which is not in operation present the most difficulties and are receiving the careful attention of State and local officials and groups.

"If it develops that some communities can not be cared for by local and State resources, a way must be found to provide relief."

Mr. President, I shall ask that the remainder of the letter be inserted in the RECORD without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BLAINE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The remainder of the letter is as follows:

Later I received an appeal from the American Friends Service Committee, to which Miss Ellen B. Scripps and I both contributed, and I made a number of inquiries in two successive letters. I will quote from the replies.

"The American Red Cross is at the present time giving very thoughtful consideration to providing some funds for adult relief. We have had $225,000 given for child relief, but this is not adequate and we need funds very badly. The funds that are coming in through other sources can be used for adult relief. Fortunately, the Red Cross has not turned us down and are giving us very careful consideration. They have said that the normal way for them to function in such cases as this is through their local chapter, but the difficulty in doing this is that their local chapters are affected by local prejudice and the children of miners are apt to be neglected in the distribution of food. They realize, therefore, that although their own national attitude pays no attention to industrial disputes, their organization for distribution through local chapters breaks down that attitude. Our organization makes no difference between children of striking miners, those who have been evicted because of taking part in a strike, or any other consideration. We simply go to the schools; weigh all of the children, place those who are 10 per cent underweight on the record automatically; then make a survey of the families, adding those children who, from social and personal investigation, need to be put on the list. We do exclude from the list those where the mines are operating two or three days a week. A little later on, when the worst weather comes, we will investigate some of these also, because there will be need.

"We are anticipating that in one or two places, where the labor situation is very tense, if we undertake to do adult feeding, there may be some objection on the part of mine operators. There has thus far been no hindrance or objection placed in our way after our program was thoroughly understood. To be specific, in Harlan, Ky., where the feeling is most intense, we are at the present time feeding in 14 schools in that county. It took us 10 days to negotiate with the powers in the county, but we finally gained access to any school where we wished to feed."

In the later letter they stated as follows:

"I should have said that in addition to weighing all of the children who are in school, we visit each family in the community and place on the feeding list those who do not come to school, either because of indifference or lack of clothing. In the latter case we furnish clothing. In some cases we have had school attendance rise within a week 15 per cent. We also are feeding preschool-age children, asking their mothers to bring them to the school at the feeding hour and we are now extending the feeding to the nursing and expectant mothers.

"Your question with regard to what happens where the mines are operating as much as three days was answered by my former letter. We do not go in, unless there is some unusual need, where the mines are operating three days or more. I say this not necessarily in defense of that action, but we do not have sufficient funds to cover the whole need and we have drawn that rather arbitrary line.

"We have received no money from public funds thus far. We do, however, come to an agreement with county officials usually to take care of individual cases of need that lie outside our line and in some cases to take care of the adult need. In a few cases we are giving adult ration. We are deeply conscious that adult relief is necessary. We have been able to secure some small amount of funds for that purpose, but we are yet very much underfinanced so far as adult need goes. We feel, however, that one of our most useful functions is to bring pressure to bear on county and State governments to take care of that need. We also think that it is in most cases better that the funds should not be handled by us, but by local agencies.

"You are perfectly right that some localities in West Virginia and Kentucky will not take care of the adult need this winter; that it will be very acute and that, if possible, we will have to carry it."

You will note that the funds are inadequate and that the need is desperate. The Federal Council of Churches is cooperating with the friends service committee. Mr. James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, made a tour of inspection, and I attach hereto a copy of his telegram summarizing the results. I submit that the foregoing shows urgent need that will not be met except by Federal assistance. It seems to me disgraceful that relief should be withheld from these miners and their families. During the war the Government promoted an enormous extension of the coal mining industry, flooding the mining regions with an increased working population. There has never been a planned and orderly deflation since the war. The burden has fallen upon the miners and their families. Now, with the acute depression comes lack of housing, clothing and food; resulting in sickness, deprivation of children of school opportunities, and a general situation that ought to appeal to the stoniest heart.

I hope that you will do your utmost to compel the Federal Government to do its part.

Sincerely yours,

J. C. HARPER.

Mr. COSTIGAN. That letter is general in its language. I have some letters from different parts of the country with respect to conditions in those various localities. Here is a letter from an executive representative of the Jewish committee for personal service written from Los Angeles, Calif., under date of December 31, 1931. It reads:

JEWISH COMMITTEE FOR PERSONAL SERVICE

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *December 31, 1931.*

The Hon. Senator EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate, Committee on Finance,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: This will acknowledge your letter of December 19 in which you make inquiry regarding the present situation in our community with reference to the case load and problems presented to the various social agencies.

That the number of cases in the relief-giving agencies has increased in tremendous proportions is by this time a commonplace knowledge. With that has come an increase in the problems presented to the agencies working with delinquents, health agencies such as clinics and hospitals, and other agencies whose primary function is not the business of giving direct financial assistance.

For the purpose of your report, however, I think that a résumé of the present situation regarding our relief agencies, both public and private, will serve as an index as to how great the need is for additional funds. The Bureau of County Welfare of Los Angeles County has appropriated about $4,000,000 for relief for the coming year. This amount is approximately the same as last year, while the increase in the number of cases is 55 per cent. The 18 private agencies receiving their funds from the local community chest have had under their care for the year ending October 31, 1931, 66,247 cases, while the previous year there were only 38,719 cases. The average case load of these agencies per month during the year ending October 31, 1931, was 3,469, while for the previous year the average monthly case load was only 2,402. Still further evidence of the increase of the problem of relief is brought out by the fact that on October 31 of this year 5,600 cases were known to these private agencies, while on October 31, 1930, only 2,330 cases were known to these agencies. During the year there has been an intake of 20,026 new cases.

As I said, the funds for the work of these agencies comes only from the local community chest fund. This year the quota of $3,200,000 was realized. However, this quota was based on the amounts received by the agencies last year. In other words, an agency that received $10,000 last year will receive only $10,000 this year in spite of the fact that its problem is about 70 per cent greater. The amounts received by the agencies for the year 1930–31 were considered inadequate for that year. It is clear that in order to cover the present needs of the agencies and any possible increase, additional funds will have to be forthcoming from sources other than our local community chest or our county funds.

With the hope that these figures will throw further light on the problem that confronts you and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

REUBEN B. RESNIK,
Executive Secretary.

Another letter from the welfare division of the Los Angeles County Charities is devoted to a discussion of the increasing number of cases in Los Angeles, Calif. There is contained in the letter a series of tables showing month by month the increases in the years 1929, 1930, and 1931. The letter reads as follows:

WELFARE DIVISION, LOS ANGELES COUNTY CHARITIES,
Los Angeles, Calif., January 28, 1932.

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Answer to yours of December 19 has been delayed because of my illness and consequent inability to secure information necessary. I am sure, however, from discussions at our Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, and other groups here in Los Angeles, that many others in Los Angeles have sent you valuable information. I am therefore giving you the figures from our Bureau of County Welfare, showing increase in our volumes of work by months from July to December for the past three fiscal years, as follows:

Month	Cases on hand the first of month			Cases opened during month			Total monthly case load		
	1929	1930	1931	1929	1930	1931	1929	1930	1931
July	6,275	10,233	16,268	904	1,681	1,637	7,179	11,914	17,905
August	6,230	10,265	15,314	1,032	1,584	2,274	7,262	11,849	17,588
September	6,281	10,227	17,943	962	1,718	2,465	7,243	11,945	17,948
October	6,398	10,668	15,898	1,180	2,175	3,386	7,578	12,843	19,284
November	6,584	11,304	17,345	1,395	2,345	3,837	7,979	13,649	21,182
December	7,062	12,167	19,342	1,920	3,567	5,286	8,982	15,734	24,628

During our last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1931, a total of 42,124 cases was known to the department. Our peak load in any month was reached in April, 1931, during which month we were assisting a total of 23,794 cases, as against 12,928 cases in April, 1930. To-day, January 28, 1932, we are assisting 26,304 cases, which is considerably over our peak of last year. We estimate that our peak this year will reach 35,000 cases.

We estimate that 65 per cent of family cases receiving aid are receiving it because of unemployment. From this you can see how great a volume is imposed upon this department, and, therefore, upon the taxpayers, through unemployment alone.

If there is any definite information you would like to have us send you, we shall be only too glad to do so if you will indicate just what is necessary.

Very truly yours,

JESSIE E. DEAN,
Research and Statistical Director.

Another letter is from a representative of the Travelers' Aid Society of Los Angeles, reading, in part, as follows:

TRAVELERS' AID SOCIETY OF LOS ANGELES,
December 28, 1931.

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate, Committee on Finance,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am replying to your letter of December 19, asking for information about local conditions as to relief of unemployment.

I shall touch first on private sources of relief. Our community chest has made its goal for the first time in several years. The goal contained an increase of $600,000 over the sum raised in previous years, which was intended to be used for emergency relief needs. One hundred thousand dollars of this amount was already owed by the chest and will not be available for current needs. The sum of $600,000 was known to be wholly inadequate to meet the pressure on the private relief agencies but was thought to be the utmost increase that could possibly be raised.

The private agencies in this city are supplemental to county aid; that is, they deal with persons not eligible to county aid for some technical reason, and in normal times these persons are on a higher social and industrial level than are the recipients of county aid. All the offices of the private agencies are now packed from morning until late at night with dreary lines of the destitute. The agencies have no additional staff and as yet so little additional money for relief that it is not worth speaking of. The available extra sum of about $500,000 has not been distributed yet by the chest, and even when it is it has so little relation to the actual needs that none of us expect to see much difference. People are not being actually allowed to starve, and emergency relief is being given rather freely. However, all the families under private care are receiving entirely insufficient relief, so that while not dying of starvation they are malnourished and worried. Rent is not being paid except in cases of dispossession, and the families are harried by their landlords. (So are the agencies.) Gas and lights are off in many homes, including those of families with small children. Many are to be seen cooking in back lots. We private social workers do not pretend among ourselves to be meeting our share of the situation. We are merely doing the best we can with the available money. A young worker, trained in the ideals of prosperity, said to me yesterday with tears rolling down her cheeks, "I am ashamed to look my families in the face." A number of the usual soup lines are springing up, and this, of course, is encouraged by the inadequacy of the agencies.

In this community the bulk of home relief has always come from tax funds and is administered by the county welfare department. The county supervisors saw fit, in their wisdom, to cut down this year's appropriation to the county welfare department by $1,000,000. The workers are doing as well as they can, working day and night, but they are hopelessly overwhelmed. Relief per family has been cut down mercilessly and is very low, as well as entirely inadequate.

Nonresident men in the city are given three days' food and lodging and told to "move on." This, as you know, is the American custom in hard times. The working camps of the State are taking some of the single men. They receive food and shelter and no cash whatever. They seem good-humored about these arrangements so far.

The people seem apathetic and hopeless. The police break up all protest meetings and are very rough on "agitators."

A telegram from San Fernando, in the county of Los Angeles, Calif., under date of January 5, 1932, summarizes certain facts as follows:

San Fernando, small city, particularly fortunate, with three institutional pay rolls. Understand surrounding territory in great need, although many Mexicans returned to own country somewhat lessens problem. White-collar class becoming dependent now. Nine out of ten prefer work, which is not available. Further figures will be furnished.

In this communication, which is rather lengthy, and is available for Members of the Senate to examine, but with which I will not encumber the RECORD, will be found these further statements:

That Federal aid, if it is to be of any avail, must come immediately and be available during part of January, all of February and March, and part of April; that Federal aid coming in two or six months from now will be of no avail—that the need is with us.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I submit two amendments to the amendment in the nature of a substitute for the pending bill and ask that they may be printed in the RECORD, so that Members may see them to-morrow before the session begins.

The amendments to the amendment were ordered to be printed and lie on the table, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page 4, line 9, after the word "thereof," insert the following: "shall transmit to the Secretary of the Treasury a joint resolution of the legislature of said State, properly certified that (a) the amount requested is necessary for emergency relief in such State and can not be obtained either from public or private sources in said State; and (b) that the legislature and governor of said State consider any amount advanced in pursuance of such request as a loan only, and that the said State is morally bound to repay said sum so advanced."

And strike out all of lines 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, after the word "thereof" in line 9, down to and including the word "sources" in line 13.

On page 5, line 8, after the period insert the following: "If after three years from the passage of this act any State which has borrowed from this fund shall fail to repay said borrowed sum to the United States, in whole or in part, then there shall be withheld from said State in all future acts of Congress, appropriating money for the building of roads, an amount of money equal to the sum remaining and then owing and unpaid, until the amount of such withholdings shall equal the amount borrowed and unpaid by said State."

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS] have resolutions they desire to offer. I am advised by the distinguished Senator from Colorado that he will not be able to conclude his speech for more than an hour and is willing now to yield the floor.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I yield the floor for the day.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. PERCY E. QUIN, late a Representative from the State of Mississippi, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, late a Representative from the State of Georgia, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE PERCY E. QUIN, OF MISSISSIPPI

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BLAINE in the chair) laid before the Senate resolutions of the House of Representatives, which were read, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
February 4, 1932.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. PERCY E. QUIN, a Representative from the State of Mississippi.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk, and ask unanimous consent for immediate consideration.

The resolutions (S. Res. 159) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. PERCY E. QUIN, late a Representative from the State of Mississippi.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now adjourn.

Under the second resolution the Presiding Officer appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON], the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED], the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BLACK], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. PATTERSON], and the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG].

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, OF GEORGIA

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate resolutions of the House of Representatives, which were read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
February 4, 1932.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a Representative from the State of Georgia.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for the carrying out of the provision of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate, and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk, and ask unanimous consent for their immediate consideration.

The resolutions (S. Res. 160) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, late a Representative from the State of Georgia.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now adjourn.

Under the second resolution the Presiding Officer appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS], the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. FRAZIER], the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART], the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. KEAN], the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES], the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], and the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN].

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representatives, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, February 5, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Create in us, O Lord, clean hearts and renew a right spirit within us; then shall we know of that grace that inspires and directs the way of the blessed life. Accept the nameless longings of our hearts and the unuttered voices of our souls.

Again, our Father, the alarm has sounded and two splendid friends, brothers, and public servants have been called. At this moment we come to the fountain of comfort which is in the bosom of a loving Heavenly Father. Earth has not the flower of consolation at such a time as this; it blooms near the throne of infinite love. Let Thy light shine through upon the afflicted ones and may they hear the triumphant proclamation, "Fear thou not, for I am with thee." May their night of sorrow become as the day as Thy love and mercy brood over them. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a concurrent resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 13. Concurrent resolution requesting the President to return to the Senate the enrolled bill (S. 2199) exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts.

THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE PERCY E. QUIN

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to announce to the House the death of our colleague, Hon. PERCY E. QUIN. I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk:

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 129

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. PERCY E. QUIN, a Representative from the State of Mississippi.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER appointed the following committee:

Mr. COLLIER, Mr. RANKIN, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. MCSWAIN, Mr. BUSBY, Mr. HILL of Alabama, Mr. WHITTINGTON, Mr. KEMP, Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma, Mr. DOXEY, Mr. HALL of Mississippi, Mr. CRUMP, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. JAMES, Mr. RANSLEY, Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois, Mrs. KAHN, and Mr. WOLVERTON.

THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE SAMUEL RUTHERFORD

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, it is my painful duty to announce that this morning at 8 o'clock my colleague, Mr. RUTHERFORD, of Georgia, suddenly passed away. He rose in usual health, went into the bathroom to shave, and fell over dead. There was never a man more devoted to his public duty than SAM RUTHERFORD. He was a man who loved his fellow men and who conscientiously performed his public duties. In my judgment, strain and work caused his passing away.

To-day two of our beloved comrades have passed away, due to overwork. The public generally does not know the strain and the work we undergo, or the high pressure we are under. May I say to you, my colleagues, let us relax some and not kill ourselves with work.

Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 130

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a Representative from the State of Georgia.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER appointed the following committee:

Mr. CRISP, Mr. VINSON of Georgia, Mr. WRIGHT, Mr. BRAND of Georgia, Mr. LARSEN, Mr. LANKFORD of Georgia, Mr. JEFFERS, Mr. GASQUE, Mr. COX, Mr. TARVER, Mr. RAMSPECK, Mr. PARKER of Georgia, Mr. WOOD of Georgia, Mr. JOHNSON of Washington, Mr. VESTAL, Mr. UNDERHILL, Mr. KOPP, and Mr. GIFFORD.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to our two deceased colleagues, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, February 5, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Friday, February 5, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

Interstate commerce act, section 15a (H. R. 7116 and H. R. 7117).

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON FLOOD CONTROL

(10.30 a. m.)

H. R. 4668, dealing with changes and setbacks on the main stem of the Mississippi River.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR (SUBCOMMITTEE)

(10 a. m.)

Appropriations for the relief of the unemployed (H. R. 206, H. R. 6011, and H. R. 8088).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

426. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a bill to authorize certain officers of the United States Navy and the Marine Corps to accept such decorations, orders, and medals as have been tendered them by foreign governments in appreciation of services rendered, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 1133. A bill to provide for the relinquishment by the United States of certain lands to the city of Coeur d'Alene, in the county of Kootenai, in the State of Idaho; without amendment (Rept. No. 351). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SWING: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 2707. A bill for the relief of William Alexander Keys; without amendment (Rept. No. 352). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 954. A bill for the relief of Margaret Diederich; without amendment (Rept. No. 353). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1205. A bill for the relief of John L. Hoffman; without amendment (Rept. No. 354). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1279. A bill for the relief of Frank Kanelakos; without amendment (Rept. No. 355). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2065. A bill for the relief of the Great Western Coal Mines Co.; without amendment (Rept. No. 356). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2161. A bill for the relief of Nelson E. Frissell; without amendment (Rept. No. 357). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3540. A bill for the relief of Charles Beretta, Isidore J. Proulx, and John

J. West; without amendment (Rept. No. 358). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3604. A bill for the relief of Same Giacalone and Same Igrande; without amendment (Rept. No. 359). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4230. A bill for the relief of Genevieve M. Heberle; with an amendment (Rept. No. 360). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4264. A bill for the relief of Lieut. Col. H. H. Kipp, United States Marine Corps, retired; without amendment (Rept. No. 361). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4310. A bill for the relief of W. R. McLeod; without amendment (Rept. No. 362). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4925. A bill for the relief of John L. Friel; without amendment (Rept. No. 363). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5058. A bill for the relief of Mary F. Crim; with amendment (Rept. No. 364). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5149. A bill for the relief of Laura Goldwater; with amendment (Rept. No. 365). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5187. A bill for the relief of John W. Adair; with amendment (Rept. No. 366). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5362. A bill for the relief of Maj. Thomas J. Berry; without amendment (Rept. No. 367). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 7469. A bill for the relief of Arthur N. Ashmore; without amendment (Rept. No. 368). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 925. A bill for the relief of Joseph A. McCarthy; without amendment (Rept. No. 369). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BLACK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 7449. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Jacob D. Hanson; without amendment (Rept. No. 370). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 4974) for the relief of John Christopher Bauman, jr.; Committee on Claims discharged, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (H. R. 7814) granting a pension to Hugh Brennan; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: A bill (H. R. 8871) to authorize and direct the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to establish offices in foreign countries; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ARENTZ: A bill (H. R. 8872) authorizing the creation of community grazing area within the State of Nevada; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 8873) to amend an act entitled "An act relative to the naturalization and citizenship of married women"; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DAVIS: A bill (H. R. 8874) to amend section 14 of the shipping act, 1916 (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 812), as amended by section 20 of the merchant marine act, 1920 (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 842); to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8875) to amend section 8 of the act of June 19, 1886, as amended by section 2 of the act of February 17, 1898 (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 289); to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries.

By Mr. ARENTZ (by request): A bill (H. R. 8876) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to enter into a cooperative agreement or agreements with the State of Nevada and private owners of lands within the State of Nevada for grazing and range development, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DICKSTEIN: A bill (H. R. 8877) to clarify the application of the contract-labor provisions of the immigration laws to actors; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8878) to provide for review of the action of consular officers in refusing immigration visas; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDREW of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 8879) for the relief of Joanna A. Sheehan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BEAM: A bill (H. R. 8880) for the relief of Martin J. Maguire; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 8881) granting a pension to Mary A. Boyle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CRAIL: A bill (H. R. 8882) granting a pension to Robert Lee Turner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8883) for the relief of Charles William Anderson, jr.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8884) to establish a military record for Daniel P. Tafe; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALLINGER: A bill (H. R. 8885) for the relief of Fred Douglas Dickerson; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIS: A bill (H. R. 8886) granting an increase of pension to Susie Henley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HARLAN: A bill (H. R. 8887) granting an increase of pension to Moses Goldstein; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8888) for the relief of Robert Green; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8889) granting a pension to Reuben Franklin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8890) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Mary Stroher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HESS: A bill (H. R. 8891) granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Crets; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HILL of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8892) for the relief of Paul J. Sisk; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KURTZ: A bill (H. R. 8893) granting a pension to William H. Dodson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LAMBERTSON: A bill (H. R. 8894) granting an increase of pension to Nancy McAllister; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LARRABEE: A bill (H. R. 8895) granting an increase of pension to Taylor Hensley; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1277. By Mr. CRAIL: Petition of several citizens of Los Angeles County, Calif., protesting against the proposed excise tax on electricity; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1278. Also, petition of the Governor of the State of California, urging more adequate appropriations for cooperative

stream gaging and topographic mapping; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1279. By Mr. EVANS of California: Petition signed by Sadie E. Price and approximately 800 others, protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1280. By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Petition of the Yonkers Chamber of Commerce, Yonkers, N. Y., requesting that the United States Tariff Commission revise the present tariff on refined sugar, increasing the differential between foreign and domestic sugar at the earliest possible date; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1281. By Mr. HILL of Washington: Petition of Spokane County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Spokane, Wash., opposing the repeal, modification, or resubmission to the States of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1282. Also, petition of Millwood Chapter, Dorcas Chapter, and Esther Chapter of the Millwood Community Presbyterian Church of Millwood, Wash., protesting against the repeal, modification, or resubmission to the States of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1283. Also, petition of Mrs. R. E. Hagen and 17 other citizens of Colville, Wash., protesting against the modification, submission to the States, or repeal of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1284. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Colville, Wash., protesting against modification, repeal, or submission to the people of the prohibition law, and opposing any measure to increase the alcoholic content of legalized beer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1285. By Mr. KURTZ: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Fairfield, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1286. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hustontown, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1287. Also, petition of the Elverson Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Elverson, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1288. Also, petition of the Methodist Episcopal Church missionary societies of Apollo, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1289. Also, petition of the Mifflintown and Mifflin Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mifflintown, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1290. Also, petition of Newville Union, Newville, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1291. Also, petition of the East Athens Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Athens, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1292. Also, petition of Picture Rocks Methodist Episcopal Church, Picture Rocks, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1293. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union, No. 2, of West Chester, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1294. Also, petition of Honey Brook Methodist Episcopal Church and Honey Brook Union, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Honey Brook, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1295. Also, petition of the Moravian Church of Canadensis, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1296. Also, petition of Heath Township Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Jefferson, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1297. Also, petition of Mifflin County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Lewistown, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1298. Also, petition of Atglen Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Atglen, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1299. Also, petition of Pottsville Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Pottsville, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1300. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Robinson, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1301. Also, petition of Concord Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Concordville, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1302. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hollidaysburg, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1303. Also, petition of the people of Evangelical Church, opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1304. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of State College, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1305. Also, petition of the Bethel A. M. E. Church and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Pottsville, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1306. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hyndman, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1307. Also, petition of the Bedford County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Bedford, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1308. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Port Matilda, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1309. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Bellefonte, Pa., opposing the resubmission of the temperance question to the voters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1310. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of Charles L. Ruhlen and 23 other persons of Winchester, Boyle, and McLouth, Kans., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and opposing any measure of repeal, modification, or resubmission to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1311. By Mr. LINDSAY: Petition of college presidents, deans, professors of education, and other educators, petitioning Congress to take the War Department out of the field of education; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1312. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of Morrison, Kennedy & Campbell, favoring the passage of the Everglades National Park bill; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1313. Also, petition of 12 national organizations, favoring the passage of the Bankhead bill, H. R. 7525; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1314. Also, petition of Interorganizational Council on Disarmament, favoring the passage of the Fish resolution No. 1; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1315. By Mr. SANDERS of New York: Petition of Mina L. Harkness and other citizens of Elba, N. Y., supporting the prohibition law and its enforcement and against modification or resubmission; to the Committee on the Judiciary.





1316. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petition of Canonsburg Camp, No. 117, Spanish War Veterans, Canonsburg, Pa., supporting legislation increasing rate of pension for widows of Spanish War veterans; to the Committee on Pensions.

1317. By Mr. WEEKS: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Brandon, Vt., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1318. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Vergenes, Vt., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1319. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Rutland, Vt., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1320. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Bristol, Vt., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1321. By Mr. WOLVERTON: Petition of L. R. McCloskey, of Merchantville, N. J., and signed also by numerous citizens of various places in the first congressional district of New Jersey, including Merchantville, Pensauken, and Camden, praying the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1322. Also, petition of numerous citizens of Woodstown, N. J., praying the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1323. Also, petition of C. L. Richmond, of Elmer, N. J., and signed also by numerous citizens of various places in the first congressional district of New Jersey, including Elmer, Daretown, and Woodstown, praying the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, etc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1324. By Mr. YATES: Petition of Pike County Farm Bureau, Pittsfield, Ill., urging support of Senate bill 1856, known as the Glenn-Smith bill; to the Committee on Flood Control.

SENATE

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1932

Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., of the Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, at noonday we would hush earth's claimant voices and lift up our hearts unto Thee. Fronting demanding tasks and grave responsibilities, we pause for this sacramental moment humbly asking that there may be given a wisdom and a strength for our high calling. In the very shrine of our lives Thou hast put a passion for truth and beauty and goodness. Help us never by any selfish surrender or compromise to dim the inner light of those flaming ideals. May we be true to all truth the world denies. May the lure of the beautiful lift us above the mud and scum of things. Lead us in the paths of righteousness for Thy name's sake.

May our glad eyes yet see the red of the dawn of a new day, when this torn and troubled world shall begin to rely upon the power of the spirit to achieve a security which the sword has never brought. Make us pioneers in a crusade not only to reduce weapons but to reduce hatreds and suspicions and prejudices, and to increase the healing stores of good will, understanding, and mutual trust. So may Thy kingdom come and Thy will be done.

We ask it in the spirit of the Master. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. FESS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, transmitting several nominations and treaties were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also announced that on February 4, 1932, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

S. 556. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Elk River at or near Kelso, Tenn.;

S. 1089. An act to establish a minimum area for a Shenandoah National Park, for administration, protection, and general development by the National Park Service, and for other purposes;

S. 2388. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the proposed Morristown-Newport road between Jefferson and Cocke Counties, Tenn.;

S. 2389. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the French Broad River on the Dandridge-Newport road in Jefferson County, Tenn.; and

S. 2408. An act to repeal the act of Congress approved May 31, 1924 (43 Stat. L. 247), entitled "An act to authorize the setting aside of certain tribal land within the Quinaielt Indian Reservation in Washington for lighthouse purposes."

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Costigan	Kean	Schall
Austin	Couzens	Kendrick	Sheppard
Bailey	Cutting	Keyes	Shipstead
Bankhead	Dale	King	Smith
Barbour	Dickinson	La Follette	Smoot
Barkley	Dill	Logan	Steiwer
Bingham	Fess	McGill	Stephens
Black	Frazier	McKellar	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	Glass	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Glenn	Metcalf	Townsend
Bratton	Gore	Moses	Trammell
Brookhart	Hale	Neely	Tydings
Broussard	Harrison	Norbeck	Vandenberg
Bulkley	Hastings	Norris	Wagner
Bulow	Hatfield	Nye	Walcott
Byrnes	Hawes	Oddie	Walsh, Mass.
Capper	Hayden	Patterson	Walsh, Mont.
Caraway	Hebert	Pittman	Waterman
Carey	Howell	Reed	Watson
Coolidge	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	Wheeler
Copeland	Jones	Robinson, Ind.	White

Mr. McNARY. I wish to announce the necessary absence of the senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] due to illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. FESS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE] on account of illness. I shall let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. BAILEY. I wish to announce that my colleague the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. MORRISON] is necessarily absent on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. REED. I wish to announce that my colleague the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] is unavoidably absent to-day.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce the necessary absence of my colleague the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] on account of illness.

I also wish to announce that the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS], the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], and the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] are necessarily detained on business of the Senate. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

NOMINATION OF ANDREW W. MELLON TO BE AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the Senate has just received a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Mr. Mellon to be ambassador to Great Britain. I ask, out of order, by unanimous consent, that that nomination be now referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the message of the President was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 5, 1932.*

To the Senate of the United States:

I nominate Andrew W. Mellon, of Pennsylvania, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Great Britain, vice Charles G. Dawes, resigned.

HERBERT HOOVER.

I. M. ORNBURN—LETTER FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the president of the American Federation of Labor, relative to the appointment of Mr. I. M. Ornburn as a member of the United States Tariff Commission, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 4, 1932.*

To the VICE PRESIDENT,
Presiding Officer of the United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing to advise you that the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, which is now meeting at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in this city, unanimously indorsed the appointment of Mr. I. M. Ornburn as a member of the United States Tariff Commission.

I am directed by the executive council to write you, earnestly requesting that the Members of the United States Senate vote in favor of the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Ornburn. The members of the executive council have known Mr. Ornburn for many years. He has been prominent in the councils of the American Federation of Labor and is held in high esteem and high regard by his associates.

We feel that his training in the field of labor and his knowledge of wages and the relations of wages to tariff schedules fit him in a very large way to serve with distinction and honor as a member of the United States Tariff Commission.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. GREEN,
President American Federation of Labor.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the East Long Beach (Calif.) Methodist Episcopal Church, praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Municipal Council of Llorente, Province of Samar, P. I., favoring the granting of unconditional, immediate, and absolute independence to the Philippine Islands, which were referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

He also laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of New Jersey, providing for application by the Legislature of New Jersey to the Congress of the United States to call a convention for proposing an amendment to the Constitution for the repeal of Article XVIII (eighteenth amendment, prohibition of the liquor traffic) and the substitution of a new amendment therefor, as provided by Article V of the Constitution, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. (See joint resolution printed in full when presented by Mr. BARBOUR on the 3d instant, p. 3299, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

He also laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, memorializing Congress not to reduce the appropriation for the operation of the United States Forest Products Laboratory, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations. (See joint resolution printed in full when presented by Mr. BLAINE on the 4th instant, p. 3351, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

He also laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the Legislature of Wisconsin, protesting against any increase in the excise tax on manufactured tobacco, unless absolutely necessary in order to balance the Federal Budget, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Finance. (See joint resolution printed in full when presented by Mr. BLAINE on the 4th instant, p. 3351, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Mr. BANKHEAD presented memorials numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of Alabama remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions and letters and papers in the nature of petitions from sundry citizens and organizations in the State of Alabama praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CAPPER presented resolutions adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Sunday School, of Piedmont, and the Bellevue Evangelical Church, of Leona, in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against a proposed modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions numerously signed by sundry citizens of Jefferson County, Lecompton, Manchester, and Winchester, all in the State of Kansas, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana presented petitions numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of Indiana, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented memorials numerously signed by sundry citizens of the State of Indiana, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. JONES presented memorials signed by 856 citizens in the State of Washington, remonstrating against the passage of legislation providing for the closing of barber shops on Sunday in the District of Columbia, or any other restrictive religious measures, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented resolutions adopted by aeries of the Fraternal Order of Eagles of southwestern Washington, favoring the passage of legislation to create Federal home loan discount banks, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

He also presented resolutions of local chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Seattle, Wash., protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Colville, Wash., praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented resolutions of local chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Burlington, Ellensburg, and Oak Harbor, in the State of Washington, protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to State conventions or legislatures, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BARBOUR presented a petition of sundry citizens of Paulsboro, N. J., praying for the maintenance of the citizens' military training camps, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the executive board of the Parent-Teacher Association of Chatham, N. J., favoring the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by Lillian Council, No. 105, Sons and Daughters of Liberty, of Glassboro, N. J., favoring the passage of House bill 1967, relative to communist and alien enemies in the United States, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Elmer, Woodstown, and Sharptown, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against a proposed referendum of the eight-

eenth amendment to the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COPELAND presented petitions and papers, in the nature of petitions, of sundry citizens and organizations in the State of New York, praying for the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and protesting against a proposed referendum on the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the New York Press Association at Syracuse, N. Y., protesting against any increases in second-class postage rates, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the New York Press Association at Syracuse, N. Y., protesting against continuance by the Post Office Department relative to sale and distribution of printing of return addresses on stamped envelopes, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the New York Press Association at Syracuse, N. Y., indorsing corrective measures relative to the distribution of newspapers and periodicals through the mails containing advertising matter involving chance and guessing contests or similar schemes, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the New York Photo-Engravers' Union, No. 1, of New York City, favoring the amendment of the prohibition law so as to permit the manufacture and sale of 4 per cent beer, and also light wines, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Workers and Dorcas Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Copenhagen, N. Y., protesting against the proposed resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to State conventions or legislatures, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Germantown, and of the Zonta Club of Jamestown, in the State of New York, praying for the prompt ratification of the World Court protocols, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition signed by Margaret D. Walton, chairman legislative committee, and sundry other members of the Parent-Teacher Association, of Montour Falls, N. Y., praying for the outlawry of war, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a statement by William F. Montavon, director legal department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, at a hearing before the House Committee on Labor, with reference to House bill 8088 (by Mr. LEWIS) and Senate bill 3045, a bill to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table.

CONDITIONS IN HAWAII

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from V. S. K. HOUSTON, Delegate in Congress from Hawaii.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1932.

Hon. HIRAM BINGHAM,
United States Senate,
Chairman Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs,
Senate Office Building.

MY DEAR SENATOR BINGHAM: In view of the fact that the unfortunate happenings in Hawaii were made the subject of an investigation in your committee, may I not take this opportunity of advising you that the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, which had been called into special session on January 18, 1932, for the purpose of passing corrective measures, recessed on February 2, having completed the program that had been set before it.

This program includes measures providing for an appointive police commission, which in turn has the power of appointing a chief of police. This in place of the then existing statute, which calls for an elective sheriff and chief of police. The commission has been appointed and contains men of the highest character. They in turn have made an acting appointment for the chief of police position.

A bill adding the death penalty to the punishment provided for the crime of rape and amending the statute with respect to evidence in such cases removing the statutory requirement as to corroboration, so that such matters of evidence will be based upon the established common law was passed and is now law.

There was also passed an amendment to the existing antiloitering act increasing the fine from $100 to $250. The statute with respect to challenging of jurors was amended in general terms reducing the number of peremptory challenges and providing for a further reduction in peremptory challenges when two or more defendants are jointly placed on trial.

And finally, the legislature passed a bill providing for the appointment of a public prosecutor for the city and county of Honolulu, which is comprised of the whole island of Oahu. This measure was the most controversial, and went to conference between the two houses. The measure as finally adopted is hereto appended.

I have every confidence that the measures taken by the Territorial administration and the Territorial legislature will prove of immense value in the correction of the defects that have been brought to the fore by the unhappy circumstances of the last six months.

May I not ask that the record in the investigations be completed by the addition of this correspondence?

Very sincerely yours,

V. S. K. HOUSTON,
Delegate in Congress from Hawaii.

[Naval message received at Navy Department]

FEBRUARY 2, 1932.

SECRETARY OF INTERIOR,
Washington:

Both houses of legislature to-day adopted report of conference committee on senate bill No. 2, public prosecutor bill. The measure as passed by legislature reads in full as follows:

"An act to provide for a public prosecutor for the city and county of Honolulu by amending chapter 118 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1925, by adding thereto eight new sections and by amending sections 1751, 1815, 2560, 2562, and 4012 of said revised laws and all other laws relating (100) to the city and county attorney to conform thereto

"*Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii:*

"SECTION 1. Chapter 118 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1925, is hereby amended by adding thereto the following sections:

"'SEC. 1822 (a). Office of public prosecutor established: There is hereby created the office of public prosecutor of the city and county of Honolulu. The public prosecutor shall be appointed by the mayor of said city and county, with the approval of the board of (200) supervisors, for a term of two years: *Provided, however,* That the term of the first appointee shall be the period expiring January 1, 1935, and that he shall only be removable as immediately hereinafter provided: *Provided, however,* That he may be removed by the attorney general, with the approval of the governor, at any time for reasons which appear to be sufficient, in their discretion, and no person so removed by the attorney general shall be reappointed without the approval of the attorney general.

"'SEC. 1822 (300) (b). Deputy of attorney general: The public prosecutor shall be a deputy of the attorney general of the Territory and shall report to the attorney general from time to time as may be required by him.

"'SEC. 1822 (c). Assistant public prosecutors, clerks, etc.: The public prosecutor of the city and county may appoint and remove at pleasure such assistant public prosecutors, clerks, stenographers, interpreters, and other assistants with such qualifications and at such salaries as may be allowed by the board of supervisors. (400) At the request of the public prosecutor one or more officers of the police department shall be permanently detailed by the chief of police of the city and county for the purpose of doing detective work necessary in preparing and presenting the litigation of the office, who shall continue to serve on such detail during the pleasure of the public prosecutor.

"'SEC. 1822 (d). Salary: The salary of the public prosecutor shall be $7,500 per annum, payable monthly out of the city and county treasury.

"'SEC. 1822 (500) (e). Private practice forbidden: Neither the public prosecutor of the city and county nor his assistants shall receive any fee or reward from or on behalf of any person for services rendered or to be rendered in any prosecution or business to which it shall be their official duty to attend, nor shall the public prosecutor or his assistants engage in the private practice of law.

"'SEC. 1822 (f). Accounts to board of supervisors: The public prosecutor shall make an annual report to the board of supervisors of the city and (600) county of the transactions and business of his department, showing the revenues and expenditures of his office and a summary of all the business transacted by his office for the preceding year.

"'SEC. 1822 (g). Duties: Public prosecutor, either in person or by an assistant shall:

"'1. Attend all courts in the city and county and, under the control and direction of the attorney general, conduct on behalf of the people all prosecutions therein for offenses against the laws of the Territory and the ordinances of the board (700) of supervisors of the city and county.

"'2. Appear in every criminal case where there shall be a change of venue from the courts in the city and county and prosecute the same in any county in which the same shall be changed or removed. The expense of such proceedings shall be paid by the city and county.

"3. Institute proceedings or direct the chief of police to do so before the magistrates for the arrest of persons charged with or reasonably suspected of public offenses, when he has information that any such offenses have been committed, and for that purpose take charge of criminal cases before the district magistrates, either in person or by an assistant, or by the chief of police or any of his assistants, or by such other prosecuting officers as he shall appoint; draw all indictments and attend before and give advice to the grand jury whenever cases are presented to them for their consideration: *Provided, however,* That nothing herein contained shall prevent the institution or conduct of proceedings by private counsel before magistrates or courts of record under the direction of the public prosecutor.

"4. Deliver receipts for money or property received in his official capacity and file duplicates thereof with the city and county treasurer.

"5. On the first Monday of each month file with the auditor an account, verified by his oath, of all money received by him in his official capacity during the preceding month, and upon receipt of the auditor's certificate thereof pay such moneys over to the city and county treasurer.

"SEC. 1822–H. Sections 2560, 2562, and 4012 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1925, are hereby amended by substituting the words "public prosecutor" for the words "city and county attorney" wherever the latter words appear in said sections. In all other provisions of law dealing with criminal law and criminal procedure and other matters which by sections 1822–A to 1822–H, both inclusive, are placed under the jurisdiction of the public prosecutor, the words "city and county attorney," or equivalent expressions wherever used therein, shall be taken to mean and refer exclusively to the public prosecutor in so far as they so deal with criminal law and criminal procedure.

"SEC. 2. Transfer of records—duty to furnish quarters: All the files and records of criminal cases now in the possession of the city and county attorney are hereby transferred to the public prosecutor. The board of supervisors shall make available to the public prosecutors and his staff sufficient and proper accommodations and augment for their use.

"SEC. 3. Section 1751 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1925, hereby amended to read as follows:

"'SEC. 1751. Officers: The officers of the city and county shall be a mayor, board of supervisors, a sheriff, who shall be ex officio a city and county clerk, who shall be ex officio clerk of the board of supervisors; an auditor, a treasurer, and a city and county attorney, all of whom, except the city and county attorney, shall be elected at large by the duly qualified electors of the city and county: *Provided, however,* That commencing January 1, 1933, the mayor, with the approval of the board of supervisors, shall appoint the city and county attorney for a term of two years: *Provided, however,* That he may be removed by the attorney general, with the approval of the governor, at any time for reasons which appear to be sufficient in their discretion; and no such person so removed by the attorney general shall be reappointed without the approval of the attorney general: *And provided further,* That the public prosecutor may be appointed city and county attorney, in which event he shall only be entitled to receive the salary for one office.'

"SEC. 4. Section 1815 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1925, as amended by act 65 of the session laws of 1925, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"'SEC. 1815. General duties: The city and county attorney, or his deputy or deputies, shall—

"'1. Attend all courts in and for the city and county and conduct on behalf of the people all civil cases in which the city and county is interested.

"'2. Appear in every civil case in which the city and county is interested where there shall be a change of venue and prosecute or defend the same in any county to which the same shall be changed or removed; the expenses of such proceedings shall be paid by the city and county.

"3. Defend all suits brought against the city and county wherever brought, prosecute all recognizances forfeited in the courts of record, assist the tax assessor of his taxation division in the collection of delinquent taxes, and prosecute all persons for the recovery of debts, fines, penalties, forfeitures, and other claims accruing to the Territory or the city and county.

"4. Deliver receipts for money or property received in his official capacity and file duplicates thereto with city and county treasurer.

"5. On the first Monday of each month file with the auditor an account verified by his oath of all moneys received by him in his official capacity during the preceding months, and upon receipt of the auditor's certificate therefor pay such moneys over to the city and county treasurer.

"SEC. 5. Constitutionality: If any section, subsection, sentence, clause, or phrase of this act is, for any reason, held to be unconstitutional or invalid such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The legislature hereby declares that it would have approved this act, and each section, subsection, sentence, clause, and phrase thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more other sections, subsections, sentences, clauses, or phrases be declared unconstitutional.

"SEC. 6. Repeal of conflicting provisions: All provisions of law in conflict with this act are superseded by the provisions hereof to the extent of such conflict.

"SEC. 7. This act shall take effect upon its approval."

JUDD, *Governor.*

EXPORT AND IMPORT RATES

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD resolutions adopted by the board of directors of the New Orleans Association of Commerce in regard to import and export rates from Atlantic coast points.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW ORLEANS ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE,
January 30, 1932.

Hon. PARK TRAMMELL,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TRAMMELL: Attached find copy of action taken by the board of directors of the New Orleans Association of Commerce in connection with Interstate Commerce Commission Docket, Fourth Section Application No. 2040, et al., Export and Import Rates to and from South Atlantic and Gulf Ports, 169 I. C. C. 13.

Your cooperation in this matter is earnestly solicited.

Very truly yours,

H. VAN R. CHASE,
General Manager.

Resolutions adopted at the eleventh annual Middle West foreign trade and merchant marine conference at Louisville, Ky., October 28-29, 1931, unanimously approved by the board of directors of the New Orleans Association of Commerce at special meeting held Wednesday, January 27, 1932, upon recommendation of its foreign trade bureau

Whereas as a result of orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission in a proceeding designated as "Interstate Commerce Commission Docket, Fourth Section Application No. 2040, et al., Export and Import Rates to and from South Atlantic and Gulf Ports, 169 I. C. C. 13," carriers operating between points in Central Freight Association territory and the Middle West on the one hand and South Atlantic and Gulf ports on the other, will be required to publish a new and revised basis of rates on export and import traffic, now scheduled to become effective December 3, 1931; and

Whereas rates conforming to the requirements of said orders as above referred to will materially curtail and in many instances prohibit the use of South Atlantic and Gulf ports and competitive steamship services between such ports and ports of the world by shippers and receivers of foreign commerce located in Central Freight Association territory and the Middle West; and

Whereas certain carriers operating in Central Freight Association territory propose to discontinue to participate in any rates on export and import traffic between points in Central Freight Association territory and South Atlantic and Gulf ports which are less than the rates concurrently applied on domestic shipments, while continuing to participate in rates lower than the domestic rates between points on their lines and North Atlantic, Canadian, and Pacific coast ports; and

Whereas the preservation of competitive rates, routes, and services via South Atlantic and Gulf ports between points in Central Freight Association territory and the Middle West and foreign countries is necessary and vital to the welfare and prosperity of industry in Central Freight Association territory and the Middle West; and

Whereas as shown by its report in the proceeding above referred to, the objectionable provisions of the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission emanate from the minimum rate provisions of section 4 of the interstate commerce act: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this organization go on record as vigorously opposing the minimum-rate provisions of section 4 of the interstate commerce act, specifically as applied to rates applicable on export and import traffic; and be it further

Resolved, That the Middle West Foreign Trade Committee, through its proper officers, take the necessary steps to secure suspension of and investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of any cancellation or attempted cancellation of participation in export and import rates by Central Freight Association lines to and from South Atlantic and Gulf ports which are lower than concurrent domestic rates, and participate in such proceeding for the protection of Central Freight Association and Middle West shippers and receivers; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Senators and Congressmen representing Central Freight Association, Middle West, South Atlantic and Gulf States, with the urgent request that they sponsor and secure the enactment of legislation exempting export and import traffic from the provisions of section 4 of the interstate commerce act; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be also sent to all trade bodies, commercial organizations, and shippers in Central Freight Association territory and the Middle West and at the South Atlantic and Gulf ports, and that such trade bodies, commercial organi-

zations, and shippers be requested and urged to adopt appropriate resolutions and take action consistent with the aims and purposes of these resolutions.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a telegram from the Chamber of Commerce of Providence, R. I., relative to the bill which is now the unfinished business before the Senate.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *February 4, 1932.*

Hon. JESSE H. METCALF,
United States Senate:

The board of directors of the Providence Chamber of Commerce, speaking for its membership, has expressed itself as emphatically and unalterably opposed to the principles of the so-called La Follette-Costigan bill for Federal relief. We believe strongly that such relief should be administered and financed by the local governments without any Federal appropriations for such purposes. We urge that you use your best efforts for the defeat of the bill under consideration.

ARCHIE W. MERCHANT, *President,*
RICHARD B. WATROUS, *General Secretary,*
Providence Chamber of Commerce.

APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and have appropriately referred resolutions from the William Newton Clark Brotherhood of Hamilton, N. Y., in support of the proposed Capper-Sparks amendment to the Constitution of the United States by which unnaturalized aliens would be excluded from the count in the apportionment of Representatives in the National House of Representatives and in apportioning presidential electors.

There being no objection the resolutions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Whereas the State of New York has had for 37 years a provision in its State constitution "excluding aliens" from the count of the State population for representation in the State legislature, the States of Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kansas, Idaho, and California also having at least substantially equivalent provisions; and

Whereas this provision which makes the legislature representative only of citizens of the United States, in harmony with the more recent practice by which no State now allows aliens to vote at the polls, is capable of direct application free from complication by any enforcement problems; and

Whereas this provision has worked well in New York, there being no objection to its justice and soundness as a matter of public policy; and

Whereas its existence for 37 years in the constitution of this State without any serious charge that it raises any issue of creed, race, or party, establishes conclusively that no such issue is involved in the principle; and

Whereas under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States millions of unnaturalized foreigners are counted for representation in Congress the same as citizens, thus creating a situation under which it may some day be possible for the representatives of such unnaturalized foreigners, controlled by alien-exploiting political machines in great cities, working together as a bloc, to vote control of the Government of the United States away from the representatives of the majority of the citizenship on some issue vital to the national welfare: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the William Newton Clark Brotherhood, of Hamilton, N. Y., do respectfully request the Congress of the United States to submit at the earliest feasible date to the States for their ratification a resolution for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States embodying the same principle, in some such form as that suggested by the Sparks-Capper stop alien representation amendment, reading as follows:

"ARTICLE XX. Aliens shall be excluded from the count of the whole number of persons in each State in apportioning Representatives among the several States according to their respective numbers,"

which was favorably reported 13 to 7 by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in the last Congress and which is now before the Committees on the Judiciary of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully request the Senators and Representatives from the State of New York in the Congress of the United States to vote in favor of the submission of such amendment and to use all possible legitimate effort to procure its favorable report by the committees of the two Houses of Congress and a speedy vote upon its merits, so that the Legislature of the State of New York may have an opportunity to vote upon its ratification before the adjournment of this session of the Legislature of the State of New York.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

Mr. HAWES. Mr. President, formal hearings before the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs in the matter of Philippine independence will begin on Monday, February 8, and, I believe, proceed to a conclusion with a report to this body. Hearings on the same subject are now proceeding before the House Committee on Insular Affairs.

Our policy in relation to the Philippines has always been one of doubt and uncertainty. Even as far back as 1899, when the Philippine question was first brought up in the Senate, a resolution providing for a definite policy was defeated by only one vote.

Sixteen years later, when the Jones Act was before the Senate, the Clarke amendment, providing for our definite withdrawal after a fixed period, was approved by only one vote. That amendment failed of adoption in the House of Representatives by a very small margin.

When the Supreme Court interpreted the status of the Philippine Islands in relation to the sovereignty of the United States the decision was rendered by a divided opinion of 5 to 4, showing again an uncertainty.

It will thus be seen that our whole history in the Philippines has followed a course of uncertainty. While the Presidents and the Congress of the United States have expressed the national policy with regard to the Philippine Islands, procrastination in the carrying out of such policy and evasion of our clear duty in the past have rendered our policies equally uncertain in the minds of the people of both the United States and of the Philippines.

In 1924, eight years after the passage of the Jones Act, bills were introduced in the Senate providing for the immediate independence of the Philippines by the late Senator Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, and Senator WILLIAM H. KING, of Utah.

The acting chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs of the Senate at that time was the late Senator Willis, of Ohio. Long hearings were held by the Senate committee on those bills. After the hearings the acting chairman of the committee addressed a communication to the then Secretary of War of the United States, the Hon. John W. Weeks, outlining the views of the committee in relation to Philippine independence, and requesting the Secretary of War to inform the committee as to the provisions which the Department of War would recommend should be included in the bill covering certain specific points.

The letter of Senator Willis, which I ask to have inserted in the RECORD, points out that there was a general agreement on the part of the members of the committee in favor of fixing a definite date for the withdrawal of American sovereignty; that it was the opinion of some members of the committee that the date should be January 1, 1930, of others January 1, 1935. The letter stated that there was only one member of the committee who was of the opinion that there should be a later date fixed.

I have some correspondence passing between the chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs in 1924, and the Secretary of War which has not heretofore been published. I should like to have permission to have it inserted in the RECORD, and ask that it may be referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the correspondence referred to by the Senator from Missouri will be printed in the RECORD.

The correspondence is as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
March 27, 1924.

Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: At a meeting of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, I was directed informally to advise you that a majority of the committee is of the opinion that Senate bill 912 "providing for the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands" should be favorably reported with the following suggestions and conditions:

That a final and complete withdrawal of the Government of the United States from the Philippine Islands should take place

on or after January 1, 1935, upon compliance with the following conditions:

1. A vote of a majority of the whole people of the Philippines eligible to vote.

2. Cession to the United States in perpetuity of all sovereignty over Cavite and Corregidor and all lands and waters within a radius of 5 miles thereof.

3. Refunding of all bonds of the Philippine Government and of its municipalities and political subdivisions, now held by citizens or nationals of the United States.

It should be added that while it was the opinion of some members of the committee that January 1, 1935, should be the date of final withdrawal, others were of the opinion that the date should be instead, January 1, 1930. One member of the committee was of the opinion that the date of final withdrawal should be postponed to a date even later than 1935, it being the informal opinion of the committee that some date should be fixed for the termination of the connection of the Government of the United States with the government of the Philippine Islands.

It is very earnestly requested that you make to the committee such suggestions as to conditions of withdrawal, etc., as you deem advisable.

Very respectfully,

FRANK B. WILLIS,
Acting Chairman.

Mr. HAWES. To this communication of the acting chairman of the committee the Secretary of War replied, under date of April 21, 1924, as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 1, 1924.

Hon. FRANK B. WILLIS,
Acting Chairman Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR WILLIS: I have heretofore acknowledged your letter of March 27 advising me that a majority of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate is of the opinion that Senate bill 912, "providing for the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands," should be favorably reported, with suggestions and conditions which you set forth.

The outstanding condition recited and which would necessarily govern the treatment of the other conditions is "that a final and complete withdrawal of the Government of the United States from the Philippine Islands should take place on or after January 1, 1935."

I believe that I have heretofore made it clear that, in the opinion of the department, this period of 10 years is not adequate to the accomplishment of the purpose which has justified our entering and remaining in the Philippine Islands. It is difficult to say what time would be necessary, but I would regard 20 years as the minimum in which we could hope fairly to accomplish our purpose.

While I feel it, therefore, necessary again to set forth this view of the problem, I have attempted to comply fully with your suggestions, and am inclosing a memorandum and draft of a bill which would seem to be a fair compliance with your suggestion, and have included, as suggested by you, other suggestions as to the conditions of withdrawal.

It will be observed in the bill that there is no provision for "a vote of a majority of the whole people of the Philippines eligible to vote." The reason for this omission is stated in the memorandum, but if your committee desires, it might be readily inserted in the bill.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. WEEKS,
Secretary of War.

MEMORANDUM—FINAL AND COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PHILIPPINES ON OR AFTER JANUARY 1, 1935

The acting chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions informally advised that a majority of that committee favors reporting a Philippine independence bill, with the following suggestions and conditions:

That upon compliance with certain conditions stated "a final and complete withdrawal of the Government of the United States from the Philippine Islands should take place on or after January 1, 1935."

This means that in the next 10 years the United States should complete the task imposed on itself in the Philippine Islands of preparing the people of those islands independently to operate an efficient government, satisfactory at least to the people of the islands.

This period obviously is short for the task indicated. It would probably be inadequate even to educate the people so that the first of the subconditions quoted below can be fairly complied with; that is, a period of 10 years is hardly sufficient, starting from the conditions of to-day, to educate the masses of the Philippine people to the point where they can, with a fair knowledge of the meaning of the proposition, vote intelligently on the question of separating themselves from the protection and assistance of the United States.

Assuming, however, that the date is definitely fixed, it is now desired that the department suggest conditions of withdrawal, etc.

The following conditions are those of the majority of the committee:

"1. A vote of a majority of the whole people of the Philippines eligible to vote."

This condition presents the difficulty that if the other conditions are to be satisfied, the government must proceed for a number of years with the idea that the result of the vote will be for independence, and therefore it is believed that if it is the intention of Congress to grant to the Filipinos their independence at a fixed date in the future, no plebiscite should be required as a prerequisite to so doing.

"2. Cession to the United States in perpetuity of all sovereignty over Cavite and Corregidor and all lands and waters within a radius of 5 miles thereof."

This is a question on which, in so far as the War Department is concerned, the approved views of the joint board would be controlling. Those views have been requested. It is anticipated that the views in 1933 rather than at present should control and this memorandum is prepared on that basis.

"3. Refunding of all bonds of the Philippine government and of its municipalities and political subdivisions, now held by citizens or nationals of the United States."

It is believed that the clause "now held by citizens or nationals of the United States" should be omitted, as the responsibility of the Government, moral or otherwise, covers the obligation and should be extended to any holder thereof. These bonds have been issued under the authority of specific laws of Congress, and the moral responsibility of the United States for the payment of interest and principal on these obligations has been announced publicly when the bonds have been offered. This announcement has been governed by opinions of the Attorney General of the United States. It is essential, therefore, that in some way the United States should see that bonds so issued and so sold should be paid in full. The bonds of the Philippine government and of its provinces and municipalities are being issued in pursuance of congressional legislation. See acts amending the present organic act, approved July 21, 1921, and May 31, 1922. Such obligations are exempted from taxation within the United States under section 1 of the act of February 6, 1905.

So long as these acts are unrepealed, the Philippine government may contract indebtedness to the limits fixed and bonds issued by that government will be tax exempt in the United States. The moral responsibility of the United States for such issues will probably continue. It is, therefore, essential in any scheme of providing for the relief of the United States of its obligations in the promises that this legislation be modified.

In addition to the obligations described, certain other bonds have been issued by corporations under specific authority of Congress and guaranteed as to principal by the Philippine government. The obligations of the United States as to this interest charge is quite the same as in the case of the principal and interest on the Philippine government bonds. To provide at this time that the Philippine government should not contract from time to time as absolutely necessary indebtedness would unnecessarily hamper the government during the next 10 years.

This situation should be met in whatever bill may be passed. The Philippine government should be permitted on its own responsibility to take the necessary steps to refund obligations now outstanding, and at the same time to contract the necessary indebtedness to meet conditions that may arise without involving the United States in any obligation, moral or otherwise. The letter calls for other conditions of withdrawal deemed advisable, and it would be an obvious neglect not to invite attention to other important conditions which should be inserted in any bill providing for the American withdrawal from the Philippine Islands.

A precedent in the case of Cuba was to require the insertion of these conditions in the constitution of the newly formed government, and that they be embodied in a permanent treaty between the United States and said government.

Hereto attached is a draft of a bill embodying what are believed to be essential conditions in addition to those suggested in your letter.

THE PROPOSED BILL

Section 2 of the proposed bill describes the territory of the government to be created and provides for the retention by the United States of such land and water as Congress may, after the recommendation of the Executive in the premises, decide to retain. This section, together with numbered paragraph 1 of section 4, provides for the recognition of the sovereignty of the United States over this retained territory. It would probably be unwise to commit the United States at this time to the retention of specified territory. The bill, therefore, provides that the President in 1933 shall make his recommendation to Congress in the premises. Congress may act on this recommendation, in which case its action will determine the Executive action. If Congress does not act, the President will act in accordance with his own view in the premises.

Sections 5 and 6 are a compliance with numbered paragraph 3, and, taken together, provide a means by which the Philippine government may refund all outstanding obligations for which the credit of the United States Government is in any way pledged.

Section 5 permits the Philippine government to issue obligations within the limits now fixed, but makes it clear that those obligations are issued on its own responsibility. This would be necessary in order to enable the government to refund, as provided, its present obligations.

Section 6 provides that the government shall make available to the Treasury of the United States funds sufficient to meet outstanding obligations prior to January 1, 1933.

Sections 7 and 8 provide for the preparation of the constitution of the new government and its submission to the President and Congress. This would seem a necessary precaution. Section 8 provides for the transfer, free of charge, to the new government of all immovable property of the United States within the territory subject to the jurisdiction of the new government. The property thus transferred will be of great value. The real estate was, in part, received from Spain and, in part, has been purchased by the United States. This property has been improved in many ways. The President is authorized to retain as property of the United States such as may be suitable for the Diplomatic and Consular Service of the United States. This should include residences and offices in Manila and residences and land at Camp John Hay and, if practicable, quarters and offices at Cebu, Iloilo, Zamboanga, and at such other points as consular offices might be established. As a slight compensation for the valuable property transferred to it, the newly created government takes over the obligation by way of pensions, etc., of the United States to Philippine citizens under clause 5 of section 4. It is essential almost that the United States relieve itself of its obligations to Philippine citizens, as it would be in a difficult position to perform them under the new conditions. It is also proper that the United States should see that Philippine citizens who have served it should receive credit for such service from the new government. These are the two principal obligations imposed on the Philippine government to repay the United States in part for property transferred to it.

Section 9 provides for the repeal of all legislation modifying general laws of the United States due to our present relations to the Philippine Islands. The more important laws thus affected would be the United States tariff act, the revenue act, the immigration laws, and naturalization laws.

Section 10 provides in the customary language for a government of the retained territory under the Executive until Congress shall act. This is as definite as it is believed it could be in view of the possible contingencies. This is important in compliance with subparagraph 2 of the latter from the acting chairman of the committee. It does not, however, commit the United States in advance to a prescribed territory.

Section 4 includes the obligations imposed on the new government which continue after its organization. Such of these as seem to require a word of explanation have heretofore been referred to.

This bill is drawn to conclude in so far as possible congressional work pertaining to the islands.

Mr. HAWES. Mr. President, subsequent to this correspondence, the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives introduced a bill, which was later known as the Fairfield bill, providing for the independence of the Philippine Islands after the expiration of a period of 25 years from the passage of the act, and meanwhile placing the whole government of the Philippine Islands in the hands of their people.

Hearings were held on this bill by the House committee and at the conclusion of the hearings the bill was ordered reported favorably.

In the meantime, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, Senator JOHNSON, of California, on May 20, 1924, introduced a bill in the Senate practically identical with the Fairfield bill in the House, and proving for definite withdrawal of American sovereignty from the Philippines after a period of 25 years.

On May 28, 1924, the Secretary of War appeared before the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, and submitted a statement in support of the Johnson bill, which I desire to insert in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement referred to is as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS, ON MAY 28, 1924, ON S. 3373

When I came before the committee on the 1st of March I suggested that there be inserted in the record of my hearing a short prepared statement that I had made to the House committee. In that statement I said:

"The petition for immediate independence is so manifestly against the material interests of the Filipino people that with the known protests of Filipinos against such action it brings up very seriously the question as to whether the present request for independence represents the mature view of the Filipino people advised as to the results thereof.

"The conclusion is unavoidable that the present demand for immediate, complete, and absolute independence is not the informed desire of the Filipino people."

Since that hearing I have no reason to change my views on the subject. I am at this time urging the passage of this bill because of my belief that if it is passed at this session it will receive the earnest support of the Philippine leaders and will be satisfactory to the people of the islands. By this I do not mean that every detail of the bill would meet either their approval or my own, but that in general form and content the bill is satisfactory.

This bill is a final form of a bill which has been discussed by the members of the mission from the Philippine Islands since 1922, when the original form of the bill was drawn at the instance of certain members of the mission from the islands. Changes have been suggested and made therein on the recommendation of the Philippine mission and by Americans interested in the Philippine Islands.

Briefly, the bill authorizes the Philippine people, by means of a constitutional convention, to create in the Philippine Islands a constitutional government with a constitution prepared by themselves.

The bill requires that certain safeguards shall be included in the constitution, that the constitution as prepared shall be submitted to the President and to Congress for approval and shall not be of effect until so approved. It provides that the constitution may not thereafter be amended without the approval of Congress.

The Philippines would continue territory of the United States not incorporated into the Union and, therefore, subject to the control of Congress.

The bill provides that upon the expiration of 25 years after the passage of the act the Philippine Islands shall be recognized as an independent government, and the President is authorized to take the necessary steps to protect the interests of the United States and of the citizens of the United States and foreign countries preliminary to withdrawing the sovereignty of the United States, and is further authorized to retain title to such property as may thereafter be useful to the United States.

The grant of independence:

When and shall it be submitted to the people for determination?

The bill proposes to fix the date of independence at 25 years from the passage of the act. The date, of course, should be fixed with reference to the inauguration of the new government in the Philippine Islands, and in the bill which has been reported to the House, the words "after the passage of this act" reads "after its inauguration," and these words are a decided improvement.

In the bill as originally introduced in the House there was a provision for a plebiscite. This was stricken out when the bill was reported to the House and does not appear in the bill under discussion. In other words, under this bill, at the date fixed, the United States withdraws its sovereignty from the Philippine Islands and the retention of the islands after that date would require an affirmative act on the part of the United States.

The bill implies no promise of taking such action, even though requested by the Philippine people. It might be held that if a plebiscite were authorized in the bill, the United States would be morally committed to continuing its sovereignty in the Philippine Islands if it were requested to do so. The Philippine people may, of course, under this bill have a plebiscite if they so desire, but there is no committal on the part of the United States that the plebiscite would be effective in inducing the United States to continue in the islands.

In other words, at the expiration of the 25 years the continuance of the Philippines under American sovereignty would require affirmative approval by both the Filipino people and the United States. It may be possible that at that time the mutual advantage of some intimate relationship will be so evident, both to the Filipinos and to the people of the United States, that a continuance of the relationship would be desirable, and, of course, no present action would be a bar to this continuance if both parties are desirous thereof; but there must be a separation under this bill if either the Filipino people desire separation or if the United States desires it.

The degree of autonomy to be provided:

The bill is liberal in this respect and grants to the Philippine people all that their leaders desire in the matter of autonomy.

What safeguards are to be retained by the sovereign power:

These safeguards are set forth in the provisions of section 3 to be included in the constitution of the Commonwealth, in section 4 which requires the approval of the constitution, section 6 which requires that the amendments thereafter shall be approved by the President and Congress, and in section 8 which authorizes the United States commissioner to the Commonwealth and confers on the President certain specific authority.

My reason for urging the passage of the bill at this session is that I believe that in that way it will secure the more readily the approval of the Filipino leaders and, following them, the Filipino people. It will remove the question of independence from local politics in the Philippine Islands and will give to the people of the islands a period which can be devoted to the development of the wealth of the islands and the prosperity of the people. The end of continued agitation is necessary to these purposes, and without the passage of this bill there is every reason to believe that the agitation will continue, discouraging alike the investment of capital from abroad and the utilization of the capital now withheld from development in the islands.

If the bill can be passed at this session, it would be an accomplishment which must alike be pleasing to the American and to the Filipino people. If the bill can only receive at this session, through passage by one House or through favorable reports from the committees of both Houses, the approval implied by such action, it would, nevertheless, be of advantage as inviting an expression from the Filipino people and legislature of their views. Next year is a political year in the Philippine Islands, and if the present situation drags until that time, the independence question must again become a local party question, the leaders, perhaps, as in the past, justifying radical positions by the fact that such views

have in the past received the approval of the public. It is desired to avoid this situation.

Certain details of the bill, I think, could be improved. For example, it should be made clear that an executive department of our Government would be charged specifically with the supervision of Philippine affairs, as at present; and as this function is now performed by the War Department, I think it should so continue; that is, the duties imposed on the President must necessarily be exercised through some department if the President is to be in a position to act promptly and advisedly.

I would suggest, therefore, that in section 6, which provides certain specific duties of the President under the act, it should be provided:

"The President is authorized to exercise his control and supervision over affairs of the commonwealth of the Philippines through the War Department."

The last sentence in section 8 should be stricken out and replaced by the following:

"The annual appropriation bill of the Philippine government shall provide for the salary of the United States commissioner, $18,000 per annum, and expenses, $12,000 per annum, and the expenses of his office in an amount to be approved by the President."

It is intended that this official shall be of great value to the Philippine government to be created and that his necessary expenses should be paid by that government. It should not be assumed that this is a payment from taxes on Filipinos. It will be but a small part of the amount annually turned over to the Philippine government by the United States under existing law.

Section 10, line 17, the words "after the passage of this act" should be stricken out and replaced by "after its inauguration."

Finally, it is most important that section 12 should clearly provide what seems obviously intended. I would therefore suggest adding to that section:

"All laws or parts of laws applicable to the present Philippine government and to the provinces and municipalities thereof will continue to apply to the commonwealth created under this act and the provinces and municipalities thereof until altered, amended, or repealed by the legislative authority of the commonwealth or by act of Congress of the United States."

I am told that the Philippine mission in the city would like to have paragraph (q) of section 3 omitted. This would have the effect of not requiring that provision to be inserted in the constitution of the new commonwealth. I have no objection to its omission.

The mission would like to have the 25 years in section 10 made 20 years. If the change that I have suggested above be made so that it would be "20 years after its inauguration," I think the change would be a fair compromise.

It would also like to have section 3 (o) read thus:

"The Supreme Court of the United States shall have jurisdiction as now or as may be hereafter provided by act of Congress."

The mission, likewise, prefers that certain wording in section 10, which was taken originally from the Clarke amendment which passed the Senate in 1916, be restored, so that the second sentence would read:

"The President is hereby invested with full power and authority to make such orders and regulations and to enter into such negotiations with the authorities of said Philippines or others as may be necessary to finally settle and adjust all property rights and other relations as between the United States and the said Philippines, and to cause to be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded all of the personal and property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States and of other countries resident or engaged in business in said Philippines or having property interests therein. In any such settlement or adjustment so made in respect to the rights and property of the United States as against the said Philippines the President may reserve or acquire such lands and rights and privileges appurtenant thereto as may, in his judgment, be required by the United States for naval bases and coaling stations and diplomatic purposes within the territory of said Philippines."

And I can see no objection to the proposed changes.

In response to an inquiry, the Secretary of War said that holders of bonds of the Philippine government or of bonds that had been issued with interest guaranteed by that government were fully protected under the pending bill. Many of the bonds now outstanding will have been redeemed before the 25-year period has passed. The interest on the railroad bonds now outstanding, payment of which is guaranteed by the Philippine government, will have all been paid prior to the expiration of this period, but under section 10 of the bill the President is charged with the responsibility and given the necessary authority to protect all such investors.

He added that while he was in full sympathy with granting this protection, he felt that the protection could not be made more complete by any action which could be taken at this time, and that the President at the end of the time would have all the powers in the premises which could now be granted him.

Mr. HAWES. Mr. President, in his testimony the Secretary of War urged upon the Congress the necessity of definitely defining American policy in the Philippines and the setting of a date for the independence of the Philippine Islands. The Secretary of War testified that in his opinion a period of 20 years after the inauguration of the new government provided in the bill would be a reasonable period during which the necessary political and economic adjustments to insure stability of the Philippine Islands could take place.

Putting the agreed period at 20 years, we find that 8 of the 20 years have already expired since 1924, thus leaving only 12 years of the period as then proposed by the Secretary of War and accepted by both committees.

During this period of eight years past there have been notable advances in Philippine participation in government, in the advancement of education, economic progress, and financial stability. It would seem, therefore, that the consensus of opinion of the members of both committees at that time was in favor of a limited period of 20 years, of which now only 12 years remain as the definite date for the transfer of sovereignty to the Philippines.

It is not my intention to discuss the Philippine question at this time. That will be done later.

These communications which I have presented have never heretofore been published, and I request they be referred to the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs for proper consideration.

I desire to emphasize the fact that not only have two committees of Congress expressed themselves in favor of setting a definite date for independence, but both a Democratic and a Republican administration, the one under Wilson and the other under Coolidge, have urged upon Congress the necessity of fixing a definite date for the termination of our sovereignty in the Philippines.

Both the Fairfield bill in the House and the Johnson bill in the Senate, I am advised, were carefully prepared by officials of the United States Government in the Bureau of Insular Affairs, the Judge Advocate General at the time, and other representatives of the executive branch of our Government.

The Senate bill (S. 3377) now before the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs is based upon the Johnson-Fairfield bill. The philosophy and objectives are the same.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The correspondence and data submitted by the Senator from Missouri will be referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. HOWELL, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 487) for the relief of Herbert G. Black, owner of the schooner *Oakwoods*, and Clark Coal Co., owner of the cargo of coal on board said schooner, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 178) thereon.

Mr. COOLIDGE, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2623) for the relief of Howard Donovan, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 179) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 2570) authorizing adjustment of the claim of Joseph E. Bourrie Co., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 180) thereon.

Mr. BROOKHART, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 1021. An act for the relief of Joseph J. Baylin (Rept. No. 181); and

S. 2307. An act to provide for the settlement of damage claims arising from the construction of the Petrolia-Fort Worth gas-pipe line (Rept. No. 182).

Mr. NYE, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 93) amending section 1 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 3, 1930, relating to the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Illinois River and Minneapolis, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 183) thereon.

Mr. WALSH of Montana, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 268) to excuse certain persons from residence upon home-

stead lands during 1930 and 1931 in the drought-stricken areas, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 184) thereon.

Mr. REED, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 567) to authorize the Secretary of War to sell to the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington Railroad Co. certain tracts of land situate in the county of Harford and State of Maryland, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 185) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 1692) to amend section 90 of the national defense act, as amended, relative to the employment of caretakers for National Guard organizations, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 186) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with an amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 499. An act authorizing the erection by the National Masonic Memorial Association of a memorial building at Fort Benning, Ga. (Rept. No. 187); and

S. 1690. An act to make provision for the care and treatment of members of the National Guard, Organized Reserves, Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and citizens' military training camps who are injured or contract disease while engaged in military training, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 188).

Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Committee on Commerce, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment:

H. R. 70. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Mahoning County, Ohio, to construct a free overhead viaduct across the Mahoning River at Struthers, Mahoning County, Ohio;

H. R. 474. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Garrison, N. Dak.;

H. R. 4695. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Culbertson, Mont.;

H. R. 4696. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near the point known and designated as the Power-site Crossing, in the State of Montana;

H. R. 5131. An act to extend the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River near and above the city of New Orleans, La.;

H. R. 5471. An act authorizing Sullivan County, Ind., to construct, maintain, and operate a public toll bridge across the Wabash River at a point in said county to a point opposite on the Illinois shore;

H. R. 5478. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.;

H. R. 5626. An act authorizing the States of Minnesota and North Dakota, the county of Polk, Minn., the county of Grand Forks, N. Dak., or any one or more of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Red River of the North at or near Bygland, Minn.; and

H. R. 5878. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission and the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co. and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a combination highway and railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

Mr. REED, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported favorably the nomination of Col. Frederick William Coleman, Finance Department, Regular Army, to be Chief of Finance, with the rank of major general, for a period of four years from date of acceptance, with rank from April 23, 1932.

He also, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably the nomination of Andrew W. Mellon, of Pennsylvania, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Great Britain, vice Charles G. Dawes, resigned.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

PAYMENT TO ENROLLED CHIPPEWA INDIANS OF MINNESOTA

Mr. FRAZIER. From the Committee on Indian Affairs I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 225) providing for the payment of $25 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota from the funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States, and I submit a report (No. 177) thereon. This bill is approved by the department, and I have been requested by the Senators from Minnesota to ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the bill be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to withdraw from the Treasury so much as may be necessary of the principal fund on deposit to the credit of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota, under section 7 of the act entitled "An act for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota," approved January 14, 1889, as amended, and to make therefrom payment of $25 to each enrolled Chippewa Indian of Minnesota, under such regulations as such Secretary shall prescribe. No payment shall be made under this act until the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota shall, in such manner as such Secretary shall prescribe, have accepted such payments and ratified the provisions of this act. The money paid to the Indians under this act shall not be subject to any lien or claim of whatever nature against any of said Indians.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Is the payment under the bill to be made out of the Indian funds or out of the Treasury?

Mr. FRAZIER. The payment is to be made out of the money of the Indians.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BINGHAM:

A bill (S. 3514) regulating the use of appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department; and

A bill (S. 3515) to authorize promotion upon retirement of officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard in recognition of World War and Spanish-American War service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE:

A bill (S. 3516) to prevent discriminations against American ships and ports, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3517) for the relief of Robert H. Leys; and

A bill (S. 3518) for the relief of Mrs. Joseph Roncoli; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3519) to amend section 461 of the tariff act of 1930; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 3520) to extend retirement benefits to widows of Foreign Service officers; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

A bill (S. 3521) for the relief of Will Brewer;

A bill (S. 3522) for the relief of Matthew J. Isaac; and

A bill (S. 3523) for the relief of William Wallingford; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BRATTON:

A bill (S. 3524) to remove certain limitations on the payment of pensions to soldiers, sailors, and marines of the war with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, or the China relief expedition while inmates in soldiers' homes; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 3525) granting a pension to Eleanora Emma Bliss; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3526) granting a pension to Wilbur J. Patterson; and

A bill (S. 3527) granting an increase of pension to John H. Sarrett; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

A bill (S. 3528) granting a pension to Iva B. Erickson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3529) relating to the payment of compensation for the death or disability of women citizens of the United States who served in base hospitals overseas; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BLAINE:

A bill (S. 3530) to amend the longshoremen's and harbor workers' compensation act; and

A bill (S. 3531) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, and acts in amendment thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3532) to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to readjust and close streets, roads, highways, or alleys in the District of Columbia rendered useless or unnecessary, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(Senate bills numbered 3533 and 3534 were subsequently introduced by Mr. McKELLAR and appear later in the proceedings under the heading "Conditions in Hawaii.")

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana:

A bill (S. 3535) granting travel pay and other allowances to certain soldiers of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine insurrection who were discharged in the Philippines (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FRAZIER:

A bill (S. 3536) for the relief of Jerry O'Shea; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. STEIWER:

A bill (S. 3537) for the relief of Elijah L. Gum; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GLENN:

A bill (S. 3538) for the relief of Nellie McMullen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3539) to amend section 8 of the act of Congress of June 30, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 768; U. S. C., title 21), as amended; and

A bill (S. 3540) to amend sections 1 and 2 of the act of Congress of June 30, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 768; U. S. C., title 21), as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

A bill (S. 3541) to authorize the St. Thomas harbor board, Virgin Islands, to issue bonds for the purpose of acquiring and installing a dry dock in the harbor of St. Thomas; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BULKLEY:

A bill (S. 3542) for the relief of the Peerless Motor Car Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

REGULATION OF TRANSPORTATION OF COTTON IN INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, early in the session I introduced a bill to regulate the transportation of cotton in interstate and foreign commerce and providing machinery for that purpose. In view of the short time remaining before the next cotton crop, I desire to introduce an amendment regulating the supply of cotton this year without resorting to that machinery. I ask to have the amendment printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred in connection with this statement.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendment will be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and printed.

The amendment is as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. BANKHEAD to the bill (S. 1698) providing for regulation of the transportation of cotton in interstate and foreign commerce, and for other purposes.

On page 2, line 9, after the word "year," strike out the following words: "except that for the crop year 1932; the President is authorized by proclamation to fix the period within which such vote shall be taken" and substitute in lieu thereof the following: "For the crop year 1932 the number of pounds which may be shipped in interstate and/or in foreign commerce is 50 per cent of the amount of cotton produced in the crop year 1931. The local extension service agents in each county, or such other agents as may be designated by the Secretary of Agriculture, shall issue to each owner of land used for cotton production during the crop year 1931 a license, as herein provided, for 50 per cent of the amount of cotton which was produced from said land during the crop year 1931. All cotton in existence at the time of the passage of this act shall be exempt from the provisions thereof. The Secretary of Agriculture shall issue regulations for the identification of such cotton so that it may be shipped without license in interstate or foreign commerce."

AMENDMENT TO AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. McNARY (for Mr. SHORTRIDGE) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. SHORTRIDGE to House bill 7912, the agricultural appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

On page 37, between lines 2 and 3, insert the following new paragraph:

"Fruit and vegetable transportation: For an investigation and study of the transportation of Pacific coast fruits and vegetables from orchards and farms to foreign markets, with a view to improving the conditions of such transportation, including packing and handling, $50,000."

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930

Mr. NORRIS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 6662) to amend the tariff act of 1930, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT—AMENDMENTS

Mr. PITTMAN submitted an amendment and Mr. ODDIE submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the so-called Black substitute to the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

PRESCRIPTION OF MEDICINAL LIQUORS—AMENDMENT

Mr. BINGHAM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 3090) relating to the prescribing of medicinal liquors, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

NEGOTIATION OF TREATY FOR TOTAL AND IMMEDIATE DISARMAMENT

Mr. FRAZIER. I submit a resolution which I send to the desk and ask to have it read by the clerk and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 161), as follows:

Whereas the United States has appointed delegates to the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva; and

Whereas it is essential to the peace and welfare of the world that this conference shall not discuss and perpetuate armament but shall provide for genuine disarmament, and actual laying down of arms by the peoples of the world; and

Whereas the United States is a signatory to the general pact (or Kellogg pact) signed at Paris August 27, 1928: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate recommend to said delegates that they be ever mindful of the fact that they are representatives of a Nation which has renounced war; that they refuse to concern themselves with the war plans and war preparations of any nation or with such irrelevant matters as budgets, percentages, man power, effectives, gun elevations, or with any other detail of organized murder, the mere discussion of which presupposes the continuation of the war system and the violation of the general pact; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senate urges the said delegates to secure the agreement of the conference to the following multilateral treaty, which shall be sent by the delegates to their respective governments for approval and ratification:

"ARTICLE 1. The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it

as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"ART. 2. The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

"ART. 3. The high contracting parties pledge themselves in the names of their respective peoples to immediate and complete disarmament, and hereby declare that it shall be a violation of international law for any nation, State, or subdivision thereof, or for any league, group, or association of nations, to take part in any war, offensive or defensive, or to prepare for, declare, or carry on any armed expedition, invasion, or undertaking, or to raise, appropriate, or expend funds for such purposes."

(Article 1 and article 2 being the provisions of the general pact, and article 3 being additional thereto.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION OF CASEIN

Mr. McNARY. At the request of the junior Senator from California [Mr. SHORTRIDGE], who is detained on account of illness, I submit the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution (S. Res. 162) was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Resolved, That Senate Resolution 390, Seventy-first Congress, third session, agreed to January 21, 1931, directing the United States Tariff Commission, under the authority conferred by section 336 of the tariff act of 1930, and for the purposes of that section, to investigate the costs of production of casein and of any like or similar foreign articles, is hereby rescinded.

INTERNATIONAL RADIO AGREEMENTS

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, I offer a resolution and ask to have it referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. It is a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to negotiate international radio agreements with the governments of North America.

The resolution (S. Res. 163) was read, as follows:

Whereas radio broadcasting stations in Mexico and Cuba are using frequencies being used by radio broadcasting stations in the United States and thereby causing interference with the service of said stations to the American people, and it is reliably reported that a number of additional radio broadcasting stations are planned and under construction near the American border of Mexico; and

Whereas there is no international agreement or treaty dividing the use of frequencies for radio broadcasting among the nations of North America, and only by such an international agreement can the Governments of these countries protect the radio broadcasting stations within their borders from interference by radio broadcasting stations in other North American countries; and

Whereas the value of vast investments in the radio broadcasting business in the United States and good reception by the receiving sets of the millions of listeners in the United States are dependent upon the prevention of interference by radio broadcasting stations located in adjoining countries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate hereby requests the Secretary of State, with the assistance of the Federal Radio Commission, to negotiate international agreements with Canada, Mexico, and Cuba, and any other countries he may deem advisable either separately or by joint convention for the protection of radio broadcasting stations in all of these countries from interference with one another, whereby a fair and equitable division of the use of radio facilities allocated for broadcasting under the international radio telegraph convention of Washington, in 1927, may be made.

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, at the present time we are spending about $500,000 a year for a radio commission in an attempt to make it possible for our radio stations to broadcast so that there will not be serious interference between them, in order that radio listeners may have the benefit of the various programs. Under that arrangement tremendous amounts of money have been invested in radio stations, and over 12,000,000 radio receiving sets have been bought. At the present time there is nothing to prevent the building of any number of stations along the Mexican border and in Cuba. Those stations go on any wave length they can secure permission from the Mexican or Cuban Governments to use. They interfere, and will interfere more and more, with American stations while stations in those countries have no protection against stations in this country.

The State Department has done nothing to stop this practice, except to conduct some negotiations. I have offered this resolution because I think it is absolutely necessary if the money this Government is spending to assure good radio service in this country is to bring any real benefit to the American people and not prove to be largely a waste of funds.

I have not asked for immediate consideration of the resolution by the Senate, because I want it to go to the committee in order that we may call before us the members of the Radio Commission and officials of the State Department to explain their side of the question before asking the Senate to take action.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 13) requesting the President to return to the Senate the enrolled bill (S. 2199) exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 2334) to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented, and it was signed by the President pro tempore.

TEMPORARY REMOVAL OF PORTRAITS FROM THE CAPITOL

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have considered at this time a concurrent resolution now on the table granting permission to loan certain portraits now in the Capitol to an exhibit at the Corcoran Art Gallery.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Con. Res. 14) submitted by Mr. FESS on the 3d instant, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That consent is hereby given to the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, or a duly authorized committee thereof, to remove temporarily to the Corcoran Art Gallery, for exhibition in the Bicentennial Portrait Exhibit to be held as a part of such celebration, any portraits in the Capitol building (not in the public corridors), including the following:

George Washington, by Rembrandt Peale, in the Vice President's room;

George Washington, by Gilbert Stuart, in the Post Offices and Post Roads committee room;

John Marshall, by Martin, in the Supreme Court robing room;

Frederick Muhlenberg, copied from a Wright portrait by Samuel B. Waugh, in the Speaker's lobby; and

Oliver Ellsworth, copied from an Earl portrait by Charles Loring Elliot, in the Supreme Court robing room.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, the concurrent resolution provides that the portraits may be removed from the Capitol temporarily only, probably for not more than a month. The portraits will be properly insured and properly cared for. They are to be a part of an exhibit to illustrate the paintings of the George Washington era. The portraits included in the exhibit are not simply those of Washington but those of his day. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. FESS. I yield.

Mr. BINGHAM. As I understand, the concurrent resolution does not contemplate taking any portraits out of the corridors of the Capitol, where they are now readily accessible, but only applies to portraits in committee rooms where they are not ordinarily seen?

Mr. FESS. At first it was desired to take them from the corridors, but it was suggested that portraits in the corridors would be viewed by the public anyway, and therefore such portraits had better be excluded. So, in answer to the Senator from Connecticut, I will say that the portraits in the corridors are not included.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, the concurrent resolution does not seem to declare so expressly,

but I assume that at the expiration of the bicentennial period the portraits will be returned to the Capitol.

Mr. FESS. It is understood that they will be returned within a very short time; the exhibit will not continue throughout the year, but only for a short period.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

"TARIFF TERMED CHIEF ISSUE IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN"

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article by David Rankin Barbee, published in the Washington Post on Sunday, January 31, headed "Tariff Termed Chief Issue in Presidential Campaign This Year."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article is as follows:

[From the Washington (D. C.) Post, January 31, 1932]

TARIFF TERMED CHIEF ISSUE IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN THIS YEAR—CAN HARDLY BE OVERLOOKED AS BONE OF CONTENTION AMIDST DEPRESSION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION; QUESTION ALWAYS HAS CAUSED STRIFE

By David Rankin Barbee

As sure as a gun is made of iron, the paramount issue in the next presidential campaign will be the tariff. It is 'bleeged to be, as Uncle Remus explained about the rabbit's climbing the tree. In a period of depression and unemployment, coming in a Republican administration, such an issue would not be overlooked. It always has been so, it always will be so; for parties, it seems, can settle all other questions but this one.

From the very beginning of our Government the tariff has been a bone over which all parties have quarreled. One reason—the potent reason—why Patrick Henry, George Mason, and William Grayson, in the Virginia State ratifying convention, opposed the adoption of the Constitution of 1787 was that the North, being an industrial and a carrying people, would lay imposts that they would be a burden on the agricultural section. And on this issue they came near defeating ratification.

In the very first Congress James Madison, of Virginia, a Democrat, introduced a tariff bill, and it was a protection measure. He was then working in conjunction with Alexander Hamilton, the patron saint of the Federalist Party, by some Republicans now called the patron saint of their party. Madison's bill was called, in the language of that day, the impost bill, and it embraced not only protection per se but also what was called the tonnage rates.

The bill was bitterly attacked by the States of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, all three agricultural States. William Maclay, the Senator from Pennsylvania and the rightful founder of the Democratic Party, whose diary is our sole authority for the proceedings of the first Senate, notes that Senators "Lee, Butler, Grayson, Izard, and Few argued in a most unceasing manner, and, I thought, most absurdly, on this business." They attacked the impost bill with great vigor.

In another place he says: "The affair of confining the East India trade to the citizens of America had been negatived, and a committee had been appointed to report on this business. The report came in with very high duties, amounting to a prohibition. But a new phenomenon had made its appearance in the house [Senate] since Friday. Pierce Butler, from Carolina, had taken his seat and flamed like a meteor. He arraigned the whole impost law, and then charged (indirectly) the whole Congress with "a design of oppressing South Carolina. He cried out for encouraging the Danes and Swedes and foreigners of every kind to come and take away our produce. * * * And until 4 o'clock was it battled with less order, less sense, and less decency, too, than any question I have ever yet heard debated in the Senate."

Senator Maclay was a reporter much after my own heart. On the following day, the impost bill, still being under discussion, he makes this picturesque comment on the debate: "We once believed that Lee (Richard Henry Lee, the Senator from Virginia) was the worst of men, but I think we have a much worse than he in our lately arrived Mr. Butler (the Senator from South Carolina). This is the most eccentric of creatures. He moved to strike out the article on indigo. 'Carolina was not obliged to us for taking notice of her affairs'; ever and anon crying out against local views and partial proceedings, and that the most local and partial creature I ever heard open a mouth. All the impost bill was calculated to ruin South Carolina. He has words at will, but scatters them the most at random of any man I ever heard pretend to speak."

Senator Butler was a very able statesman, a brilliant orator, and one of the first ornaments of that Senate, a Democrat of the strictest State's rights faith. He was the forerunner of John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie, Robert Y. Hayne, and Jefferson Davis. He carried his doctrine so far that he opposed a duty on indigo, which no Senator from South Carolina to-day would do. Indigo did not get needed protection, and it quickly disappeared from South Carolina after Eliza Lucas had made it a most profitable crop, and under her direction Carolina had built up an export business in it that was substantial and profitable.

DEMOCRATS FOR PROTECTION

It has been noted, of course, that the Madison tariff bill was introduced by a Virginia Democrat. Every northern Democrat in that Congress supported the bill, and the two most noted Democratic Senators from the North, William Maclay, from Pennsylvania, and John Langdon, from New Hampshire—father of that great school of New England Democrats which wrought so mightily during the first 30 years of the Republic—did battle for it.

But a fact more singular than this is that Thomas Jefferson not only indorsed the bill but approved of the principle of protection. In one of his letters he says: "The prohibitive duties we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture, which prudence requires to be established at home, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to use no foreign article that can be made within ourselves, without regard to the difference in price, insures us against a relapse into foreign dependency."

It was in line with this policy that he again wrote: "My own idea is that we should encourage home manufacture to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw material."

JACKSON FOR HIGH TARIFF

This picture is a fair cross-section of the history of the Democratic Party and the tariff. There was no greater Democrat, I take it, than General Jackson, though he was by no means a consistent Democrat.

As a Senator from Tennessee he seems to have been a consistent protectionist. I have to speak rather timidly about this record for I have not examined it closely, but James Parton, his best biographer, puts him down as a high-tariff man. In the session of Congress which met in December, 1823, Parton says that Jackson "voted against reducing the duty on imported iron, cotton goods, wool and woolen goods, India silks, cotton bagging, blankets, and for removing the duty of '4 cents per pound' on frying pans."

It is also true that Jackson was a standing candidate for the Presidency, and that his stanchest supporters were in Pennsylvania, which nominated him in 1824 and again in 1828. Pennsylvania has from the beginning of the Government been a strong protection community, and no man of any party has ever risen to high office in that State who did not subscribe to that policy. That explains why Albert Gallatin, her greatest statesman, and James Buchanan, her only President, and Samuel J. Randall, her foremost Representative—every one of them a mighty Democrat—followed in the footsteps of William Maclay, her first Democrat.

Jackson was motivated by another reason, too. His State was never a planting State, and slavery never dictated her politics. On that question it was the most liberal of all the Southern States, and probably the most fiercely independent and radical of any of the States. It was not many months after Old Hickory had whipped the British at New Orleans that a group of young Presbyterian ministers and Quakers, at Dandridge, Tenn., organized the first emancipation society under our present form of government.

One thing and one thing alone kept Tennessee from abolishing slavery before Jackson went to the Senate, and that was the fear that her neighboring sisters would colonize their emancipated slaves on her soil. What she most wanted was to get rid of her own slaves, and she could not colonize them on her neighbors. Until 1824 every free negro in that State was a citizen. The Constitution adopted in 1824 took this right away from all of them.

But it was not slavery so much as it was a free people, like Embree, who were establishing manufactures all over the State, particularly along the water courses where the power alone was to be derived, which created the protection impulse behind Jackson. When slavery became fastened on the State, manufactures began to decline and you might take that picture as a picture of the whole South.

HANCOCK CALLED TARIFF LOCAL

General Hancock, who one day, perhaps, will get his rightful position in history, as the ablest soldier in the Union Army in the great sectional war, was not far wrong, when, speaking as the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, he said: "The tariff is a local issue." How they jeered at him and derided him and laughed at him; but was he not right? Let us see.

Senator PAT HARRISON, of Mississippi, sits in Jefferson Davis's seat—the one the enraged soldier stuck his bayonet in—but he does not wear that great man's shoes nor drape his mantle about his athletic shoulders. No man has come up in Mississippi since 1865 who could draw that Ulysses bow. Mr. HARRISON lives in a tomato patch; that is, his end of the Magnolia State produced tomatoes by the trainload. When Senator FLETCHER was getting protection for Florida's tomatoes, and Senator HAYDEN for Arizona's, and Senator TOM CONNALLY for those grown in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, up spoke the Senator from Mississippi and said that the Crystal Springs patch also needed protection, and he voted with his Democratic brethren of the South for a protective duty on tomatoes.

If the tomato had not been local to Mississippi, Senator HARRISON would never have taken a brief for Crystal Springs.

Louisiana, although an agricultural State, has for upwards of 100 years been a strictly protection community. Her sugar industry could not live without protection, and her long line of Democratic Senators have always voted for protection, and often have voted for protection on items that did not concern their constituents in order to get protection for sugar

There are Senators still in Congress who recall the philippic which Senator Robert Broussard—"Coosan Bob" to the Cajuns—delivered against Woodrow Wilson for placing sugar on the free

list. It is of record that before the nomination was given him Governor Wilson told the Louisiana leaders who were friendly to his candidacy that he would not touch the duty on sugar, but even so powerful a President as he became could not withstand the pressure from his party leaders in Congress for free sugar. His "conversion" to free sugar came near wrecking the Democratic Party in Louisiana. I am not writing hearsay gossip. I got the whole inside story from Governor Wilson's most influential friend in that State, to whom he made the promise of protection, the late Col. Robert Ewing, owner and publisher of the New Orleans States.

WALSH PROTECTIONIST

This has been true in every section of the country. Senator WALSH of Massachusetts is as high a protectionist as ever Senator Murray Crane was, and so was Senator Peter Gerry, of Rhode Island, a Democrat representing the most highly protected State in the Union.

But despite all of this history of individuals and of States, it remains true that the traditional policy of the Democratic Party, in its platforms at least, has been low tariff, a tariff for revenue only, and in some instances free trade. The tariff reformers in the Republican Party—Carl Schurz and his group of mugwumps—got hold of President Cleveland and converted him or indoctrinated him with their tariff ideas, and made a free trader of him. That is a very interesting story.

When they went to the White House to converse with him on the tariff, Mr. Cleveland confessed that he knew nothing about the tariff and had never given the question one moment's study. He was not alone in that. There are probably 300 Members of the House in that fix now. "We'll give you the books," said Schurz; and they did. What books they were we shall probably never know. Probably the pamphlets and speeches of Cobden and Bright, the English free traders. Cleveland studied them and mastered them and then sent in his tariff message, which stands as a landmark in White House papers. The next year the people left him at home.

As a matter of political philosophy the tariff interests inquiring minds just as any metaphysical proposition does. But as a practical question of statecraft it never is solved. It will not stay put. Statesmen will quarrel over it, and Democrats and Republicans, too, will not agree on it. The progressive movement led by Senator Dolliver, of Iowa, is evidence of that. He represented an agricultural constituency. And the quarrel between agriculture and industry does not seem capable of solution.

Hic fabula docet nothing in particular, except that the next presidential contest will be another controversy over the tariff; and whichever side wins, the Democrats from industrial districts and from industrial States will vote with the Republicans for a high tariff, and Republicans from the agricultural States will vote with low-tariff Democrats against a high tariff.

If John Randolph of Roanoke could come to life again and Virginia should send him to Congress, and he should, in that strident, effeminate voice of his, declare: "Only in a climate like England can the human animal endure without extirpation the corrupting air, the noisome exhalations, the incessant labor of these accursed manufactures. Yes, sir; I say accursed; for they are an accursed thing"—would he not be laughed at?

They may be accursed all right, but every community in the country wants to be cursed with them; and when they get them, they are apt to change their politics as well as their civilization.

THE FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION AND REMEDIES PROPOSED

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address delivered by Rudolph Spreckels at the Round Table Conference dinner at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, January 28, 1932. Mr. Spreckels is one of the outstanding financiers of the country, and his views upon public questions, whether one agrees with them in toto or not, are worthy of serious consideration.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. Spreckels spoke as follows:

For the past two years the American people have been deceived by the mirage created by hot-air vaporings on the chill atmosphere surrounding those in want. The air has been filled with unfulfilled prophecies of prosperity just around the corner.

We are now entering upon a new year, so let us not be afraid to admit that our political, financial, and industrial affairs have been grievously mishandled, and with the aid of an informed people proceed to readjust matters in the common interest under constructive leadership.

Politically we have been duped by the adroit diplomats of Europe.

Financially we have been duped by foreign welchers.

Industrially we have been duped by the erroneous idea that cutthroat competition has saved us money.

We have been caught in the webbing of European political deceit.

The financial needs of the American people have been severely curtailed by reason of our bankers' loans to foreign interests. Forced sales of securities, commodities, and properties held by our banks against loans to their American clients, in order to preserve bank liquidity and enable our bankers to extend the payment dates to their foreign borrowers, have demoralized values in this country. Our unemployed and the millions of other American citizens who are the victims of forced liquidations of bank loans may well ask why foreign interests are favored to the detriment of our country and its people.

Consumers who buy things below the cost of production by reason of cutthroat competition lose more in the end than they gain, because when our industries do not prosper they can not maintain wage scales or keep men at work and a depression sets in which hits everyone in one form or another.

The American people are beginning to realize why they are suffering from hunger and cold in the midst of plenty. The closing of banks and the failure of industrial concerns have brought widespread unemployment and impoverished so many millions of our people that those who survive the destructive battles for supremacy will learn that a poverty-stricken people make poor customers. People who are accustomed to hardships and want may remain docile so long as bread lines and soup kitchens are maintained to feed them, but there are many other millions who are now suffering unbearable privations in this the richest country on earth. Voluntary charity can not cope with so desperate a condition, nor is it likely that high-spirited men and women will permit "God's" bounteous provisions, made for all mankind, to be doled out to them by a minority whose greed and lust for power has brought unhappiness to so many others and deprived them of a fair share of the necessities of life.

We are standing at the crossroads in our human relations—the road to the right leads to peace and happiness for all through voluntary and orderly readjustments in our economic life; the road to the left leads to the battle grounds, where adjustments are made by the use of force.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, when it proposed that the earnings of all railroads be pooled and used to preserve the weaker companies, pointed the way by which we may stabilize all industries, keep men at work, and increase the demand for labor. Unless those who are financially strong help to finance the weak there will be many more failures, more unemployment, and further credit restrictions and capital losses, and then few now living will again enjoy freedom from anxiety and want.

If we at once marshal our financial resources and merge into several strong competitive groups all members of our essential industries in which there exist overcapacities and regulate competition to prevent sales below the cost of production and to protect the consumers against excessive prices, an essential step toward trade stability and prosperity would be accomplished.

If our Government would care for all idle single men at our Army posts and constitute them employment agencies, local communities could adequately care for destitute families in their midst.

If our Government would appraise the value of collateral held by our banks against frozen loans and issue to the banks some acceptable circulating certificates, on the basis of, say, 60 per cent of the appraised value of the collateral deposited, forced liquidation of bank loans would be unnecessary and sacrifice sales of commodities and securities would be avoided and their values stabilized. It will be seen that the issue by the Government of the certificates I propose would obviate the necessity for the issue and sale of billions of dollars of Government bonds, the sale of which would undoubtedly lower the market price of outstanding Government bonds, and when the price of Government bonds declines people lose faith in all other securities. In the year 1907 clearing house certificates were issued to their member banks, which were readily accepted by the public in lieu of currency; therefore certificates issued by our Government against similar securities would certainly be accepted by everyone in the ordinary course of business.

If Congress would place a tax on money withdrawn from this country by American pleasure seekers who travel abroad and require them to pay a high passport fee and place a tax on those who send money out of this country for the support of foreign relatives, the Government would collect a huge revenue and greatly relieve our stay-at-home taxpayers.

Likewise, a tax should be levied against American investments in manufacturing enterprises abroad and the revenue used to establish an unemployment insurance fund, because American foreign manufacturing investments deprive our working people of labor involved in the manufacture of those things at home and the investment of money abroad decreases our funds, which might otherwise be available for financing other enterprises in this country, creating new demands for American labor.

A tax should also be levied upon every short sale of commodities and securities, because short sellers are mere speculators who interfere with the orderly fixing of prices, namely, actual supply and demand. This would not interfere with hedge sales made by bona fide producers and owners of commodities and securities.

Prohibition is another subject which can not be longer ignored. The loss in revenue to our Government since the adoption of the eighteenth amendment to our Constitution and the appropriations for enforcement purposes, together with the enormous expense incurred by our States and municipalities to cope with the increase in crimes due to prohibition, have added unbearable tax burdens in an amount far in excess of the annual war-loan payments due our Government from foreign nations and sufficient to have balanced our Government budgets without additional taxes. But even more serious and evil consequences have befallen our Nation through the adoption of the eighteenth amendment in that it has brought widespread disrespect for law and undermined the moral character of a large number of our youths and

adults of both sexes. It has made hypocrites of countless millions who vote dry but themselves drink freely—and by that I do not mean without paying for it.

I do not wish to deny that there are many millions of men and women who are sincere in their belief that liquor, wine, and beer are bad for humans, but I do protest against their unwillingness to admit that a law which can not be enforced after these many years of trial should no longer encumber our Constitution and statutes and divide our people into antagonistic groups.

It is a sad state of affairs when men and women of fine character and having religious training uphold a law which has substituted for the objectionable saloons many times as many illegal drinking places—drinking places which attract and debauch our youth behind locked doors every day and night throughout the year; drinking places which corrupt our public servants and pay tribute to bootleggers and gunmen. How then can any rational citizen defend prohibition, which has brought into existence many more and far more demoralizing drinking places and which the Federal Government has in all these past years been unable to eliminate?

Men and women who do not indulge in the use of liquor, wine, and beer should, nevertheless, know that present-day sordid conditions are largely due to prohibition, and that those who uphold it are making common cause with the illegal and corrupt leaders of the underworld, who grow rich by trafficking in liquor. Respectable hotels and restaurants have lost a great part of their patronage to speak-easies, which serve delicious meals at a nominal price to attract people who willingly pay them extortionate prices for liquor, wine, and beer.

All good citizens who believe in temperance, and those who are wholly opposed to the use of liquor, wine, and beer, should stop advocating the retention of the eighteenth amendment in our Constitution and devote their efforts toward formulating and supporting the adoption of a substitute amendment which will insure us against the return of saloons and provide a Federal dispensatory system, but leaving the people in every State free to determine whether or not they desire to permit the manufacture and dispensing of liquor, wine, and beer within their State, and that upon the adoption of such an amendment to the Constitution the eighteenth amendment is hereby repealed.

It is unfair to the Members of Congress to unload upon them the past year's accumulated troubles of this Nation and expect them to act upon various relief proposals without having adequate time to consider their ultimate effect upon the public interest if adopted or rejected. Therefore it is unfortunate that a special session of Congress was not held during the summer when it was well known that the distress of our people and the problems of our financial and industrial interests would become acute this winter.

My time is too brief to cover in detail all the perplexing internal issues requiring solution.

Our international problems are many, but I shall be unable to discuss them as fully as I should like to this evening.

It is our traditional policy to be at peace with other nations and to sympathize with all peoples who find themselves plunged into a sea of despair by their governments, but we owe it to our own people to care for their needs and also to insure our Nation's security by providing ample protection against invasion. We can not afford to ignore the stupendous preparations certain European nations have made for another war, knowing, as we do, that we are envied and hated by ungrateful recipients of our bounty and in whose behalf we sacrificed so many American lives and for whom we burdened our taxpayers with the cost of a war precipitated by foreign nations.

Private foreign loans and our Government's war loans made to willing borrowers can not be considered in the same light as excessive German reparation payments fixed by the European victors of the World War. Collection of reparation payments is no concern of ours, and our loans were in no way conditioned upon their payment. It would be far better to let those nations default in their obligations than to reduce or cancel them because so long as war-loan obligations remain unpaid the more difficulty they would have in financing another war. Our commerce would not suffer if we refuse to relieve those nations of their governmental loans because private capital and industries in all countries will continue to seek business and profits.

We have paid too dearly already for becoming involved in European affairs, so let us heed the advice of George Washington and avoid all further foreign entanglements.

The League of Nations and the World Court have both demonstrated that they can serve no good purpose, and we would be exceedingly foolish to join either and put our Nation at the mercy of the Old World's crafty statesmen. We must not permit foreign nations to fix the limit of our defensive strength while they build navies which they could combine against us and impose onerous demands upon our country.

We should, I believe, discontinue our useless efforts to persuade European nations to curtail their armament programs and exert our unremitting efforts to the task of making our own shores completely secure against invasion by any international combination. If we confine our military and naval undertakings to defensive measures unsuited to our invasion of other nations, it could not be honestly argued that our military and naval plans were a threat to any other country.

Once we are entirely secure against invasion, there would be no danger of foreign countries treating our international interests with disrespect because it would be obvious that we could then proceed to construct whatever naval ships might be required to give us control of the seas and enforce our rights.

American individuals who value foreign favors and flattery above the interests of their country and that of the American people must not be permitted to further ignore the needs of our people or to compromise the independence of the United States.

THE CALENDAR

The VICE PRESIDENT. Morning business being closed, the calendar is in order. The Secretary will state the first bill on the calendar.

The bill (S. 1951) for the relief of Howard P. Cornick was announced as first in order.

Mr. KING. Over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 88) to authorize the Postmaster General to investigate the conditions of the lease of the post-office garage in Boston, Mass., and to readjust the terms thereof, was announced as next in order.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 268) to amend subdivision (c) of section 4 of the immigration act of 1924, as amended, was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. I ask that that bill go over. I may say with respect to it that when the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS] is here and several other Senators who may be interested in the bill I shall then have no objection to its consideration.

The bill (S. 1663) to prohibit the sending of unsolicited merchandise through the mails was announced as next in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On request, the bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 209) granting an increase of pension to Mary Willoughby Osterhaus was announced as next in order.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

ROSA E. PLUMMER

The bill (S. 111) for the relief of Rosa E. Plummer was announced as next in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HOWELL] what reasons there are for waiving the statute and giving the claimant the right to bring suit after the time has passed?

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. President, this is a case where a former employee of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing claims to have suffered the loss of eyesight, and the committee considered that, under the circumstances, it might not be improper to waive the statute of limitations and allow the claimant to go before the Compensation Commission and present her case; but nothing further is afforded the claimant than the mere privilege of presenting the case.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, that is not a sufficient explanation, and I ask that the bill go over. I will consult with the Senator about it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

EXAMINATION AND SURVEY OF SEASIDE HARBOR, OREG.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2622) to provide an examination and survey of Seaside Harbor, Oreg., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment, on line 11, after the word "for," to strike out "examinations and surveys" and insert "examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to cause a preliminary examination and survey to be made of Seaside Harbor, in the State of Oregon, with a view to making improvements in such harbor by the construction of a breakwater extending 600 feet north from Tillamook Head, thence in a line inclining shoreward for a distance of 300 feet. The cost of such examination and survey shall be paid from appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for examinations, surveys, and contingencies of rivers and harbors.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DISPOSITION OF LANDS IN NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA, MONTANA, AND WASHINGTON

The bill (S. 2396) to amend section 11 of the act approved February 22, 1889 (25 Stat. 676), relating to the admission into the Union of the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington was announced as next in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that on January 26 the bill was considered and passed and then the votes whereby the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed were reconsidered.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. The bill then was passed over. I trust it will have consideration now.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 11 of the act approved February 22, 1889 (25 Stat. 676), be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"That all lands granted by this act shall be disposed of only at public sale after advertising—tillable lands capable of producing agricultural crops for not less than $10 per acre and lands principally valuable for grazing purposes for not less than $5 per acre. Any of the said lands may be exchanged for other lands of equal value and as near as may be of equal area in order to consolidate the holdings of the State.

"The said lands may be leased under such regulations as the legislature may prescribe; but leases for grazing and agricultural purposes shall not be for a term longer than five years; mineral leases, including leases for exploration for oil and gas and the extraction thereof, for a term not longer than 20 years; and leases for development of hydroelectric power for a term not longer than 50 years.

"The State may also, upon such terms as it may prescribe, grant such easements or rights in any of the lands granted by this act, as may be acquired in privately owned lands through proceedings in eminent domain: *Provided, however*, That none of such lands, nor any estate or interest therein, shall ever be disposed of except in pursuance of general laws providing for such disposition, nor unless the full market value of the estate or interest disposed of, to be ascertained in such manner as may be provided by law, has been paid or safely secured to the State.

"With the exception of the lands granted for public buildings, the proceeds from the sale and other permanent disposition of any of the said lands and from every part thereof, shall constitute permanent funds for the support and maintenance of the public schools and the various State institutions for which the lands have been granted. Rentals on leased lands, interest on deferred payments on lands sold, interest on funds arising from these lands, and all other actual income, shall be available for the maintenance and support of such schools and institutions. Any State may, however, in its discretion, add a portion of the annual income to the permanent funds.

"The lands hereby granted shall not be subject to preemption, homestead entry, or any other entry under the land laws of the United States whether surveyed or unsurveyed, but shall be reserved for the purposes for which they have been granted."

SEC. 2. Anything in the said act approved February 22, 1889, inconsistent with the provisions of this act is hereby repealed.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana be so good as to tell us in his own words just what change this bill makes in the law?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I made the explanation when the bill was before the Senate on a former occasion. It changes the law in this regard:

Under the act admitting these four States into the Union, the lands granted could be disposed of only at public auction for not less than $10 per acre. This bill authorizes the sale of lands, valuable only for grazing purposes, at $5 an acre; but the more important thing is the other provision of the bill.

In some of these lands oil and gas has been found since the grant to the State, and in others it is believed that there is oil and gas. The State does not want to sell those lands for $10 an acre, and under the existing law it can do nothing else. This bill authorizes leases for oil and gas for periods of not more than 20 years, the purpose being to approximate the disposition of those lands containing oil and gas to the statutes of the Federal Government concerning oil and gas lands.

Mr. BINGHAM. May I say to the Senator that I have no objection at all. I only wish the Senator would get through this body a bill, which seems to me eminently fair, to turn over all the public lands to the States concerned.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I am very glad to hear the Senator from Connecticut so express himself. That matter will be before the Senate later on.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Montana if the restrictions here in reference to the dedication of all of the income from the lands would prohibit the several States, or any of them, from setting aside a part of the royalties for present use, as against placing them in a permanent fund?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Yes. It was not intended to change the existing law in that respect. None of the avails are to be used for present purposes. They are to go into the permanent fund, and only the income from that fund is to be used.

Mr. KENDRICK. Does the language contained in the bill enable the States to dedicate a part of the royalties for present use?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. No; it does not. It prohibits anything of the kind. It requires all the avails to be put into the fund.

Mr. KENDRICK. In my opinion, it ought to be possible in certain cases for at least a portion of the royalties so received to be used for present needs—not to exceed, say, one-fourth.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That might be; but the Senator will understand that this bill applies only to those four States, and they are desirous of conserving the avails for the increase of the fund.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 2642) to establish a commission to be known as a commission on a national museum of engineering and industry, was announced as next in order.

Mr. COPELAND. I ask that that bill may go over without prejudice.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

NATIONAL SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF 1812

The bill (S. 1203) to exempt from taxation certain property of the National Society United States Daughters of 1812 in the District of Columbia was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the property situated in square No. 210 in the city of Washington, D. C., described as lot 811, occupied and used by the National Society United States Daughters of 1812, is hereby exempt from all taxation so long as the same is so occupied and used, subject to the provisions of section 8 of the act of March 3, 1877, as amended and supplemented (D. C. Code, title 20, sec. 712), providing for exemptions of church and school property.

CONNECTICUT RIVER BRIDGE AT HARTFORD

The bill (S. 2985) granting the consent of Congress to the Connecticut River State Bridge Commission, a statutory commission of the State of Connecticut, created and existing under the provisions of special act No. 496 of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, 1931 session, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Connecticut River, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Connecticut River State Bridge Commission, a statutory commission of the State of Connecticut created and existing under the provisions of special Act No. 496 of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, 1931 session, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Connecticut River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, between Hartford and East Hartford, Conn., in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

MONONGAHELA RIVER BRIDGE AT PITTSBURGH

The bill (S. 3083) granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Monongahela River between the city of Pittsburgh and the borough of Homestead, Pa., was announced as next in order.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I ask that Order of Business No. 172, House bill 7225, be substituted for this bill at this point on the calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The bill (H. R. 7225) granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Monongahela River between the city of Pittsburgh and the borough of Homestead, Pa., was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Board of County Commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Monongahela River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, between the city of Pittsburgh and the borough of Homestead, to replace what is known as the Brown Bridge, in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, Senate bill 3083 is indefinitely postponed.

COLUMBIA RIVER BRIDGE, THE DALLES, OREG.

The bill (S. 3113) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg., was announced as next in order.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I ask that Order of Business 171, House bill 149, be substituted and the usual procedure followed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, that substitution will be made.

The bill (H. R. 149) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg., was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg., authorized to be built by Dalles City by an act of Congress approved February 20, 1931, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from February 20, 1932.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, Senate bill 3113 will be indefinitely postponed.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (H. R. 6662) to amend the tariff act of 1930, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. REED. Let that go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

PAYMENT OF CLAIMS AGAINST DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 12) to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to pay certain claims against the District of Columbia, which had been reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and to insert:

That the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, in the settlement of claims and suits authorized by the act entitled "An act authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to settle claims and suits against the District of Columbia," approved February 11, 1929, as amended, may make payments in settlement thereof, from annual appropriations which are hereby authorized, whenever the amount of settlement of any claim or suit does not exceed $500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TRANSFER OF JURISDICTION OVER PUBLIC LAND IN THE DISTRICT

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2498) to authorize the transfer of jurisdiction over public land in the District of Columbia, which had been reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia with an amendment, on page 1, line 10, after the word "transfer," to strike out "will be submitted to the National Capital Park and Planning Commission for report" and insert "shall be recommended by the National Capital Park and Planning Commission," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That Federal and District authorities administering properties within the District of Columbia owned by the United States or by the said District are hereby authorized to transfer jurisdiction over parts or all of such properties among or between themselves for purposes of administration and maintenance under such conditions as may be mutually agreed upon: *Provided*, That prior to the consummation of any transfer hereunder such proposed transfer shall be recommended by the National Capital Park and Planning Commission: *Provided further*, That all such transfers and agreements shall be reported to Congress by the authorities concerned.

SEC. 2. Nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal the provisions of any existing law or laws authorizing the transfer of jurisdiction of certain lands between and among Federal and District authorities, but all such laws shall remain in full force and effect.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

IMPROVEMENT OF CHEVY CHASE CIRCLE

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 47) for the improvement of Chevy Chase Circle with a fountain and appropriate landscape treatment was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital is authorized (1) to provide for the erection of a memorial fountain of simple design at Chevy Chase Circle in the District of Columbia and for appropriate landscaping in connection therewith, and (2) accept, on behalf of the United States, donations for such purposes except that the work herein authorized shall not be commenced until there shall have been received donations equal in the aggregate to the estimated cost of such work and unless such work can be completed within a period of three years from the date of enactment of this act. The United States shall be put to no expense in connection with such work. The plans and designs for such fountain and landscaping shall be approved by the National Commission of Fine Arts.

BIG SANDY RIVER BRIDGE, WEST VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2915) authorizing A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Big Sandy River at or near where it enters into the Ohio River, and between the cities of Kenova, W. Va., and Catlettsburg, Ky., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment, on page 2, line 3, after the word "operate," to insert "a bridge and approaches thereto across the Big Sandy River," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to facilitate interstate commerce, improve the postal service, and provide for military and other purposes, A. A. Lilly, of Charleston, W. Va.; M. B. Collinsworth, of Catlettsburg, Ky.; and A. E. Booth, of Kenova, W. Va.; their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, be, and are hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Big Sandy River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near where it enters into the Ohio River, and between the cities of Kenova, W. Va., and Catlettsburg, Ky., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, and subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this act.

SEC. 2. There is hereby conferred upon A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, all such rights and powers to enter upon lands and to acquire, condemn, occupy, possess, and use real estate and other property needed for the location, construction, operation, and maintenance of such bridge and its approaches as are possessed by railroad corporations for railroad purposes, or by bridge corporations for bridge purposes in the State in which such real estate or other property is situated, upon making just compensation therefor, to be ascertained and paid according to the laws of such State, and the proceedings therefor shall be the same





as in the condemnation or expropriation of property for public purposes in such State.

SEC. 3. The said A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their legal representatives and assigns, are hereby authorized to fix and charge tolls for transit over such bridge, and the rates of toll so fixed shall be the legal rates until changed by the Secretary of War under the authority contained in the act of March 23, 1906.

SEC. 4. After the completion of such bridge, as determined by the Secretary of War, either the State of West Virginia, the State of Kentucky, any public agency or political subdivision of either of such States, within or adjoining which any part of such bridge is located, or any two or more of them jointly, may at any time acquire and take over all right, title, and interest in such bridge and its approaches, and any interest in real property necessary therefor, by purchase or by condemnation or expropriation, in accordance with the laws of either of such States governing the acquisition of private property for public purposes by condemnation or expropriation. If at any time after the expiration of 10 years after the completion of such bridge the same is acquired by condemnation or expropriation, the amount of damages or compensation to be allowed shall not include good will, going value, or prospective revenues or profits, but shall be limited to the sum of (1) the actual cost of constructing such bridge and its approaches, less a reasonable deduction for actual depreciation in value; (2) the actual cost of acquiring such interests in real property; (3) actual financing and promotion costs, not to exceed 10 per cent of the sum of the cost of constructing the bridge and its approaches and acquiring such interest in real property; and (4) actual expenditures for necessary improvements.

SEC. 5. If such bridge shall at any time be taken over or acquired by the States or public agencies or political subdivisions thereof, or by either of them, as provided in section 4 of this act, and if tolls are thereafter charged for the use thereof, the rates of toll shall be so adjusted as to provide a fund sufficient to pay for the reasonable cost of maintaining, repairing, and operating the bridge and its approaches under economical management, and to provide a sinking fund sufficient to amortize the amount paid therefor, including reasonable interest and financing cost, as soon as possible under reasonable charges, but within a period of not to exceed 20 years from the date of acquiring the same. After a sinking fund sufficient for such amortization shall have been so provided, such bridge shall thereafter be maintained and operated free of tolls, or the rates of toll shall thereafter be so adjusted as to provide a fund of not to exceed the amount necessary for the proper maintenance, repair, and operation of the bridge and its approaches under economical management. An accurate record of the amount paid for acquiring the bridge and its approaches, the actual expenditures for maintaining, repairing, and operating the same, and of the daily tolls collected, shall be kept and shall be available for the information of all persons interested.

SEC. 6. A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, shall, within 90 days after the completion of such bridge, file with the Secretary of War and with the highway departments of the States of West Virginia and Kentucky a sworn itemized statement showing the actual original cost of constructing the bridge and its approaches, the actual cost of acquiring any interest in real property necessary therefor, and the actual financing and promotion costs. The Secretary of War may, and upon the request of the highway department of either of such States shall, at any time within three years after the completion of such bridge, investigate such costs and determine the accuracy and the reasonableness of the costs alleged in the statement of costs so filed, and shall make a finding of the actual and reasonable costs of constructing, financing, and promoting such bridge; for the purpose of such investigation the said A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, shall make available all of their records in connection with the construction, financing, and promotion thereof. The findings of the Secretary of War as to the reasonable costs of the construction, financing, and promotion of the bridge shall be conclusive for the purposes mentioned in section 4 of this act, subject only to review in a court of equity for fraud or gross mistake.

SEC. 7. The right to sell, assign, transfer, and mortgage all the rights, powers, and privileges conferred by this act is hereby granted to A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns; and any corporation to which or any person to whom such rights, powers, and privileges may be sold, assigned, or transferred, or who shall acquire the same by mortgage foreclosure or otherwise, is hereby authorized and empowered to exercise the same as fully as though conferred herein directly upon such corporation or person.

SEC. 8. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill authorizing A. A. Lilly, M. B. Collinsworth, and A. E. Booth, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Big Sandy River at or near where it enters into the Ohio River, and between the cities of Kenova, W. Va., and Catlettsburg, Ky."

VALIDATION OF PUBLIC LAND APPLICATIONS AND ENTRIES

The bill (S. 3111) validating certain applications for and entries of public lands, and for other purposes, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to allow Edward L. Dailey, of Priest River, Idaho, to make entry under section 7 of the enlarged homestead act (36 Stat. L. 531), for the east half of southwest quarter, southwest quarter of southwest quarter, south half of northwest quarter of southwest quarter, south half of north half of northwest quarter of southwest quarter, northeast quarter of northeast quarter of northwest quarter of southwest quarter, southeast quarter of southeast quarter of northwest quarter, and south half of southwest quarter of southeast quarter of northwest quarter, section 24, township 57 north, range 5 west, Boise meridian, Idaho, within the limits of Kaniksu National Forest, restored to entry under the provisions of the act of June 11, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 233).

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to accept final proof submitted by Eugene Johnson on December 27, 1929, in support of his homestead entry, Santa Fe, New Mexico, No. 054594, made on November 8, 1926, for lots 1 and 2, and south half of the northeast quarter, section 4, township 3 north, range 14 west, New Mexico principal meridian, and to issue patent upon payment therefor at the rate of $1.25 per acre.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to issue patent upon isolated tract application, Evanston, Wyo., No. 017020, filed by John Arambel on February 18, 1930, for the south half of the northeast quarter, section 17, township 24 north, range 106 west, sixth principal meridian, which was purchased by him at the appraised price of $3 per acre, under the provisions of section 2455 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, and on which cash certificate issued on April 11, 1930.

SEC. 4. That the right of way under the act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat. L. 482), granted to the Wasco County Electric & Water Power Co. from a point in section 10, township 4 south, range 21 east, Willamette meridian, to a point in section 34, township 9 south, range 20 east, Willamette meridian, Oregon, be, and the same is hereby, forfeited.

RESIDENCE UPON HOMESTEAD LANDS IN DROUGHT-STRICKEN AREAS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 279) to excuse certain persons from residence upon homestead lands during 1929, 1930, and 1931 in the drought-stricken areas, which had been reported from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys with amendments, on page 1, line 6, after the word "family," to strike out "and" and insert "or"; in line 9, after the word "register," to insert "of the district"; and on page 2, line 3, after the word "absences," to insert "*Provided*, That the time of such actual absence shall not be deducted from the actual residence required by law, but an equivalent period shall be added to the statutory life of the entry," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That any homestead settler or entryman who, during the calendar years 1929, 1930, and 1931, found it necessary to leave his homestead to seek employment in order to obtain food and other necessaries of life for himself, family, or work stock because of serious drought conditions, causing total or partial failure of crops, may, upon filing with the register of the district proof of such conditions in the form of a corroborated affidavit, be excused from residence upon his homestead during all or part of the calendar years 1929, 1930, and 1931, and said entries shall not be open to contests or protests because of such absences: *Provided*, That the time of such actual absence shall not be deducted from the actual residence required by law, but an equivalent period shall be added to the stautory life of the entry.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MARGARET M'CREANOR

The bill (S. 1040) authorizing the issuance to Margaret McCreanor of a patent for certain lands was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That notwithstanding the provisions and limitations of the homestead laws relating to residence requirements, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to issue to Margaret McCreanor, of Helena, Mont., widow of Richard McCreanor, a patent for the lands upon which homestead entry

was made by the said Richard McCreanor, homestead entry survey No. 1180, township 11 north, range 1 west, principal meridian, containing 33 and 2/100 acres.

SKULL VALLEY INDIAN RESERVATION

The bill (H. R. 6663) to reserve certain land on the public domain in Utah for addition to the Skull Valley Indian Reservation was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the south half of section 14, township 5 south, range 8 west of the Salt Lake meridian, Utah, on the public domain, be, and the same is hereby, reserved as an addition to the Skull Valley Indian Reservation: *Provided*, That the rights and claims of any bona fide settler initiated under the public land laws prior to September 2, 1931, the date of withdrawal of the land from all form of entry, shall not be affected by this act.

COPPER RIDGE MINING CO.

The bill (S. 1436) for the relief of the Copper Ridge Mining Co. was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay to the Copper Ridge Mining Co., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $515, in full satisfaction of the claims of said company against the United States for repayment of purchase money in connection with mineral entries Phoenix 056018 and 056019, such claims for repayment not having been submitted to the General Land Office within the time required by the act entitled "An act to amend an act approved March 26, 1908, entitled 'An act to provide for the repayment of certain commissions, excess payments, and purchase moneys paid under the public land laws,'" approved December 11, 1919.

CAMP M'DOWELL INDIAN RESERVATION, ARIZ.

The bill (S. 1438) to authorize the sale of land on the Camp McDowell Indian Reservation to the city of Phoenix, Ariz., for use in connection with its water-supply development, and for other purposes, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That upon payment of such sum as he shall deem adequate to fully compensate the Indians therefor, the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to convey by deed to the city of Phoenix, State of Arizona, certain tribal land only, situated within the Camp McDowell Indian Reservation of said State, described by metes and bounds, in the south half of section 19 and north half of section 30, township 3 north, range 7 east, Gila and Salt River meridian, Arizona, containing approximately 125.81 acres more or less. Such deed shall reserve the usual rights of way for ditches and canals constructed under authority of the United States and also a 40-foot roadway running east and west along the section lines between said sections 19 and 30, which shall be left open for public purposes: *Provided*, That no water rights, surface or underground, of said reservation or of the Indians shall be conveyed to the said city by such deed and that the city of Phoenix shall limit its draft of water from the Verde River or supporting waters to the quantities allowed under its appropriation from such stream or streams in the order of its priority, and that the removal of such waters shall not be detrimental to the Indian reservation or the Indians through the diminishing of their water resources or otherwise, and the acceptance by the said city of such deed herein authorized shall constitute full recognition of the conditions herein imposed and of the reservation and the Indians' water rights.

JOINT RESOLUTION, ETC., PASSED OVER

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 76) authorizing the President to reorganize the executive agencies of the Government was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be passed over.

The resolution (S. Res. 156) to investigate the effect of the depreciation of foreign-currency values upon importations of important commodities into the United States, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING and Mr. COSTIGAN. Let that go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be passed over.

AMENDMENT OF WORLD WAR VETERANS' ACT, 1924

The bill (S. 929) relating to the taking of depositions in cases arising under section 19 of the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended, was announced as next in order.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I should like to inquire why that bill was not sent to the Committee on Finance. All such matters as that have been handled by the Committee on Finance from the time the original World War veterans' act was reported out and passed. It seems to me obvious that any amendment of the statute ought to go to the committee in which the bill originated and in which all amendments have been handled.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The only answer the Chair can make, if the Senator propounds a parliamentary inquiry, is that evidently the author of the bill indicated its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, the amendment relates purely to a judicial question; that is, the subpœnaing of witnesses in actions in court, and I assumed that a bill of that character was properly before the Judiciary Committee. The chairman of the committee is here now.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, who has the floor?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED].

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. NORRIS. I just came in, as the Senator knows, and learned that Senate bill 929 was up. From what little I have heard of the discussion, I judge that there is some complaint because it went to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. REED. No; not a complaint. It was a very natural thing that it should have been sent there, or that the Senator should have asked that it go there.

Mr. NORRIS. I did. I am to blame for it.

Mr. REED. It relates to depositions?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. REED. But my suggestion is that as the original World War veterans' act was handled by the Finance Committee, and as every amendment that has ever been made to it has been handled by that committee, now that the Judiciary Committee has acted on the bill perhaps it might be well to have it committed to the Finance Committee, which can act on it promptly and report it out. I do not like to set the precedent of referring a bill of this kind to another committee than that which has considered all similar matters up to this time.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, my own idea is that we established a wrong precedent when we sent the original veterans' bill to the Committee on Finance. I think it should have gone to the Committee on the Judiciary. But if the practice of the Senate has been different, I will not ask that we set a new precedent. However, I will say to the Senator that I introduced another bill along the same line yesterday and it was referred to the Committee on Finance. I called the attention of the clerk at the desk, when he was referring it to the Committee on Finance, to the fact that it ought to go to the Committee on the Judiciary, and directed his attention to the bill we are now discussing. I was informed by him just what the Senator from Pennsylvania has said, that the original bill came from the Finance Committee, and that all amendments to the veterans' act had been referred to that committee.

I was entirely responsible for this bill going to the Committee on the Judiciary. When I introduced it, I did not know that what the Senator has stated had been the custom, and I have no doubt that he has stated it correctly. The clerk told me in effect what the Senator has said.

I think it is wrong, as I have said, that bills like this should go to the Finance Committee, and when I prepared the bill and introduced it, I myself designated on the bill that it should go to the Committee on the Judiciary. I think anyone reading the bill will come to the conclusion that it should have gone to the Committee on the Judiciary. It deals entirely with lawsuits. It relates to procedure, as the Senator knows, to taking evidence in certain kinds of cases.

I would not like to have it delayed by having it referred to the Committee on Finance and reported again because there is a great deal of merit in the bill, as I can certainly convince the Senator, or anyone else.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the Senator will not have to convince me. On reading the bill, it seems to me to be all right and I have no objection whatever to it. But I think

it is highly important that the same committee should consistently act on amendments to the veterans' act. The bill might also go to the Committee on the Judiciary, and we are glad to have their help; but think how ridiculous it would be if, not knowing what the Judiciary Committee were doing to the section affected by the bill, we in the Finance Committee were to report out another bill amending the section to read so and so.

Mr. NORRIS. I realize that.

Mr. REED. We would get into disorderly practice.

Mr. NORRIS. I am not contesting the force of what the Senator says.

Mr. REED. The chairman of the Finance Committee is here, and I think he expects to have a meeting of the committee very soon, and I should think this bill could be back on the calendar and passed before this time next week. I will do my best to speed action on it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have no objection to the bill being referred to the Committee on Finance. In fact, I think that is where it should go.

Mr. NORRIS. I would have had it referred to that committee myself, but I do not think it is the kind of legislation which the Finance Committee handles. It is just the kind of legislation handled by the Committee on the Judiciary. But we in that committee are overworked, and Senators will realize that I have never tried to have measures referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. REED. Very often we will report from the Committee on Finance matters which deal with the procedural sections of the veterans' act when we would be very happy to have the bills referred to the Committee on the Judiciary in order to get their advice; but, just in the interest of orderly procedure, we ought to keep our hands on all legislation affecting that act.

Mr. NORRIS. I have no objection to the bill going to the Committee on Finance. But will not the Senator take the statements we have made here, which will appear in the RECORD, and which will show that under the circumstances a mistake was made in having the bill referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and let us pass the bill now without having it referred to the Committee on Finance?

I may say that I spent some time on this bill. I had several consultations with attorneys who have tried the kind of cases covered by the bill. I became somewhat worked up over what seemed to me to be the great injustices to some of the veterans who sue in compensation cases and have their cases tried in court.

I had my attention called to one case tried in Nebraska in which the Government served notice on the soldier's attorney to take depositions on the same day in Richmond, Va., in St. Louis, Mo., and in some other city, I think Chicago. It was just as impossible for the veteran to comply as it was impossible for him to fly. He had no money; his attorneys, even, were not being paid, and he could not, without employing several attorneys, go to those various cities in different parts of the country to take evidence. He was at the mercy of the defendant in the case.

This bill tries to remedy that kind of a situation. It leaves the matter all with the court having charge of the case. The Government must make their showing before him as to why they must take the evidence, and if it is necessary in the judgment of the court, then the compensation of the attorneys who go and take the evidence must be paid.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator that I think the matter ought to go to the Committee on Finance, for the very reason that we desire to have our records respecting the veterans' act complete. I assure the Senator that there will be a meeting of the committee Monday or Tuesday, and I shall have the bill taken up for consideration at the very moment we meet. I have no doubt that it will be reported out. But we have all legislation respecting the veterans' act tabulated, we have it in hand and in order, and really I think it is for the best interests of all concerned that the bill now be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, in the present parliamentary status of the bill, its consideration being subject to objection, I have to comply with the request. I am doing so, however, on the express assurance of the chairman of the Committee on Finance that within a reasonable time the bill will be reported back to the Senate so that we can have action on it.

Mr. SMOOT. I assure the Senator that it will be reported next week, perhaps Tuesday or Wednesday.

Mr. NORRIS. Very well. Let the bill be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

BIG SANDY RIVER BRIDGE, WEST VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I understand that while I was temporarily called from the floor Senate bill 2915, authorizing the construction of a bridge across the Big Sandy River between Kentucky and West Virginia, was passed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That bill was passed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the vote by which the bill was passed be reconsidered and that the bill go over. I am seeking some information from the State Highway Commission of Kentucky as to whether the passage of this bill will interfere with their program of bridge building as a part of the State highway system, and until I get that information I will ask that the bill go over.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. My colleague the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. HATFIELD] is the sponsor of this bill. I have been requested by some West Virginians who are interested in the passage of the bill to support the measure, and I am enthusiastically for it. The bill has been passed, and in the absence of my colleague I am compelled to object to the pending request for unanimous consent.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the Senator will withhold his objection for a moment, I am satisfied that the Senator who introduced the bill would not object to it going over. I was called temporarily from the Chamber when the bill was reached on the calendar, and I did not know it was going to be reached. I would have asked that it go over if I had been on the floor. I am not asking that the bill be defeated. I am seeking some information of the State highway commission of my State with reference to the matter, and it may be that when I receive the information there will be no disposition to delay the legislation any further. I hope the Senator will not object to this request.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I should like to comply with the request, but I was informed that a public improvement, one very much desired by the people of West Virginia, would be delayed if this bill were not promptly passed, and without conferring with my colleague I could not accede to the Senator's request. I should very much like to do so.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will enter a motion, then, that the vote by which the bill was passed be reconsidered.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, the author of the bill is not in the Chamber, and I have sent for him. Will not the Senator withhold the motion until he can come into the Chamber?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Kentucky can enter his motion now.

Mr. BARKLEY. I enter the motion.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No rights will be lost by the Senator entering the motion now. The motion will be regarded as entered.

Mr. BARKLEY subsequently said: Mr. President, I have conferred with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. HATFIELD] with reference to Senate bill 2915, and under the circumstances mentioned by me, he advises me that he has no objection to the reconsideration of the vote by which that bill was passed. The Senator is present, and I would like to have a statement from him.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, under the circumstances, in the absence of the Senator from Kentucky, who is inter-

ested in this bill, who was absent from the Chamber when the bill was passed, I certainly have no objection to the reconsideration of the vote by which the bill was passed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the vote by which the bill was passed is reconsidered, and the bill will be returned to the calendar.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, in the absence of my colleague, the author of the bill, I objected to the reconsideration. If the sponsor of the bill has no objection, of course, I do not press my objection.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to say to both the Senators from West Virginia that I appreciate their courtesy. I have no disposition to delay indefinitely the consideration of the bill, but I would like to obtain information from the highway commission of my own State before it is acted upon.

CONDEMNATION OF LAND IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The bill (S. 14) to amend chapter 15 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia relating to the condemnation of land for public use was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That chapter 15 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia is amended by adding after section 485 the following new section:

"SEC. 485a. Vesting of title pursuant to a declaration of taking.—The petitioners may file in the cause, with the petition or at any time before judgment, a declaration of taking signed by the commissioners, declaring that said lands are thereby taken for the use of the District of Columbia. Said declaration of taking shall contain or have annexed thereto—

"(1) A statement of the authority under which and the public use for which the said lands are taken;

"(2) A description of the lands taken sufficient for the identification thereof;

"(3) A statement of the estate or interest in said lands taken for said public use;

"(4) A plan showing the lands taken;

"(5) A statement of the sum of money estimated by the commissioners to be just compensation for the land taken."

Notwithstanding the provisions of section 488, upon the filing of said declaration of taking and the deposit in the registry of the court, for the use of the persons entitled thereto, of the amount of the estimated compensation stated in the declaration, title to the said lands in fee simple absolute, or such less estate or interest therein as is specified in the declaration, shall vest in the District of Columbia, and the lands shall be deemed to be condemned and taken for the use of the District, and the right to just compensation for the same shall vest in the persons entitled thereto. Said compensation shall be ascertained and awarded in said proceedings and established by judgment therein, and the judgment shall include, as part of the just compensation awarded, interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum on the amount finally awarded as the value of the property as of the date of taking, from said date to the date of payment; but interest shall not be allowed on so much thereof as shall have been paid into the registry. No sum so paid into the registry shall be charged with commissions or poundage.

Upon the application of the parties in interest, the court may order that the money deposited in the registry of the court, or any part thereof, be paid forthwith for or on account of the just compensation to be awarded in said proceeding. If the compensation finally awarded in respect of said lands, or any parcel thereof, shall exceed the amount of the money so received by any person entitled thereto, the court shall enter judgment against the District for the amount of the deficiency.

Upon the filing of the declaration of taking the court shall have power to fix the time within which and the terms upon which the parties in possession shall be required to surrender possession to the petitioners. The court shall have power to make such orders in respect of incumbrances, liens, rents, taxes, assessments, insurance, and other charges, if any, as shall be just and equitable.

BILLS PASSED OVER

The bill (H. R. 149) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River at or near The Dalles, Oreg., was announced as next in order.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, in response to requests from Colorado, and from settlers under projects who are of the opinion that there should be ampler care taken of their respective needs, I request that this bill go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 2377) authorizing an appropriation to defray the expenses of participation by the United States Government in the Second Polar Year Program, August 1, 1932, to August 31, 1933, was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let the bill go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

IMPROVEMENT OF WILLAMETTE RIVER

The bill (S. 959) relating to the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., was announced as next in order.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, a similar bill passed the House day before yesterday, being Order of Business 189, the bill (H. R. 7248) authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg. I move that the House bill be substituted for the Senate bill, that the Senate bill be indefinitely postponed, and that the House bill be put upon its passage.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the House bill will be substituted for the Senate bill.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Oregon to explain briefly the purpose of the bill and to what extent the Government of the United States is deprived of benefits or revenue or profits by reason of the measure?

Mr. McNARY. When the survey was made for an 8-foot channel between Portland, Oreg., and Oregon City, on the Willamette River, it was thought that a power could be developed there which would justify the Government in asking a contribution from the local communities. Upon further investigation it was found that the engineers had made a mistake and that there was no power involved and no profit to the community, and therefore no justification for the Government asking a contribution. This is a case where the Government asks a recession from its original views and that the contribution be not allowed. There is a favorable report from the department, from the Board of Army Engineers, and approval by the committee.

There being no objection, the bill (H. R. 7248) authorizing the modification of the existing project for the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the project for the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., authorized by the river and harbor act approved July 3, 1930, is hereby modified in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers in the report submitted in House Document No. 748, Seventy-first Congress, third session.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill (S. 959) relating to the improvement of the Willamette River between Oregon City and Portland, Oreg., will be indefinitely postponed.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 935) to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. REED. Over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE AT GRAND RAPIDS, MINN.

The bill (S. 3237) to legalize a bridge across the Mississippi River at Grand Rapids, Minn., was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the bridge now being constructed by the State of Minnesota across the Mississippi River at Grand Rapids, Minn., and located on Trunk Highway No. 35, if completed in accordance with the plans accepted by the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War, shall be a lawful structure, and shall, together with the persons owning or controlling it, be subject to the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

CONDITIONS IN HAWAII

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I have this morning received two telegrams from the Territory of Hawaii. They are short and I ask that the clerk may read them to the

Senate at this time, as requested by the author of the telegrams.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the clerk will read the telegrams.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

HONOLULU, *February 4, 1932.*

Senator MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting of the Honolulu Citizens' Organization for Good Government, held February 3, 1932, in Honolulu, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"That the Honolulu Citizens' Organization for Good Government make a direct appeal to the Congress of the United States:

"1. For the enactment of a law for Hawaii identical with the Federal statute covering punishment for the commission of the crime of rape.

"2. That Congress amend the organic act giving the Supreme Court of Hawaii the power and authority to appoint a public prosecutor for the city and county of Honolulu."

MRS. HARRY KLUEGEL, *Chairman.*

HONOLULU, *February 4, 1932.*

Senator MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

Please furnish copies our message this date—Hoover, Wilbur, Curtis, Secretary Adams, Bingham, Garner, Houston, Chapman, Sheppard—Naval Committees.

KLUEGEL.

Mr. MCKELLAR. In accordance with the request that came in these telegrams, I have had the Legislative Counsel draft two bills, and I ask unanimous consent to introduce them at this time and to have them referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bills will be received.

The bill (S. 3533) to provide for the punishment of rape in the Territory of Hawaii and the bill (S. 3534) relating to the appointement of the prosecuting officer for the city and county of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, in connection with what has just occurred, may I say that I placed in the RECORD this morning a letter from the Delegate from Hawaii which summarizes the action taken by the Hawaiian Legislature at its special session, which has just been concluded. It shows that the legislature took appropriate action, not quite as much action as personally I should like to have seen taken, but that they did change the law by putting the duties of chief of police in the hands of a person to be appointed by a commission of five distinguished citizens appointed by the Governor, which commission has already commenced to function, and a new chief of police has been appointed.

They also changed the law with regard to rape, making it punishable by capital punishment or imprisonment for life, and changed the law with regard to evidence which could be given by the woman in the case, permitting her testimony to be received, even though uncorroborated by other witnesses.

They also changed the law with regard to loitering on the streets and increased the penalty therefor by something like 150 per cent.

They also changed the law with regard to the public prosecutor, who heretofore has been an elective official, and made him an official now to be appointed by the mayor of the city, removable for cause by the attorney general with the approval of the governor.

These laws which the Territorial legislature has passed at its special session will, I believe, meet the situation to a very considerable degree. But, may I say to the Senator from Tennessee, that when the report comes to us from the Assistant Attorney General, who is now on his way to make a thorough investigation of the whole situation, I shall be very glad to have the committee consider his bills in connection with that report.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have been advised that the Territorial law in Hawaii provides that the legislature shall not be constituted in proportion to the population in districts. For example, the city of Honolulu has a very large percentage of the total population, but its vote in the Territorial legislature is a very small proportion of the total number of votes there.

Mr. BINGHAM. May I say to the Senator from Maryland that that is due to a cause similar to that which permits a State having a population of about the size of one large city in Maryland to have two Senators, when the State of New York, with a population equivalent to that of 15 or 20 States, has only two Senators?

Mr. TYDINGS. I understand that. I simply mention the situation preliminary to this remark: I have also been advised that several times the local government of the city of Honolulu has put into effect certain propositions, but that they have been repealed indirectly or set at naught by the action of the legislature. For example, I believe on several occasions certain municipal officers were elected in Honolulu by the people, but the legislature repealed the law, so the will of the people there was frustrated. If my information is correct, how in the name of common sense can we ever get a responsible government in the city of Honolulu when, first of all, in that very small territory the city's affairs are run by the outlanders, who are in overwhelming proportion in control of the votes in the legislature; and, secondly, that when voters in the city do move to correct conditions in Honolulu the legislature sets at naught the action of the people there. Whether my information is altogether correct or not, I do not know, but it comes from very reliable sources.

Mr. MCNARY. Mr. President, I ask for the regular order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The regular order is demanded. The Chair invites the attention of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] and lays before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 201) entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of South Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Waccamaw River," which is, on page 1, line 5, after the article "a," insert "free highway."

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, regular order or no regular order, I suppose I have a right to hold the floor?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Not when the regular order is demanded.

Mr. TYDINGS. Other business has intervened. May I now be recognized by the Chair?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Inasmuch as the Chair has laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives, the Senator may not.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I move that the amendment of the House be concurred in.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion proposed by the Senator from South Carolina. On that question the Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Mr. TYDINGS. Speaking, as I started a moment ago to do before I was attempted to be taken off the floor by a parliamentary suggestion, may I ask the Senator from Connecticut if the statement of conditions I have presented is not accurate?

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, to answer that question would involve a rather long and historical discourse, which I am sure neither the Senate nor the Senator from Maryland cares to hear at this time.

Mr. TYDINGS. May I ask the Senator if it is not true that several times the people of Honolulu, in the course of regularly held elections, have elected various city officials, and that those city officials have been put out of office through the medium of the legislature repealing the law which made those offices possible?

Mr. BINGHAM. I have no recent information in regard to that matter. The Senator realizes that the positions to which he refers, namely, officials in the city of Honolulu, are positions which depend upon the laws of the Territorial legislature. For instance, in the very case which has been recently referred to on the floor, the law of the legislature provided a prosecuting attorney for the city and county of Honolulu to be elected by the people. Such an official was

elected by the people. He did not perform his duties in accordance with the wishes of those citizens of the island who were most interested in seeing the law carried out. Accordingly, at the recent special session of the legislature that office has been abolished; in other words, that is the case to which the Senator has just referred, where the citizens of Honolulu elected an officer and other citizens who composed the legislature subsequently legislated him out of office.

Mr. TYDINGS. They did not legislate him out of office, because they immediately legislated a new office into being which was filled in a different manner. Under the situation which the Senator has depicted the trouble in Hawaii has arisen. It strikes me that perhaps one of the difficulties out there has been that when the people have elected certain officers the legislature, for political reasons, has declared those offices vacant and proceeded by other machinery outside of the city of Honolulu to refill the offices under new names. I think some criticism is justly directed at those who brought about the situation, because there is no responsible government in Honolulu of the people themselves, but they are rather governed by the legislature, which every now and then thwarts the expressed will of the people of that city, even though conditions subsequent thereto have been worse instead of better.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am reliably informed that the government, instead of being a republican government out there, is an oligarchical form of government, and the oligarchy which absolutely controls the Territory of Hawaii is a very small oligarchy and more interested in lining with money the pockets of those who compose the small oligarchy than they are in enforcing the law for all the people.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am advised that the outlying islands control the bulk of the delegates in the legislature and that the population is about the last thing that is considered; further than that, that the plantations are very large and a few men can hand-pick most of the delegates in the legislature. That might be all right, but when those men proceed to set aside the express will of the people of Honolulu by abolishing offices to which they have regularly elected a district attorney or prosecuting attorney, and thus get the man elected out of office, and then create a new office under another name to get their own man into office, it would seem that if they perpetuate this system they should take the full blame for conditions that have transpired there in the last year or two. I think that when we go into the problem we should revise the Territorial act so as to maintain and protect the people of Honolulu in their right to have their own government.

WACCAMAW RIVER BRIDGE, SOUTH CAROLINA

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question recurs on the motion of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House inserting the words "free highway" in the bill (S. 201) granting the consent of Congress to the State of South Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Waccamaw River.

The amendment of the House was concurred in.

TAMPICO MARINE IRON WORKS

The bill (S. 188) for the relief of the Tampico Marine Iron Works was the next in order on the calendar, and it was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Beaumont Export & Import Co. for the Tampico Marine Iron Works, a foreign corporation, the sum of $2,573 in full settlement of all claims due the Tampico Marine Iron Works by the Government of the United States for work on, repairing, raising, and furnishing material for the United States Shipping Board vessel *Latham* during the year 1920, on presentation to the Secretary of the Treasury from the Tampico Marine Iron Works of an authorization for payment of said amount to the Beaumont Export & Import Co., said authorization being in such terms as to make said payment to the Beaumont Export & Import Co. a complete settlement of all claims herein referred to.

OWNER OF BARGE "MARY M"

The Senate proceed to consider the bill (S. 1216) for the relief of the owner of the barge *Mary M*, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the claim of William A. Malley, as owner of the barge *Mary M*, against the United States for damages alleged to have been sustained by reason of a collision between said barge and the United States steamship *Melville*, or by reason of the operation of the said steamship *Melville*, under the control of the Navy Department, on April 15, 1919, at the south end of Governors Island, New York Harbor, may be sued for by said owner of the barge *Mary M* in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, sitting as a court of admiralty and acting under the rules governing such court, and said court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine such suit and to enter a judgment or decree for the amount of such damages and costs, if any, as shall be found to be due against the United States in favor of said owner of the barge *Mary M*, or against said owner of the barge *Mary M* in favor of the United States, upon the same principles and measures of liability as in like cases in admiralty between private parties, and with the same rights of appeal: *Provided*, That such notice of the suit shall be given to the Attorney General of the United States as may be provided by the order of said court, and that it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to cause the United States attorney in such district to appear and defend for the United States: *Provided further*, That said suit shall be brought and commenced within four months of the date of the passage of this act.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, this bill seeks to confer the right to bring an action in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York for an alleged collision away back in 1919. I confess that I look with a good deal of, I will not say suspicion, but misgiving, upon such bills, where the alleged cause of action arose, if such cause did arise, 10 or 15 years ago, and as to which it will be almost impossible for the Government to obtain the requisite testimony to defend the suit. The statute of limitations, as we all know, applies in civil cases because it has been found by experience that a statute of repose is essential for the protection not only of the public but of individuals; but we are asked to waive the statute of limitations repeatedly with regard to actions against the Government.

It seems to me, unless there is some reasonable excuse for the delay in prosecuting the claim, that to permit an action to be brought 10, 12, or 15 years after the original cause of action accrued, and when the Government will be put at a disadvantage in making a defense, would be subjecting the Government to an undue burden.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Utah wish the bill to be passed over?

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his objection?

Mr. KING. I withhold my objection.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, there is very good reason why this bill and some others have been delayed for some years, namely, the watchfulness, for instance, of the Senator from Utah; he has always been alert to see that there is no imposition upon the Government.

This bill has been previously considered, and I think last year, if I remember correctly, it passed the Senate. I am quite sure that the Senator will not resist the very proper effort to have this case reviewed by the district court acting as an admiralty court. I ask the Senator to let the matter take that course. Of course, if there is no cause for action, if proof can not be adduced, necessarily it will fall of its own weight; but I am quite confident that, in the interest of justice, this claimant should have the right to go into court.

Mr. KING. I shall not object to the consideration of the bill, though I shall vote against it; but I want to make the statement to my friends upon the Committee on Claims—and I know they will pardon me for making the observation—that waiving the statute of limitations in cases where causes of action may have accrued, if they ever existed, 10, 15, or 20 years ago is very unwise, because the Government may not find its witnesses; they may have disappeared; they may have gone to the uttermost parts of the earth. It places the individual at a great disadvantage, and it also

places the Government at a very great disadvantage for actions to be permitted to be brought 10, 20, 30, or 40 years after the alleged cause of action may have accrued.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ROSS E. ADAMS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2909) for the relief of Ross E. Adams, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims, with an amendment, on page 1, line 5, after the word "Treasury," to strike out the words "not otherwise appropriated" and to insert "deposited to the credit of the Fort Peck Indians," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay to Ross E. Adams, of Nashua, Mont., out of any money in the Treasury deposited to the credit of the Fort Peck Indians, a sum equal to the amount found by the Commissioner of the General Land Office to have been paid by the said Ross E. Adams in excess of lawful requirements on account of his original homestead entry on lands within the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, less any amounts unpaid on the date of enactment of this act on account of his additional entry made on May 21, 1926, on lands within such reservation. Such sum shall be in full satisfaction of his claim for a refund of overpayments on account of such original entry, and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to issue patent to the lands covered by such additional entry without the requirement of any further payments.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BRIDGE OVER RED RIVER OF THE NORTH, MINN.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 3132) to extend the times for the commencement and completion of the bridge of the county of Norman and the town and village of Halstad, in said county, in the State of Minnesota, and the county of Traill and the town of Herberg, in said county, in the State of North Dakota, across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments, on page 1, line 4, after the word "approved," to insert "July 1, 1922, and revived and reenacted by an act of Congress, approved," and on page 2, line 10, after the word "respectively," to insert "from March 3, 1932," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge authorized by act of Congress, approved July 1, 1922, and revived and reenacted by an act of Congress approved March 3, 1931, granting the consent of Congress to the county of Norman and the town and village of Halstad, in said county, in the State of Minnesota, and the county of Traill and the town of Herberg, in said county, in the State of North Dakota, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Red River of the North at or near the section line between sections 24 and 25, township 145 north, range 49 west, fifth principal meridian, on the boundary line between Minnesota and North Dakota, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from March 3, 1932.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 212) for the relief of Messrs. Short, Ross, Shaw, and Mayhood was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will ask that that bill may go over.

The bill (S. 213) authorizing adjustment of the claim of Kenneth Carpenter was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will ask that that bill may go over.

The bill (S. 219) authorizing adjustment of the claims of Orem Wheatley, Kenneth Blaine, and Joseph R. Ball was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will ask that that bill go over.

The bill (S. 2335) for the relief of O. R. York was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that bill go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

DR. LUIS DEBAYLE

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 366) for the relief of Dr. Luis H. DeBayle, which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, in line 6, after the name "Nicaragua," to strike out the words "as reimbursement" and to insert "in full settlement of all claims against the Government," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,937.83 to Luis H. DeBayle, of Leon, Nicaragua, in full settlement of all claims against the Government for loss of drugs and other medical supplies taken from his pharmacy by personnel of the United States Marine Corps in January and February, 1928.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AUXILIARY BARK "QUEVILLY"

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 486) conferring jurisdiction upon certain courts of the United States to hear and determine the claim by the owner of the 4-masted auxiliary bark *Quevilly* against the United States, and for other purposes, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the claim of Compagnie Maritime Normande, formerly known as Société Anonyme du Quevilly, owner of the 4-masted auxiliary bark Quevilly, against the United States for damages alleged to have been caused by collision between said 4-masted auxiliary bark Quevilly and the United States destroyer Sampson on January 26, 1917, may be determined in a suit to be brought by said claimant against the United States in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, sitting as a court of admiralty and acting under the rules governing such court in admiralty cases, and that said court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine said suit and to enter a judgment or decree for the amount of such damages, and costs, if any, as shall be found due against the United States in favor of the said Compagnie Maritime Normande, formerly known as Société Anonyme du Quevilly, or against the said Compagnie Maritime Normande, formerly known as Société Anonyme du Quevilly in favor of the United States, by reason of said collision, upon the same principles and under the same measures of liability as in like cases between private parties, and with the same rights of appeal: *Provided*, That such notice of the suit shall be given to the Attorney General of the United States as may be provided by order of the said court, and upon such notice it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to cause the United States attorney in such district to appear and defend for the United States: *Provided further*, That such suit shall be begun within four months of the date of the approval of this act.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, in examining the report accompanying this bill, I find that the Secretary of War states that the cost of repairs resulting from the collision was $1,500. Admitting for the sake of the argument that there was a liability upon the part of the Government, the cost of making the repairs was $1,500. I move to amend the bill by adding at its close the following words: "And that no judgment shall be entered in excess of $1,500."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ELLINGSON & GROSKOPF (INC.)

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 800) for the relief of Ellingson & Groskopf (Inc.), which had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, in line 11, after the word "Indian," to strike out the word "agent" and to insert the word "superintendent," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Pacific Creditors' Association, Marshfield, Oreg., the sum of $147, which sum represents the amount due Ellingson & Groskopf (Inc.), morticians, of Marshfield, Oreg., for funeral services rendered in connection with the burial of Alice Johnson, an Indian woman, such expenses having been authorized by the United States Government Indian superintendent at Salem, Oreg., on April 26, 1928.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That completes the calendar.

CONSIDERATION OF BRIDGE BILLS

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, from the Committee on Commerce this morning I reported a number of House bridge bills concerning which there is no contention. I ask that they may be considered at this time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

MAHONING RIVER BRIDGE AT STRUTHERS, OHIO

The bill (H. R. 70) granting the consent of Congress to the Board of County Commissioners of Mahoning County, Ohio, to construct a free overhead viaduct across the Mahoning River at Struthers, Mahoning County, Ohio, was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE AT GARRISON, N. DAK.

The bill (H. R. 474) granting consent of Congress to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Garrison, N. Dak., was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE AT CULBERTSON, MONT.

The bill (H. R. 4695) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Culbertson, Mont., was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE, FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, MONT.

The bill (H. R. 4696) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River southerly from the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation at or near a point known and designated as the Power-site Crossing, in the State of Montana, was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE ABOVE NEW ORLEANS, LA.

The bill (H. R. 5131) to extend the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River near and above the city of New Orleans, La., was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WABASH RIVER BRIDGE, INDIANA AND ILLINOIS

The bill (H. R. 5471) authorizing Sullivan County, Ind., to construct, maintain, and operate a public toll bridge across the Wabash River at a point in said county to a point opposite on the Illinois shore was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE AT BATON ROUGE, LA.

The bill (H. R. 5478) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La., was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BRIDGE ACROSS RED RIVER OF THE NORTH AT BYGLAND, MINN.

The bill (H. R. 5626) authorizing the States of Minnesota and North Dakota, the county of Polk, Minn., the county of Grand Forks, N. Dak., or any one or more of them, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Red River of the North at or near Bygland, Minn., was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE AT BATON ROUGE, LA.

The bill (H. R. 5878) granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission, and the Missouri Pacific Railroad Co., and the Louisiana & Arkansas Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge in combination with a railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Baton Rouge, La., was read, considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That completes the calendar, and the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I have received from the executive vice president of the Connecticut Chamber of Commerce a telegram setting forth the attitude of the Connecticut Employment Commission on the pending bill. I ask to have the telegram read at the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

HARTFORD, CONN., *February 5, 1932.*

HON. HIRAM BINGHAM,
Senator from Connecticut:

La Follette-Costigan direct Federal unemployment relief bill arouses definite and widespread opposition in Connecticut. The Connecticut Unemployment Commission, which has been in close touch with unemployment in every community in this State, has given assurances to our governor and to the President that Connecticut not only wishes to, but is able to take care of its unemployment situation without Federal aid. This organization deplores Federal appropriations for direct aid which we hold should emanate from States and communities where needs originate and exist.

THE CONNECTICUT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (INC.),
H. E. HASTY, *Executive Vice President,*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Costigan	Kean	Schall
Austin	Couzens	Kendrick	Sheppard
Bailey	Cutting	Keyes	Shipstead
Bankhead	Dale	King	Smith
Barbour	Dickinson	La Follette	Smoot
Barkley	Dill	Logan	Steiwer
Bingham	Fess	McGill	Stephens
Black	Frazier	McKellar	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	Glass	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Glenn	Metcalf	Townsend
Bratton	Gore	Moses	Trammell
Brookhart	Hale	Neely	Tydings
Broussard	Harrison	Norbeck	Vandenberg
Bulkley	Hastings	Norris	Wagner
Bulow	Hatfield	Nye	Walcott
Byrnes	Hawes	Oddie	Walsh, Mass.
Capper	Hayden	Patterson	Walsh, Mont.
Caraway	Hebert	Pittman	Waterman
Carey	Howell	Reed	Watson
Coolidge	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	Wheeler
Copeland	Jones	Robinson, Ind.	White

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-four Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce the necessary absence of my colleague the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] on account of illness.

I also wish to announce that the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS], the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], and the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] are necessarily detained on business of the Senate. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, if not interrupted, I hope to be able to conclude within a relatively brief period of time.

May I say two things before I proceed: The first is that the telegram read a few moments ago from some one in Connecticut with respect to Connecticut's relief conditions is gratifying, and not wholly surprising. It should be stated that in certain parts of New England the depression has not left so wide a toll of disaster as it has in some other portions of the country. This, according to reports, is due

in part to the fact that relief has for a long period of time been better organized and accompanied by larger and more continuous local interest in New England than in some other regions.

With respect to the suggestion, however, that because of better local conditions, national cooperation with the States should be avoided, it should in frankness be said that there have been times in the past when the State of Connecticut did not hesitate to call on other and unwilling sections of this country to help enforce a national policy in response to an assumed national need.

May I further say, with reference to the material I have been incorporating in the RECORD, that much of it is not taken from the testimony produced before the Committee on Manufactures? I am now engaged in calling the attention of Senators to the individual reports of responsible social workers scattered over the United States in such number that their statements may be taken collectively, at least, as representative of the needs of the Nation.

When I concluded yesterday, I was dealing with reports from California. I shall now go briefly to that sovereign State which I happen to represent in part in this body. I continue with respect to Colorado.

Mr. John E. Gross, secretary-treasurer of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, to whom I referred yesterday, under date of January 28, 1932, has transmitted to me three letters from vice presidents of the Colorado State Federation of Labor describing conditions in three widely separated counties in that State. I shall merely summarize one or two statements made in each of these letters, again assuring Members of the Senate that the letters themselves are available for their individual inspection if they so desire.

One vice president of the State federation reports from Colorado Springs, one of our leading and most attractive municipalities, that the number of unemployed in that city and in El Paso County, in which Colorado Springs is located, is between 3,500 and 4,000, and that in compliance with what is termed the Hoover local relief plan, this city started an unemployment office; but, quoting what Mr. Jensen, the vice president, says:

> As far as I know, no employment has come from that office.

He adds that the county has done nothing to relieve the situation, but the city has arranged for the extension of a lot of gas mains, which will start next week; also a lot of water mains, which will start as soon as the pipe is procured.

A second vice president of the State federation, who resides in Grand Junction, in Mesa County, the largest city on what we term the western slope, reports that men in the city of Grand Junction are working in relays of 10 days each on advance work on the water system, and in the county on extra road work in relays of 10 days each, and that a very substantial measure of unemployment exists both in the city and in the county.

The vice president who resides at Trinidad, Colo., on the eastern side of the Continental Range and close to the border of New Mexico, reports that a conservative estimate is that 1,000 men are out of work in and around the city of Trinidad and about 1,500 in Las Animas County, in which Trinidad is located, taking in all the mining camps. He adds:

> This it not taking those that are partially employed.

He adds that no new agencies other than those in existence before have been established to relieve unemployment.

The next letter before me, from a responsible representative of the National Catholic School of Social Service, says:

> I have been for years a social worker, and now am instructor in Social Economics in the National Catholic School of Social Service. I spent all last summer in the Stockyards Branch of the United Charities, Chicago, helping to take care of persons applying to that agency. * * * I indorse the principle of public outdoor relief, and in addition, at a time like this, surely there is need for Federal appropriation to help those local communities which are not in themselves able to meet the situation. * * * I look upon rising public expenditures for social welfare as an expression of public concern for the weaker members of the community, for whom a young, vigorous, and wealthy Nation such as ours is expected to show great concern. I think that the generous willingness of the taxpayers of the country to make sacrifices for humanitarian purposes demonstrates that the majority concur with me in this thought.

A letter from Atlanta, Ga., from a representative of the Atlanta Federation of Jewish Charities, dated December 24, 1931, says:

> I am in favor of the extension of Federal aid to States and local communities for the relief of unemployment, provided Federal aid is contingent upon greater appropriations on the part of cities and States, and also provided the administration of Federal aid is undertaken through existing recognized social agencies, so that the proper standards of social service may accompany the granting of any relief.

Another letter from Atlanta, Ga., is from a representative of the Family Welfare Society. Under date of January 8, 1932, this statement is made:

> May I say that Federal relief such as you propose seems to be absolutely essential if we are to avoid untold suffering this winter. Atlanta had a combined community chest and emergency relief committee campaign last month with a goal of $805,000. Only $562,000 was raised. While there are plans under way to tap other resources in order to bridge this deficit, there are as yet no definite assurances that the money will be forthcoming; and even should the present deficit be bridged, I feel that, judging by my experience in the society, the middle of the winter will probably see additional needs to be met, with no resources for meeting them.

We come again to the city of Chicago. Here is a message under date of January 14, 1932, reading as follows:

> The sense of a mass meeting of several hundred women at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, on January 9, 1932, called in the interest of child welfare, was that Federal aid to the States would be necessary this year to relieve the distress of hundreds of thousands of children suffering from conditions for which neither they nor their parents are responsible. Therefore, the principles embodied in the Costigan and La Follette bills were approved.
>
> ELIZABETH TOLLES,
> (Mrs. H. N. Tolles),
> *Chairman of the Meeting.*

Giving the address in Chicago.

Here is a letter from an educator in the University of Chicago, who states, under date of January 18, 1932, that he was connected with the first attempt made in this country to collect complete and comparable statistics from all of the social agencies that deal with dependency, delinquency, and illness. A large array of facts is contained in this communication. In my endeavor to save the time of the Senate I shall confine myself to reading but a few of the statements here.

He concludes a striking discussion of distressing conditions in Chicago, demonstrating the inadequacy of relief for the tremendous need, with the following:

> Perhaps we in Chicago are to blame for our present fiscal plight, and it is perhaps only natural to feel that we ought to stew in our own juice. But, place the blame where you will, the fact remains that we do not have credit as a going concern. * * * The only corporate entity we have any claim upon that has credit sufficient to meet the present need is the Federal Government.

Here is a letter from a responsible representative of the Jewish Community Center Association of Indianapolis, Ind., dated December 29, 1931. I quote the following paragraphs:

> The latest unemployment figures of the Indianapolis stabilization committee indicate 40,618 unemployed as of November, 1931. The percentage, based upon an estimate of 164,444 people gainfully employed as of April, 1930, indicates that more than 24 per cent of the employable population is now completely unemployed. There are no statistics regarding the number of people who are partially employed, but I do know from information supplied to the executive committee of the council of social agencies, of which I happen to be a member, that many of the industrial plants which are trying to spread employment through the stagger system have employees working as little as two days a week with income as low as approximately $6 per week. Through an unfortunate situation the township trustees can not give subsidies to these families.

In this instance, as in others, I pass over figures of very large interest to all Members of the Senate who are concerned over the situation in the country, and read as follows:

> It is clearly patent that in spite of the increased relief expenditures the local bodies can not and are not meeting the situation, and it is a fact that the unemployed of Indianapolis are not receiving sufficient relief to maintain even a bare subsistence level.

Many social workers are deeply concerned with Federal relief administration in the event there is a Federal subsidy.

I trust that remarks of this sort, which are to be found in innumerable communications received by us, will receive the attention of the Senate when we come to consider the so-called substitute to the bill offered within the last few days by some Member of the Senate on this side of the Chamber.

There is great need for disbursement of relief through recognized social agencies and by trained social workers.

The letter concludes:

May I again state that I firmly believe that local communities, especially urban areas, simply can not cope with the problems created by the unemployment situation, and that Federal appropriation is absolutely necessary.

I am taking the States alphabetically, so far as practical, and here is a letter from New Orleans, La. It is from a representative of the Family Service Society, and is dated January 21, 1932. I quote in part as follows, and the writer is referring, of course, to the State of Louisiana:

People in the sugar-bowl area are on the point of starvation; the tenant farmers on cotton plantations are giving up the struggle and some of them are migrating to the cities; our rice industry, which was at one time very prosperous, has almost been wiped out. The larger municipalities—New Orleans, Shreveport, Monroe, Alexandria, and Baton Rouge—have provided no tax funds for the care of the unemployed, and their governments claim that they have no money.

* * * * * * *

The community chest of New Orleans fell $100,000 short of its 1932 goal. Shreveport's chest also failed to reach the amount needed to cover their 1932 budgets. In New Orleans failure of the campaign seems to lie in the fewer number and smaller size of gifts of those whose incomes are in the higher brackets; the number of small givers compares favorably with the number of this group in other cities.

I may add that the last statement appears to be true of other municipalities.

Here is a letter from New York City, from the chairman of the executive committee of the International Save the Children Fund of America. It is dated January 10, 1932, and I quote in part as follows:

You have read in the papers of the appalling conditions existing in the bituminous mining sections of Kentucky, West Virginia, and Illinois.

Thousands of men are out of work. The suffering of their families this winter, especially the plight of their children without food, clothing, and medical care, is unbelievable.

* * * * * * *

The American Friends Service Committee has been feeding these children through the public schools; but it has been discovered that over 20,000 of these American boys and girls, who are largely of Scotch and Irish descent, have practically no clothes to wear. Many can not even go to school, where the food they so much need is supplied, because of lack of clothing.

Alphabetically, next in order is the State of Maryland. In the Baltimore Sun of February 4, 1932, appears this item on page 3, under the heading "Underfed Pupils Found in Schools—Several Thousand Children Attend Classes Hungry, Doctor Weglein Says; Some Faint at Desks."

Referring to Dr. David E. Weglein, superintendent of public instruction, the article states:

A survey made at his request by the Public School Association and resulting in the Baltimore Chapter, American Red Cross volunteering its services, has disclosed that some children who have not had food for 24 hours before reporting at school in the morning have fainted at their desks.

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE INITIATED

A mutual assistance movement has been inaugurated among the schools, the families of students in the wealthier sections contributing to those schools where hungry children are in the majority. Doctor Weglein estimated that of 2,500 students in four schools that have been brought to the attention of the Red Cross several hundred need daily nourishment.

The article is much more extended. I am merely reading representative paragraphs.

In the Baltimore Sun of February 3, 1932, on page 10, is a letter written to the editor of the Sun by Rabbi Edward L. Israel. The letter was dated Baltimore, January 27, 1932. It is headed "The Case for Federal Relief." In brief, it refers to two recent editorials in the Baltimore Sun, in which it states the Sun discussed adversely the question of Federal aid for unemployment relief. The writer dissents from the conclusions of the Baltimore Sun, and says, among other things:

Despite the fact that there have been repeated assertions concerning the inadequacy of private charity and the failure of our community fund, after unprecedented effort, I fail to recall any editorial campaign on your part looking to a relief of the unemployment situation through the full resources of municipality or State.

In addition, the article contains this paragraph:

Some time ago a few of us approached Governor Ritchie on the question of a State program to cope with the unemployment situation. His categorical answer was that the State had absolutely no funds for any additional project in connection with unemployment. He reiterated his oft-stated position that the only salvation possible is from private industry and private sources. He maintained that the tax structure of the State is of such a nature as to preclude any possible relief from that source.

In another paragraph we find these statements:

We are face to face with a situation of national scope in which Maryland presents a picture that, although distressing, is not nearly so bad as what is going on in other sections of the land. We can not provincialize ourselves. The thing is a national crisis. The forces of social disintegration are undermining primarily our national security. Besides this, there is the enormous human appeal. You yourself stated "if the Nation were confronted with a situation where only the Federal Treasury stood between millions of people and starvation, as is now widely asserted in Washington, we would certainly not hold back either on direct Federal appropriations for unemployment relief or the creation of jobs." It is not the Federal Treasury, but it is the money-raising powers that are uniquely within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government which now actually stand between these millions and starvation.

The letter continues:

There is no alternative but Federal aid. There is just one source of revenue which combines flexibility with just apportionment on the basis of ability to bear, namely, the income tax. The great majority of the States do not now have this source of revenue open to them. Funds for unemployment relief, if they are to be raised by the States or the cities, must rest eventually upon increased property taxes or various excise taxes. In each of these cases the limit may be nearly, if not quite, reached. The Federal Government, on the other hand, can increase its revenues substantially and with relative ease by increasing the income-tax rates. It can issue bonds without reference to any fixed limit of bonded indebtedness.

In such an emergency as we now face it seems highly academic to insist upon more efforts being exerted by the States and municipalities, and it seems logical and just to ask that a part of the burden be borne by the Federal Government.

Here is a letter from the general secretary of the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, of Baltimore, Md., under date of December 22, 1931. I quote a few statements, as follows:

From the point of view of the relief situation there are between 7,500 and 8,000 families on the rolls of the relief agencies of this community at the present time, and the peak has not been reached for this winter. * * *

Our municipality promises nothing, the State government is distinctly averse to any relief appropriation; consequently many of us are looking obviously toward Federal relief. My own personal conviction is that since city, State, and Federal Governments have different bases of taxation and different sources for tax funds, that all three should bear some share in the raising of taxes for relief purposes. The tragic results of social breakdown which are bound to rise from a program of inadequate relief will have to be paid for for years to come from both public and private sources. It may be canceled beneath appropriations for jails, hospitals, public institutions, and the like, but it will be no less enormous in amount for that reason.

Another letter from Baltimore is from a representative of the Family Welfare Association of that city. The writer makes the following statement, among others, under date of December 23, 1931:

The entire responsibility for unemployment relief therefore has been upon four private agencies—the Jewish Social Service Bureau, the Bureau of Catholic Charities, the Family Welfare Association, and the Salvation Army—the three first carrying practically all responsibility for families and the last practically all for homeless men. * * *

Agencies for unemployment relief are to-day giving material relief to five to six times as many families as a year ago, and, of course, are spending largely increased sums for the purpose.

Table 1 follows in the letter showing the following comparative statistics with respect to expenditures in 1931 as contrasted with 1930.

The Bureau of Catholic Charities in 1930, estimated by the writer, expended $83,000, and in 1931, according to an esti-

mate, expended $225,000. The Family Welfare Association in 1930 expended $173,437 and in 1931, $640,000. The Jewish Social Service Bureau in 1930 expended $100,682 and in 1931, $151,310. The police department expended in 1930, $11,666, and in 1931, $87,000. The Salvation Army in 1930 expended $5,686, and in 1931, $31,069.

In other words, the relief expenditures in Baltimore, only partly estimated by the writer, aggregated in 1930, $374,471, and in 1931, $1,134,379.

The following statements appear later in the same letter:

In the counties of Maryland, we probably have a more difficult situation than in Baltimore city. Only about 8 of our 23 counties have any form of social-service organizations. Without a system of public relief, either county or State, there is no central organization through which an emergency organization could be quickly built up. The one state-wide private agency, the Maryland Children's Aid Society, is concerned with the program for the organization of private county agencies and not with the administration of a relief program. We have no doubt that great need exists in the rural sections, and that many families are being broken down in health, mind, morale, and in every other way, because of their inability to secure assistance.

We are tremendously concerned with the question of Federal relief, and much as we regret the necessity for Federal action, we believe Federal action is necessary when it is demonstrated that the States individually can not meet their own needs or without Federal encouragement will not make adequate effort to meet them.

Here is a telegram under date of February 5, 1932, from Baltimore, addressed to myself:

BALTIMORE, MD., *February 5, 1932.*

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
Senate Office, United States Senate Building.

The Baltimore Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, is strongly in favor of joint bill for Federal relief for the jobless.

MARIE C. JUDGE,
Chairman Baltimore Chapter.

On Friday, January 22, 1932, a conference on governmental responsibility for unemployment was held at the Lord Baltimore Hotel in Baltimore. At that conference the following resolution in part was adopted:

Resolved, That we ask both our United States Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives from Maryland to support and work for * * * the Costigan-La Follette-Lewis bill making an appropriation of $375,000,000 for immediate relief.

The committee signing the resolution consisted of the following: Wm. F. Cochran, chairman; the Rev. and Mrs. Peter Ainslie, Paul T. Beisser, Henry F. Broening, Dr. Gertrude C. Bussey, Mrs. A. Morris Carey, Elisabeth Gilman, Helen D. Green, Harry Greenstein, Sidney Hollander, Rabbi E. L. Israel, Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron, the Rev. E. L. Leonard, Dr. Broadus Mitchell, and the Rev. E. Guthrie Speers.

Perhaps, Mr. President, this is the appropriate time to say in passing that it is reported that Maryland, as a State, so far has appropriated only $24,000 for emergency unemployment relief; that the amount was made available until September, 1932, the fund to be spent under the direction of the governor, and that this amount consisted of license fees on four special racing days held for this purpose.

The next State alphabetically in order is Michigan. Here is a letter from a representative of the Detroit Community Union of Detroit. I quote only brief extracts, the entire letter being available to those who may desire to examine it:

In Detroit we will get through somehow with local funds, public and private, but many of us are worried about the suburban districts. All of them seem to be very hard pressed. May I give you two illustrations?

At Inkster approximately 300 out of the 350 families are dependents.

I omit a discussion of the conditions.

In southern Macomb County it is estimated that there are from 2,500 to 3,000 families in dire need.

Farther on I quote the following:

Concerning the situation in Oakland County—and, in fact, throughout the State—I am sure that Senator COUZENS has far more data than I could furnish you. I understand that he is interested in the development of some scheme for Federal aid for communities which are unable to meet their own needs.

Another letter before me is from a representative of the State welfare department, located at Lansing, the letter being written from Detroit under date of December 26, 1931. The following statements are made in this letter. I quote, as before omitting certain portions of the letter in order to save time:

We are experiencing a very serious situation in Detroit and throughout Michigan. * * * Our department of public welfare, under the reduced budget, found it necessary to exclude aid to certain groups such as married couples without children, married couples with one child, etc. The needs of these are now being met through an emergency aid campaign organized by Senator COUZENS and Mayor Murphy, to which Senator COUZENS is a most generous contributor.

According to reports which I have before me, our department of public welfare assisted 15,881 families in November under its policy of restricted relief. * * *

Outside of Detroit and Wayne County a serious unemployment situation obtains in automobile and other industrial centers. Counties most severely hit are Oakland and Macomb, both in the metropolitan district adjacent to Detroit. In Oakland County in particular a series of bank failures has added to the general distress. We have had many such failures in other sections of the State. * * * Our emergency has been assisted by the migration from our automobile centers of a considerable part of our floating population.

Another letter is from Grand Rapids, Mich., dated December 23, 1931. It reads in part as follows, after giving data with respect to available income for meeting the needs of dire conditions:

In my opinion, the funds available for local relief of the unemployed for 1932, both from taxes and voluntary gifts, will be totally inadequate to meet the needs. Unless the State, county, and municipal authorities adopt some emergency methods to secure greatly increased funds, it looks to me as though we shall be obliged to stand by and see our unemployed suffer for the lack of necessities of life, or call on the Federal Government for aid.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FESS in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I gladly yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Did the Senator indicate who wrote the letter?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The letter is signed by Mr. Victor A. Woodward. His official connection, if any, is not known to me.

Mr. VANDENBERG. He is in charge of the organized social welfare of the city.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am happy to have the statement of the Senator from Michigan.

I turn now to St. Louis, Mo. Here is a letter from a responsible individual connected with the school of business and public administration of Washington University. It is dated December 22, 1931, and reads, in part, as follows:

St. Louis failed to raise its community fund quota by $600,000, and the status of the city appropriation in view of this failure has not yet been defined.

* * * * * * *

There is a belief that St. Louis, through its public and private efforts, will not succeed in raising enough money to take care of its dependent families this winter even though it will raise, if it succeeds in completing its quota, almost twice as much as it has ever done before.

Farther on:

If Federal aid is granted, I trust the bill authorizing it will incorporate a provision by which it will be granted, at least to cities, only where there is a capacity to meet certain standards of administration which the Federal bill will set up.

Here is another letter from St. Louis, from the executive director of the Jewish Center of St. Louis. It is dated December 22, 1931, and reads in part as follows:

From my knowledge of the local situation I am sure that appropriations from the municipal and charitable contributions are not sufficiently large to relieve unemployment. The Jewish Federation of Charities failed by $100,000 of its goal and the community chest by a half million.

Further on the letter states:

It seems reasonable for emergency Federal aid to be forthcoming if the work to help the unemployed is to be accomplished. I know of very few social workers who do not advocate some such plan.

A letter written by a representative of the Social Service Bureau of Newark, N. J., is next in order. I quote in part from that letter, dated January 11, 1932:

It is an accepted fact, I believe, that with the amount of money available such a very few men have been put to work in comparison with the total registered unemployed as to scarcely make a dent in the problem. Further the made-work which has been devised does not answer the needs of the "white-collar" group.

Farther on the writer of the letter says:

Regarding direct relief, may I say that this agency, the Social Service Bureau, which is a private agency financed by the community chest, will have available for relief in 1932 practically the amount spent in 1931. This means for the most part that our relief funds will have to be used to finance the families taken on during 1930 and which we have not been able to dispose of, leaving very little margin to take on new victims of unemployment. These new families, as we see it, will have to be cared for from public funds.

Here is a letter from the director of medicine, Department of Institutions and Agencies of the State of New Jersey. It is dated January 14, 1932, and reads, in part, as follows:

I am advised that the director of the emergency relief administration feels that the funds already available are not adequate to see New Jersey through the winter. It is rumored that another bill is to be introduced requesting additional appropriations, so that the needs of the State will be more fully met.

On the other hand, we know that there are many communities which are bankrupt, and that they find themselves unable to meet their needs with any degree of adequacy.

There are communities which are no longer able to borrow, and everywhere there are demands made upon public officials to reduce budgets and to reduce taxes.

It is generally understood that the State as a whole is not uniformly affected by the economic depression and that needs are greater in some localities than in others.

These comments which I have made are unofficial and are quite in the nature of generalizations rather than specific information, which information I lack at this time.

Here is a letter from the representative of the Family Welfare Society, the office of which is in Albany, N. Y. The letter is dated December 22, 1931, and reads in part:

It is evident that in the smaller cities relief raised through private resources is, and has been, inadequate to meet the needs, so that it is largely public relief which is being given out, and one might say the private agencies supplement it. There is no question in my mind of the need, but I have no knowledge of how much can be raised by municipal corporations for work relief. It is being quite generally done in New York State, though, apparently, the money raised will not take care of a very large percentage of the men unemployed over a period of months.

* * * * * * *

Here is a letter from the representative of the Catholic Service League of Akron, Ohio. It is of date January 18, 1932. I read the following from it:

In my opinion, the community is in more serious panic than at any time during the depression. The schools have been closed during the Christmas holidays, not to open until January 18, on a $1,000,000 reduction in operating.

The city is cutting its operating budget $800,000, which, if followed out, will greatly reduce the fire and police protection.

The city registered 6,000 men for employment this week on a work program to give 4,000 jobs two days a week for three months.

A letter from Columbus, Ohio, from Mr. Gardner Lattimer, of the Lattimer-Stevens Co., under date of January 22, 1932, reads in part as follows:

I have been somewhat actively in touch with standards of relief in Columbus and in other cities of Ohio and feel that the lowness of these standards constitutes a real menace to the safety of the Republic. In Columbus, for example, totally destitute families are being helped on the basis of approximately 75 cents per person per week, with the payment of rent being postponed until just short of eviction, with fuel allowance on the most meager basis, and dependence almost exclusively on secondhand clothes for clothing. In my opinion the demoralizing effect of such standards can not be overemphasized.

I am convinced also that, since the cause of the depression is at least national, if not international, and since our tax laws are set up in such a way as to make it practically impossible to secure additional revenues from local taxation, Federal action is not only justified but most desperately and urgently needed.

A letter from Cleveland, Ohio, from the representative of the Goodrich Social Settlement, under date of December 30, 1931, recites facts as to the relief expenditures and unemployment, and concludes as follows:

In the working class neighborhood where Goodrich House is, we see no signs of a change for the better, and the "rugged individualism" of our self-respecting neighbors is fast being undermined by their enforced acceptance of inadequate private charity.

We hope your bill for a Federal emergency appropriation will pass, and pass quickly.

Here is a letter from an outstanding social worker connected with the National Conference of Social Work who writes from Columbus, Ohio. The letter, which is dated December 23, 1931, reads, in part, as follows:

You have so framed this bill—

Referring to the bill originally introduced by myself, which is substantially identical with the bill now before the Senate, the most material change being the addition to the original board provided for in the earlier bill of two presidential appointees—

You have so framed this bill that I do not believe it will be harmful in forcing the States and local communities to do their utmost to relieve unemployment during the present winter.

The only thing I feel, in that phase of the bill—

He refers to the same amount to be appropriated by the Federal Government as is proposed to be appropriated by the bill now before the Senate—

is that you have not made a sufficiently large estimate of the needs for next year. * * * I really see no way to avoid Federal help for another year, even though it might be possible to come through the present winter without such aid. * * *

I feel that you have so safeguarded the country from the dangers that may arise from unwise Federal action that that phase of the matter can be practically ignored.

Here is a letter from a representative of the community fund of Columbus and Franklin County, which was written from Columbus, Ohio, under date of December 28, 1931. It says, in part:

At the last session of the Ohio Legislature the so-called Pringle-Roberts bill was enacted, under which political subdivisions were authorized to issue bonds up to one-twentieth of 1 per cent of tax duplicate for relief purposes. This law was limited in its operation to 1931. Under it the city of Columbus issued bonds to the extent of $285,000 and Franklin County to the extent of $45,000. This resource will not be available in 1932. * * *

The governor does not seem inclined at present to call a special session of the legislature. This, I think, should be done for the purpose of extending the operation of the Pringle-Roberts bill mentioned above and to provide through some form of direct tax, other than upon real property, for additional funds to be used for relief.

I notice that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY] is in the Chamber. He is in a position to advise the Senate whether or not there has been any change in the Ohio situation since this letter was written.

Mr. BULKLEY. Mr. President, as I understand, the governor is still considering the question of calling an extra session of the legislature but has not as yet determined upon his course.

While I am on my feet, may I call attention to a slight error that crept into the print of the hearings which was extended in the RECORD by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] concerning conditions in Cleveland?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The Senator from Ohio does not refer to the hearings before the Committee on Manufactures, does he?

Mr. BULKLEY. Yes; I do. In the testimony of Mr. Raymond F. Clapp, director of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, this language appears:

From the two of them together—

That is, from the Associated Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau—

From the two of them together there are, I should say, approximately 5,000 families receiving relief this month. That compares with a little over 5,000 families a year ago at this time.

That is clearly a misprint. There were at the time he testified 15,000 families receiving relief, and since then that number has been considerably increased. The latest information we have is that about 17,000 families are now receiving relief in Cleveland.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I thank the Senator from Ohio for his contribution to the discussion.

Here is a letter from Toledo, Ohio, dated January 13, 1932, from the director of the Social Service Federation. The writer says in part:

If it is not too late, I am glad to lend my support to your effort to have Congress adopt an emergency Federal aid program. Toledo's relief requirements are growing rapidly. Eight thousand families

received relief last month, and the number this month may reach 10,000. The people voted a million and a half levy for poor relief for the year 1932, but that will not provide more than enough for the first half of the year. I am of the opinion that some outside aid, either State or Federal, will be necessary unless general business conditions improve to a marked degree in the spring.

The next letter in this general review is from a representative of the Family Service Society, of Erie, Pa., written under date of December 31, 1931. It reads, in part, as follows:

There seems to be not a shadow of a doubt that Federal aid will be essential, and your statement that the private agencies will participate in the program is the most encouraging announcement I have heard for some time.

A letter from a representative of The Harrisburg Welfare Federation, of Harrisburg, Pa., dated December 23, 1931, contains the following statements:

It is my observation that either State or Federal aid is needed to assist many communities, especially the smaller ones, to meet the relief problems this winter. It is now evident that in most States State aid will not be provided in any adequate degree. Therefore, it seems to me desirable and necessary that Federal aid be made available to help local communities meet this winter's relief demands. Federal aid should be on a temporary emergency basis only.

Another letter from Harrisburg is from a representative of the Department of Welfare of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It is dated January 15, 1932, and contains the following statements:

While some of our towns are holding up, due largely to the fact that the private wealth of the county is usually in the towns, the outlying sections, especially in the mining counties, are in very bad shape. In Fayette County, for example, the mayor of Uniontown reported to Senator DAVIS that they could "take care of their own," although the whole western half of that county is in extreme distress. On Monday, the 18th, the Friends' Service Committee starts feeding malnourished children there.

A letter from the same representative of the department of welfare of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, under date of December 23, 1931, reads, in part, as follows:

Unquestionably something will be done this winter by the legislature, but whatever is done will be both late and inadequate. Personally, I am heartily in favor of Federal relief.

A letter under date of January 21, 1932, was received from Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, director of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia. Mr. Murphy, it will be recalled, testified before the Committee on Manufactures. At that time he was requested to supplement his contribution in writing if he cared to do so. Under date of January 21, 1932, Mr. Murphy wrote, in part, as follows:

I strongly favored your bill in the first place. I am very glad to say that the new bill is even more impressive to me.

He now refers to the bill before the Senate.

It is carefully phrased, and certainly shows the results of the detailed study of all the suggestions made to you and Senator LA FOLLETTE and other members of the committee during these last few weeks as to proper Federal procedure.

The amount named certainly avoids the criticism of being an exaggerated request. The expenditure of $375,000,000 will, as has been said before, result in a number of the States finding money in order to match the Federal grants.

I like very much the arrangements for the make-up of the Federal Emergency Relief Board. The Children's Bureau is very properly the agency which should administer this relief fund. It, more than any other Federal agency, knows the personnel of existing State departments of boards of welfare, and has the experience of working with them. I like the additional provision of two members to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. This still leaves it possible for the board to name as chairman one of the President's appointees if this is thought wise. It probably would be a very good thing to have the chairman of the board to be other than a person overloaded with administrative duties, such as in the case of the Chief of the Children's Bureau.

I like the time limit which is set for the performance of services stipulated under the proposed act. The various State disbursing agencies are left wide discretionary powers in regard to rules and regulations for relief administration. This is wise.

The provisions of the act for taking care of unusually distressed States, unable to help themselves, are sound. The authority for penalizing States not properly cooperating is well phrased. Making it possible for private contributions to be included as part of the total efforts of a particular State is wise—of course, with the precaution, as stipulated in your bill, that grants for old-age pensions or mothers' assistance fund appropriations may not be included.

It should be added that no one is better prepared to speak in this field than the author of this letter.

Under date of December 23, 1931, Miss Dorothy C. Kahn, another witness who testified before the Committee on Manufactures, and who represents the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, wrote as follows:

I have read your excellent bill with great care, and will be glad to be of whatever assistance I can, either individually or through my organization, in assisting its passage.

It would probably be a waste of your time for me to discuss my views on the principles involved in Federal aid. I find myself fully in agreement with the spirit and intent of your bill and with the principles already outlined by the Social Work Conference on Federal Relief. The keynote of my views on this point is that only to the extent that the Federal Government aids in helping to meet the enormous wage loss in the present depression can we hope to maintain a semblance of the American standard of living on which our national integrity rests.

* * * * * * *

The bureau of unemployment relief gave assistance last week to 43,000 families, an increase of 2,700 over the previous week.

I pause to say that this witness, when she testified—I think I am correct in saying that she was the witness who so testified—reported that the amount of relief being given at that time in Philadelphia to families of this sort was forty times the amount of the normal relief so furnished.

The standards of relief of the bureau include food in the form of grocery orders, coal, shoes, and clothing in extreme cases. The bureau does not pay for shelter, with the result that those families who are not actually evicted for nonpayment of rent find themselves dependent on landlords, becoming accustomed to failure to meet their obligations, and, in unknown numbers of instances, doubling up with other families, with resultant overcrowding and all of its attendant evils. Of this group of 43,000 families, approximately 1,000 are Jewish. The estimated expenditures for these families in one recent month was $17,000. Our own society, which is giving financial assistance to a little over 400 families, is spending between $18,000 and $22,000 per month on these families. These expenditures are based on a standard minimum budget which we believe is the least possible amount which would preserve standards of health and decency. A sample allowance for a family of five, according to our standard, is attached for your consideration. On this basis, the bureau of unemployment relief, if it applied our standard of relief, would need to spend on the 1,000 families under its care $60,000 a month instead of $17,000. The same computation on an annual basis would mean that relief to all Jewish families in need in Philadelphia, who represent approximately 10 per cent of the total population, would need to be well over $1,000,000 for this current year on a minimum basis. From this I argue that $10,000,000 for material relief alone is a conservative estimate of the needs of Philadelphia. This is exclusive of public aid to widows.

Here is a letter from Pittsburgh, from a representative of the Helping Hand Association:

The trouble is that all the people who have appeared before your committee, including Mr. Gifford, can not get their minds in the proper channel to the effect that we are facing an emergency, and emergency measures differ from the textbook and other prescribed college principles of social work. You can not feed a starving child or woman with a textbook or bulletin coming from various committees, and you can not practice rehabilitation and social-service work on empty stomachs.

Here is a letter from a representative of the Family Service Society of Austin, Tex., under date of December 30, 1931. It reads, in part, as follows:

The county judge tells me that he has this year spent $35,000 on everything of a social nature. Ten thousand dollars of this has been spent on relief work. His judgment is that if conditions do not grow worse we ought to be able to work out our own plans for the next three months. If then things gradually improve, he feels we should be able to continue to get by. If, however, in the three months' period there is not an upward trend, he feels sure we will be facing a serious crisis.

Another letter from Dallas, Tex., under date of January 5, 1932, contains the following statements:

The problem in Dallas grows, and local resources are about dried up.

* * * * * * *

The thing is eating steadily into the strata that once felt secure. Yesterday I talked to a college woman not yet 45 who is living at the Salvation Army Home for Girls between eagerly taken chances at domestic service and to a university man who fainted three times in one day at the city garbage dump and had to have his blistered hand treated at the Emergency Hospital. "Public works," "local responsibility," "sense of cooperation in the community," "magnificent response to public appeal," and other com-

forting phrases from the message to Congress December 8, 1931, sound faint and far away to those of us who have to come a little closer to the truth and are not afraid to look.

* * * * * * *

The city manager (inaugurated eight months ago) is working against odds and under an overdraft. The county is in the red. The State of Texas can not be looked to for immediate help under the present law, because it limits the tax which can be levied. The resources of private philanthropy have been inadequate for some time past and are pathetic in the face of the present crisis. The emergency fund has not been raised.

This is the local picture in its barest outlines. It is complicated by the stampeding transients—who are human beings, after all, and enterprising ones—by bewilderment and fright, by resentment at lack of courageous leadership, locally and nationally, and, last of all, by our having substituted extravagant sentimentality for an intelligent social plan in years past. We have no public employment service, no child welfare, no decent care for the aged, no venereal clinic, no care for the transient, no unemployment insurance. Small wonder that the economic wreck has followed our crazy, planless building, and that we stand in the crash and blinding dust with nothing more intelligent than "local self-help" for disaster relief.

It is a national calamity, not a local one; it is a national responsibility, not a local one; and if three years of the increasing tragedy brings us no closer to help than the blind, stubborn "I do not believe in the dole," then we may find a way out which is neither governmental nor yet noble Christian charity—who knows?

Here is another letter from Texas, written from the city of Fort Worth, under date of December 23, 1931. It is signed by a physician who is the director of public health and welfare, Dr. A. H. Flickwir. He says:

I wish to state that, in my opinion, local, State, and National Governments should aid in the relief of the unemployed.

Then he recites certain facts with which I shall not delay the Senate. The letter is available. He continues:

I think that funds derived from public resources, namely, the taxpayer, more evenly distribute the burden than any other method. Of course, the remedy for unemployment is employment, and, in my opinion, the relief funds should be used for relief work and a careful survey of the community made in order to see that same is properly distributed in return for work done rather than a grant or dole. This method is being pursued in Fort Worth at this time.

A letter from Seattle, Wash., under date of January 19, 1932, contains the following statement:

At present this agency is assisting about six times as many families as we helped two years ago. Our relief expenditures have increased accordingly.

Here is a letter from the executive director of The Federated Jewish Charities of Milwaukee under date of December 23, 1931. It contains the following statements:

May I state that I am thoroughly in sympathy with the aims and purposes of your bill? I am convinced that some form of State aid must be developed by Congress. The form which this aid is to take can be patterned on the lines already developed by Congress in its grants to States in the field of road building and maternity care.

Speaking of appropriations made in his State, he says:

To my mind, this sum will not be sufficient to take care of our relief needs for the next year. It will, therefore, be necessary for some emergency aid to be granted the States by the United States Government.

The final letter before me is from the general secretary of the Wisconsin Conference of Social Workers, dated Madison, Wis., January 4, 1932:

There can be no question as to the need. Everywhere there is want, and in many parts of the West, the part of the country with which I am familiar, there is slow starvation in many families.

* * * * * * *

I think that the plan of placing the administration of such a fund under the Children's Bureau is a wise one. Miss Abbott can be trusted to bring to this work the very best that the Nation has to offer, and to see to it that there is no waste that can be avoided, and that the funds do the most possible good.

It would seem, Mr. President, that the evidence is persuasive, as well as widely distributed.

May I call attention, before I pass wholly from this subject, to the fact that Mr. Karl de Schweinitz, secretary of the Community Council of Philadelphia, who testified before the Committee on Manufactures of the Senate something over a month ago, appeared again as a witness on February 3 of this week before the committee of the House of Representatives which is considering the Lewis bill, which corresponds to the bill introduced in the Senate, and now under consideration.

Mr. de Schweinitz, testifying before the House committee, stated that on the 1st of February 54,532 families were receiving help in his city, and that this was an increase of over 10,000 from the time when he appeared before our committee. His testimony at that time was that there were 43,128 families in Philadelphia receiving help. From these figures the Senate may draw some inference as to the rapid increase in the needs of those who are the victims of unemployment in the United States through no fault of their own.

Mr. C. C. Carstens, another prominent social worker, is reported to have testified before the House committee that the Friends' Service to-day is feeding double the number of school children in the West Virginia field that they were feeding when Mr. Pickett, a little over a month ago, appeared before us. His testimony at that time may be referred to. Among other things, he said that the Friends were giving one meal a day to something like 20,000 school children in the three States to which I have referred. He said they had no funds with which to take care of the adult needs in the sections in which these children were receiving the one meal a day.

Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson wired from Pittsburgh on February 3, 1932, as follows:

PITTSBURGH, PA., *February 3, 1932.*

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate.

Seven thousand nine hundred and fifty families receiving aid from Allegheny County Emergency Association alone, probably double this number from all sources. Sixty thousand new families applied for help in 1931.

HELEN GLENN TYSON.

I have other telegrams here which I should be glad to have in the RECORD, but which I shall not read, merely to save time.

Here is one which probably should be added, from Chicago, from an outstanding witness before the Committee on Manufactures, Mr. Samuel A. Goldsmith, of Chicago:

* * * Figure corresponding to December figure for month of January is estimated at 134,840 cases.

From New York comes a telegram from Mr. William Hodson, dated February 3, 1932:

Best figures available show approximately 118,000 persons receiving help of some kind; about 50,000 have emergency work jobs; balance receiving help varying from occasional basket of food to regular monthly allowance.

These telegrams bring the situation up to date in the few large cities from which reports are most readily available.

A letter, dated February 5, 1932, from Mr. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, whose services to humanity have made him a national figure, contains the following sentence, referring to the Federal relief proposed in the bill before the Senate:

Any delay in getting this relief means so many more lives lost.

Mr. President, in the letters which I have read to the Senate have occurred occasional references to one aspect of our national relief problem which has not been mentioned in the Senate, so far as I am aware, and which certainly has not been discussed. I refer to what may be called the transient or migratory problem.

The bill before the Senate is made so elastic in form that it will be possible to deal with conditions of unemployment and resulting distress as those conditions arise. While the bill provides for work through social agencies, it should be remembered by the Senate that this particular problem presents some extraordinarily difficult features. Almost all the relief work in America is, properly enough, naturally enough, designed to deal with local residents. Our poor laws from the beginning have been so drafted that the recipients of public relief have ordinarily been under the obligation to show that they have been residents for a very considerable time of the locality in which the relief is given.

What has been happening in America? All over this land, from north to south, according to the expert witnesses with

whom we have talked, are drifting back and forth tides of human beings who are homeless and without residence. The testimony before the Committee on Manufactures was, I think, that there are not less than 1,000,000 people at this time drifting, without the possibility of turning to the local public agencies on which frequenly they must wholly depend for help.

That is true, of course, especially in the rural regions, where there are no organized private relief agencies and where, as I stated earlier in my remarks, almost 100 per cent—not 70 per cent, as in the case of cities with well-organized private relief—comes from the public funds taken from the taxpayer.

Such facts as these are public information. Throughout the winter thousands of people have been drifting over the land, with no place to lay their heads. Especially through the southern parts of the country, where the expectations of a mild winter were to be reasonably relied on, this great trek, this unceasing movement of the unemployed and houseless, was in progress.

A witness, Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, from whom I quoted something a few minutes ago, asserted before the Committee on Manufactures, supplementing the statement, as I recall it, made by me a few moments ago about a million people being in this wandering group, the transient and the homeless, that the actual number of unsettled transients, in terms of families and individuals, may run as high as 2,000,000. I do not know what the latest facts are, but these reports were current at about the time our committee met.

There was reference in the testimony to the fact that large numbers of people, with their meager possessions, the total of their worldly goods, in their keeping, were moving from the North and West toward Florida, and that they were being met at the borders of that State and turned back. I do not say this in criticism, because doubtless Florida has its own problem.

"We must look after our own," is the normal expression with respect to relief. But this great problem of migratory or transitory relief must not be forgotten when we think of what the country faces, because if there is any problem which is national, that problem is to be found in this movement of the homeless from place to place.

I have here, and shall ask permission to insert in the RECORD some figures with respect to the number of meals served in the various cities of this country to transient persons during October of last year. They were compiled by the Children's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor and sent, in response to my request, by the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. President, these figures are incorporated in the RECORD to show not only the nature of the problem but the increase in the gravity of the problem with the advance of the winter. The figures also disclose the number of night lodgings which it was necessary to give in certain cities to handle these migratory workers who are being pushed on and on from place to place.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, January 11, 1932.

Hon. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I transmit herewith figures compiled by the Children's Bureau of this department for family relief expenditures for 61 cities for the month of October, and lodgings and meals served to the transient and homeless for 62 cities for the same month. These figures will not be issued except in typewritten form, as the Children's Bureau will wait for the completion of figures for the calendar year 1931 before issuing another published report. The figures may be used, however, in any way that you desire.

Inasmuch as Senator LA FOLLETTE has requested the same information, and as the number of typewritten copies available is limited, I should appreciate it if these figures could be shared with him.

Respectfully yours,

ROBE CARL WHITE,
The Assistant Secretary.

SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE XIV.—*Per cent of change in number of nights' lodgings provided by agencies for the temporary shelter of homeless or transient persons from October to November, 1931, in 34 cities[1] of 50,000–100,000 population*

Altoona, Pa	76.6
Asheville, N. C	62.5
Bethlehem, Pa	20.2
Brockton, Mass	1.1
Charleston, S. C	−54.2
Charlotte, N. C	39.4
Chester, Pa	10.5
Greensboro, N. C	87.4
Holyoke, Mass	24.8
Kenosha, Wis	(2)
Lancaster, Pa	−2.6
Lawrence, Mass	−16.3
Little Rock, Ark	96.6
Mobile, Ala	70.1
New Britain, Conn	39.7
Niagara Falls, N. Y	−33.7
Pasadena, Calif	36.6
Pawtucket, R. I	23.1
Pontiac, Mich	9.8
Port Arthur, Tex	−43.0
Portland, Me	−27.4
Racine, Wis	206.6
Roanoke, Va	46.0
Rockford, Ill	63.1
Sacramento, Calif	3.5
Saginaw, Mich	4.7
Sharon, Pa	18.7
Shreveport, La	(3)
Sioux City, Iowa	133.9
Springfield, Ill	24.1
Terre Haute, Ind	26.4
Topeka, Kans	238.9
Winston-Salem, N. C	19.6
York, Pa	35.6

CHILDREN'S BUREAU, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Supplement to Table XIII.—*Per cent of change in number of nights' lodgings provided by agencies for the temporary shelter of homeless or transient persons from October to November, 1931, in 29 cities[1] of 100,000 or more population*

Akron, Ohio	21.0
Albany, N. Y	6.2
Birmingham, Ala	−0.1
Bridgeport, Conn	15.9
Buffalo, N. Y	17.6
Cincinnati, Ohio	77.0
Cleveland, Ohio	14.7
Columbus, Ohio	22.1
Dayton, Ohio	−5.0
Detroit, Mich	54.9
Fort Wayne, Ind	25.6
Grand Rapids, Mich	3.2
Harrisburg, Pa	17.6
Kansas City, Mo	21.5
Knoxville, Tenn	62.4
Long Beach, Calif	185.3
Louisville, Ky	0.2
Lowell, Mass	30.0
Minneapolis, Minn	41.8
New Orleans, La	4.6
Newark, N. J	−0.6
Omaha, Nebr	405.7
Richmond, Va	−3.5
San Antonio, Tex	46.3
San Francisco, Calif	71.9
St. Louis, Mo	48.2
St. Paul, Minn	9.5
Tacoma, Wash	2.0
Utica, N. Y	−4.9

TABLE XV.—*Number of meals served by agencies for the temporary care of homeless or transient persons during November, 1931, in 29 cities[1] of 100,000 or more population*

Cities of 100,000 or more population:	Number of meals
Total, 29 cities	926,995
Akron, Ohio	1,301
Albany, N. Y	11,072
Birmingham, Ala	4,030
Bridgeport, Conn	4,044
Buffalo, N. Y	71,508
Cincinnati, Ohio	23,561
Cleveland, Ohio	53,617
Columbus, Ohio [4]	10,954
Dayton, Ohio	3,200

[1] Metropolitan areas, not limited to city proper.
[2] Not computed.
[3] No change.
[4] Reports on number of meals served to homeless or transient persons not received from one or more important agencies in this city.

Cities of 100,000 or more population—Continued.	Number of meals
Detroit, Mich.[4]	82,355
Fort Wayne, Ind	17,254
Grand Rapids, Mich	17,815
Harrisburg, Pa	11,892
Kansas City, Mo	23,410
Knoxville, Tenn	4,134
Long Beach, Calif	1,946
Louisville, Ky	2,578
Lowell, Mass	120
Minneapolis, Minn	211,203
New Orleans, La	11,131
Newark, N. J.[4]	16,266
Omaha, Nebr	9,032
Richmond, Va	3,303
San Antonio, Tex.[5]	284
San Francisco, Calif	219,252
St. Louis, Mo	71,230
St. Paul, Minn	15,191
Tacoma, Wash	22,290
Utica, N. Y	3,122

TABLES IV AND VI.—*Expenditures for family relief during October, 1931, by public departments and by private agencies in 33 cities[1] of 50,000 to 100,000 population*

Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 population	Relief expenditures		
	Total	By public departments	By private agencies[2]
Total, 33 cities	$374,397	$296,680	$77,717
Allentown, Pa.[3]	23,741	21,776	1,965
Altoona, Pa.[3]	8,951	7,622	1,329
Asheville, N. C.	2,524		2,524
Bayonne, N. J.	4,661	4,661	
Berkeley, Calif.	13,601		13,601
Bethlehem, Pa.	6,119	3,700	2,419
Brockton, Mass.	24,732	21,486	3,246
Charleston, S. C.	1,027	627	400
Chester, Pa.[3]	7,413	4,229	3,184
Evanston, Ill.[3]	10,079	4,097	5,982
Huntington, W. Va.	1,926	524	1,402
Kenosha, Wis.[3]	28,315	25,282	3,033
Lancaster, Pa.	6,977		6,977
Lawrence, Mass.	23,518	22,020	1,498
Madison, Wis.[3]	7,744	5,877	1,867
Malden, Mass.[4]	16,569	16,543	26
Mobile, Ala.	1,105		1,105
New Britain, Conn.	14,779	14,539	240
New Rochelle, N. Y.	2,706	2,267	439
Newton, Mass.	4,468	3,552	916
Niagara Falls, N. Y.[4]	28,096	22,468	5,628
Oak Park, Ill.	1,627	243	1,384
Pontiac, Mich.[3]	1,131	913	218
Portland, Me.	8,116	7,342	774
Racine, Wis.[4]	55,008	54,802	206
Roanoke, Va.	1,879		1,879
Sacramento, Calif.[4]	11,275	8,643	2,632
Saginaw, Mich.	32,923	31,186	1,737
Shreveport, La.	3,023		3,023
Sioux City, Iowa	3,610	2,258	1,352
Terre Haute, Ind.	9,431	6,970	2,461
Topeka, Kans.[3]	4,273	3,053	1,220
Winston-Salem, N. C.	3,050		3,050

[1] Metropolitan areas, not limited to city proper.
[2] May include public funds expended by private agencies.
[3] Public relief includes expenditures for county.
[4] Includes mothers' aid.
[5] Expenditures for relief under the blind aid and old age aid laws not included.

TABLES III AND V.—*Expenditures for family relief during October, 1931, by public departments and by private agencies in 28 cities[1] of 100,000 or more population*

Cities of 100,000 or more population	Relief expenditures		
	Total	By public departments	By private agencies[2]
Total, 28 cities	$2,909,014	$1,584,626	$1,324,388
Akron, Ohio	26,632	14,837	11,795
Buffalo, N. Y.[3]	244,873	221,118	23,755
Chicago, Ill.[4]	751,015	236,346	514,669
Cleveland, Ohio	305,821	6,367	299,454
Columbus, Ohio[4]	26,040	22,750	3,290
Dayton, Ohio	22,363	4,609	17,754
Denver, Colo.	17,556	9,525	8,031
Des Moines, Iowa[4]	9,858	2,875	6,983
Detroit, Mich.[5]	546,717	529,034	17,683

(Footnotes in next column at end of table.)

[4] Reports on number of meals served to homeless or transient persons not received from one or more important agencies in this city.
[5] One agency reports that many transients received assistance in cash rather than in meals or lodgings.

TABLES III AND V.—*Expenditures for family relief during October, 1931, by public departments and by private agencies in 28 cities of 100,000 or more population*—Continued

Cities of 100,000 or more population	Relief expenditures		
	Total	By public departments	By private agencies
Grand Rapids, Mich	$71,533	$69,749	$1,784
Hartford, Conn	102,157	86,140	16,017
Kansas City, Mo.[4]	54,250	6,575	47,675
Knoxville, Tenn.[5]	4,899		4,899
Louisville, Ky.[4]	18,866	2,098	16,768
Lowell, Mass.	28,564	23,894	4,670
Minneapolis, Minn.	86,289	45,015	41,274
Newark, N. J.	133,561	111,823	21,738
New Haven, Conn.	23,651	13,822	9,829
New Orleans, La.[4]	17,880		17,880
Omaha, Nebr.	10,124	2,142	7,982
San Francisco, Calif.[7]	97,124		97,124
South Bend, Ind.	27,521	24,491	3,030
Springfield, Mass.	73,428	67,556	5,872
St. Louis, Mo.	98,524	14,650	83,874
St. Paul, Minn.	29,014	15,427	13,587
Tacoma, Wash.	10,517	5,334	5,183
Washington, D. C.[4]	21,065		21,065
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[4]	49,172	48,449	723

[1] Metropolitan areas, not limited to city proper.
[2] May include public funds expended by private agencies.
[3] Does not include expenditures for relief under the old age aid law which became effective in New York State, Jan. 1, 1931.
[4] Reports on expenditures for relief not received from one or more important agencie in this city.
[5] Amount shown includes expenditures for relief in Hamtramck and Highland Park.
[6] Amount shown includes expenditures from public funds for "made work."
[7] Expenditures for relief under the blind aid and old age aid laws not included.

TABLE XV.—*Number of meals served by agencies for the temporary care of homeless or transient persons during October, 1931, in 28 cities[1] of 100,000 or more population*

Cities of 100,000 or more population:	Number of meals
Total, 28 cities	648,681
Akron, Ohio	1,281
Albany, N. Y.	5,751
Birmingham, Ala.	3,253
Bridgeport, Conn.	4,048
Buffalo, N. Y.	57,987
Cincinnati, Ohio	7,540
Cleveland, Ohio	49,168
Columbus, Ohio[2]	9,088
Dayton, Ohio	3,384
Detroit, Mich.[3]	26,154
Grand Rapids, Mich.	16,297
Harrisburg, Pa.	9,590
Kansas City, Mo.	22,328
Knoxville, Tenn.	2,598
Long Beach, Calif.	949
Louisville, Ky.	2,428
Lowell, Mass.	80
Minneapolis, Minn.	146,080
New Orleans, La.	11,683
Newark, N. J.[3]	16,079
Omaha, Nebr.	3,112
Richmond, Va.	3,975
San Antonio, Tex.[3]	215
San Francisco, Calif.	163,385
St. Louis, Mo.	51,132
St. Paul, Minn.	10,237
Tacoma, Wash.	17,553
Utica, N. Y.	3,306

SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE XV.—*Per cent of change in number of meals served by agencies for the temporary shelter of homeless or transient persons from September to October, 1931, in 28 cities[1] of 100,000 or more population*

Akron, Ohio	28.6
Albany, N. Y.	549.1
Birmingham, Ala.	20.0
Bridgeport, Conn.	17.0
Buffalo, N. Y.	17.3
Cincinnati, Ohio	9.5
Cleveland, Ohio	30.6
Columbus, Ohio	3.3
Dayton, Ohio	33.9
Detroit, Mich.	117.4
Grand Rapids, Mich.	18.5
Harrisburg, Pa.	45.1

[1] Metropolitan areas, not limited to city proper.
[2] Reports on number of meals served to homeless or transient persons not received from one or more important agencies in this city.
[3] One agency reports that many transients received assistance in cash rather than in meals or lodgings.



Kansas City, Mo	35.1
Knoxville, Tenn	39.7
Long Beach, Calif	15.5
Louisville, Ky	54.5
Lowell, Mass	40.4
Minneapolis, Minn	31.2
New Orleans, La	9.3
Newark, N. J	16.9
Omaha, Nebr	13.8
Richmond, Va	32.7
San Antonio, Tex	27.2
San Francisco, Calif	683.6
St. Louis, Mo	40.7
St. Paul, Minn	26.6
Tacoma, Wash	30.2
Utica, N. Y	22.9

TABLE XVI.—*Number of meals served by agencies for the temporary shelter of homeless or transient persons during October, 1931, in 34 cities[1] of 50,000, to 100,000 population*

Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 population:	Number of meals
Total, 34 cities	64,407
Altoona, Pa	252
Asheville, N. C	633
Bethlehem, Pa	144
Brockton, Mass	1,832
Charleston, S. C	342
Charlotte, N. C	3,744
Chester, Pa	13,920
Greensboro, N. C	1,768
Holyoke, Mass	77
Huntington, W. Va	687
Kenosha, Wis	15
Lancaster, Pa	6,892
Lawrence, Mass	84
Little Rock, Ark	985
Mobile, Ala	1,158
New Britain, Conn	444
Niagara Falls, N. Y	379
Pasadena, Calif	6,720
Pawtucket, R. I	56
Pontiac, Mich	123
Port Arthur, Tex	250
Portland, Me	377
Racine, Wis	215
Roanoke, Va	2,073
Rockford, Ill	9,224
Sacramento, Calif	15,631
Sharon, Pa	250
Shreveport, La	3,461
Sioux City, Iowa	164
Springfield, Ill	4,361
Terre Haute, Ind	3,970
Topeka, Kans	772
Winston-Salem, N. C	1,299
York, Pa	2,105

SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE XVI.—*Per cent of change in number of meals served by agencies for the temporary shelter of homeless or transient persons from September to October, 1931, in 34 cities[1] of 50,000 to 100,000 population*

Altoona, Pa	127.0
Asheville, N. C	21.0
Bethlehem, Pa	63.6
Brockton, Mass	1.7
Charleston, S. C	−7.3
Charlotte, N. C	30.4
Chester, Pa	32.8
Greensboro, N. C	30.8
Holyoke, Mass	51.0
Huntington, W. Va	13.2
Kenosha, Wis	−11.8
Lancaster, Pa	7.0
Lawrence, Mass	−1.2
Little Rock, Ark	−27.7
Mobile, Ala	167.4
New Britain, Conn	26.9
Niagara Falls, N. Y	117.8
Pasadena, Calif	83.2
Pawtucket, R. I	60.0
Pontiac, Mich	66.2
Port Arthur, Tex	3.7
Portland, Me	56.4
Racine, Wis	(2)
Roanoke, Va	11.2
Rockford, Ill	61.7
Sacramento, Calif	183.5
Sharon, Pa	41.2
Shreveport, La	282.0
Sioux City, Iowa	80.2
Springfield, Ill	92.5
Terre Haute, Ind	127.4
Topeka, Kans	52.6
Winston-Salem, N. C	78.4
York, Pa	172.7

[1] Metropolitan areas, not limited to city proper.
[2] No change.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, I trust you will permit me to turn to another branch of the subject which was mentioned by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] and has been referred to since, but has not been in any full way considered by the Senate. Perhaps, however, before I do so reference should be made, as we look back on the facts brought together for the consideration of the Senate, to one feature of the problem for meeting relief needs which may be overlooked.

We are face to face with the question whether it is wise at this time to depend on voluntary contributions, notwithstanding the fact that this country from the beginning has never relied on such voluntary contributions, or whether we must in the long run rely on funds contributed by the taxpayers. I want nothing that I shall say to be taken as in the slightest respect derogatory to the magnificent generosity which characterizes the American people with respect to their voluntary response to relief needs, but those who believe we should rely wholly upon voluntary contributions should be reminded that it is not always in accordance with the dignity of government and with the highest standards of this country to follow the methods which must too often be used in raising large private funds. For example, is anything gained for public morale, is anything contributed to the good will of the world, when we must move our fellow citizens in the direction of generosity by such advertisements as the following, which appeared in this country in connection with the 1931 program of the President's Unemployment Commission? This is an advertisement which ought to be read into the RECORD for permanent reference:

TO-NIGHT SAY THIS TO YOUR WIFE, THEN LOOK INTO HER EYES

"I gave a lot more than we had planned. Are you angry?"

If you should tell her that you merely "contributed"—that you gave no more than you really felt obliged to—her eyes will tell you nothing. But deep down in her woman's heart she will feel just a little disappointed, a tiny bit ashamed.

But to-night confess to her that you have dug into the very bottom of your pocket; that you gave perhaps a little more than you could afford; that you opened not just your purse but your heart as well.

In her eyes you'll see neither reproach nor anger. Trust her to understand. Trust her to appreciate the generous spirit, the good fellowship, and manly sympathy which prompted you to help give unhappy people the courage to face the coming winter with their heads held high with faith and hope.

It is true the world respects the man who lives within his income. But the world adores the man who gives beyond his income.

No; when you tell her that you have given somewhat more than you had planned you will see no censure in her eyes. But love!

THE PRESIDENT'S ORGANIZATION ON UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF,
WALTER S. GIFFORD, *Director*.
COMMITTEE ON MOBILIZATION OF RELIEF RESOURCES,
OWEN D. YOUNG, *Chairman*.

Mr. President, that is relief by propaganda. We are here asking relief in accordance with the soundest social service standards this country may establish.

I turn now for a very brief time to a discussion of certain constitutional limitations affecting State and local appropriations for relief funds. This subject has an important bearing on proposals to make loans to the several States and to various municipalities. Some reference was made to the problem early in the debate. Its importance has been accentuated by the submission of a proposed substitute for the bill now before the Senate.

In response to my request for information in this field the Secretary of Labor transmitted a memorandum on what is termed "a preliminary review of constitutional limitations affecting State and local relief funds." It was prepared by two members of the bar, Mr. Heisterman and Miss Keener, both graduate lawyers, Mr. Heisterman having practiced at the bar for a considerable time. It discusses, among other things, the constitutional limitations on direct State or local aid to individuals, corporations, or associations, and the constitutional limitations on incurring indebtedness by States

and their local communities; also certain court decisions on the constitutional limitations against extending aid or credit to individuals.

It will suffice for my purposes to say briefly that in certain States of the Union, some 13 in number, it appears that there are definite limitations on State aid to individuals. Those States are Arizona, California, Colorado, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wyoming. The memorandum gives the appropriate references to the constitutions of those different States. In six States, including Colorado, the limitations on State aid to individuals are reported as being absolute. Our Colorado constitutional clause reads as follows in this field:

No appropriation shall be made for charitable, industrial, educational, or benevolent purposes to any person, corporation, or community not under the absolute control of the State.

Perhaps a more important part of the discussion for our purposes relates to the constitutional limitations on incurring indebtedness by States and their local units. It may be of interest to Members of the Senate to know that in most of the States their constitutions expressly prohibit the State from granting its credit to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation. Some of the States also prohibit the legislature from authorizing local communities so to extend their credit.

In 34 of the States of the Union, beginning with Alabama and including Kentucky, Louisiana, Pennsylvania—I cite these merely as illustrations—and ending with Wisconsin, credit may not be lent or extended, if the constitutional clauses are interpreted according to their purport, to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] indicated the other day that in order for that State to borrow money from the Federal Government it would be necessary to amend the constitution of Wisconsin, and that process would take approximately six years.

In 17 of the States to which I have referred the constitutions also, according to this memorandum, either expressly forbid any county or other local community to give, lend, or extend its credit to any individual, association, or corporation, or expressly forbid the legislature to authorize such action.

Mr. President, I think it will be serviceable to the Senate if this memorandum in full may be printed at the close of my remarks as an exhibit.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit B.)

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, I now come particularly to the bill before the Senate. Doubtless before I conclude my remarks there should be some reference made to the separate sections of the measure, and I shall endeavor quickly to summarize the sections.

Section 1 of the bill is the enacting clause and declares the policy of cooperation between the Federal Government and the several States.

Section 2 authorizes an appropriation of $375,000,000.

Section 3 provides for general Federal administration. It creates the Federal Emergency Relief Board, to consist of the Chief of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, the director of extension work in the Department of Agriculture, the Chief of the Vocational Rehabilitation Service of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and two members to be appointed by the President. It should be said in connection with the designated officials who are now serving the Government that they have had a very substantial experience in dealing with Federal aid acts in various parts of the country and are peculiarly fitted without additional expense to do the sort of work designed under the pending bill.

The section provides that the board may elect its own chairman. Its existence is terminated two years after the date of enactment of the act, and all moneys then held by it are to be covered into the Treasury. The general administrative authority is given to the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, subject to the supervision of the board. No new administrative machinery is set up.

Section 4 provides that 40 per cent of the amounts appropriated are to be apportioned among the several States on the population basis, and it is provided that payments made in any calendar year to the State from this apportionment shall not be in excess of two-thirds of the amounts appropriated within the State. The balance of the funds are available for administrative expenses and as a reserve fund to be apportioned to the States on the basis of need.

Paragraph C of section 4 makes it possible for the unexpended apportionment to any State to revert to the reserve fund and not remain "frozen" permanently if the State can not qualify or does not need the fund.

Paragraph D allocates $350,000 for Federal administration.

Paragraph E authorizes an immediate payment of $5,000, if necessary, for any State to prepare the essential information.

Section 5 indicates the State administrative plan. It provides that a State, through its legislative authority, or by the governor if the legislature is not in session, shall designate or create an agency to cooperate with the board. It specifies that in any State having a State department of welfare or charities such department shall administer the provisions of the act, although it permits States which have set up by law emergency organizations for the administration of relief to designate such organizations.

Section 6 outlines the procedure and requirements for States to follow in order to receive the benefits of the act. An estimate of the funds appropriated and actually expended for emergency relief by public and private agencies in the States for the years 1929, 1930, and 1931 and estimates of the amounts necessary to meet the emergency relief needs of 1932 and 1933 must be submitted. Adequate State administrative personnel must be assured. The outline of plans to be developed locally must include provision for migrant persons—the very subject to which I referred a moment ago.

After confirming the reports of the State, if the plans are "reasonably appropriate and adequate" to carry out the provisions of the act, they must be approved by the board.

Section 7 provides another further check upon the portion of the Federal funds to be allocated on the basis of population. The board may not certify to the State payment of more than 40 per cent of the difference between the estimated emergency relief expenditures for the calendar year 1929 and the needs of the State for 1932 or 1933, as the case may be.

Section 8 provides for certification to the Secretary of the Treasury of the amount of moneys apportioned to the State on the basis of population.

Section 9 provides for certification to the Secretary of the Treasury of certain essential information showing that the States have complied with the terms of the act and are eligible to payment.

Section 10 provides that needy States may be given funds from the reserve fund.

Paragraph B authorizes the Federal Government to make special provision for migratory persons and their families.

Section 11 contains the provision customary in Federal aid acts providing that certifications may be revoked if the Federal moneys have been improperly expended.

Section 12 defines the words "emergency relief."

Section 13 contains a final statement of policy in respect to State autonomy.

Perhaps that section should be read. It is as follows:

SEC. 13. This act shall be construed as intending to secure to the several States control of the administration of this act within their respective territorial limits, subject only to the provisions and purposes of this act.

Mr. President, it may be of interest, as a part of the permanent RECORD, to recite in this connection that a com-

mittee appointed to deal with methods of administration of the Social Work Conference on Federal Action in New York City, which considered the measure before us and the preceding bills which were combined to produce the measure now pending, definitely reported certain conclusions concerning the wisdom of the proposed legislation. The substance of the conclusions reached by that committee, with the permission of the Senate, will be added at this point, as part of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, permission is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION, NOVEMBER, 1931

I. We believe that the principle of matching Federal funds with State funds should be recognized, but interpreted in a flexible manner. The need in the several States, and their ability to match funds, will vary greatly, and the object of the Federal Government should be to apply the bulk of the funds where the need is greatest.

We therefore recommend:

(a) A small preliminary outright grant to each State which desires to participate, to enable it promptly to assemble information as to the extent of unmet need within its borders.

(b) A secondary grant to be matched equally by State funds, for the purpose of setting up administrative machinery within the State.

We would strongly urge that any appropriation of public funds for relief purposes carry with it the provision that part of the fund must be used for administrative and supervisory purposes.

(c) Further grants for relief purposes, upon a flexible basis * * *. The acceptance of Federal funds by the States should carry with it the acknowledgment that the Federal administrative agency can lay down certain uniform standards which shall be followed within the several States in the administration of the funds.

II. As a corollary to the foregoing we believe that the Federal authority should have all its dealings on the question of the allocation of relief directly with State governments. It should not itself attempt to disburse relief locally or delegate the task to any single nation-wide agency.

We would also urge that the already-existing channels established by State and local governments for the distribution of relief be used. Latitude would have to be allowed to States having no strong departments of public welfare or other central body charged with welfare responsibility to set up an emergency central administration, but the use of such State departments as the administrative authority within the State should be insisted upon wherever possible.

In making this statement of opinion, we recognize the danger that some State governments may be unaware of the extent of the distress in their territory. They are, however, one degree more responsible for the consequences if Federal aid which was available was not sought. Any governor may convene a special session of his legislature to consider a proposal of such importance as unemployment relief; and we believe that no serious delay will be introduced by proceeding in an orderly manner, dealing with 48 sovereign States instead of more than 3,000 counties and an indefinite number of municipalities.

III. We believe that the initiative in participating in Federal aid should be taken by the several States, and that the governor of the State should prefer the request either directly or through such representatives as he may appoint. In order to protect a governor against undue pressure from unofficial bodies of citizens within his State, the Federal authority should demand of him such information to be submitted with the application as will necessitate his calling into consultation the heads of the appropriate State departments, such as the department of public welfare, the attorney general, and the departments involved in taxation and budget making. Representatives of organized groups having special knowledge of conditions such, for instance, as a State conference of social work, or a State league of municipalities, should also be called into consultation by the governor.

IV. The agency set up by the Federal Government to handle such an appropriation would have, as we see it, two main functions:

(a) Allocation of funds. This is a complicated process which will raise many controversial issues. Determination of the amount to be allocated to each State will involve consideration of such matters as:

1. The extent of the relief needs in the State.

2. The adequacy of existing public and private resources to meet these needs.

3. The ability of the State and local governmental units to increase their public appropriations. This will frequently raise questions as to State and local taxing power, borrowing capacity, and legal and other limitations thereon, requiring the knowledge of experts in problems of taxation and government.

4. Fixing the amount of the discretionary allocation on the basis of the difference between the total approximate need and the total of actual and potential resources as determined in two and three above. (Appendix No. 2.)

We, * * *, favor the creation of a small board of allocation, limited to a term of not more than two years, charged with such functions as are described above, and containing qualified social workers among the groups to be represented. For the reasons given below, we believe that the Director of the Children's Bureau of the Federal Department of Labor should be named as the executive officer of this board.

(b) Administration of funds: This should be a supervisory function, consisting in the setting up of standards for the ultimate distribution of the funds through State and local channels, of stimulation toward the use of approved methods, and trained personnel where procurable, and of field supervision to make sure that the conditions of State participation are understood and adhered to. This entire function should, in our judgment, be delegated by the central Federal agency to that arm of the Federal Government best fitted to undertake it. We believe this to be the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This bureau has had numerous and close contacts with State and local departments of public welfare, in connection with mothers' aid and in its local surveys. Although it has hitherto had no direct responsibility in the field of general public welfare, it has supervised the administration of combined Federal-State funds in another field. Its personnel consists of highly trained and skilled social workers. The legislation establishing a Federal-aid fund should contain a special appropriation, according to a predetermined budget, for the expenses involved, both in allocation and in supervision.

V. In administering a Federal relief fund, we should like to point out that a serious problem will arise in regard to the relief of persons who have no legal settlement. An unknown number of homeless men are, as is well known, constantly on the move from job to job. Seasonal industries depend upon these men turning up when and where needed; but when there is no work, and they become destitute, local communities are reluctant to assume any responsibility for their relief.

To this must be added a comparatively new problem—that of the hitch hiker and automobile migrant, who may or may not have lost his legal residence. Entire families are frequently found who have had no settled habitation for years, the children growing up neglected and without schooling. Particularly this winter have our Southern States been flooded by non-resident families from the North seeking work and a warmer climate. Local communities have no resources for dealing with such problems, and no State has developed an adequate program. These unfortunates are being passed on from town to town and State to State, turned back from State borders, sometimes, by intimidation, nowhere wanted and nowhere finding an abiding place.

Such persons, though citizens of no community, are citizens of the United States and can not be left out of the reckoning when it comes to Federal relief. As an inducement to local communities to care for them wherever found, we suggest that provision be made by which States may receive grants, over and above those given them for their own residents, in reimbursement for moneys expended by them for the care of persons for whom no legal settlement can be discovered. (Appendix No. 3.)

VI. Owing to the increasing popularity of work relief, the several States participating will doubtless wish to be free to use part or all of the Federal funds allotted to them for relief in the form of wages. We do not believe that the experience of the past winter justifies the concentration of the major portion of the funds upon work relief. Wages can not readily be adjusted to size of family and other income, as can relief in the home. Men on work relief have only half their time free to pick up other work. For these and other reasons, it has been found that a work-relief program is nearly twice as expensive as home relief for the same number of families. It is true that the community profits by the work accomplished and that most people prefer to earn their relief instead of receiving it as an outright gift; but if funds are limited and the need great, however, speed and economy suggest that direct relief should be preferred to work relief. We would, therefore, recommend that not over one-third of the funds allowed to a State be put into work-relief projects. (Appendix No. 4.)

Respectfully submitted.

JOANNA C. COLCORD, *Chairman*,
FRANK BANE,
ALLEN T. BURNS,
C. C. CARSTENS,
WALTER M. WEST,
Subcommittee on Administration.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, I had expected, following the summary of the bill just given, to enumerate certain outstanding reasons for supporting it. I find, however, that this task has been done better, certainly more concisely, by a gifted educator in Southern California, whose enumeration of the reasons for supporting the measure has just come into my hands. I venture to quote his clear analysis and statement of reasons in support of the bill. They are:

1. Federal aid is in accord with policies already definitely established. Therefore, no real innovation is involved.

The system of Federal aid is exemplified by the grant to the States of section 16 of every township organized under the Fed-

eral land system. Furthermore, in 1862 the Morrill land grant law resulted in definite grants to agricultural colleges. However, a new policy was begun in 1911. This provided for the sharing of funds for particular State enterprises and placed definite responsibility on each State accepting the Federal plan. The Federal Government made appropriations only on condition that the State make similar appropriations and carry out the subject to approval by an appropriate Federal board. Accordingly, only the States that attempted self-help were benefited. Such procedure is in accord with sound principles of philanthropy. Among the more important Federal measures involving aid to the States are the following:

Forest-fire prevention, 1911; Smith-Lever agricultural extension, 1914; good roads law, 1916; Smith-Hughes or vocational education law, 1917; Chamberlain-Kahn law, 1918; industrial rehabilitation law, 1920; Federal highway law, 1921; Sheppard-Towner or maternity and infancy law, 1921; protection of forest lands, 1924.

These laws are evidence that the principle of Federal aid is well accepted.

2. The emergency need of to-day is a national crisis depending on nation-wide conditions, and therefore requires the application of a nation-wide program.

No sane man would contend that the collapse of the auto industry in Detroit was chargeable against Detroit or even against Michigan. Everyone knows that it is due to nation-wide incapacity to buy. The textile industry of Fall River, Lowell, Philadelphia, and other cities is suffering not because of the people of those cities, or of the States in which the cities are located but because of nation-wide conditions. The distress witnessed by the orange and grape industries can not be blamed on California.

American industry is national in its scope and activities. Success and failure depend not on local markets but on the purchasing power and on the conditions of the people throughout the country. To require that needs be met by local communities or by States regardless of their capacity to deal with general situations is gross negligence, inhumanity, and a dark blot on our national honor.

3. Prevention and cure are not possible until the political organization capable of developing a constructive program also shares the responsibility for the relief of undesirable conditions. It is unscientific to place the entire burden of relief on a group that is not responsible for conditions and that is unable to develop an adequate preventive program. Therefore the Federal Government should assist in handling the emergency relief problem.

4. The local burden has become too great and Federal aid is needed. The reports from 130 cities show that local relief funds have increased about 14.3 per cent over last year, but the needs of our largest cities have risen to a figure varying from 319 to 613 per cent more than the amounts needed in 1929. The jobless in New York are reported as totaling 800,000 persons. In Philadelphia nearly one-half of the wage-earning population is out of work. It is estimated that by March 150,000 Chicago families will be destitute if Federal relief is not made available. Mr. Allen T. Burns, director of the American Association of Community Chests, formerly opposed to Federal aid, is now supporting it. He has said that the amounts needed are four times as great as those which the community chests can collect.

Furthermore local communities are limited in their resources; neither county or city can increase their debts beyond certain proportions. Furthermore the people can not afford to, or will not, vote to issue more bonds. The cost of local government has become prohibitive, and popular support of measures for the adequate care of the distressed has become impossible. Local public expenditures in 1928 aggregated $6,800,000,000, or $57 per capita.

5. State aid is financially very difficult and at times impossible.

Gross expenditures by the States have increased from $77,000,000 in 1890 to $1,800,000,000 in 1928, or an increase of 1,240 per cent. Even now the States are unable to care properly for the various handicapped and delinquent groups for which State care has become the accepted plan. In addition numerous States are handicapped by constitutional prohibitions.

6. The Federal Government possesses wide taxing powers and is able to obtain funds when the lesser political jurisdiction must necessarily fail.

7. Federal aid would distribute the burden among the States and communities able to bear the burden.

The amount of tax contributed by a State is no indication of its basic wealth. In fact the State paying the largest amount of internal revenue stands tenth when measured from the standpoint of national resources and basic wealth.

8. The problem in most cases can not be locally met without Federal aid. In Los Angeles, for example, the number unemployed, variously estimated as from 150,000 to 200,000, can not be given sufficient relief to prevent the degradation of thousands of our citizens. The niggardly sums allotted by the county welfare department and the desperate efforts of the private philanthropies to make the money reach are proof of the inability of our community to meet the present problem of dependency. Nor is it right that it should unless it is responsible for the conditions themselves.

9. Senate bill 3045 preserves the principle of local administration and would promote greater efficiency in the administration of local and State relief.

Grants would be made only on conditions laid down by the Federal board. This board is authorized to establish minimum standards of administration and service. As a consequence improved technique would be adopted by the local relief-giving agencies.

10. The bill provides for the flexibility needed in the administration of a relief program. The bulk of the moneys can only be used according to need, and the Children's Bureau, the most skillful of such Federal agencies, is charged with supervisory functions, under the direction of the emergency board.

11. The bill would make unnecessary the vicarious sacrifice of helpless communities to political principles that are out of harmony with adequate measures for the handling of current economic and social needs. It is idle to argue that the Federal Government can assist in the building of roads, in an educational program for the development of economic efficiency, in a campaign to eliminate the fruit fly, the corn borer, the boll weevil, and even the plague-bearing rat; but it must not attempt to prevent the starvation of luckless men, women, and children, whose political allegiance is primarily not to States, not to counties, or to cities, but first, last, and always to the American flag and to the Nation whose spirit that flag embodies. Since when may the Federal Government protect the wealth and the economic interests of the various States and not protect the lives and health of its citizens?

Mr. President, I have spoken at some length without expressing a tithe of what is in my mind and spirit. I shall, however, close with but one further word. I shall end, as I began, with some reference to certain landmarks of the past.

There is one that touches all hearts. It is written that "Christ Himself was poor"—a statement which not only warns the world of its trusteeship, but as well reminds us of the leadership the world would have lost had it practiced ruthlessness—the massacre of the innocents—toward its less fortunate.

Garfield, the towpath boy; Lincoln, the rail-splitter; Andrew Jackson, the son of landless immigrants, and other American leaders too numerous to mention, prove again and again that the roots of genius, unspoiled by privilege, are nourished best in the soil of average and equal humanity.

America must guard the welfare of those citizens who in the long run guard America. A heedless attitude in our new age of consolidated wealth and economically dependent millions of human beings is impossibly cruel and recklessly self-destructive.

The economic cyclone which for three successive winters has blown across the scarred face of America with undiminished force, and cumulative wreckage was not more personally summoned by its victims than fire, flood, earthquake, or plague. We owe to our self-respect, our civilized standards, and our national honor a rational attitude of generous understanding toward our stricken fellow men. Strengthened by that conception our country grew to greatness. No lesser vision can permanently save America.

Mr. President, I trust the Senate, on due consideration, will reject all unworthy amendments openly or clandestinely designed to kill the pending measure, and will finally approve the measure under discussion with all its essential features substantially unchanged. The measure, in my judgment, if promptly enacted and fairly administered, will add new luster to our country's name, and will confirm our finest traditions of self-government, equality, justice, and humanity.

EXHIBIT A

FEDERAL AID TO THE STATES—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL AID TO THE STATES OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Prepared by Austin F. Macdonald, University of Pennsylvania, chairman

FOREWORD

The committee on Federal aid to the States was appointed by the National Municipal League in 1927. The personnel, as shown below, is representative of the various groups interested in this important subject.

The preparation of the committee's report was intrusted to the chairman, Prof. Austin F. Macdonald, of the University of Pennsylvania, who made an exhaustive study of all phases of the system of Federal aid and who is to-day an outstanding authority on the subject. Although the report was prepared by the chairman, the other committee members have given advice and suggestions for certain minor corrections which are incorporated in this final draft.

Part I of the report summarizes the origin, development, and present extent of Federal aid to the States. Part II concisely discusses the Federal aid laws and appraises the manner in which they are administered. Part III is a critical estimate of the

Federal-aid system, with recommendations by the committee for needed improvements in administration by the Federal and State Governments.

The personnel of the committee which sponsors this report is as follows:

Austin F. Macdonald, chairman, University of Pennsylvania; H. J. Baker, State director of Agricultural Extension Work Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; Mrs. La Rue Brown, National League of Women Voters; Paul H. Douglas, University of Chicago; Thomas H. MacDonald, Chief, Bureau of Public Roads, United States Department of Agriculture; John N. Mackall, chairman State Road Commission, Maryland; John K. Norton, director of research, National Education Association; S. H. Thompson, president American Farm Bureau Federation; and James T. Young, University of Pennsylvania.

Part I. Introduction

The history of the present Federal-aid policy dates from 1911. In that year Congress passed a statute, popularly known as the Weeks Act, which contained an appropriation of $200,000 "to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with any State or group of States, when requested to do so, in protection from fire of the forested watersheds of navigable streams." (36 Stat. L. 961.)

There was nothing new or unusual about the payment of Federal funds to the States. For more than a century Congress had been busily engaged in granting to the States millions of acres of Federal domain and millions of dollars of Federal money. (Cf. Orfield, M. N., Federal Land Grants to the States, and Keith and Bagley, The Nation and the Schools.) Nor was it surprising that the act should specify the purpose for which the subsidy was to be used. Nearly all the earlier grants carried with them the stipulation that they must be used for schools or roads, or for some other definite purpose. (An act of Congress of 1802 granted land to Ohio for the use of schools. Cf. 2 Stat. L. 173.) In fact, when Congress authorized Federal subsidies to the States for the establishment of State agricultural colleges and agricultural experiment stations, it even went so far as to require annual reports from the colleges and stations established under the several acts. (12 Stat. L. 503; 14 Stat. L. 208; 24 Stat. L. 440; 25 Stat. L. 176; 26 Stat. L. 417; 34 Stat. L. 63, 1256, 1281.)

PROVISIONS OF THE WEEKS ACT

But the Weeks Act was unique in that it provided for Federal inspection of State activities, and made continuance of Federal aid dependent upon Federal approval of State plans. In other words, it purchased for the Federal Government a measure of control over matters which had commonly been regarded as affairs of purely State concern ever since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Earlier subsidy laws had directed in general terms that the grants be used for highways or for schools, but they had made no attempt to specify the kinds of highways or the types of schools. Still more significant, they had established no medium through which the Federal Government could learn whether the States were keeping faith. Under their provisions some States might choose to squander their allotments (many States did squander their allotments. In 1919 the State treasurer of Wisconsin declared: "If the State of Wisconsin had not practically given away its valuable school lands years ago, we would not have to raise any school taxes for generations to come. In years gone by the State sold hundreds of thousands of acres of fine timber lands for a mere song. Had that timber been preserved * * * it would now maintain the schools of the State for generations to come without raising 1 cent for school purposes by taxation." (Keith and Bagley, op. cit. pp. 55–61.) Instances of this sort might be multiplied ad nauseam), while other States might use their portions with honesty and foresight; but in any event Federal funds would continue to descend, with almost divine beneficence, upon the just and the unjust alike.

The act of 1911 set up a new standard. The Federal grant for fire protection, though expended by State officials, must be spent by them subject to Federal approval. Their fire prevention plans must be satisfactory to the Federal Forest Service. Equally significant, every allotment received from the Federal Treasury must be matched dollar for dollar by State funds. And even the manner of spending these State appropriations must meet the approval of Federal officials. The Weeks law thus contained in embryonic form the essential features of the present subsidy system—all details of administration in State hands, subject to Federal approval, and State matching of Federal funds.

FEATURES OF THE SUBSIDY SYSTEM

It was not long before the principles of the 1911 law were embodied in other statutes. In 1914 Congress passed an act providing for a subsidy of several million dollars to stimulate agricultural extension work, and during the following seven years six other Federal-aid measures were enacted into law. (One of them, the Chamberlin-Kahn Act, providing for the control of venereal disease, was essentially a war-time measure, and work under it has since been discontinued.) All these acts contain certain features in common—features which have now become characteristic of the American subsidy system. They provide for the payment of money from the Federal Treasury to the States. This money is apportioned, generally speaking, on the basis of population. (The forest fire-prevention subsidy is an exception. Population is only one of three bases used in determining the apportionment of funds for highway construction.)

Three important conditions are attached to every one of these newer Federal-aid laws. The first condition imposed is that a State, before receiving Federal funds, must formally accept the Federal offer. Acceptance implies that it will do its share to make the work a success. It involves the establishment of a cooperating State agency. If Federal bureaus are to cooperate with State governments, they must have State agencies with which to do their cooperating.

The second stipulation is that a dollar of State funds must be appropriated for every dollar of Federal funds received. The appropriation of State money is a prima facie evidence of good faith; it is concrete evidence that the State is interested in the work, and is willing to do something more than spend the Federal allotment. As a matter of fact, most States do considerably better than match the Federal subsidy; frequently the State appropriation is two or three times as large as the Federal grant.

The third condition is by far the most important. It is that State plans must be approved by Federal officials, and that State and Federal money alike must be spent under Federal supervision. The initiative remains in State hands. State officials prepare their budgets, formulate their policies, outline their plans. State officials choose their subordinates, direct the actual work, spend the money. But State budgets, policies, and plans must be approved by the Federal Government. State standards must be acceptable to Federal officials. State activity must produce results.

ACCEPTANCE OPTIONAL WITH STATES

There is no suggestion of compulsion in all this. A State must establish a board of vocational education, a highway department, or the like, only if it wishes to secure its share of the Federal grant. Its plans must conform to Federal standards only if it desires to obtain Federal money. It is entirely free to refuse the Federal offer and to carry on its own program without Federal inspections or Federal advice. Or it may make no provision whatever for vocational education or highway construction, as it sees fit. But in order to become eligible for the Federal allotment it must formulate satisfactory plans and must execute them in a satisfactory manner.

The Federal offer is in no sense a club. It is an inducement intended to secure a reasonable measure of uniformity and reasonable minimum standards without taking from the States the control of their own affairs. In fact, it is so powerful an inducement that scarcely a State can resist it. All the States accept the Federal subsidy for vocational education, for highways, for agricultural extension work. Only one refuses its National Guard allotment. Forty have adopted approved programs of civilian rehabilitation and 45 are cooperating with the Federal Government in child hygiene work. The number of States qualifying for the forest fire-prevention subsidy is limited, of course, by the number of States having forests and forest-fire problems. Without attempting coercion in any way, the Federal Government has found a means of inducing virtually all the States to pay respectful attention to its suggestions.

In 1912, the first year of cooperation with the States under the Weeks law, the total amount of Federal funds paid to the State governments was a trifle more than $8,000,000. Most of this money—99 per cent of it, in fact—went for purposes over which the Federal Government exercised virtually no control. State agricultural colleges and agricultural experiment stations were large beneficiaries. Large sums were paid to the States from the sale of Federal lands within their borders. The State militia organizations were supported in considerable part with Federal money. And these grants were made without any real attempt to insure their proper use. The States were left to their own devices.

IMPROVED STANDARDS OF ADMINISTRATION

But the Weeks law established an important precedent. It pointed the way to improved standards and more satisfactory results. Congress began to realize the possibilities inherent in a system of Federal aid. Since Federal money was to be paid to the States, the Federal Government might well ask something in return. It might require the States to establish proper standards and it might demand the right to satisfy itself that these standards were maintained.

THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL SUBSIDY

Since 1915 Federal subsidies to the States have grown by leaps and bounds. In 1915 the total of Federal payments was $10,000,000; by 1920 it was nearly $36,000,000. The next year it mounted to $90,000,000, an increase of 150 per cent within a period of 12 months. The 1927 Federal-aid payments amounted to $136,000,000. Compared with the $8,000,000 of 1912, the 1927 total seems large, indeed. But far more significant than the amount is the fact that 95 per cent is given to the States with definite conditions attached. Ninety-five per cent is paid to the States only after State work has met the approval of Federal inspectors.

The chart on the following page shows the growth of Federal aid, year by year, since 1912.

The largest subsidy is for highway construction. Nearly 60 per cent of all Federal aid is for this purpose. Twenty-three per cent is for arming and equipping the National Guard. No other subsidy takes as much as 5 per cent of the total. The table on the following page shows the distribution of Federal aid for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1927.

Federal-aid payments to the States, 1912–1927 [1]

1912	$8,149,478.21
1913	7,752,961.01
1914	10,533,660.78
1915	10,352,211.79
1916	12,645,489.02
1917	15,625,056.55
1918	22,805,680.12
1919	22,104,992.13
1920	35,923,706.48
1921	90,437,848.13
1922	128,366,639.95
1923	111,727,193.28
1924	128,067,312.27
1925	147,351,393.22
1926	141,614,101.05
1927	136,659,786.47

Federal-aid payments to the States for the fiscal year 1927

Support of agricultural colleges	$2,400,000.00
Support of experiment stations	2,400,000.00
Cooperative agricultural extension work	[2] 6,875,727.55
Vocational education	7,184,901.51
Vocational rehabilitation	880,263.00
Highways	81,371,013.03
National Guard	31,363,935.31
Forest-fire prevention	654,101.57
Distribution of nursery stock	71,194.61
Forestry extension work	46,241.64
Maternity and infancy hygiene	899,824.71
State fund under oil leasing act	2,498,689.58
State fund from sale of public lands	[2] 13,893.96
Total	136,659,786.47

Nor does this table tell the entire story. The States received thousands of acres of Federal domain during 1927. They were given a considerable amount of surplus war material to aid their highway departments in road building. They were paid small sums for the elimination of agricultural insect pests, the eradication of plant diseases, and the like, though the exact amount of these grants can not be determined with accuracy. So $136,000,000 is a conservative figure.

STATE RIGHTS AND FEDERAL AID

The Federal-aid movement, as it has evolved since 1911, is an attempt to combine the need for national standards with the desire for local autonomy. The importance of local self-government is widely recognized in the United States; it has been stressed for more than a century by nearly every President from Jefferson to Coolidge. The right of the States to control their own affairs is traditional. It is a right supported not only by a written Constitution but also by an omnipotent public opinion.

Yet time is making increasingly clear the fact that the States can not be left entirely to their own devices. Their interests are so closely interwoven, their dependence on one another is so great, that to-day every State has a very vital interest in what every other State is doing. Some years ago Prof. Gale Lowrie formulated the principle that governmental power should be as broad as the problems with which it must deal. When this criterion is applied to the field of State government, the limited sphere of State activity becomes apparent. Highway construction can not remain solely in State hands, for good roads are a matter of national concern. The equipment and training of State troops can not be intrusted entirely to the States, for those troops may at any time be needed to protect the Nation. The great forests are an important part of the Nation's wealth and their protection from fire can not be left entirely to State forestry departments. It is obvious, however, that we can not transfer complete control over our highways, our forests, our education, and a dozen other functions to Washington. While it is important to emphasize the Nation's interest in Missouri's highways, for example, it is also essential to remember that Missouri has a most vital interest in its own roads. The establishment of national standards is essential, but no less essential is the preservation of State autonomy, so that programs and policies may be varied to meet varying local needs.

The outstanding problem of American administration is to harmonize the conflicting interests of the Nation and of the States, to set up a national minimum of performance and yet to retain control primarily in the 48 Commonwealths. The subsidy program of the Federal Government offers a practical solution of that problem. It insures the recognition of local needs by placing responsibility in State hands. State officials formulate their own plans; State officials spend their own money and Federal money as well; State officials direct the actual work of road building, child hygiene, or whatever it may be, from start to finish.

[1] This chart is taken from Macdonald, Austin F., Federal Aid, p. 7, Crowell, 1928.

[2] 1926.

FEDERAL ENFORCEMENT OF STANDARDS

But all State plans, all State expenditures, all State work, must be approved by the Federal Government before Federal funds are paid to the States. And State programs that make provision for something less than the national minimum are certain to be rejected by the Federal authorities. The "national minimum" is a very intangible but very real thing. It applies to every part of the country, but its exact meaning varies from section to section. Highways financed in part with Federal funds, for example, must be properly designed. Satisfactory materials must be used in their construction. Those rules hold good whether the road is to be built across the Arizona desert or across a strip of New Jersey farm land. But it does not follow that the same materials must be used in both States. Nor is it at all likely that a highway designed for Arizona's needs will meet the requirements of Jersey's traffic. Obviously, the establishment of national standards does not mean the adoption of a policy of deadening uniformity, without regard for local conditions and local practices.

For more than half a century every attempt to impose restrictions upon the use of land or money granted by the Federal Government to the States has met with bitter opposition. Many States have squandered wantonly the proceeds from the sale of Federal lands turned over to them by various acts of Congress, though other States have prudently administered the funds thus obtained. When the famous $20,000,000 surplus of the Federal Government was distributed among the States in 1837 most of them wasted it on wildcat schemes or spent it for temporary needs. (Keith and Bagley, op. cit., pp. 55–61.) Yet there have always been some persons to defend the privilege of the States to squander or to hoard as they might see fit. Doughty champions of State sovereignty have long contested the right of the Federal Government to protect its gifts by imposing conditions that would guarantee their proper use.

The first attempt to safeguard a Federal subsidy was made in 1857, when Justin S. Morrill, a Representative from Vermont, introduced in the House a bill providing that a portion of the public lands be granted to the several States, the proceeds from the sale of these lands to be used for the establishment and maintenance of colleges devoted to agriculture and the mechanic arts. It must be admitted that the effort to protect Federal funds was most feeble. In return for lands worth millions of dollars the States were required only to establish agricultural colleges and to make annual reports through their governors on the progress of the institutions.

The bill contained no suggestion of Federal inspection or supervision. Yet its introduction was the occasion for a veritable storm of protest from the southern Members in both Houses of Congress. Senator Mason, of Virginia, expressed his opinion of the measure in no uncertain terms. "It is using the public lands as a means of controlling the policy of the State legislature," he said. "It is an unconstitutional robbery of the Treasury for the purpose of bribing the States. Suppose the bill was to appropriate eight or ten million dollars from the Treasury, for the purpose of building up agricultural colleges in the States, would honorable Senators who patronize this bill vote for the appropriation; and if they would not, why not? If they have the power to do it, and they believe it is expedient to do it, why would they not just as well take the money from the Treasury to build up agricultural colleges as to take public lands? * * * It requires no prophet, it requires none particularly conversant with the workings of any government, more especially this, to see that in a very short time the whole agricultural interests of the country will be taken out of the hands of the States and subjected to the action of Congress." (Congressional Globe, 35th Cong., 2d sess., p. 718.)

IS FEDERAL AID CONSTITUTIONAL?

Just as Senator Mason advanced the argument of unconstitutionality 70 years ago, so to-day there are some persons in public life who maintain that the present Federal-aid policy is a violation of the rights of the States. Speaking before the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce in the fall of 1925, Gov. Albert C. Ritchie, of Maryland, declared: "It simply can not be argued that the Federal Government has any right to use Federal funds as a means of acquiring a control over local State purposes, which under the Constitution is not granted to the Government but is reserved to the States. That under our present Constitution is simply indefensible."

The Supreme Court of the United States, however, is not in complete accord with the Governor of Maryland. Its opinion concerning the subsidy policy of the Federal Government, delivered in 1923, is difficult to reconcile with Governor Ritchie's views of 1925. "If Congress enacted [subsidy legislation] with the ulterior purpose of tempting [the States] to yield," said the court, "that purpose may be effectively frustrated by the simple expedient of not yielding." Yet Governor Ritchie and others still maintain that from a constitutional standpoint Federal aid "is simply indefensible." The question of constitutionality came before the courts in 1922, when one Harriet A. Frothingham, a resident of Massachusetts, brought suit to prevent the enforcement of the Sheppard-Towner Act. This law provides for Federal aid to the States in reducing maternal and infant mortality and in protecting the health of mothers and infants. When the suit reached the Supreme Court it was joined to a separate action by the State of Massachusetts, also contesting the constitutionality of the Sheppard-Towner Act, and the two cases were decided together.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY

Three main points were raised by the attorneys for Massachusetts. These contentions were:

"1. Federal aid (specifically, the grant for the protection of maternity and infancy) constitutes 'an effective means of inducing the States to yield a portion of their sovereign rights.' The effectiveness of the subsidy system as a means of securing a measure of supervision over State activities is evidenced by the fact that every State accepts some Federal aid, while most of the States accept every subsidy offered. In theory the States are quite free to reject any or all Federal proposals. But in practice no such freedom exists. State legislatures can not afford to ignore any possible source of revenue, for they are faced with the perplexing problem of preventing an increase in tax rates while they meet the demand for higher standards of service—better schools, better roads, better protection.

"2. 'The burden of the appropriations provided by this act and similar legislation falls unequally upon the several States, and rests largely upon the industrial States, such as Massachusetts.' It is clear that Federal revenues are derived chiefly from the wealthier States, from the States best able to bear the burden of Federal taxation. New Jersey's per capita tangible wealth is nearly double the per capita tangible wealth of New Mexico. ('Estimated national wealth,' a part of the Census Bureau's decennial report on wealth, public debt, and taxation, 1922.) The per capita incomes of the two States are in about the same ratio. (Leven, Maurice, Income in the Various States, National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1925.) It may reasonably be supposed, therefore, that New Jersey is contributing far more per person than New Mexico to the Federal Treasury, that fountain-head of all Federal aid. But under most of the subsidy laws New Jersey gets back from the Federal Government exactly the same amount per person as every other State, for population is the usual basis of apportionment. In other words, some States are receiving from the Federal Government less than they pay in, while others are receiving more. In Massachusetts, a wealthy industrial State, Federal aid is regarded by many as a losing proposition.

"It is quite obvious that the subsidy system results in a transference of wealth from the richer to the poorer States. The constitutional right of the Federal Government to transfer wealth in this manner was questioned by the State of Massachusetts and passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States in the cases under consideration. The wisdom of such a policy is still a properly debatable question, and will be discussed in another section of this report. (Cf. pp. 658–660.)

"3. Federal aid imposes upon Massachusetts, as well as upon other States, the 'illegal and unconstitutional option either to yield to the Federal Government a part of its reserved rights or lose the share which it would otherwise be entitled to receive of the moneys appropriated.' Massachusetts officials are sometimes taunted with the fact that although their legislature has seen fit to refuse the Federal child hygiene offer, yet it has accepted every other subsidy proffered by the Federal Government. Their reply is usually that Massachusetts possesses no real choice in the matter. True, it may accept Federal money or may refuse it. But in any event it must contribute to Federal revenues through the Federal taxes laid upon its citizens.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT DECISION

The Supreme Court dismissed the two cases for want of jurisdiction, pointing out that no justiciable issue was presented. It then proceeded, however, to make a number of highly significant statements which showed clearly the attitude of its members toward the subsidy system. These statements, though in the nature of obiter dicta, are fairly conclusive proof that no subsidy law framed after the fashion of the present statutes will be declared unconstitutional.

Speaking through Mr. Justice Sutherland (262 U. S. 447), the court first considered the contention of Massachusetts that the Sheppard-Towner Act was "an effective means of inducing the States to yield a portion of their sovereign rights." "Probably it would be sufficient," declared the court, "to point out that the powers of the States are not invaded, since the statute imposes no obligation, but simply extends an option which the State is free to accept or reject. But we do not rest here. * * * What burden is imposed upon the States, unequally or otherwise? Certainly there is none unless it be the burden of taxation, and that falls upon their inhabitants, who are within the taxing power of Congress as well as that of the State where they reside. Nor does the statute require the States to do or yield anything. If Congress enacted it with the ulterior purpose of tempting them to yield, that purpose may be effectively frustrated by the simple expedient of not yielding."

The second claim of Massachusetts, that the burden of the appropriations * * * rests largely upon the industrial States, "was obviously a misstatement. No burden was placed upon Massachusetts, since it did not accept the provisions of the act. A tax burden was placed upon its citizens by the act, and this is evidently what the State's attorneys had in mind." But as the Supreme Court pointed out, the citizens of Massachusetts are also citizens of the United States. If the burden of Federal taxation becomes unduly heavy, it is to the Federal Government that they must turn for relief and not to the State. "It can not be conceded that a State * * * may institute judicial proceedings to protect citizens of the United States from the operation of the statutes thereof. In that field it is the United States and not the State which represents them." The third contention was brushed aside as inconsequential.

THE RESULTS OF FEDERAL AID

With the question of constitutionality thus settled, the effects of Federal aid on State activities and State standards of performance may be given serious consideration. Has the subsidy system stimulated State work? Has it raised State standards? Has it occasioned unreasonable Federal interference in State affairs? Has it produced a reasonable degree of standardization and uniformity? Has standardization been carried to an unreasonable degree? These are some of the questions that must be answered by any person or group of persons attempting to evaluate Federal aid. (These questions are considered in greater detail in Macdonald, Austin F., Federal Aid.)

First, however, a clear picture is necessary of the subsidy system in actual operation. One must know just how a device works before attempting to judge its merits and defects. Part II of this report is therefore devoted to a description of the more important Federal aid laws and the manner in which they are administered. Part III contains a critical estimate of the system.

Part II. The subsidy system

FOREST-FIRE PREVENTION

The Weeks law of 1911, to which reference has already been made, limited Federal cooperation in fire-protection work to the forested watersheds of navigable streams. But in 1924 Congress passed a statute, popularly known as the Clarke-McNary Act, which authorized Federal aid for the protection from fire of all private or State forest lands. (43 Stat. L. 653.) As under other subsidy laws, the initiative rests with the State. It is quite free to ignore the Federal offer. But if it desires to secure its share of the Federal appropriation its first step is to frame a plan of fire protection. This plan must show the areas to be protected, the headquarters and approximate routes of patrolmen, and all other relevant facts. The actual or proposed organization of the State forestry bureau must be set forth in detail.

With this information at hand the United States Forest Service, which has been charged with the administration of the law, determines whether the State is prepared to make an honest effort to protect its forest lands from fire, and if satisfied it approves the State plan. The Forest Service has no single standard by which it gages the efficiency of State programs. Every plan must be considered in its relation to local needs, local customs, and even local politics. For Federal cooperation will not be refused merely because a State's forest rangers are sometimes appointed as a reward for political activity, nor even because its standards are somewhat below the standards of the Federal Government. The Forest Service believes that the only way to better conditions in any State is to work patiently with its officials and to point out to them the need for improved standards, instead of refusing to cooperate with a State until it has reached a condition of perfection.

FEDERAL SUPERVISION OF EXPENDITURES

Federal funds and the State funds which match them are expended under the direction of the State foresters. In some States, such as Pennsylvania, the State forester is in complete control. He hires the fire fighters and directs their activity. In other parts of the country the duties of the State forester are more of a supervisory nature, a great deal of the actual work of fire protection and fire fighting being left to the town wardens. This is largely true in New England. The great forest States of the Northwest employ a still different plan, based on the activities of the large timber owners.

But in any event the State is the unit of control. The duty of the Forest Service is merely to approve State plans and to make certain that those plans are carried into effect. Seven Federal district inspectors are charged with the task of examining State protective systems and auditing State accounts, and each is assigned to a territory comprising several States. These men spend much of their time in the field, eating and sleeping with the State forces. Most of them devote from six to eight weeks yearly to each State under their jurisdictions, and in that period of time they are able to secure reasonably accurate mental pictures of the effectiveness of State fire protection work. In some of the more progressive Eastern States the period of Federal inspection is often reduced because of consistently high standards, making more careful scrutiny unnecessary; and in some of the Southern States it is cut short because of the Federal inspector for this territory has been placed in charge of too many States, and finds it impossible to cover his entire jurisdiction satisfactorily. Steps have already been taken with a view to splitting up the southern work still further.

FEDERAL STAFF INADEQUATE

As a matter of fact, every Federal inspector is underpaid and overworked. Salaries do not seem excessively low when compared with the compensation of State foresters; but they represent a mere fraction of the amounts paid expert foresters by the private lumbering companies. Very few of the best men remain long in governmental employ; if, indeed, they ever enter it. The salaries of the seven Federal district inspectors average but $3,800 a year, and $3,800 is a pitifully small sum to pay a man who is qualified to inspect State activities and to point out the weakness of State protective systems. The heavy pressure of work also tends to make the job of Federal inspector unattractive. Seven men are not enough; the present inspectional staff should be doubled. And yet, considering the poor pay and the long hours, the Federal inspectors are men of surprisingly high caliber and unusual faithfulness. It is generally agreed that the Forest Service is getting full return or a little better for the money paid in salaries to

the district inspectors. A number of the men, though experienced foresters, were unfamiliar with the technique of fire protection and fire fighting when first they received their appointments; but with the passing of time this charge can no longer fairly be brought against them.

THE PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION

Every Federal bureau administering a subsidy law is confronted sooner or later with a number of important questions which must be answered decisively. Shall it set up fairly definite standards to which cooperating States must conform? Or shall it study each State plan separately, making no attempt to establish uniform rules? Shall it exercise its right to cut off Federal allotments from any State not living up to its agreement? Or shall it merely try to persuade the errant State to return to the straight and narrow path of honest performance, continuing to pay out Federal funds in any event? When State politics interfere seriously with State administration, as they have a habit of doing at times, shall the Federal bureau try to correct the situation? If so, how? When incompetents are given posts of authority in State affairs shall the Federal bureau which must cooperate with them demand their removal? Or shall it merely ask that State work be satisfactorily performed, leaving it to the State to remedy the situation?

These are vital questions. The success of Federal aid depends in large measure on the way they are answered. And no two bureaus administering subsidy laws have answered them in exactly the same way. Some of the Federal bureaus set up rather rigid standards and require the States to conform strictly. Others make no attempt to set up standards but measure each plan in terms of local needs, and it is in this group that the Forest Service belongs. As already pointed out, it permits the greatest variation among State plans, allowing States with different conditions to submit totally different programs. When a State fails to live up to the plan which its own officials have drafted the Forest Service has legitimate cause for complaint. Under the law it would be justified in cutting off all further State appropriations.

In practice it does no such thing, however; and neither does any other Federal bureau. There have been a few instances in which Federal aid has been cut off entirely from a State; Arkansas, for example, some years ago lost its entire allotment from the highway subsidy because of the unsatisfactory manner in which it handled Federal funds. But such instances are extremely rare, and it may fairly be said that nothing short of a scandal will bring about the complete withdrawal of Federal aid from a State. Portions of a State's allotment are often held back for a time, however, because Federal and State officials are unable to agree as to the wisdom or legality of certain State expenditures.

THE EFFECTS OF POLITICS

In some States politics play havoc with virtually every phase of the administration, and State forestry departments have not escaped their share. Frequently their pay rolls are padded with the names of men powerful in vote getting but weak in forestry, while more than one State forester is chosen with little regard for his ability to fill the post. The Federal inspectors soon become familiar with the caliber of the State forces. They know quite well that some of the men with whom they must cooperate are woefully ignorant of their jobs. But they continue to cooperate.

The Forest Service is long suffering, for it knows that more than one State, if told to choose between political appointments and Federal aid, would not need two hours to discard Federal aid. And the loss of Federal aid would be a most serious matter. It might undo all the good accomplished in years of cooperation. Despite the handicap of State politics, Federal inspection and Federal guidance have proved a remarkable stimulus to State activity and a wonderful incentive to improved State standards. If the Forest Service can not determine which men will be appointed by the States it can at least make sure that the men who are appointed will have a better concept of their duties because of contact with Federal officials. The accepted tradition in Washington is that no Federal bureau administering a subsidy law will interfere with State personnel. The demand may be made upon a State to better its standards or to use Federal and State matched funds more effectively, but not to appoint or dismiss any given person. The Forest Service comes nearest to violating this tradition, for though it has never directly demanded the resignation of any State official, it has in more than one instance applied pressure that resulted in a State forester's dismissal. This practice is contrary to the generally understood rôle of the Federal Government and has not been adopted by any other Federal bureau. Even the Forest Service would probably make formal denial of any such activity.

THE GROWTH OF FIRE PROTECTION

Under the stimulus of Federal aid State protective programs have expanded at an astonishing rate. Total State expenditures for forest-fire protection amounted to but $350,000 in 1912; by 1927 the total State outlay had passed the $2,000,000 mark. Federal expenditures have also increased rapidly, but have kept well below the State total. In no year have they exceeded 35 per cent of the amount spent by the States. During the decade and a half of cooperation under the Weeks and Clarke-McNary Acts the number of acres of State and privately owned forest land adequately protected from fire more than tripled, and the number of States accepting the Federal offer has mounted from 11 to 33.

The following table will serve to make clear the remarkable progress that has been made. (Table supplied by United States Forest Service.)

Expenditures for forest fire prevention

Fiscal year	Number of States cooperating	Area protected (in acres)	Federal expenditures	State expenditures
1912 [1]	11	61,000,000	$53,287.53	$350,000.00
1913	12	68,000,000	53,247.82	380,000.00
1914	17	83,000,000	[2] 79,708.27	415,000.00
1915	18	95,000,000	69,581.75	505,924.70
1916	20	98,000,000	90,481.28	408,087.08
1917	21	103,000,000	90,580.14	435,328.11
1918	21	104,000,000	98,529.75	565,625.24
1919	22	110,000,000	99,921.38	625,445.54
1920	23	121,000,000	95,107.86	860,919.49
1921	24	149,000,000	119,529.83	1,066,027.47
1922	26	169,000,000	400,000.00	1,757,000.00
1923	26	166,000,000	394,094.64	1,826,685.78
1924	28	170,000,000	393,479.82	1,473,084.96
1925	29	171,000,000	397,646.97	1,844,191.70
1926	32	182,000,000	638,427.59	[3] 1,874,893.19
1927	33	196,000,000	654,101.57	2,000,416.05

[1] Period Mar. 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912.
[2] Expenditure partly made from funds of preceding year.
[3] Includes $263,512.58 expended by private agencies.

THE BASIS OF APPORTIONMENT

The Clarke-McNary law differs from most of the other subsidy statutes in that it does not provide for the allocation of Federal funds on the basis of population. Instead it leaves the matter of apportionment entirely in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture, who has ruled that Federal aid is to be apportioned among the States according to their fire-protection needs. The cost of protecting adequately the timber supply of each State has been determined by the Forest Service in consultation with State officials, and each State has then been given an allotment based on the quantity and quality of its timber, and on the fire hazard. When the basis of apportionment is not definitely fixed in the law itself, which is customary, but instead is left to the discretion of Federal administrators, greater flexibility is secured. It is possible to make a nice adjustment between a State's need and its allotment and to make special provision for unusual conditions.

On the other hand, there is the obvious danger that Federal funds will be allocated without regard to need, and in such a manner as to strengthen the hand of Federal officials. The Forest Service, however, has apportioned the fire-protection subsidy in an honest and intelligent manner. The State foresters are nearly unanimous in the opinion that no attempt is made to strengthen the Federal position by juggling Federal aid. Some of the States least willing to accept Federal advice are receiving large sums of Federal money because of the magnificent forests within their borders.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO REFORESTATION

Under the provisions of the Clarke-McNary law two other small grants are also made to the States; one for the production and distribution of forest-tree seeds and plants, the other for educational work designed to stimulate interest in tree growing. The administration of these subsidies involves no unusual features.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORK

In the United States are about 3,000 counties which may be classed as predominantly rural. In two-thirds of these counties are men and women known as county agents, paid in part by the counties in which they work, in part by the States whose people they serve, and in part by the Federal Government. Each is assigned to a single county [1] and each is expected to carry to the farmers of his county the message of better agriculture. He must show how to grow better crops, how to improve the quality of livestock, how to market crops most effectively, how to keep more accurate farm records and accounts. This he must do informally and interestingly, for he has no schoolhouse and no truant officers to aid him. The women agents are called home-economics agents; their task is to show the housewives how to do more effectively the work of the farm home.

The activities of these agents are known as agricultural extension work.

THE WORK OF THE "COUNTY AGENT"

In the early days of extension work the average county agent used to spend all his time traveling from farm to farm, repeating at each farm the demonstration he had already given several times in the neighborhood. In each case his audience would consist of from two to five people—the farmer and his boys. Some county agents still work in exactly this manner. Most of them have learned, however, that while a great deal of individual attention is necessary, the most effective work is carried on in relatively large groups. If the message can be told to a handful of persons, why not tell it to half a hundred? A tremendous amount of energy can thus be conserved for more productive uses. The only trouble is to get half a hundred persons together to listen to the agent's

[1] There are some exceptions. In some States it is customary to join together two or more very poor counties, employing a single agent for the group; while in other States are found a few county agents "at large," who devote their time to counties having no permanent extension work for the purpose of arousing popular enthusiasm.

message. Organization is required to accomplish that. And the most successful agents have been able to interest the leaders in their communities, inducing them to build up organizations that cooperate in spreading the gospel of improved farming methods.

THE "FARM BUREAU" MOVEMENT

Some years ago the United States Department of Agriculture attempted to stimulate the creation of organizations of farmers by sponsoring the "farm bureau" movement. The farm bureau was to be a voluntary association of farmers in each agricultural county, and its purpose was to be purely educational. It was designed to further the county agent movement and not to embark upon commercial ventures.

But as the farm bureau movement increased in popularity the bureaus in many States lost sight of their original purpose. They undertook marketing enterprises and other commercial activities; as they united to form State federations they engaged actively in lobbying for or against legislative proposals. In short, they were ordinary commercial farmers' associations, competing with other farmers' associations for rural favor. It is not surprising, therefore, that a feeling of hostility to the whole county agent movement developed among the rival farm organizations. As the farm bureau has gradually divorced itself from the county agent movement and assumed the character of a commercial association, this hostility to extension work has lessened, and in time it will doubtless disappear altogether. In a few States the bureaus have never lost sight of their original purpose and to-day they still serve as educational groups developing extension work.

Federal, State, county, and private funds are all used in furthering the extension movement, but the proportion from each source varies greatly from State to State. Federal money is allotted to the States on the basis of rural population. In two States—California and Pennsylvania—each county agent's salary is paid entirely from State and Federal funds, and the counties are asked to pay only incidental costs, such as traveling expenses and office rent. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, the State pays nothing and the entire burden of matching the Federal grant rests upon the local communities. Most States require the counties to pay incidental expenses and a part of the salary in addition; but it is customary to make some contribution directly from the State treasury. The money raised in the county may come from public sources or from private contributions. The arrangement varies from State to State.

STATE CONTROL OVER COUNTY AGENTS

There are also great differences in the extent of State control over the county agents. It is customary for each county to choose its own agent from a list of suitable persons whose names are submitted by the State director of extension work, but there is no uniformity concerning the method of dismissal. In most States the county officials may dismiss an agent at will. This act does not force the agent from the extension service; instead he is transferred to another county in the hope that he will give satisfaction at a new post. Should he be unable to satisfy the people in any one of a number of counties, he is eventually dropped from extension work. A few States, such as Montana, place a larger measure of control in the hands of the State director, authorizing him to demand charges and a formal hearing before any agent may be dismissed by county authorities. If local politics seem to be involved, the director may even require a formal vote of the people of the county on the question of dismissing the agent. (For a discussion of the part played by politics in extension work, see Macdonald, Austin F., Federal Aid, p. 67 et seq.)

QUALIFICATIONS OF COUNTY AGENTS

Ninety-five per cent of the county agents are college graduates. Most of those in the remaining 5 per cent group are farmers who have been in the service 15 years or more, survivors of the time when emphasis was placed on "practical" experience rather than scientific training. But successful farming experience is still an essential part of the equipment of every county agent, a fact which State directors know, but sometimes ignore of necessity.

The salaries paid county agents are so small that men of high caliber are seldom attracted; and if successful experience is to be made a prerequisite in addition to college training, the financial inducement must be made considerably greater. In one State the minimum salary is $1,400; other States offer beginners but little more. Throughout the country the average salary paid to county agents is only $2,700, and the agents are worth just about that amount. Some States stand out brilliantly from this mediocrity with high salaries and high-grade men. Illinois, for example, has a salary scale ranging from $2,500 to more than $5,000, the average being about $3,600. As a result it is able to recruit its agents entirely from the ranks of farmers who have had five years or more of successful agricultural experience after graduation from college.

FEDERAL APPROVAL OF EXTENSION PROGRAMS

As under all the more recent subsidy laws each cooperating State is required to submit for Federal approval a detailed program of work. The office of cooperative extension work of the Department of Agriculture passes on State plans and inspects State activities. For inspectional purposes the country has been divided into 4 sections, each containing about 12 States. Fifteen Federal agents, two of them colored men assigned to southern territory, visit the State agricultural colleges, examine State accounts and other State records, and make flying trips into the field. Eleven specialists in various phases of agriculture are attached to the office of cooperative extension work, and from time to time they also visit the States. The Federal agents spend a short while in each State about three times per year, and soon become familiar with the strong and weak points of State administration. They are therefore in a position to insist that faulty State plans be altered and that unsatisfactory State standards be bettered.

But they never do insist, nor do their superiors at Washington. Instead the office of cooperative extension work resorts to persuasion. It suggests improvements instead of demanding them; it never withdraws Federal funds except for obvious failure to comply with the letter of the law. This method may bring results more slowly than direct action, but it brings about a closer understanding with the States than would otherwise be possible.

The first "county agent," serving a single county and paid in part with local funds, was appointed in 1906. The movement spread rapidly, but it was not until 1914 that Congress coordinated the work by passing a statute known as the Smith-Lever Act. (38 Stat. L. 372.) The funds appropriated under this law have been supplemented by large additional Federal grants for agricultural extension work, but though the Federal subsidy has increased rapidly, it has failed to keep pace with State and county appropriations.

The following table shows the growth of extension-work funds by sources since 1915:

Growth of funds for cooperative agricultural extension work, by sources

Year	U. S. Department of Agriculture		Smith-Lever	
	Farmers' cooperative demonstration work	Other bureaus	Federal	State
1915	$905,782.00	$105,168.40	$474,934.73	
1916	900,389.92	165,172.01	1,077,923.73	$597,923.73
1917	958,333.57	185,893.15	1,576,954.38	1,096,954.38
1918	[1] 3,900,406.30	507,282.95	2,068,066.29	1,588,066.29
1919	[1] 5,564,839.70	935,373.64	2,538,828.04	2,058,828.04
1920	1,021,091.39	406,020.98	4,464,344.36	3,984,344.36
1921	1,025,083.33	435,046.70	4,974,048.50	4,494,048.50
1922	1,007,263.48	209,540.93	5,510,349.45	5,030,349.45
1923	1,004,729.29	275,532.24	5,820,816.89	5,340,816.29
1924	991,900.82	234,320.98	5,859,605.01	5,379,605.01
1925	962,390.34	228,856.67	5,879,083.89	5,399,083.89
1926	967,166.73	[2] 29,377.72	5,879,163.10	5,399,183.10

Year	State and college	County	Other	Total
1915	$1,044,270.38	$780,231.79	$288,748.55	$3,597,235.55
1916	872,733.90	973,251.56	276,786.09	4,864,180.94
1917	832,114.16	1,258,296.14	244,873.55	6,149,619.53
1918	881,091.25	1,863,632.29	494,219.38	11,302,764.75
1919	901,828.49	2,291,309.30	370,653.29	14,661,560.50
1920	1,244,465.72	2,865,739.87	672,073.26	14,658,079.92
1921	1,549,897.30	3,293,566.38	1,020,557.61	16,792,248.32
1922	1,497,379.71	2,972,740.71	954,127.91	17,181,751.64
1923	1,712,766.53	3,420,000.81	910,182.35	18,484,845.00
1924	1,696,878.21	3,883,185.02	1,036,529.99	19,082,025.04
1925	1,978,749.89	3,893,814.16	990,395.56	19,332,371.40
1926	2,113,309.94	3,906,614.03	1,090,557.46	19,485,492.81

[1] Includes emergency funds.
[2] Until 1926 funds from other bureaus were included under this heading.

THE RESULTS OF EXTENSION WORK

The purpose of agricultural extension work is to induce the rural men and women of America to adopt better methods of farming and better methods of home management. The only satisfactory test of the effectiveness of this work, therefore, is the number of people who adopt improved farm or home practices because of the direct or indirect effect of the extension service. A number of studies were made recently in different sections of the country by Federal representatives, in cooperation with State officials, to determine whether the county agent had been a vital force in the lives of rural people; whether his work had actually resulted in the abandonment of old methods and the adoption of new. To obtain this information house-to-house canvasses were made in 18 counties of 8 States, situated in every section of the country. Nearly 7,000 farms were visited, and from 75 per cent of them came the report of improved practices, the average number of changed methods being more than three per farm. (Bulletin No. 319, Georgia State College of Agriculture, 1926; Extension Circular No. 221, College of Agriculture, University of Arkansas; Extension Bulletin No. 50, New Jersey State College of Agriculture; Bulletin No. 1384, U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

This is an astonishingly fine record, and reflects great credit on the men directing the extension movement. But it can not be taken at quite its face value. Seventy-five per cent represents the proportion of farms affected in selected counties rather than in the country as a whole. Federal and State bulletins reporting the survey speak of the counties selected as "typical" counties, but it is an open secret that a number of the counties selected were

far above the average. Seventy-five per cent is undoubtedly too high. In some parts of the United States the percentage could be placed even higher—80 or 85—but in other sections a much lower figure would be nearer the truth. Whatever the real average for the Nation, however, there can be no doubt that agricultural extension work has been of very great value to the rural population.

HIGHWAYS

Federal aid for highways was first offered to the States in 1916. The amount appropriated in that year has since been increased many times, and to-day the annual appropriation is $75,000,000—more than all other forms of Federal aid combined. This money is used to stimulate State highway construction and to insure the adoption by the States of proper methods and suitable materials. "Only such durable types of surfaces and kinds of material shall be adopted for the construction and reconstruction of any highway * * * as will adequately meet the existing and probable future traffic needs and conditions thereon." (42 Stat. L. 212.)

THE EXTENT OF FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY

When a road has been built, the financial obligation of the Federal Government ceases. The State is expected to make needed repairs and to keep it in good condition without the assistance of Federal funds. Yet the Federal Government does not hesitate to insist that highways maintained at State expense must be maintained according to Federal standards. "If at any time the Secretary of Agriculture shall find that any road in any State constructed under the provisions of this act is not being properly maintained, he shall give notice of such fact to the highway department of such State; and if within four months from the receipt of said notice said road has not been put in a proper condition of maintenance, then the Secretary of Agriculture shall thereafter refuse to approve any project for road construction in said State, or the civil subdivision thereof, as the fact may be, whose duty it is to maintain said road, until it has been put in a condition of proper maintenance." (42 Stat. L. 212.) This provision has had a most salutary effect upon dilatory State highway departments. It has since been amended so as to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to make suitable arrangements for repairing consistently neglected roads, charging the cost of such repars against the offending State's allotment.

METHODS OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION

The Bureau of Public Roads, which administers the highway subsidy, keeps in close touch with the State highway departments. It has divided the country into 11 districts for inspectional purposes, and in each division is a Federal district engineer, empowered to pass upon all matters except those of the greatest importance, which must be submitted to Washington for approval. There is also a Federal engineer assigned to each State, and directly responsible to the engineer in charge of his district. He has one or more trained engineers to help him—as many as six in some States.

Under other subsidy laws the cooperating State agencies must submit each year programs of work for Federal approval. But annual programs do not suffice to meet the requirements of the Federal road acts. For every section of highway to be built in part with Federal funds a vast amount of detailed information must be sent to the Bureau of Public Roads. The exact route of the project, the nature of the construction, type of paving, grades, estimated cost—all these data are required. Proposed routes are examined by Federal engineers. When bids are considered for highway construction on which Federal money is to be spent, representatives of the Federal Government are usually present. They can not accept or reject a bid; that matter is in the hands of the State officials. But since they may refuse to permit the expenditure of Federal funds, their opinions are certain to receive respectful attention.

STATE MUST TAKE INITIATIVE

Expenditures for every project are originally made by the State. It is then partly reimbursed by the Federal Government at the end of each month, after Federal inspectors have approved the status of the work. Completion of a project does not mark the end of Federal inspection, however. Every foot of the 71,000 miles of highways so far built under Federal aid (as of June 30, 1928) is covered twice a year by Federal inspectors, and in this way maintenance requirements are enforced.

FEDERAL INSPECTION

The method of inspection used by the Bureau of Public Roads is obviously a very different thing from the system employed by the other bureaus administering subsidy laws. Engineers of the Bureau of Public Roads examine every specification and visit every project. It would be impossible for the representatives of the extension service to visit every county and pass judgment upon the work of every county agent. The subsidy for extension work would soon be eaten up by the excessive cost of administration. Agents of the Federal Board for Vocational Education could not hope to enter the doors of every school receiving Federal aid for vocational education. If they did, administrative expenses would soon equal the grant to the States. So they must resort to sampling—visiting "typical" schools, seeing "typical" extension groups, observing "typical" child-health demonstrations. And all too often these schools, extension groups, child-health demonstrations, and the like are just as "typical" as the State director wishes them to be, and no more so.

But the Bureau of Public Roads is in a very different position, and it takes the fullest advantage of its opportunity. For one thing, the very nature of the work makes complete inspection easier. Then, too, the bureau has a vast amount of money at its command. Every year it devotes a million and a half dollars to inspectional purposes. And then it is spending only 2 per cent of the annual grant to the States for highway construction!

SELECTION OF A SYSTEM OF MAIN HIGHWAYS

An act passed by Congress in 1921 made a number of important changes in the original plan of Federal aid. One of the most significant provisos of this statute was that Federal and State-matched funds should be used within each State for the construction of a connected system of main highways limited to 7 per cent of the State's total road mileage. Only after a State's entire system of main thoroughfares was complete might it use Federal money to build other roads. Shortly after the passage of this act each State highway engineer was asked to designate the roads in his State which ought to be included in the Federal system, and the Bureau of Public Roads then coordinated the highways selected—totaling in length more than 187,000 miles—into a complete Federal-aid system. Practically every community in the United States with a population of not less than 5,000 is reached directly by this great network of roads. (Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, 1924, p. 103.)

FEDERAL STAFF UNDERPAID

The Bureau of Public Roads is seriously handicapped by the low salary schedule fixed for Federal highway engineers. The Federal men are paid considerably less than engineers of equivalent rank in the service of the more progressive States, and as a result some of them transfer their allegiance to State highway departments. The Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads, whose duty is to supervise the highway programs of all the States, receives a smaller salary than many a State chief highway engineer. And yet the Federal Government manages to retain a large number of highly capable men. It is generally agreed that the Federal engineers compare favorably with the highway engineers of the leading States. Their faithfulness should be rewarded with substantial salary increases.

THE BASIS OF APPORTIONMENT

Unlike most of the subsidies, which are distributed among the States according to population—total, urban or rural—the Federal grant for highways is apportioned on a threefold basis. The law provides for distribution of Federal funds "one-third in the ratio which the area of each State bears to the area of all the States; one-third in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all the States as shown by the latest available Federal census; one-third in the ratio which the mileage of rural delivery routes and star routes in each State bears to the total mileage of rural delivery routes and star routes in all the States."

THE NATIONAL GUARD

The first Federal subsidy to the States for the support of their militia was made in 1808. (2 Stat. L. 40.) No attempt was made, however, to regulate the expenditure of this grant nor to determine whether State troops were armed, equipped, and trained with any regard to reasonable standards of efficiency. The result may well be imagined. While the forces of a few Commonwealths were properly equipped and well drilled, in the large majority of the States the militia consisted of men hopelessly ignorant of Army fundamentals, commanded by totally incompetent officers of their own choosing, strong in infantry but weak in artillery and auxiliary troops.

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT

Until 1886, however, Congress left militia matters entirely in the hands of the States, contenting itself with appropriating each year small sums for the support of the State forces. But in that year Congress stipulated the minimum number of troops which each State must have in order to qualify for its share of the Federal subsidy. (24 Stat. L. 401.) Other acts gradually increased Federal control, and in 1916 the national defense act laid a solid foundation for Federal supervision of the State military establishments. This statute has been amended more than twenty times, but it still remains the fundamental law regulating the State forces in their relation to the Federal Government. Under its provisions the number of men ultimately to be enlisted in the State service is fixed at 800 for each Member of Congress, and the President is authorized to prescribe the unit or units, as to the branch of service, to be maintained in each State. Officers must meet rigid requirements and must qualify before a board appointed by the Secretary of War. The number and length of drills, the kind of equipment, even the types of courts-martial to be used by the State forces are prescribed in considerable detail.

LANGUAGE OF LAW MANDATORY

Much of the language of the national defense act is mandatory. "The organization of the National Guard shall be the same as that of the Regular Army" (sec. 60). "No State shall maintain troops * * * other than as authorized" (sec. 61). "The discipline * * * of the National Guard shall conform to the system which is now or may hereafter be prescribed for the Regular Army" (sec. 91). It must not be concluded, however, that Congress is forcing its attentions upon unwilling Commonwealths. The actual meaning of "shall" in the above sentence is "shall, if

a State desires to receive Federal aid." But since only one State, Nevada, has been willing to forfeit its share of the Federal grant, the military establishments of the States have been worked out according to the Federal pattern. It is significant that the word "militia" has been dropped entirely. The State troops are now the units of the National Guard, whose members must swear allegiance to the United States, as well as to their respective States, at the time of enlistment.

The National Guard units are inspected each year by officers of the Regular Army, who determine whether they are armed, uniformed, equipped, and trained according to Federal standards. Failure on the part of any State to meet Federal requirements may be punished by cutting off the offending State from further Federal allotments; and although such stringent measures are never resorted to, yet the prospect of losing Federal funds is sufficient to keep the States fairly well in line. It may be said that at least they do not openly ignore the standards set by the Federal Government.

DECENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATION

Unfortunately no single agency is charged with the administration of the Federal subsidy to the National Guard. Instead control is scattered in such a manner as to make harmonious action almost impossible. Matters of general policy are passed upon by the General Staff of the Regular Army. Most of the details of administration are in the hands of the Militia Bureau of the War Department.

The actual work of inspection is carried on by 476 officers and about 600 enlisted men of the Regular Army, who are assigned to duty with the various units of the National Guard. These men are called instructors rather than inspectors, because it is thought best to place as little emphasis as possible on their inspectional duties. They are responsible to the commanders of their respective corps areas instead of to the Militia Bureau, thus diffusing responsibility still further. The Militia Bureau, according to War Department rulings, is "that bureau of the War Department which is charged with the administration of approved * * * policies for the National Guard" (War Department General Orders, No. 6, issued March 10, 1926), but its control over National Guard matters is seriously restricted. All its recommendations must be approved by the General Staff, and are subject to long and irritating delays. Its relations with the Regular Army instructors are indirect, and its problems are made still more difficult by inadequate appropriations. Under the circumstances it is surprising how accurate a picture of conditions in each State the Militia Bureau manages to keep constantly before it.

The "instructors" on duty with the several units of the National Guard have opportunity for very little instructing; most of their time is spent traveling from section to section within their jurisdiction, inspecting equipment and training. Only a few days a year are spent with each section, and occasionally it is found necessary to omit some from the list altogether. Most of the units are rated as satisfactory, less than 4 per cent failing to meet Federal requirements in 1926. Those few States whose units fall below the line are formally warned by the Militia Bureau; but the bureau is forced to depend in large measure on the corps area commanders for information as to whether conditions have been improved.

The only time that officers of the Militia Bureau come into direct contact with the officers and enlisted personnel of the National Guard is during the summer encampments. Then an excellent opportunity is afforded to observe at first hand the results of the year's training. The national defense act provides that every State unit receiving Federal funds must participate in at least 15 days of intensive field training each year, and restricted congressional appropriations make it necessary to limit the period of actual training to the legal minimum.

TRAINING CAMPS

Ninety-six camps are used by the National Guard; some of them are State property, others are owned by the Federal Government. Though many of the camps are open for but 15 days during the year, a number are in constant use throughout the entire summer. An excessive amount of time is devoted to parades and reviews, but intensive work is not forgotten. And during the period of each encampment, while the men are learning something of Army fundamentals, the representatives of the Militia Bureau are busily engaged in observing the condition of the different units—their arms, their equipment, and their training. Eighty-five per cent of the enlisted men and an even higher percentage of the officers of the National Guard come to the summer camps each year.

The provisions of the national defense act relating to the National Guard were given no real opportunity to function until some time after their passage, because all National Guard troops were drafted into the Federal service in August, 1917. After the war came the period of reorganization, handicapped by the natural reaction against all military matters and also by the unfriendly attitude of the labor unions. Enrollment increased steadily until the summer of 1924, however, but since that time it has remained practically stationary. Popular interest in the National Guard has not waned, but niggardly congressional appropriations have forced the Militia Bureau to curtail enlistments. The following table will show the growth of the National Guard since the war:

National Guard strength, 1919–1927 [1]

Year	Officers	Enlisted men	Total
1919	1,198	36,012	37,210
1920	2,073	54,017	56,090
1921	5,843	107,797	113,640
1922	8,744	150,914	159,658
1923	9,675	150,923	160,598
1924	10,906	166,432	177,428
1925	11,595	165,930	177,525
1926	11,435	163,534	174,969
1927	12,192	168,950	181,142

[1] Report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau, 1926, Appendix B.

The national defense act fixed the total strength eventually to be attained by the National Guard at 800 men for each Member of Congress, but the Militia Bureau has been forced by insufficient funds to keep the enlisted strength down to less than half that number. Drills are limited to the minimum prescribed by law, and practically no new units are recognized.

Yet the subsidy to the National Guard amounts to $30,000,000 or more a year—a larger sum than for all other forms of Federal aid combined, with the single exception of highways. The growth of the National Guard subsidy is shown below:

Payments to the States for the National Guard [1]

YEAR AND AMOUNT	
1912	$4,131,190
1913	3,740,713
1914	6,499,952
1915	4,847,744
1916	6,467,522
1917	8,876,195
1918	11,053,562
1919 [2]	3,774,772
1920 [2]	2,943,208
1921	17,691,674
1922	22,373,633
1923	22,357,478
1924	26,591,308
1925	29,754,151
1926	30,179,781
1927	31,363,935

STATES DO NOT CONTRIBUTE FUNDS

The national defense act is the only recent subsidy law which does not require the States to match Federal funds. Under its provisions the Federal Government bears about two-thirds of the total cost of maintaining the National Guard, the States being required only to provide armories and to make adequate arrangements for the protection and care of the property they receive. Congress is willing to assume this large obligation because it recognizes the importance to the National Government of properly equipped, well-organized troops, ready at short notice to supplement the Regular Army.

The National Guard, as its name indicates, is for all practical purposes a national organization. It is already far larger than any body of troops needed by the States to preserve order, and units maintained by some of the States are of no conceivable use to them. Such, for example, are the antiaircraft and field artillery units. The States are performing a national service in maintaining their militia under national regulations, and their proportionate contribution ought to be less than under other forms of Federal aid, in which the local interest is paramount.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Until very recently Americans have had but one concept of education beyond the "three R's"—that obtained through such traditional subjects as mathematics, foreign languages, and pure science. We are rapidly recognizing, however, that classical training is of very little use to the average man—the man who never completed the grammar school or left high school after a single year. Within the last quarter of a century has come a better understanding of educational needs, an understanding that has found expression in new curricula labeled "vocational education." To-day the city boy is given an opportunity to master the trade of his choice and the country youngster is taught the elements of scientific farming. Home making has been raised to the dignity of a science, and its principles are taught to the girls of city and country alike.

DEVELOPMENT OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The rapid development of vocational education during the past decade is in large measure the result of the Federal aid first offered the States in 1917. The Smith-Hughes Act of that year provided for a comprehensive system of training in the common, wage-earning employments. Three separate grants were made to the States: One to pay the "salaries of teachers, supervisors, or directors of agricultural subjects"; another for the "salaries of teachers of trade, home economics, and industrial subjects," and a third to be used "in preparing teachers, supervisors, and direc-

[1] Figures furnished by the Militia Bureau.
[2] Reorganization period following the war.

tors." (39 Stat. L. 929.) No Federal funds might be used for buildings or equipment; the expense of these essentials must be borne by the States. Yet the Federal Government has not hesitated to pass upon the adequacy of buildings and equipment furnished by the States. And since Federal funds for salaries must be matched dollar for dollar by the States or local communities, the Federal Government exercises supervision over the expenditures of sums considerably in excess of the Federal grant.

STATE BOARDS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The Smith-Hughes Act required each State receiving the Federal subsidy to designate or create a State board of vocational education. Some States have designated their boards of education as cooperating agencies; others have created new administrative bodies. These boards are responsible for the expenditure of joint State and Federal funds. They formulate plans showing in detail the types of schools and equipment, the courses of study, the methods of instruction, and the qualifications of teachers. These projects, originally submitted at the beginning of each year, but now drawn up to cover 5-year periods, must be approved by the Federal Government. In each instance, therefore, the State takes the initiative and sets its own standards, but there is a Federal veto.

FEDERAL SUPERVISING AGENCIES

The Federal agency which passes upon State plans is the Federal Board for Vocational Education, created by the Smith-Hughes Act. This board, composed of four ex officio and three appointive members, meets only occasionally to consider major questions of policy. The actual details of administration are in charge of a salaried director selected under civil-service regulations. Responsible to him are the chiefs of the four services—trade and industrial education, agricultural education, home economics education, and commercial education.

No Federal subsidy is given to the States for commercial education, and so the chief of this service and his single agents devote their time to making special studies and investigations and to aiding the States in developing commercial-education programs. Since the Federal home economics appropriation is limited, this service is compelled to rely on two agents to cover the entire country and to inspect the work being done in the States. The agricultural educational service, however, has five agents: One who devotes his entire time to the colored schools, and four regional agents, each responsible for conditions in a region comprising about 12 States. The trade and industrial education service likewise has five agents: Four assigned to different regions and one without specific territory who is a specialist in the problems presented by women in industry.

FEDERAL INSPECTION

The regional agents of the board representing the agricultural and industrial service visit each State about twice a year. Home-economics agents, having a greater territory to cover, make fewer visits. The length of an agent's stay depends in large measure upon local conditions. If a State seems to be making an honest effort to maintain high standards, three or four days may suffice to audit its accounts and to make a cursory examination of the manner in which its program is being carried out.

If, on the other hand, a State consistently fails to maintain the standards set by its own officers and approved by the Federal board, the Federal agent's visits are likely to be more numerous and of longer duration. He may even go out into the field and visit some of the schools receiving Federal funds, although ordinarily he does so only at the request of the State director or supervisor. Visiting "typical" schools is at best an unsatisfactory method of determining the condition of a State's vocational-school system, because in practice it is necessary to rely on the State director to select the "typical" schools. The schools chosen are likely, therefore, to be just as "typical" as the State director desires them to be, and no more so. Fortunately, the Federal agents have other means of learning what is being done in the States. One of the most effective ways of finding out the caliber of State teachers, for example, is to visit the teachers' conferences. A few short informal talks with the teachers about their problems suffice to give the experienced agent a reasonably accurate picture of the State program in actual operation.

FEDERAL STAFF INADEQUATE

The Federal agents are capable and well trained, but their task is stupendous. They are even expected to carry on a certain amount of research work each year in addition to visiting the States assigned to them. It is no reflection upon their ability, therefore, to point out that the inspectional work of the Federal Board for Vocational Education is less thorough than the inspectional work of some of the other bureaus administering Federal subsidies, notably the Bureau of Public Roads.

The home-economics service especially is handicapped, since it is compelled to struggle along with a totally inadequate allotment. Federal aid for home economics was not contemplated by the men who framed the Smith-Hughes bill; in fact, the home-economics section was inserted as a last-minute amendment and carried with it no additional appropriation. Instead the amendment merely provided "that not more than 20 per cent of the money appropriated under this act for the payment of salaries of teachers of trade, home economics, and industrial subjects for any year shall be expended for the salaries of teachers of home-economics subjects." (Sec. 8.) Therefore the States may, if they choose, omit home economics entirely from their plans. But under no circumstances may they use more than 20 per cent of their trade and industry allotments to further programs of home economics.

FRICTION BETWEEN FEDERAL TEACHERS AND COUNTY AGENTS

In a number of States considerable friction has developed between the teachers of vocational agriculture operating under the Smith-Hughes Act and the county agents functioning under the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act. These two laws set up two groups of teachers—county agents and high-school teachers of vocational agriculture—to work with the farming population of the Nation. The county agent is, after all, a teacher, though his methods are informal and though he makes use of no classroom. His task is to teach the farmers how to produce better crops and how to dispose of them more successfully. He works not only with the adults but with the children, whom he organizes into clubs. Pig clubs, corn clubs, and cotton clubs stimulate a spirit of friendly rivalry while they also serve to impress on juvenile minds the importance of scientific methods in agriculture.

The high-school teacher of agriculture does much the same work and frequently with the same people. He does not limit himself to classroom instruction. Like the county agent, he makes use of practical demonstrations and practical problems for his pupils to solve. He is required to do so. The Smith-Hughes Act stipulates that every State plan approved by the Federal board "shall provide for directed or supervised practice in agriculture, either on a farm provided by the school or other farm, for at least six months per year." When adult farmers attend the evening classes of the high-school teacher, they, too, are given practical problems to work out on their own farms under the teacher's supervision.

Since the same people sometimes receive instruction in agricultural methods from two different agencies of the Federal Government, it is not surprising that misunderstandings and quarrels occur from time to time. The county agent and the high-school teacher do not always teach the same thing. Even if they are able to agree upon a program, they frequently fail to reach any agreement as to how credit for the undertaking is to be divided between them. As a result there are occasional disagreements in nearly every State, and in two or three States the lack of cooperation between teachers and agents is so serious that it interferes to a considerable extent with the work of both. Formal agreements and understandings have been drawn up from time to time but have been of doubtful value. It is said by some that the Smith-Hughes and Smith-Lever Acts are not to blame for this situation, since under their provisions any high-school teacher or any county agent should be able to use his entire working time profitably without interfering in any way with the representative of another agency. Those who take this view contend that there is plenty of opportunity for both county agents and high-school teachers of vocational agriculture to serve the farm people of this country without friction. Others who have studied the problem, however, place the blame squarely on the two acts. They assert that while it is quite possible for teachers and agents to work together harmoniously, yet it is also a comparatively simple matter for them to interfere deliberately with one another, and then quote the letter of the law in justification. Conditions will not be materially improved, it is said, until one or both laws have been amended.

FEDERAL AID ACCEPTED BY ALL STATES

The proffered Federal subsidy for vocational education was accepted by all 48 States within a period of 10 months after the organization of the Federal board. Since that time remarkable progress has been made. Under the stimulus of Federal aid the number of vocational schools receiving Federal funds has increased fourfold, and the number of teachers and enrolled pupils has grown almost as rapidly.

Below is a table showing the growth of vocational education since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act:

Growth of Federally aided vocational education [1]

Year	Number of schools [2]	Number of pupils	Number of teachers
1918	1,741	164,186	5,275
1919	2,039	194,895	6,252
1920	3,150	265,058	7,669
1921	3,877	324,247	10,056
1922	4,954	475,828	12,343
1923	5,700	536,528	14,458
1924	6,817	652,594	16,192
1925	7,430	659,370	17,524
1926	8,051	753,418	18,717
1927	8,696	784,986	18,900

[1] Figures supplied by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.
[2] In reports of the Federal Board for Vocational Education the term "reimbursement units" is used instead of "schools," because of the difficulty of framing an accurate and unvarying definition of "school."

Though the Federal subsidy for vocational education has mounted rapidly, increasing from less than $1,000,000 in 1918 to more than $7,000,000 in 1927, State outlays have grown at an equally rapid pace. Every year the States have expended for vocational education $2 or more of their own money for every dollar they received from the Federal Treasury. The following table shows how Federal payments have increased since 1918:

Federal payments to the States for vocational education[1]

Year	Amount
1918	$823,386.29
1919	1,560,008.61
1920	2,476,502.83
1921	3,357,494.23
1922	3,850,118.79
1923	4,308,885.68
1924	4,832,920.16
1925	5,614,550.14
1926	6,548,567.92
1927	7,184,901.51

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

The duties of the Federal Board for Vocational Education were materially increased in 1920, when it was intrusted with the administration of the newly enacted vocational rehabilitation law. This statute, commonly called the Fess-Kenyon Act, provided for an annual subsidy to the State of $1,000,000 "for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise, and their return to civil employment." (41 Stat. L. 735.) For a number of years prior to the passage of the Federal law the need for training injured workers had been generally recognized, but only 12 States had made any attempt to devise suitable plans.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS INADEQUATE

In many other States workmen's compensation laws had been relied upon to aid those injured in the course of their employment. It is now generally recognized, however, that workmen's compensation laws are not sufficient. A person who has lost his earning power needs something more than the payment of a small cash sum. He needs to have his earning power restored. In some cases, of course, the injury is so serious that restoration of earning power is out of the question. But such is not usually the case. The skilled mechanic who has lost a leg may be unable to practice his trade again, and yet be quite capable, with suitable training, of earning a comfortable living at another trade—at shoemaking, perhaps. It has been conservatively estimated that each year 84,000 persons are vocationally disabled in the United States who are unable to pay for rehabilitation, but who could probably be made independent wage earners. (Sullivan, O. M., and Snortun, K. O., Disabled Persons, Their Education and Rehabilitation, p. 33.)

Moreover, the list of persons in need of vocational retraining is not limited to the victims of industrial accidents. There are thousands of persons disabled by disease or by accidents unconnected with industry who could become self-supporting if properly trained. Recognizing this fact, the Fess-Kenyon Act makes Federal funds available for "any person who, by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury, or disease, is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupation."

METHODS OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION

Procedure is much the same as under the Smith-Hughes Act. Each State accepting the Federal offer is required to designate its vocational education board as the agency to administer the rehabilitation work. State plans are drawn up setting forth in detail plans of procedure, and these plans must be approved by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The actual details of administration are left in the hands of the States, of course, and Federal agents audit State accounts and inspect State work in order to make certain that Federal funds are being used satisfactorily. Every dollar of Federal money must be matched by a dollar from State or local sources.

Vocational rehabilitation is handled by a separate division of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. A chief and five agents comprise its staff. Each agent is a specialist in some phase of rehabilitation, and is expected to work with any State needing his specialized knowledge. A great deal of time must be devoted to inspection, however, and for inspectional purposes each agent has been assigned a definite group of States, varying in number from 8 to 12. The organization of the division is therefore partly regional and partly functional. Inspection is quite thorough. The agents of the rehabilitation division visit each State only once a year, but that single visit is sufficient to keep them well informed concerning the progress of State work. The number of cases handled is comparatively small, and the Federal representatives find time to visit many of the disabled persons receiving training. State programs do not always prove satisfactory in actual operation, but the policy of the Federal Board is to raise standards by persuasion rather than by threats. It suggests better methods, points out how weaknesses may be overcome, but seldom announces that it intends to withdraw Federal aid.

DEVELOPMENT OF REHABILITATION TECHNIQUE

When the Fess-Kenyon Act became law only a few pioneers were working in the field of vocations' rehabilitation. There was no such thing as standardized procedure. A few States had enacted vocational reeducation laws, and the Federal Government had obtained some experience through its work with disabled war veterans. But the whole movement was in the experimental stage. Recognizing this fact, the Federal board made no attempt to set up definite standards for State rehabilitation workers corresponding to its standards for vocational teachers under the Smith-Hughes Act. Instead, it approved every State plan that seemed to give reasonable promise of producing satisfactory results. The years since 1920, however, have witnessed a remarkable development in the technique of rehabilitation. The Federal board is now in a better position to pass intelligently upon the merits of State programs, and many projects which would formerly have met with Federal approval are now rejected because they have been tried by other States and found unworkable.

But procedure can never be standardized to the point where a single formula will cover all cases. Rehabilitation is a highly individualized process, totally different in this respect from vocational education. Any two normal boys who wish to become carpenters may be given substantially the same training. But two sightless men who wish to become piano tuners may require very different treatment. One may be a musician; the other may lack even the slightest knowledge of music. One may be intelligent and readily responsive to training; the other may be stupid and quite unresponsive. One may be able to finance himself during a rather extensive training period; the other may have several dependents and need training that will give him earning power in the shortest possible time. Nor does it follow that a man will make a good piano tuner because he has lost his sight. In some States the tendency is to have but one job for each type of disability, with little regard to aptitude, previous education, individual preference, or a host of other relevant factors. The Federal agents encourage State administrators to offer each applicant for rehabilitation the widest possible choice of occupations.

DIFFICULTIES OF JUST APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS

One of the most important and yet most difficult tasks of the State board administering the Fess-Kenyon Act is to find the disabled persons who need its services. Very few incapacitated men and women know anything about rehabilitation; they must be singled out and told of their opportunity to receive training that will make them self-supporting.

Names of prospects are secured in a number of different ways. Those States which have workmen's compensation laws must of necessity keep a complete record of all persons disabled through industrial accidents. In many Commonwealths the welfare societies, labor organizations, civic and business clubs report all cases coming to their attention. Some of the State rehabilitation boards make a serious effort to secure wide publicity for their work. They distribute pamphlets and posters and frequently send stories of actual cases to the newspapers. Motion-picture films are also used in at least two States. Public-health clinics furnish their share of cases. Unfortunately, however, most of the States do not make the fullest use of these various methods of securing names, and as a result thousands of cases never come to their attention.

Vocational rehabilitation is sometimes defined as the process of fitting a disabled person to engage in remunerative employment, but actually the task is far from finished when the course of training has just been completed. There still remains the important and difficult task of placement. A job must be found for the rehabilitated worker and he must be given a chance to test his newly developed skill. Not until he has successfully demonstrated his ability to hold his own in competition with normal men and women over a period of several months can rehabilitation be called complete. And not until then is the case marked as closed upon the State's records.

A few years ago the placement of rehabilitated workers was extremely difficult. Most of the employers who agreed to hire them let it be clearly understood that they did so in a spirit of charity and not as a strict business proposition. More recently, however, the attitude of employers has undergone a marked change. Thousands of rehabilitated men and women have proved their ability to do thorough work consistently despite their physical handicaps, and in the light of their success it is not easy to regard the employment of reeducated persons as charity.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF REHABILITATION WORK

The development of State rehabilitation work under the stimulus of Federal funds has been little short of phenomenal. Although 12 States had enacted some sort of legislation concerning vocational reeducation prior to 1920, only half that number had made any serious attempt to put their laws in force. Within a year after the passage of the Fess-Kenyon Act the number of States carrying on rehabilitation programs worthy of the name had risen to 35. Forty States are now cooperating with the Federal Government. Federal payments to the States were nine times as large in 1927 as in 1921, but every year State outlays kept well ahead of the Feneral grant. The following table shows the growth of the Federal subsidy for rehabilitation:

Federal expenditures for vocational rehabilitation[1]

YEAR AND AMOUNT	
1921	$93,335.72
1922	318,608.12
1923	525,387.24
1924	551,095.56
1925	519,553.31
1926	578,847.33
1927	880,263.00

[1] Figures supplied by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

[1] Figures supplied by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

HYGIENE OF MATERNITY AND INFANCY

In the matter of maternal death rates the United States makes an extremely poor showing. Recently compiled figures of maternal mortality show that among 21 leading nations the United States stands at the bottom of the list. With regard to infant deaths, our record is much better, but still not entirely satisfactory. (Figures supplied by Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor.) Small wonder, therefore, that in recent years the need for teaching mothers how to take better care of themselves and their babies during the crucial months before and after birth has received widespread recognition. In 1921 Congress enacted into law a bill providing for an annual subsidy to the States of $1,240,000 "for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy." (42 Stat. L. 224.) Three-fourths of the States had already placed upon their statute books laws providing for some form of child hygiene work, but only a few had gone beyond the experimental stage. Most of the State child hygiene bureaus were seriously handicapped by inadequate appropriations. The Federal offer stimulated State interest and aided materially in putting the State work upon a sound footing.

THE SHEPPARD-TOWNER ACT

The new Federal aid law, commonly known as the Sheppard-Towner Act, followed closely the lines of its predecessors. It required each State legislature to make formal acceptance of the Federal offer, to match Federal funds, and to designate or create a State board empowered to cooperate with the Federal Board of Maternity and Infant Hygiene. This board, set up under the provisions of the act, is composed entirely of ex officio members—the Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service of the Treasury Department, and the Commissioner of Education of the Department of the Interior. It meets but three or four times a year.

All the details of administration are in the hands of the Children's Bureau, which has a division of maternity and infancy directed by a physician. Three physicians, two nurses, and an auditor comprise the staff of this division. Their headquarters are at Washington, and from there they visit the several States, inspecting State activities, and suggesting improvements in State programs. The intention of the Children's Bureau is to send one of its inspectors to every State at least once a year, but this is not always possible. Narrowly restricted congressional appropriations have prevented the bureau from securing an adequate number of inspectors, and as a result only four or five days a year are spent in any one State unless exceptional conditions make a longer visit imperative. Frequent changes in State personnel sometimes result in the employment of inexperienced workers, and the burden of training the newcomers frequently falls upon the agents of the Children's Bureau. Under such circumstances a month or even longer may be spent in a single State, with the result that visits to other States must be curtailed.

METHODS OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION

Other Federal bureaus administering subsidy laws depend upon their regular field agents to audit State accounts in addition to inspecting State activities. In most cases the agents are not trained auditors, and their examination of State fiscal records is at best perfunctory. The Children's Bureau employs a different plan which might well be adopted more generally. Its agents confine themselves to the task of inspecting State work and making helpful suggestions, leaving the fiscal examination to a trained auditor who visits every State in the course of a year.

This plan has two marked advantages. Not only does it insure a more thorough audit, but it also provides a double check on State activities; for the auditor, though supposed to devote her time entirely to fiscal affairs, is directed to report any matter coming to her attention which seems contrary to Federal policy. Aside from the careful audit, Federal inspection is not very thorough. This is no reflection upon the agents of the Children's Bureau, who are well-trained, dependable workers. The blame must be laid at the door of Congress, whose parsimonious policy has seriously handicapped child-hygiene work.

STATES ALLOWED WIDE DISCRETION

The Children's Bureau permits the States a great deal of latitude in framing their plans. No attempt is made to bring about even a semblance of uniformity. Practically every State program submitted for Federal approval is accepted in toto unless it contemplates some violation of the law; unless, for example, it provides that Federal funds are to be used for the purchase of land or the payment of pensions to mothers, two uses to which the Federal subsidy may not be put. The degree of diversity among State plans is not so great as might well be expected, however. Most of the State child hygiene directors are eager to profit by the experience of other States, and to adopt methods which have proved successful elsewhere. Each year the State directors meet in conference initiated by the Children's Bureau, and at these sessions they receive a better understanding of their common problems. (A more complete picture of State work under the Sheppard-Towner Act is given in Macdonald, Austin F., Federal Aid, pp. 215–221. See also the reports made to the League of Women Voters by the American Child Health Association and the Maternity Center Association. These reports are reprinted in abridged form in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 70th Cong., 1st sess. May 29, 1928.)

"CHILD HEALTH CONFERENCES"

One of the most widely used devices for stimulating local interest in child health work is the "child health conference." Each conference is a demonstration in some community by State physicians and nurses, who travel from section to section of the State, giving free advice, answering questions, and pointing out by means of talks and motion pictures the importance of safeguarding child health. In many of the States child hygiene nurses are assigned temporarily to the local communities to stimulate interest. Other States follow a somewhat different plan, making use of nurses who direct entire public-health programs, devoting only a portion of their time to maternity and infancy work. When the demonstration period is at an end many communities are so impressed with the value of the service that they decide to finance it permanently with local funds.

OPPOSITION OF PRIVATE PRACTITIONERS

During the early stages of the child-hygiene movement a great deal of opposition was encountered from private practitioners, who feared that the public doctors and nurses might become serious competitors. Several years have passed since the inception of public programs, but even yet the fear has not been entirely dispelled. The American Medical Association is still conducting an active anti-Federal child-hygiene campaign. The average physician has long since discovered, however, that public child health work is designed to increase his practice rather than to interfere with it. Doctors and nurses paid in part with Sheppard-Towner funds are scrupulously careful not to prescribe remedies. They do not cure physical defects. Instead they teach the importance of proper hygiene, and when medical treatment becomes necessary they recommend a visit to the family physician.

SUPERVISION OF MIDWIVES

One of the most important phases of maternity work is the regulation and supervision of midwives. A surprisingly large number of children are ushered into the world by midwives; in some States at least half of the births are unattended by physicians. The seriousness of this situation is obvious when it is understood that most of the midwives are ignorant, untrained women, highly superstitious, and without the faintest conception of the elementary rules of hygiene. They do not even appreciate the value of cleanliness.

There are, of course, some very competent women among the professional midwives. In Pennsylvania, New York, and some other States many of them are graduates of midwifery schools. But in parts of the South conditions are abominable. The midwives are chiefly negroes, who frequently rely upon the semi-savage rites of slavery days. How to fit them to practice their calling is a problem of considerable magnitude. Classes have been formed in many States and the rudiments of maternal hygiene have been taught to hundreds of women. Laws prohibiting them from practicing can not be satisfactorily enforced. In fact, such laws are undesirable, for in many sparsely settled communities there are no physicians, while in other sections are thousands of families too poor to pay for medical attention. The solution of the problem is not the elimination of the midwife, but stricter regulation and more adequate training.

WIDELY ADMINISTERED BUT BITTERLY OPPOSED

The Sheppard-Towner Act was passed by an overwhelming vote in both Houses of Congress. No other Federal-aid statute received so large a majority or escaped with so little criticism. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, v. 61, pt. 4, p. 4216 (Senate vote), and v. 61, pt. 8, p. 8037 (House vote). The national defense act of 1916 received almost unanimous support from both parties, but it was primarily a measure designed to strengthen the Army at a time when war seemed inevitable. Its subsidy feature was of minor importance.) No other subsidy law has been administered with so great regard for the opinions and wishes of State officials or with so sincere a determination to avoid offending local pride. If any error has been made in the administration of the Sheppard-Towner Act it has been the sacrificing of Federal standards in order to retain the good will of the States.

And yet, curiously enough, the opponents of Federal aid have singled out this law as the special target for their attacks. Maliciously or through ignorance they have repeatedly misrepresented it. They have pictured the officials of the Children's Bureau as a conscienceless group of spies, forcing their way into private homes and compelling parents to raise their children according to prescribed Federal formulas. "The child belongs to the parents!" has frequently been a slogan in the fight against the child-hygiene movement. A true statement, surely, but quite irrelevant. Even well-informed persons do not know what is being done by the States, with the aid of Federal funds. In the November, 1923, issue of the Illinois Law Review an editorial declared that the Sheppard-Towner Act "provides for the pensioning of and rendering monetary aid to indigent mothers." (Vol. 18, p. 204.) This statement should be compared with the exact words of the law, which are to the effect that Federal and State-matched funds may not be used "for the payment of any maternity or infancy pension, stipend, or gratuity." (Sec. 12.) When the foes of the subsidy system decided to attack its constitutionality, they selected the Sheppard-Towner Act as most likely to meet the disfavor of the Supreme Court. The opposition to continuance of Federal aid for child hygiene had become so pronounced by 1927 that in the spring of that year its friends in Congress were obliged to accept a 2-year extension, until June 30, 1929, with the proviso

that after that date the subsidy would be discontinued. Whether a future Congress will reverse this policy and extend the Federal grant beyond the 1929 limit is problematic.

Part III. Conclusions

Federal aid is one of the most controversial subjects before the American people at the present time. Although the system has been warmly defended by staunch adherents, it has been attacked with equal vigor by determined opponents, it has been pictured by some as an instrument for accomplishing great ends, and by others as a practice leading to "the gradual breaking down of local self-government in America." (Lowden, Frank O., in his Convocation Address, University of Chicago, June, 1921.) Charges have been made and denied of unreasonable Federal interference in State affairs, of attempts to secure excessive standardization, of political manipulations destructive of sound administration.

This partisan discussion has tended to obscure rather than to make clear the real facts concerning Federal aid. A definite, impartial investigation of the effects of the subsidy system ought, therefore, to possess some value. Such an investigation this committee has attempted to make. Its conclusions are based chiefly upon first-hand material.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The committee desires first to record its belief that Federal aid to the States is a sound principle of administration, and ought to be continued. This statement, however, does not imply an unqualified indorsement of every feature of the subsidy system. On the contrary, it seems that certain phases of the system, referred to on other pages of this report (cf. infra, pp. 639–641), might profitably be altered. The reasons that have led the committee to accept the principle of Federal aid are set forth below:

1. Federal aid has stimulated State activity: Of this fact there can be no doubt. Figures showing the growth of vocational education, agricultural extension work, and other functions subsidized with Federal money have already been presented in this report. In every instance the granting of Federal funds has marked the beginning of a new era of State activity. The number of States engaged in civilian rehabilitation tripled within a year after the passage of the Fess-Kenyon Act. Agricultural extension work was unknown until it was introduced as an experiment by the United States Department of Agriculture. The opinions of the State directors administering the various subsidy laws furnish further evidence. At the present time there are 306 State officials whose duty it is to cooperate with the Federal Government under the provisions of the 7 Federal-aid statutes described above. Two hundred and sixty-four of these men and women—State directors of extension work, State foresters, State highway engineers, State adjutants general, and the like—were asked recently if Federal funds had stimulated their State programs. (Nearly half of these 264 State officials were interviewed. The remainder filled out questionnaires.) Two hundred and forty replied emphatically in the affirmative. "Without Federal aid it would have taken 50 years to bring our State work to the point where it is to-day," said one. "The Federal subsidy has not only increased the amount of available funds, it has awakened widespread State interest," was the comment of another.

These replies are typical. They have been selected practically at random. Of the remaining State directors, one was uncertain what reply to make, so that only 23 out of 264—not quite 9 per cent—questioned the stimulating effect of Federal aid upon the activities of their States. Numbered among the 91 per cent who answered affirmatively were officials of several of the wealthiest and most progressive States of the Union.

2. Federal aid has raised State standards: The 264 State directors were also asked: "Has Federal supervision in any way affected your State standards?" The affirmative replies outnumbered the negative by more than two to one. One hundred and eighty-one said, "Yes; raised them materially," or words to that effect; eighty-one said "no"; two were doubtful. This trend of opinion is highly significant, for State officials, like other men and women, are reasonably certain to claim for themselves all credit to which they are entitled. Had they been solely responsible for improved conditions, few of them would have hesitated to say so.

The fact that 70 per cent of the State directors whose opinions were asked willingly conceded the value of Federal supervision indicates that the supervision has accomplished results in at least 70 per cent of the States. There is no doubt that some of the subsidies in some of the States have done very little to better the high standards already set. In the matter of highways, for example, some of the more progressive States insist upon specifications considerably above the minimum acceptable to the Federal Government. Regardless of Federal requirements they would not be satisfied with poorly qualified teachers, inadequately trained nurses, or fire-protective systems that failed to protect. But for the large majority of the States (more than 70 per cent, in all probability) Federal inspection and advice have proved essential.

It is not necessary to place entire dependence upon the opinions of State directors in determining the effect of Federal aid on State standards. The record of State progress following the acceptance of Federal aid speaks for itself. In more than one State the college-trained high-school teacher of vocational agriculture, for example, paid in part from Smith-Hughes funds, is frequently subordinate to a high-school principal who never entered the doors of a college. In more than one State graft and corruption are commonplaces in county-road construction, while they play but little part in the building of Federal-aid highways. In more than one State commercial education, unsubsidized by the Federal Government, is sadly neglected, while industrial and agricultural training, under the stimulus of Federal leadership, are constantly developing higher standards. A comparison of State standards in any field just prior to acceptance of Federal aid and three years after acceptance is sufficient to show the effect of the subsidy system upon State administration.

3. Federal aid has been consistently administered without unreasonable Federal interference in State affairs.—One of the charges most frequently made against Federal aid is that it results in Federal domination of State activities, that it serves as an excuse for Federal bureau chiefs to force their plans and their policies upon unwilling State officials. There seemed to be no better way to determine the truth of such a statement than to ask the men and women who were allegedly the victims of Federal interference.

Accordingly the 264 State directors, whose opinions on other matters have already been quoted, were asked if the Federal Government had been guilty of unwarranted intrusion in State affairs. Two hundred and forty-five of them—92 per cent—denied emphatically any Federal domination. Three of the remaining nineteen replied, "Occasionally, but not as a general rule." Ninety-two per cent is a very high percentage. It approaches unanimity. Federal officials must have administered the subsidy laws with great tact and skill to have given so little offense. "We disagree on many matters," said one State official. "But the Federal Government is willing to try to see our viewpoint, and its representatives are always patient and sympathetic. Anyone who speaks of Federal domination simply doesn't know the facts." Substantially the same words were used by the other 245.

It is interesting to note that the office of cooperative extension work, administering the Smith-Lever Act, succeeded in escaping entirely the displeasure of the State extension directors. Of the 46 State directors consulted, not a single one regarded Federal supervision in the light of domination. The Federal Board for Vocational Education, in charge of the work under the Smith-Hughes and Fess-Kenyon (Rehabilitation) Acts, and the Children's Bureau, administering the Sheppard-Towner Act, were also given clean bills by State cooperating officials. Four State foresters, however, accused the Federal Government of undue interference, as compared with 26 foresters who approved of the manner of Federal supervision. Five State highway engineers thought there was some truth in the charge of Federal domination, though 36 characterized Federal inspection as most reasonable. Ten State adjutants general complained of Federal interference; 27 others scoffed at the notion.

The following table presents the opinions of State directors in convenient form:

Has Federal aid encouraged Federal interference in State affairs?[1]

Class of officials	Number of cooperating States	Number of State directors replying	Number of State directors answering "Yes"	Number of State directors answering "No"	Number of State directors doubtful
State foresters	32	30	4	26	
Extension directors	48	46	0	46	
Highway engineers	48	41	2	36	3
Adjutants general	47	37	10	27	
Directors of vocational education	48	35	0	35	
Directors of vocational reeducation	40	35	0	35	
Child hygiene directors	43	40	0	40	
	306	264	16	245	3

[1] Table prepared from information contained in Macdonald, Austin F., Federal Aid. This volume contains a complete analysis of the replies of State officials.

The Federal bureau receiving the fewest complaints is not necessarily entitled to the highest commendation. Every bureau administering a subsidy law has two important tasks. One is to gain and hold the confidence of the States, taking care not to offend local pride. The other is to maintain minimum Federal standards in every cooperating State.

To some extent these duties are conflicting. The bureau that places undue emphasis upon standards and shows itself unwilling to wait with some degree of patience for signs of improvement is likely to encounter the wrath of State officials. On the other hand, the bureau that seeks to gain the confidence of the States at any cost may find it necessary to overlook conditions that should be corrected. Somewhere between these two extremes is the much-talked-of happy medium which makes State directors happy without depressing the advocates of higher standards. The Federal Board for Vocational Education and the office of cooperative extension work have erred, if at all, on the side of undue leniency. The Children's Bureau has seemingly placed too great emphasis on the importance of State freedom from Federal supervision, though its attitude has doubtless been made necessary, at least in part, by the bitter opposition to the Sheppard-Towner Act. The Bureau of Highways, with a splendid record of careful inspection, has made but few enemies. The Forest Service has likewise escaped excessive criticism, though its supervision of State activities has been very thorough.

Least successful has been the Militia Bureau. More than half of the total number of complaints are registered against the administration of the national defense act, while Federal inspection of National Guard units has left much to be desired. It is only fair to the Militia Bureau to point out, however, that most of the slipshod inspection has been directly traceable to its lack of control over the so-called Federal "instructors," while most of the criticisms of State adjutants general have been directed, not against the Militia Bureau but against the General Staff. It is believed that State objections would largely cease and that Federal inspection would be greatly improved if the General Staff were divested of most of its control over National Guard matters, with a corresponding increase in the authority of the Militia Bureau.

The widespread belief that the Federal Government interferes with State affairs is due in part to the fact that many State directors protect themselves from the effects of local politics by shifting responsibility to the Federal Government. Many a State extension director, adjutant general, or highway engineer finds that pressure is constantly brought to bear on him to relax standards, to appoint some incompetent whose chief asset is a host of influential friends, or to approve the selection of an improper highway route as a matter of "courtesy" to some politician. But for Federal aid, the State director would be forced to stand on his own feet or else bow to political pressure.

The subsidy system, however, makes it easy for him to shift responsibility. "I'm sorry, boys," is likely to be his reply, "but if I did what you ask the Federal Government would never approve our plans." To his friends he freely confesses the value of Federal aid as a shield against the onslaughts of the spoilsmen. Federal bureau chiefs can withstand the pressure brought by State politicians much better than can State directors. Washington is a long distance from Jefferson City, Madison, or Montgomery. But every instance of this sort gives rise to the belief that the Federal Government is interfering in matters of purely State concern, and that it is imposing its will upon reluctant State directors. Some of the Federal bureau chiefs do not object to appearing in a false light, since the maintenance of high standards is thereby made easier. Others are inclined to resent the unwillingness of many State directors to accept responsibility.

4. Federal aid has accomplished results without standardizing State activities: Any administrative device that attempts to treat the United States as a homogeneous unit, without varying local needs and varying local problems, is foredoomed to failure. This country is so vast that methods well adapted to one section may prove totally unsuitable for another. Recognition of this fact has been in large measure responsible for the successful development of the subsidy system. The Federal-aid statutes make no attempt to set up uniform procedure. The Federal highways act of 1921, for example, provides that "only such durable types of surface and kinds of materials shall be adopted for the construction and reconstruction of any highway * * * as will adequately meet the existing and probable future traffic needs and conditions thereon." (42 Stat. L. 212, sec. 8.) But no attempt is made to define "durable"; the exact meaning of that word will of necessity vary widely from State to State. A durable road in Montana would prove short-lived indeed under the pounding of New York's traffic. The Clarke-McNary law of 1924 authorizes Federal cooperation with any State whose "system and practice of forest-fire prevention and suppression * * * substantially promotes" the protection of timbered land. (43 Stat. L. 653, sec. 2.) But there is nothing to indicate the kind of system that "substantially promotes" fire protection.

So it is with all the Federal-aid laws. In every case the chief of the Federal bureau administering the statute is intrusted with the duty of determining whether State plans are adequate, whether they provide for durable roads or properly trained teachers, and whether they substantially promote the interest of the States and of the Nation. And it has already been pointed out that the Federal bureau chiefs issue no ex-cathedra pronouncements for the benefit of the State directors with whom they cooperate. Instead, the fullest recognition of local needs is insured by permitting State officials to formulate their own plans, and minimum Federal standards are maintained by means of the Federal veto—a veto but seldom used except with regard to minor details.

5. Federal administration of the subsidy laws has been uninfluenced by partisan politics: The chief of every bureau administering Federal aid has been chosen without regard to partisan considerations. Everyone had years of experience in the Federal service or in the service of some State before becoming chief of a bureau. The Director of the Federal Board for Vocational Education was for years one of the agents of the board. The Chief of the Forest Service has been connected with the service for 23 years. The Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads resigned as highway engineer of the State of Iowa to accept the offer of the Federal Government. The staffs of all the bureaus are similarly free from political influence. They are chosen under civil-service regulations, and while those regulations have not always operated to secure the best trained, most desirable men and women, they have certainly succeeded in eliminating incompetents selected at the behest of professional politicians.

6. Federal aid has mitigated some of the most disastrous effects of State politics: No one would seriously contend that partisan politics have been eliminated from State administration of the subsidy laws. While some States have earned an enviable reputation for honest, efficient administration, others have become notorious as the happy hunting grounds of the spoilsmen. In a number of States the rehabilitation service has been seriously crippled as a result of political appointments. Child-health work has also suffered, though to a lesser extent. A few years ago conditions became so bad in one mid-Western State that the Bureau of Public Roads was obliged to withdraw all Federal aid for a time—a drastic step taken only four or five times by all the Federal bureaus combined since the inception of the modern subsidy system in 1911. Very recently an able State forester, appointed because of the insistent demand of the lumber interests, had scarcely assumed the duties of his office when he received from the governor a list of the persons who were to comprise the personnel of the forestry department. These instances, which might be multiplied ad nauseam, are sufficient to indicate that all the State cooperating agencies have not escaped the baneful effects of politics.

The representatives of the Federal Government are well aware of the extent to which partisan considerations determine the policies of certain States, and a great deal of their time is devoted to the task of improving conditions. They do not threaten to cut off all Federal funds if State administration is not instantly withdrawn from the field of politics. Such a threat would be tantamount to an announcement of Federal withdrawal from all further cooperative relationships, for no State could thus forcibly be led into the path of righteousness. But they do insist that State plans at least measure up to minimum Federal standards of efficiency, and that these plans be carried out substantially as approved. It is not Federal policy to deal in personalities.

A Federal bureau chief will not demand the resignation of any person in the State service (note, however, the remarks concerning the Forest Service on p. 631), but he may insist that some one better qualified be assigned to the cooperative work. Or, if his policy is less aggressive, he may accept without complaint the appointment of a group of incompetents and direct Federal agents to teach the newcomers the essentials of their jobs. In more than one instance, State employees have received most of their training from agents of the Federal Government. But whatever the method adopted, the effect of Federal influence has been to produce more competent workers in the less progressive States. Federal aid has not eliminated State politics, but it has certainly mitigated the evils of partisan administration.

7. *Federal aid has placed no unreasonable burden on any section of the country.*—Some statesmen and publicists argue at great length that the subsidy system is unfair to the wealthy industrial East, because it results in a transference of wealth from the rich Eastern States to the less wealthy States of the South and West. They point out that Federal aid is apportioned among the States on the basis of population (the subsidies for road construction and forest-fire prevention are, of course, exceptions), while the funds in the Federal Treasury are presumably drawn from the people of the States on the basis of wealth or income. The inhabitants of a rich State pay to the Federal Government in income and other taxes far more per capita than the people of a poor State, but they receive in return in the form of Federal aid exactly the same amount per capita.

To the opponents of Federal aid this arrangement seems inequitable. They contend that the system should be abolished, because every State does not receive a return proportionate to its contribution to the Federal Treasury. "No argument can be made for it," declared Governor Ritchie of Maryland in 1925, speaking before the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, "except that the States which other States carry want the money." (Federal Subsidies to the States, published by the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, Harrisburg, Pa. For an analysis of this and other arguments see Macdonald, Austin F., Federal Aid.) Reduced to its simplest terms, the contention of Governor Ritchie and of others who reason along similar lines is that the basis of Federal expenditures should be wealth instead of need. If Federal funds are collected in proportion to wealth or income they ought to be paid out, it is claimed, on the same basis. The fact that some States get back more than they contribute while others receive less "reflects the indefensible discriminations of the 50-50 system."

This reasoning is unique. It runs counter to generally accepted concepts. In theory, at least, if not always in practice, governmental revenue systems are based on the principle of ability to pay, as indicated by wealth or income. The burden of government rests, or ought to rest, upon those best able to bear it. But governmental expenditures are everywhere based on need and not on wealth. The largest schools are, or ought to be, erected in the districts containing the most children, not necessarily in those sections paying the highest taxes.

The greatest expenditures for poor relief are made in the poorest neighborhoods. The acceptance of this principle is virtually universal. Cities spend their revenues where they are most needed, without regard to where they were raised; and the fiscal system of every city results in a transference of wealth from the richer to the poorer districts. The States make large expenditures in the rural sections from funds raised chiefly in the cities. Every large municipality is helping the poorer rural districts to bear the cost of government.

What possible objection can there be, then, to extending the principle of need to the expenditure of Federal revenues? To go a step further, what other principle could possibly be applied with





any suggestion of fairness? Ought Federal judges to be assigned chiefly to the wealthy States on the assumption that most of their salaries are paid by these States? Should the Interstate Commerce Commission devote most of its time to the railroads of the East because so large a part of Federal revenues is derived from the New England and Middle Atlantic States? The mere suggestion of such an arrangement is enough to indicate the folly of trying to make Federal expenditures bear any relation to the wealth of the States.

Need must be the criterion in determining Federal outlays. Population may be a very crude measuring stick—it may serve but roughly to indicate need. But it does so very much more effectively than the wealth of the several States or the amounts of their income taxes. Federal aid can not fairly be criticized because it draws from the wealthy and gives to those less able to bear their share of the burden. Every sound governmental fiscal system does the same.

The objection may well be raised that some more accurate means of measuring need should be found. Population bears only a slight relation to any State's need for roads, schools, or county agents. But though population is not an ideal basis for distributing Federal funds, it has certain obvious advantages. It is uniform, easily determined, and not subject to political manipulations. The committee believes, therefore, that no immediate change should be made in the method of apportioning Federal subsidies.

RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN FEDERAL SUBSIDY SYSTEM

Although the committee unqualifiedly indorses the principle of Federal aid, believing that the subsidy system has proved a highly effective administrative device, it desires nevertheless to call attention to certain features of the system which ought to be changed in the interest of greater efficiency. Defects found in individual laws, and not characteristic of all Federal aid, have already been pointed out and need not here be repeated.

The thoroughness of Federal supervision varies greatly from bureau to bureau. Some Federal bureaus are familiar with every detail of State work; others are ignorant of much that is done by State officials. Some bureaus establish definite standards of performance which must be met by the States before Federal funds are paid out. Others make no attempt to set up standards for the guidance of the States. Some bureaus call the States strictly to account when State practices are discovered at variance with accepted standards. Others are long suffering, accepting virtually any State plan and condoning any State practice short of an actual violation of the letter of the law. In plain words, some Federal bureaus are doing their task of administration—of inspection and supervision—more carefully and more completely than others.

Apparently there is no good reason why all the Federal bureaus administering subsidy laws should not adopt the methods of the more successful. Every bureau should become thoroughly familiar with the work of the States. Every bureau should go beyond the strict letter of the law, encouraging those practices which long experience has shown to be satisfactory and discouraging unsound customs. Whether every bureau should set up definite standards of performance is a debatable question. In some work, such as vocational rehabilitation, it may be impossible to set up rigid standards.

Some Federal bureaus keep too loose a hand on the reins. Some condone too much and insist upon too little. The chiefs of these bureaus justify themselves, and with some reason, by emphasizing the need for continued cordial relations with the States. They point out that the withdrawal of Federal aid from a State might destroy the work of years. And they are undoubtedly correct when they stress the importance of good feeling between Federal and State officials. Without good feeling there can be no real cooperation. The error of the bureaus which adopt a liberal or lax policy is that they assume such a policy to be essential to continued friendly relations with the States. Other Federal bureaus administering subsidy laws do far more to raise State standards, and at the same time they retain the good will and respect of the State officials with whom they work. Other Federal bureaus exercise a most careful supervision of State activities, and yet escape the charge of domination.

The committee realizes that it is no easy task to steer a middle course—to raise State standards consistently and rapidly and yet retain State good will. It admits freely that the severing of friendly State relations in an effort to force State progress would be a tragic error. Yet it believes that some of the Federal administering bureaus err on the side of laxity and that they might well profit from the experience of other Federal bureaus which have successfully carried out a firmer policy.

Congressional appropriations to most of the bureaus for administrative purposes are totally inadequate. As a result the Federal inspectors are generally underpaid and overworked. Inspection is cursory in many cases simply because funds for more adequate investigations are not available. It is poor policy to give liberally to the States and then to withhold from the Federal administering bureaus the money necessary to make certain that Federal allotments are not wasted. Congress could make no wiser investment than by increasing the appropriations for the administration of Federal aid. It would receive large dividends in the form of more thorough Federal inspection and higher State standards of performance.

EXHIBIT B

MEMORANDUM ON A PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS AFFECTING STATE AND LOCAL RELIEF FUNDS

By Carl A. Heisterman and Miss Paris F. Keener

PART I

Summary statement of constitutional limitations on direct State or local aid to individuals, corporations, or associations

This summary statement covers the constitutional provisions in the various States which prohibit the particular State and/or the local jurisdictions in such State from appropriating, granting, or donating money to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation. (Source: The constitutions in their present form as found in the statutory codifications of the various States.)

The chief object of this statement is to show which States are limited by their constitutions in appropriating moneys for emergency aid or relief of needy individuals. No effort is made to construe the constitutions and, in the citations herein, the language of the pertinent provisions is followed closely.

The reader should not confuse the subject here covered with that of the separate and distinct constitutional limitations against incurring public indebtedness in aid of any individual, association, or corporation. Such limitations are made the subject of Part II of this memorandum.

The limitations in point will be considered in the following sections.

1. State aid or State apppropriations limited.

(a) Constitutional provisions: The constitutions of 13 States contain definite limitations on State aid to individuals. These States are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wyoming. Four of these States, however, California, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Wyoming exempt therefrom aid to the poor or to certain special classes of needy persons, and one (Pennsylvania) exempts pensions or gratuities for military service. (California, Art. IV, secs. 22, 31; New Mexico, Art. IV, sec. 31, Art. IX, sec. 14; North Dakota, Art. XII, sec. 185; Pennsylvania, Art. III, sec. 18; Wyoming, Art. III, sec. 36, Art. XVI, sec. 6.)

In six States limitations on State aid to individuals appear to be absolute. (Arizona, Art. IX, sec. 7; Colorado, Art. V, sec. 34; Georgia, Art. VII, sec. 16; Louisiana, Art. IV, sec. 8; Montana, Art V, sec. 35, Art. XIII, sec. 1; Texas, Art. III, sec. 51, Art. XVI, sec. 6.) The following pertinent provision in the constitution of Colorado will illustrate the type of constitutional limitations here considered:

"No appropriation shall be made for charitable, industrial, educational, or benevolent purposes to any person, corporation, or community not under the absolute control of the State. * * *."

Substantially identical provisions are found in the constitutions of Louisiana and Montana, the latter State also prohibiting donations or grants "by subsidy or otherwise." Arizona prohibits the State from making any donation or grant, by subsidy or otherwise, to any individual, association, or corporation; Georgia prohibits the granting of any donation or gratuity in favor of any person; and Texas declares that no appropriation for private or individual purposes shall be made, and that the legislature shall not grant public money to any individual.

Among the four States which exempt aid to the poor from the limitations, New Mexico and Wyoming have constitutional limitations practically identical with those heretofore noted for Colorado. These two States, however, in other parts of their constitution, also prohibit "donations" in aid of individuals; but New Mexico adds that this shall not "prohibit the State or any county or municipality from making provisions for the care and maintenance of sick and indigent persons," and Wyoming makes an exception "for necessary support of the poor." North Dakota prohibits the State or any local subdivision thereof from making "donations" in aid of any individual, but also makes an exception "for reasonable support of the poor." With respect to exemptions in favor of certain special classes, California prohibits the legislature from making, or authorizing the making of, any gift of any public money or thing of value to any individual; but the State may aid in local outdoor and in institutional relief of orphans and certain other dependent children and may also aid needy blind, physically handicapped, or indigent aged persons, and war veterans.

Mississippi and Missouri also make pertinent qualifications of the limitations. In Mississippi (Art. IV, sec. 66) no law granting a donation or gratuity in favor of any person may be enacted, except with concurrence of two-thirds of all the members of the legislature. Missouri (Art. IV, sec. 46) prohibits any grant of public money or thing of value to any individual, association of individuals, municipal, or other corporation; but permits aid in case of "public calamity." (It is interesting to note that the Legislature of Missouri, in making an appropriation of $250,000 for relief of its drought-stricken citizens, declared the drought of 1930 "a public calamity," within the meaning of "section 46 of Article IV of the constitution of Missouri," and the appropriation act "to be necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, and safety." See Laws of 1931, p. 205. In this State a constitutional provision on granting aid by local units exempts granting of "pensions to the deserving blind," and is broad enough to permit such pensions from the State (art 4, sec. 47).)

It is also to be noted that some of the foregoing States by other constitutional provisions expressly authorize aid to special classes

of needy persons, such as mothers with dependent children, the blind, the aged, and war veterans. (California (all four classes, as has been noted), art. 4, sec. 22; Louisiana (mothers' pensions), art. 18, sec. 5, p. 267; Missouri (the blind, and soldiers' bonus), art. 4, secs. 44b, 44c, 47.)

While the constitutions of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Pennsylvania prohibit State appropriations to or in aid of individuals, the fact is that in all of these States, by statute, State funds have been made available for aid to certain special classes. The States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Pennsylvania are authorized by statute to contribute funds in aid of mothers, either directly, as in Arizona, or through the counties, as in New Mexico and Pennsylvania. In Colorado State aid is given to the blind; and in North Dakota, State funds are provided for soldiers' bonus.

(b) Court decisions: The question of the constitutionality of such measures as old-age pensions and relief of families through mothers' aid, as well as certain other public relief measures, has been raised in some of the States here considered; and a few of the pertinent court decisions are cited below.

In Pennsylvania the constitution provides that—

"No appropriation, except for pensions or gratuities for military services, shall be made for charitable, educational, or benevolent purposes to any person or community, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation, or association." (Art. 3, sec. 18.)

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania held the old-age assistance act of 1923 (P. L. 189) unconstitutional, as in violation of the above section. (Busser *v.* Snyder (1925) 282 Pa. St. 440, 128 Atl. 80, 37 A. L. R. 1515.) The court said, in part, that the words "person" and "community":

"Are not limited to the idea of a single person or place where persons are located; they are used in an inclusive sense, relating to an individual or a group or class of persons, wherever situated, in any part or all of the Commonwealth. It applies to persons, kind, class, and place, without qualification. The language of the Constitution is an absolute and general prohibition."

The court stated, however, that appropriations of money for the care of "indigent, infirm, and mentally defective, including certain physically defective, persons," may be sustained on the theory that it is a duty of the State government for its own preservation and protection. It held that the law in question could not be sustained on the theory that it is a poor law, because: "The term 'poor,' as used by the law makers, describes those who are destitute and helpless, unable to support themselves, and without means of support."

There have been several court decisions on the constitutionality of mothers' pension laws. (Cass County *v.* Nixon (1917), 35 N. D. 601, 161 N. W. 204; In re Walker (N. D., 1923), 193 N. W. 250; State *v.* Klasen, 123 Minn. 382, 143 N. W. 984; Denver, etc., R. Co. *v.* Grand County, 51 Utah, 294, 170 Pac. 74; In re Snyder, 93 Wash. 59, 160 Pac. 12; State *v.* Buckstegge, 18 Ariz. 277, 158 Pac. 837.) The theory on which such laws are held constitutional is expressed by the Supreme Court of North Dakota in the leading case of Cass County against Nixon. The court said:

"The persons, in fact, the real and actual recipients of the protection and benefits conferred * * *, are indigent minors of tender years (whose mothers are unable) to supply such minors with (the) absolute necessities of life * * *."

And the court adds, in effect, "that such minors are proper subjects of State or local guardianship." In a later case (In re Walker) the same court reasoned that such a law was not in any sense a poor relief act, to aid a certain class of indigent adult persons, but that:

"The pension awarded under the law is rather in the nature of a compensation for services rendered to the State in bringing up its future citizens in proper surroundings and giving them the proper care."

The Supreme Court of Colorado has held that the pertinent constitutional provision (heretofore quoted) prohibits an appropriation "for the relief of destitute farmers" in certain counties. (In re Relief Bills, 21 Colo. 62; 39 Pac. 1089, 1091.) (Certain decisions upholding the constitutionality of measures for incurring indebtedness for similar relief are noted in Part II of this memorandum.)

The constitutionality of statutory measures for direct State relief of needy individuals during the present emergency is a matter of conjecture. No court decision exactly in point has as yet been rendered in the 13 States considered. (In Mississippi, however, the requirement of a two-thirds vote of the legislative membership might permit a vote for direct appropriations for public relief; and, in Missouri, the interpretation of the constitutional term "calamity" might be held to be a matter for legislative determination.)

(c) Time required for amendments to the constitutions: In connection with the possibility of constitutional amendments to permit State aid for relief purposes, it is pertinent to consider the length of time required to amend State constitutions. The most usual requirement is that an amendment may be proposed by the legislature (in a few States also by initiative petition signed by a certain number of qualified voters) and must then be submitted to the people at the next general election. In a few States amendments may apparently be proposed in special sessions of the legislature, and a special election may also be called. A study of the various constitutional requirements in the States in question indicates that in most of such States it is practically impossible to amend the constitution before the lapse of one year or more between the time when the amendment is proposed and the time when it is adopted. It is, for example, noted that in Pennsylvania the time required to amend the constitution has varied from two to six years.

(d) Emergency relief as exercise of police power: It is possible that the constitutionality of a relief measure to meet the emergencies of a particular State may be upheld by the courts on the ground that such a measure is for the public health, safety, and welfare of the people, as well as for the protection of the State, and is therefore constitutional because within the police power inherent in the legislature of the State. This view finds support in judicial construction of the term "police power" by eminent authority. The Supreme Court of the United States, speaking by Mr. Justice Miller, has said:

"The police power, from its very nature, is incapable of any very exact definition, as it concerns the security of social order and the life and health of the citizen, comfort of existence in dense populations, and the enjoyment of private and social life, and the beneficial use of property." (Slaughter House Cases, 16 Wall. 36.)

In a more recent case, decided by this court (Noble State Bank *v.* Haskell (1911), 219 U. S. 104, 111), Mr. Justice Holmes said:

"It may be said in a general way that the police power extends to all the great public needs. (Camfield *v.* United States, 167 U. S. 518.) It may be put forth in aid of what is sanctioned by usage, or held by the prevailing morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare."

In an Ohio case (Leonard *v.* State, 100 Ohio St. 456; 127 N. E. 464), frequently cited, the supreme court of that State declared that:

"The dimensions of the Government's police power are identical with the dimensions of the Government's duty to protect and promote the public welfare. The measure of police power must square with the measure of public necessity. * * * If there appears in the phrasing of the law and the practical operation of the law a reasonable relation to the public need, its comfort, health, safety, and protection, then such act is constitutional, unless some express provision of the Constitution be clearly violated in the operation of the act. Moreover, the growth of the police power must from time to time conform to the growth of our social, industrial, and commercial life."

The thought that pertinent emergency measures for public relief may be constitutional on the ground that they fall within the police power of the State finds further support in recent legislative expressions appearing in emergency relief legislation in Missouri and New York. The legislature in the former State declares the law (Laws of 1931, p. 205) to be "necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, and safety"; and the New York Legislature in its comprehensive law, appropriating $20,000,000 for public relief (Laws of 1931, ch. 798), declares in part that:

"The public health and safety of the State and of each county, city, and town therein being imperiled by the existing and threatened deprivation of a considerable number of their inhabitants of the necessaries of life, owing to the present economic depression, such condition is hereby declared to be a matter of public concern, State and local, and the correction thereof to be a State, county, city, and town purpose, the consummation of which requires, as a necessary incident, the furnishing of public aid to individuals. * * * This act, therefore, is declared to be a measure for the public health and safety and occasioned by an existing emergency."

2. Local aid or appropriations limited.

The constitutions of seven States contain definite limitations on aid to individuals by counties, cities, and towns, for which there are no exceptions as to giving relief to the poor or other needy persons, nor do the constitutions of these States contain other provisions expressly authorizing counties to support their poor. (Arizona, art. 9, sec. 7; Arkansas, art. 12, sec. 5; Colorado, art. 11, sec. 2; Delaware, art. 8, sec. 8; Kentucky, sec. 179; New Jersey, art. 1, sec. 19; Pennsylvania, art. 9, sec. 7.) The constitutional limitation upon local units either expressly forbids any county, city, town, or other subdivision of the State to appropriate money or make any donation or grant to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation, or expressly forbids legislation to authorize such action.

Three States have similar constitutional limitations but make exemptions which have a limited application: Missouri exempts blind pensions, and Louisiana and Texas provide in the constitution for public indoor (institutional) relief. (Missouri, art. 4, sec. 47; Louisiana, art. 4, sec. 12; Texas, art. 3, secs. 51, 52, art. 9, sec. 2, and art. 16, sec. 8.)

In 10 other States the constitutions also prohibit local units from extending aid to individuals, but in six of these States the constitutional limitations are qualified by specific exemptions in favor of the poor (Georgia, art. 7, sec. 6 (1); New Mexico, art. 9, sec. 14; New York, art. 8, sec. 10; North Dakota, art. 12, sec. 185; Washington, art. 8, sec. 7; Wyoming, art. 16, sec. 6) and in four States, in other parts of the constitutions, the local units are specifically authorized to support the poor. (Alabama, art. 4, secs. 88, 94; Florida, art. 9, sec. 10, art. 13, sec. 3; Montana, art. 10, sec. 5, art. 13, sec. 1; Oklahoma, art. 10, sec. 17, art. 17, sec. 3.)

In this connection, it may be of interest to note seven States which also have consitutional authorization for poor relief, although these States do not have the limitation on local aid to individuals. (These States are: Indiana, art. 9, sec. 3; Kansas, art. 7, sec. 4; Michigan, art. 8, secs. 11, 22; Mississippi, art. 14, sec. 262; Nevada, art. 13, sec. 3; North Carolina, art. 11, sec. 7;

South Carolina, art. 12, sec. 3.) In three of these (Indiana, Michigan, and Mississippi) the constitutional authorization covers only indoor relief.

With reference to support of the poor, it is safe to assume that, in the absence of any constitutional provision authorizing counties or other local units (with the exception of North Carolina, where the constitutional provision for support of the poor is general, all of the States listed as having constitutional authorization for poor relief, place the burden of such relief on the local unit. The constitutions apply the duty of poor relief only to "counties" or other local subdivisions), to support their poor, such local units have an inherent right and duty to support their public charges.

Here, again, the police power, inherent in the legislature and the State as well as in its local units, may be deemed to include the power to protect and relieve needy citizens, as given judicial expression in at least three court decisions. (Hornden *v.* New Haven, 91 Conn. 589, 101 Atl. 11; Busser et al *v.* Snyder, 282 Pa. 440, 128 Atl. 80; Fox *v.* Kendall, 97 Ill. 72.) A Connecticut court held in substance that the prevention of any person from suffering for the necessities of life is a legitimate exercise of governmental power. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the course of its opinion on the constitutionality of an old-age pension law, said:

"* * * There is no direct prohibition against the use of State money to pay for the care and maintenance of indigent, infirm, and mentally defective persons without ability or means to sustain themselves, and other charges of a like nature. They become direct charges on the body politic for its own preservation and protection. As such, in the light of an expense, they stand in the same position as the preservation of law and order."

And the Illinois court in considering a statute shifting support of the poor from the county to the township said:

"The general assembly, we apprehend, has the undeniable right to impose the support of paupers on counties, cities, incorporated villages, or townships, as it may choose. This is a portion of the police power that may be exercised by that body according to its wisdom and sense of right. * * *"

The foregoing would warrant the conclusion that despite any constitutional limitations against granting aid to individuals a statutory measure for the relief of the poor by local units is constitutional as a proper exercise of the police power of the legislature. From a social viewpoint the constitutional limitations on aid by local units are relatively unimportant, because the fact is that the local units in practically all of the States listed are actually granting poor relief.

3. States which appear to have no pertinent limitations on granting State or local aid.

The remaining 26 States (Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin) appear to have none of the limitations considered within the scope of this part of the memorandum. Some of these States, however, have constitutional limitations against incurring indebtedness in aid of any individual, and it is possible that such limitations would seriously handicap emergency aid or relief of any group of needy individuals. These limitations are made the subject of Part II of this memorandum.

PART II

Summary statement of constitutional limitations on incurring indebtedness by States and their local units

This part of the memorandum covers for the various States the constitutional limitations on State and local indebtedness with reference to:

(1) The extension of credit through loan or pledge in any form by the State to or in aid of its local units.

(2) The extension of credit through loan or pledge in any form by (a) the State and (b) the local units to or in aid of any individual, corporation, or association.

(3) The amount of indebtedness which States or local units may incur.

The general purpose is to show which States are limited by their constitutions in incurring indebtedness for purposes of emergency aid or relief of needy individuals. In some of the States pertinent constitutional limitations are made inapplicable to certain public purposes, or indebtedness is permitted under other constitutional provisions for such items as the building of roads and public structures, for soldiers' and sailors' homes and support, for educational purposes, for refunding of bonds, and also in cases of war, invasion, and insurrection. Unless such exceptions to the limitations specifically apply to the subject of public aid they are not cited in this memorandum.

These constitutional limitations against borrowing money for relief of individuals are exclusive of those dealt with in Part I, which limit or prohibit donations or appropriations of moneys to or in aid of any individual. In this connection, it is to be noted that, while a particular State or locality may be prohibited from extending its credit to individuals there may not be any constitutional limitation against making appropriations in aid of individuals and, therefore, such aid might be legally granted.

The following constitutional provisions in some of the States are illustrative of those found in the constitutions of the other States.

California: "The legislature shall have no power to give or lend, or to authorize the giving or lending, of the credit of the State, or of any county, city and county, city, township, or other political corporation or subdivision of the State now existing, * * * in aid of or to any person, association, or corporation, whether municipal or otherwise, or pledge the credit thereof, in any manner whatever, for the payment of the liabilities of any individual, association, municipal or other corporation whatever * * *." (Art. 4, sec. 31.)

Colorado: "Neither the State nor any county, city, town, township, or school district shall lend or pledge the credit or faith thereof, directly or indirectly, in any manner to or in aid of any person, company, or corporation, public or private, for any amount or for any purpose whatever, or become responsible for any debt, contract, or liability of any person, company, or corporation, public or private, in or out of the State." (Art. 11, sec. 1.)

Delaware: "No appropriation of the public money shall be made to, nor the bonds of this State be issued or loaned to any county, municipality, or corporation, nor shall the credit of the State, by the guarantee or the indorsement of the bonds or other undertakings of any county, municipality, or corporation, be pledged otherwise than pursuant to an act of the general assembly, passed with the concurrence of three-fourths of all the members elected to each house." (Art. 8, sec. 4.)

"No county, city, town, or other municipality shall lend its credit or appropriate money to, or assume the debt of * * * any corporation or any person or company whatever." (Art. 8, sec. 8.)

New York: "Neither the credit nor the money of the State shall be given or loaned to or in aid of any association, corporation, or private undertaking. This section shall not, however, prevent the legislature from making such provision for the education and support of the blind, the deaf and dumb, and juvenile delinquents, as to it may seem proper. * * *." (Art. 8, sec. 9.)

"No county, city, town, or village shall * * * loan its money or credit to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation * * * (nor become indebted) except for county, city, town, or village purposes. This section shall not prevent such county, city, town, or village from making such provision for the aid or support of its poor as may be authorized by law. * * *." (Art. 8, sec. 10.)

Nebraska: "The credit of the State shall never be given or loaned in aid of any individual, association, or corporation." (Art. 13, sec. 3.)

1. Limitations on indebtedness by State in aid of local units.

The constitutions of 22 States (California, Art. IV, sec. 31; Colorado, Art. XI, sec. 1; Delaware, Art. VIII, sec. 4; Georgia, Art. VII, sec. 8 (1); Idaho, Art. VIII, sec. 2; Illinois, Art. IV, sec. 20; Indiana, Art. X, sec. 6; Kentucky, secs. 157a, 177; Louisiana, Art. IV, sec. 12; Michigan, Art. X, sec. 12; Missouri, Art. IV, sec. 45; Montana, Art. XIII, sec. 4; Nevada, Art. IX, sec. 4; Ohio, Art. VIII, sec. 5; Oklahoma, Art. X, secs. 14, 15; Oregon, Art. XI, sec. 8; Pennsylvania, Art. IX, sec. 9; Tennessee, Art. II, sec. 31; Texas, Art. III, sec. 50; Utah, Art. XIV, sec. 6; Virginia, Art. XIII, sec. 185; West Virginia, Art. X, sec. 6) expressly prohibit the extending of State credit to or in aid of, and/or the assuming of any liability of, the various local units. New Mexico, with similar limitations, provides that these shall not "prohibit the State or any county or municipality from making provisions for the care and maintenance of sick and indigent persons." (New Mexico, Art. IX, sec. 14.)

The following list shows the application of the constitutional limitations in each State:

State	Local unit	*Indicates no credit to be given	*Indicates no debt to be assumed
California	Municipalities		*
Colorado	Public corporation	*	*
Delaware	Counties, municipalities	*	[1] *
Georgia	County, municipality, political subdivision		*
Idaho	Municipalities	*	
Illinois	Public corporation	*	*
Indiana	County, city, town, township		*
Kentucky	Municipality or political subdivision	*	
Louisiana	"Political," public, and municipal corporation.	*	*
Michigan	Public corporation	*	
Missouri	Municipalities	*	*
Montana	County, city, town, or municipal corporation.		*
Nevada	County, town, city		*
Ohio	County, city, town, or township		*
Oklahoma	County, municipality, or political subdivision.	*	*
Oregon [2]	County, town, "or other corporation"		*
Pennsylvania	City, county, borough, township		*
Tennessee	Municipalities	*	
Texas	do	*	*
Utah	County, city, town		*
Virginia	do	*	*
West Virginia	County, city, township	*	*

[1] Delaware: State can not pledge the bonds of such local units, except by specific legislative authority of three-fourths of all members of the legislature.

[2] Oregon: Under this section, the supreme court of this State has held that the legislature may make an appropriation to a city where most of the private and public property was destroyed by fire, to enable the city to pay interest on bonds to be issued for reconstruction of the public property, and to create a sinking fund for the retirement of the bonds. (Kinney *v.* Astoria, 108 Oreg. 514, 217 P. 840.)

2. Limitations on indebtedness in aid of individuals, associations, or corporations by States or local units.

In most of the States the constitutions expressly prohibit the State from granting its credit to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation; and some of the States also prohibit the legislature from authorizing local units so to extend their credit. (In Delaware the limitation applies only to local units. Connecticut, Kansas, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Vermont appear to have no pertinent limitation. In Nevada and Utah the limitation does not apply to the class of individuals here considered; and in Ohio the limitation applies to "individual associations.")

It is found that, under the constitution of thirty-four States (Alabama, Art. IV, sec. 93; Arizona, Art. IX, sec. 7; Arkansas, Art. XVI, sec. 1, as amended in 1926; California, Art. IV, sec. 31; Colorado, Art. XI, sec. 1; Florida, Art. IX, sec. 10; Georgia, Art. VII, sec. 5 (1); Idaho, Art. VIII, sec. 2; Illinois, Art. IV, sec. 20; Indiana, Art. XI, sec. 12; Iowa, Art. VII, sec. 1; Kentucky, sec. 177; Louisiana, Art. IV, sec. 12; Maine, Art. IX, sec. 14; Maryland, Art. III, sec. 34; Massachusetts, Art. LXII; Michigan, Art. X, sec. 12; Minnesota, Art. IX, sec. 10; Mississippi, Art. XIV, sec. 258; Missouri, Art. IV, sec. 45; Montana, Art. XIII, sec. 1; Nebraska, Art. XIII, sec. 3; New Jersey, Art. IV, sec. 6 (3); New York, Art. VII, sec. 1; Art. VIII, sec. 9; North Carolina, Art. V, sec. 4; Oklahoma, Art. X, sec. 15; Pennsylvania, Art. IX, sec. 6; South Carolina, Art. X, sec. 6, as amended in 1926 (Laws of 1927, No. 104); Tennessee, Art. II, sec. 31; Texas, Art. III, sec. 50; Virginia, Art. XIII, sec. 185; Washington, Art. VIII, sec. 5; West Virginia, Art. X, sec. 6; Wisconsin, Art. VIII, sec. 3) credit may not be lent or extended by the State to, or in aid of, any individual, association, or corporation. In New Mexico, North Dakota, and Wyoming, similar limitations are imposed, but with exceptions as to support of the poor. (New Mexico, Art. IX, sec. 14; North Dakota, Art. XII, sec. 185; Wyoming, Art. XVI, sec. 6.)

With respect to constitutional limitations applicable to the local jurisdictions, it is found that in 17 of the foregoing 37 States, and also in Delaware, the constitutions either expressly forbid any county (except Michigan which applies the limitation only to cities and villages) or other local unit to give, lend, or pledge its credit to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation, or expressly forbid the legislatures to authorize such action. (Alabama, Art. IV, sec. 94; Arizona, Art. IX, sec. 7; Arkansas, Art. XII, sec. 5, Art. XVI, sec. 1, as amended in 1926; California, Art. IV, sec. 31; Colorado, Art. XI, sec. 1; Delaware, Art. VIII, sec. 4; Florida, Art. IX, sec. 10; Idaho, Art. VIII, sec. 4; Kentucky, sec. 179; Louisiana, Art. IV, sec. 12; Michigan, Art. XIII, sec. 25; Missouri, Art. IV, sec. 47; Montana, Art. XIII, sec. 1; New Jersey, Art. I, sec. 19 ("individual association"); Pennsylvania, Art. IX, sec. 7; Tennessee, Art. II, sec. 29; Texas, Art. III, sec. 52; Virginia, Art. XIII, sec. 185.) In seven other States similar limitations are imposed but with pertinent exceptions. (Georgia, Art. VII, sec. 6(1); New Mexico, Art. IX, sec. 14; New York, Art. VIII, sec. 10; North Dakota, Art. XII, sec. 185; South Carolina, Art. X, sec. 6, as amended in 1926 (Laws of 1927, No. 104); Washington, Art. VIII, sec. 7; Wyoming, Art. XVI, sec. 6.)

These exceptions are, in effect, as follows: In Georgia the limitation upon local units does not apply where the credit or appropriation is for "purely charitable purposes." New Mexico provides that the limitation shall not prohibit the State or the local units from "making provisions for the care of sick and indigent persons." New York permits counties, cities, towns, and villages to provide for the poor. (New York also prohibits State credit in aid of "any association, corporation, or private undertaking," but specifies that this shall not prevent the legislature from making proper provisions for the education and support of the blind, the deaf and dumb, and juvenile delinquents. Art. 8, sec. 9.) In North Dakota and Wyoming the State or the local units, and in Washington the local units may not extend their credit in aid of any person, except for the support of the poor. In South Carolina, local bonds may not be issued, except for certain purposes, which include the support of paupers.

The constitution in some States specifically authorizes the local units to support their poor; (Alabama, Art. IV, sec. 88; Florida, Art. XIII, sec. 3; Montana, Art. X, sec. 5; Texas, Art. XVI, sec. 8.) and in States where the courts have construed the constitution, as has been done in Montana (see p. 24) it may be that such local units can give credit or issue bonds for relief of the needy. In this connection, it is of interest to note the following unique constitutional provision in Massachusetts:

"The maintenance and distribution at reasonable rates, during time of war, public exigency, emergency or distress, of a sufficient supply of food and other common necessaries of life and the providing of shelter, are public functions, and the commonwealth and the cities and towns therein may take and may provide the same for their inhabitants in such manner as the general court shall determine." (Art. XLVII.)

In North Carolina the State may not lend its credit in aid of any person, except upon submission of the question to the people and with the consent of a majority of the voters, and in Tennessee there is a similar provision, but with respect to local units. (North Carolina, by art. 7, sec. 7, also prohibits any loans, etc., by local units (individuals are not specified), except by vote of a majority of the voters.) Maryland has amended the constitutional limitation against extending State credit to an individual, so as to enable the State to aid war veterans. (Constitution, art. 3, sec. 34, as amended in 1924.) In Montana a similar constitutional amendment failed of ratification.

3. Limitations on amount of indebtedness which States or local units may incur.

Most of the States have constitutional limitations under which the particular State is prohibited from incurring indebtedness above certain amounts, presumably for purposes other than those for which indebtedness is specifically authorized by the constitution. (Unless more is approved on referendum in California, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, New Jersey, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Wyoming. Instead of stating a specific amount, the States of Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming specify a certain percentage of the assessed valuation of all the taxable property of the State.) The constitutions of most of these States permit the State to incur indebtedness for such items as, for example, the construction of State buildings or institutions and of roads and also for educational purposes.

With reference to the limited amounts mentioned in the constitutions, the inference is that money can be raised up to the limits for purposes not expressly authorized nor specifically prohibited by the constitution; but it is difficult to ascertain whether the amounts within such limits are not already incurred or outstanding as State debts. In view of the constitutional restriction against State credit in aid of individuals, it is also questionable whether the limited amounts, if not outstanding, could be used for purposes of relief to the needy.

With respect to the constitutional limitations on amounts of indebtedness by local units, such limitations are expressed in terms of percentage of the assessed valuation of taxable property. The value of the taxable property on which the percentage limit of indebtedness is computed, as specified in most of the constitutions, is the value ascertained by the latest assessment for State and/or county tax previous to the incurring of such indebtedness. It is important to note that these percentage limitations on indebtedness have no relationship to the percentage limitation on property valuation for purposes of taxation, nor to the taxes which may be raised by a local unit under its constitutional power of taxation. To be specific: If the assessed value of the property of a county is $5,000,000, and the county is empowered to incur, and has incurred, an indebtedness of 10 per cent, or $500,000, of such value, such county may still raise by periodical taxation funds for legitimate purposes to the extent of 2 or 3 per cent—or whatever the statutory or constitutional limit may be—of such value of $5,000,000.

In general, there appears in these constitutional limitations on local units no limitations as to the purposes for which the proceeds of the indebtedness, so limited, may be used. It is, however, to be noted that indebtedness for purposes of public relief may be held unconstitutional under other limitations heretofore discussed. There are many judicial decisions on the constitutional limitations imposed upon local units as to the percentage of indebtedness, but they do not bear specifically on the subject of bond issues for purposes of public relief. The substance of judicial rulings in these decisions, in so far as they are pertinent here, is: That the constitutional limitations are clear and unambiguous and mean just what they state, namely, that no indebtedness may be contracted in any manner or amount, for any purpose, in excess of the prescribed limit; and that any law authorizing a bond issue in excess of such limit is unconstitutional and the bonds issued thereunder are void. (This also appears to be the judicial rule with respect to the States.) In this connection one case has been noted (State ex rel. Cryderman *v.* Wienrich, 54 Mont. 390, 394; 170 Pac. 942 (1915), referred to in more detail hereafter. In that case the Supreme Court of Montana, in holding constitutional a law in aid of farmers, held that by virtue of the constitutional provision that no county shall incur any indebtedness for any single purpose in any amount exceeding $10,000, without approval of a majority of the electors, a particular county could not exceed the limit of $10,000 for such aid without such approval.

PART III

Preliminary statement with reference to certain court decisions on constitutional limitations against aid or credit to individuals

The court decisions, which appear to be pertinent here, are: Those which have a direct bearing on the constitutionality of statutes authorizing public aid or credit to individuals and those in which the courts have construed the pertinent constitutional limitations with constitutional provisions authorizing counties to relieve their poor. No exhaustive search of court decisions has as yet been made, but the following observations with reference to the latter type of decisions and also to the constitutional authorizations for poor relief may be helpful.

In connection with relief of the poor the pertinent constitutional status in Montana is shown for purposes of illustration and to emphasize the importance of more extensive research of the entire subject in question. The constitution of that State provides that:

"Neither the State, nor any county, city, town, municipality, nor other subdivision of the State shall ever give or loan its credit in aid of or make any donation or grant, by subsidy or otherwise, to any individual, association, or corporation * * *." (XIII 1.)

The following is the construction of this provision by the Montana court.

"A $20,000 guaranty fund to assure payment of interest on farm-loan bonds was held unconstitutional because it gives the credit of the State for the benefit of those who might become lenders under the act." (Hill *v.* Rae, 52 Mont. 378, 388, 158 Pac. 826.)

"The seed grain law of 1915, to furnish aid to farmers so reduced in circumstances by natural or other conditions beyond their control that they have no means wherewith to purchase seed, does not offend against this section when construed with

section 5, Article X, of the Constitution, making it the duty of counties to provide for those inhabitants who, by reason of misfortune, may have claims upon the aid of society." (State ex rel. Cryderman v. Wienrich (1918), 54 Mont. 390, 394; 170 Pac. 942.)

Where the State constitution imposes a limitation on local indebtedness but specifically excepts from such limitation indebtedness incurred for support of the poor (as, for example, in South Carolina) the judicial construction here referred to is perhaps of less importance.

The pertinent constitutional provision in North Carolina is different from that in other States and is as follows:

"Beneficent provisions for the poor, the unfortunate, and orphan, being one of the first duties of a civilized Christian State, the general assembly shall * * * appoint and define the duties of a board of public charities * * *." (Art. XI, sec. 7.)

Under this section the supreme court of that State held that a county may pledge its faith and credit and issue valid bonds, without the approval of its voters, for the building of a county home for the poor, because "beneficent provisions" for them are recommended "as one of the first duties of a civilized and Christian State." (Commissioner v. Spitzer & Co., 173 N. C. 147; 91 S. E. 701.)

In an early case (State ex rel. Griffith v. Osawkee Twp. (1875), 14 Kans. 418), in Kansas, a statute, authorizing townships to issue bonds for the purpose of raising funds to provide grain for seed and feed for destitute farmers, was declared unconstitutional for the reason that it provided for taxation for other than a public purpose. Later the Supreme Court of North Dakota, in a leading case (State v. Nelson County (1890), 1 N. D. 88, 45 N. W. 33), in holding constitutional a similar statute for needy farmers, refused to follow the Kansas decision and, in the course of its opinion, said:

"This court has great respect for the court which promulgated that decision, and the most sincere admiration for the distinguished jurist, now upon the Supreme Bench of the Nation (the late Justice Brewer), who wrote the opinion in that case. Nevertheless we can not yield our assent to the reasoning of the case, leading to the conclusion that a loan of aid to an impoverished class, not yet in the poorhouse, is necessarily a tax for a private purpose. In our view, it is not certain, or even probable, in the light of subsequent experience in the West, that the court of last resort in the State of Kansas would enunciate the doctrine of that case at the present day. * * * Under the stress of adversity peculiar to the condition of the frontier farmer, there has come to be an expansion of the legal meaning of the term 'poor' sufficient to embrace a class of destitute citizens who have not yet become a public charge."

In the seed-grain decision, rendered by the Montana court in 1918, that court followed the leading case of State v. Nelson County and emphatically refused to be guided by the earlier Kansas decision, but reenforced the sound judicial expression of a social policy by the court of North Dakota, declaring:

"We realize that in (Kansas) the court * * * has taken other ground, holding, in effect, that one is not a pauper subject to relief until he is actually a pauper, not only helpless, but hopeless. * * * The argument * * * no longer responds to the spirit, nor meets the needs, of an age which has learned that 'an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure,' and that it is sounder benevolence to help the needy to support themselves, to retain or regain their self-respect, than it is to wholly and forever keep them in the public charge and at the public expense."

The State of Nebraska by constitutional limitation (Art. XIII, sec. 2) prohibits local units from ever making "donations to * * * works of internal improvement, unless a proposition so to do shall have been first submitted to the qualified electors * * *"; and provides that such donations of a county with the donations of a local subdivision shall not exceed 10 per cent of the assessed valuation of such county, but that such local units by a two-thirds vote may increase the indebtedness by 5 per cent. In 1890 the legislature submitted to the Supreme Court of Nebraska the constitutionality of a resolution authorizing certain counties to issue bonds, within the constitutional limits as to percentage and the vote of the residents, but for the purpose of relieving farmers in their drought-stricken areas. The court held the resolution constitutional (in re House Roll 284, 48 N. W. 275), saying, in the course of its opinion:

"A great calamity befell a number of counties of this State last year, by which a large part or all of the crops were destroyed, and the people left in a suffering condition. The soil and climate are excellent, and, with proper assistance, the citizens of those counties will be able to cultivate their farms, raise crops, and add millions of dollars to the wealth of the counties and of the State. Without this aid, many, perhaps a large portion, of the people of the counties named will be unable to cultivate their farms and raise crops. It thus becomes a matter of public concern, and the law may be sustained upon two grounds: (1) as a matter designed for public benefit; and (2) as a police regulation, to enable persons in straitened circumstances who, without fault upon their part, have met with misfortune, and are thereby greatly impoverished, to start anew in the cultivation of their farms with a reasonable prospect of success—in other words, from being dependent, to soon become able to provide for all their own wants."

The following judicial decisions on the constitutionality of measures for granting either aid or credit to an individual will also be of interest: The Supreme Court of Arizona, in the course of an opinion (Fairfield v. Huntington, 205 Pac. 814, 816), declared that the pertinent constitutional limitation—

"* * * prevents the State from becoming a subscriber to a charitable object, either alone or with others; that is, from appropriating its funds to an individual, association, or corporation for a cause having no claim upon the State other than its admitted worthiness."

In Michigan the constitution provides that:

"No city or village shall have power to * * * loan its credit, nor to assess, levy, or collect any tax or assessment for other than a public purpose * * *." (Art. 8, sec. 25.)

The Supreme Court of Michigan held that a city ordinance creating a pension system for civil employees was for a public purpose and not violative of this section of the constitution. (Bowler v. Nagel, 228 Mich. 434, 200 N. W. 258.)

With respect to relief of war veterans, the Supreme Court of North Carolina held that legislation for issuing bonds to aid war veterans in securing homes is the pledging of the credit for a "public purpose," and is constitutional. (Hinton v. Lacy, 193 N. C. 496, 137 S. E. 669.) In Wisconsin the supreme court held that the soldiers' educational bonus law does not lend State credit or create a debt, and that such law merely levies a tax for the purpose of making a gift, revocable at will, and no contract relationship is established. (State ex rel. Atwood v. Johnson, 170 Wis. 251, 176 N. W. 224.)

In conclusion, it would seem that, while limitations exist in many State constitutions, some of the State courts are inclined to interpret these limitations liberally and to consider relief of the needy as a public duty which comes outside of such constitutional restrictions.

CARL A. HEISTERMAN, *Legal Research.*

Mr. HULL obtained the floor.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will my colleague yield to me to suggest the absence of a quorum?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield for that purpose?

Mr. HULL. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. McKELLAR. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Costigan	Kean	Schall
Austin	Couzens	Kendrick	Sheppard
Bailey	Cutting	Keyes	Shipstead
Bankhead	Dale	King	Smith
Barbour	Dickinson	La Follette	Smoot
Barkley	Dill	Logan	Steiwer
Bingham	Fess	McGill	Stephens
Black	Frazier	McKellar	Thomas, Idaho
Blaine	Glass	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Glenn	Metcalf	Townsend
Bratton	Gore	Moses	Trammell
Brookhart	Hale	Neely	Tydings
Broussard	Harrison	Norbeck	Vandenberg
Bulkley	Hastings	Norris	Wagner
Bulow	Hatfield	Nye	Walcott
Byrnes	Hawes	Oddie	Walsh, Mass.
Capper	Hayden	Patterson	Walsh, Mont.
Caraway	Hebert	Pittman	Waterman
Carey	Howell	Reed	Watson
Coolidge	Hull	Robinson, Ark.	Wheeler
Copeland	Jones	Robinson, Ind.	White

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce the necessary absence of my colleague the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] on account of illness.

I also wish to announce that the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARRIS], the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], and the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] are necessarily detained on business of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-four Senators have answered to their names. The Senator from Tennessee has the floor.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President——

Mr. HULL. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. McNARY. With the consent of the Senator from Tennessee, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield for that purpose?

Mr. HULL. I do.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate sundry executive messages, which were referred to their appropriate committees.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. REED, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported favorably the nominations of several general reserve officers and sundry officers in the Regular Army.

Mr. STEIWER, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, reported favorably the nomination of Frank P. Light, of Oregon, to be register of the land office at Lakeview, Oreg.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there are no further reports of committees, the calendar is in order.

THE CALENDAR

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read Calendar No. 5, Executive KK (70th Cong., 2d sess.), a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Norway, signed at Washington on June 5, 1928, and an additional article thereto signed at Washington on February 25, 1929.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the two treaties on the calendar are to go over on the request of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. This notice may stand until they are called up.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The treaties will be passed over.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Frank Evans, of Utah, to be a member of the Federal Farm Board.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, at the request of the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. NORBECK], I ask that all nominations to the Federal Farm Board may go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations will be passed over.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Ira M. Ornburn to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I have an understanding with the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. COSTIGAN] that this nomination may go over until Tuesday next, the understanding being that the nomination may be taken up at that time.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. President, the request was made because of the absence of the Senator from Nebraska.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nomination will be passed over.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Robert L. O'Brien to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission.

Mr. WATSON. That is in the same situation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nomination will be passed over.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Sydney G. Gest to be secretary, Diplomatic Service.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Holmes C. Smith to be Foreign Service officer, unclassified, vice consul of career, secretary in the Diplomatic Service.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of George C. Crom to be register, land office, Gainesville, Fla.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. ODDIE. I move that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

COAST GUARD

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the nomination of Robert C. Sarratt to be lieutenant commander, United States Coast Guard.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

CONFIRMATION OF ANDREW W. MELLON TO BE AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. REED. Mr. President, earlier in the day, by unanimous vote of the members of the Foreign Relations Committee who met, more than a quorum of the committee being present, I was instructed to report out the name of Mr. Andrew W. Mellon to be ambassador to Great Britain, and I did so. The nomination has been added in typewriting at the end of the calendar which is before the Senate, there not being time to reprint the calendar to show the nomination in the usual way. I ask unanimous consent that the nomination may be acted upon at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I want to announce that I expect to vote against confirmation in this case, but I would just as soon have it acted on this afternoon as not.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on confirming the nomination. [Putting the question.] The ayes have it, and the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, as is obvious to the Members of the Senate, there is an automatic change taking place in the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Mr. Mellon going off the board and Mr. Mills, if he is appointed, taking his place, and the new Under Secretary, whoever he may be, going on as a member ex officio.

I am well aware of the settled policy of the Senate regarding notifying the President in advance of the period available for reconsideration; but for the reasons stated by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] the other day in expediting the notice of the confirmation of members of the board of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, I ask unanimous consent that the President may now be notified of the confirmation of Mr. Mellon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the President will be notified that the Senate advises and consents to the nomination.

The Senate resumed legislative session.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 355) providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Vice President.

RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate resumes consideration of the bill (S. 3045) to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes, and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HULL] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the Senator from Tennessee very generously yielded so that we might have an executive session. I understand that he would like to proceed on Monday.

Mr. HULL. That is agreeable to me.

RECESS UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. McNARY. I move that the Senate take a recess until Monday at 12 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate (at 3 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) took a recess until Monday, February 8, 1932, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 5, 1932

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO GREAT BRITAIN

Andrew W. Mellon, of Pennsylvania, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Great Britain, vice Charles G. Dawes, resigned.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Dwayne D. Maddox, of Tennessee, to be United States attorney, western district of Tennessee, to succeed Nelson H. Carver, who is serving in this position under a recess appointment.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS

Frederick L. Esola, of California, to be United States marshal, northern district of California. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expires March 5, 1932.)

Charles D. Jones, of Alaska, to be United States marshal, division No. 2, district of Alaska. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expired June 30, 1930.)

William W. Harrison, of Florida, to be United States marshal, northern district of Florida, to succeed Millard M. Owens, deceased. (Mr. Harrison is now serving in this position under an appointment by the court.)

Reese Q. Lillard, of Tennessee, to be United States marshal, middle district of Tennessee. (He is now serving in this position under an appointment which expired January 16, 1932.)

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

TO JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

Capt. Paul Gerhardt Balcar, Infantry (detailed in Judge Advocate General's Department), with rank from March 10, 1929.

TO ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT

First Lieut. Edward Campbell Franklin, Coast Artillery Corps, with rank from September 1, 1931, effective June 18, 1932.

TO COAST ARTILLERY CORPS

Maj. Richard Stearns Dodson, Field Artillery, with rank from July 1, 1920, effective August 2, 1932.

PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

To be colonels

Lieut. Col. Copley Enos, Cavalry, from January 28, 1932.

Lieut. Col. Shepard Lawrence Pike, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Lieut. Col. Roy Carrington Kirtland, Air Corps, from February 1, 1932.

To be lieutenant colonels

Maj. Henry Clinton Kress Muhlenberg, Air Corps, from January 28, 1932.

Maj. Louis Lindsay Pendleton, Coast Artillery Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Maj. John Francis Curry, Air Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Maj. James Eugene Chaney, Air Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Maj. Thomas Alexander Terry, Coast Artillery Corps, from February 1, 1932.

To be majors

Capt. John Henry Milam, Field Artillery, from January 28, 1932.

Capt. Emil Charles Rawitser, Judge Advocate General's Department, from February 1, 1932.

Capt. Wade Woodson Rhein, Coast Artillery Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Capt. John David Key, Field Artillery, from February 1, 1932.

Capt. Harry Herman Young, Air Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Capt. Arthur Cole Fitzhugh, Field Artillery, from February 1, 1932.

Capt. Frank Alfred Jones, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Capt. Frank Curtis Mellon, Field Artillery, from February 1, 1932.

Capt. Donald Wilson, Air Corps, from February 1, 1932.

To be captains

First Lieut. Charles Wesley Wood, Signal Corps, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Eugene Walter Lewis, Quartermaster Corps, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. James Brian Edmunds, Cavalry, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Oscar William Koch, Cavalry, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Howard Sallee, Quartermaster Corps, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. John Joseph Gahan, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. James Franklin Greene, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Harold Farnsworth Hubbell, Signal Corps, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Charles Maze Simpson, jr., Signal Corps, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Albert Milton Pigg, Signal Corps, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Everett Roy Wells, Signal Corps, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Arnold Richard Christian Sander, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

First Lieut. Stanley Marshall Prouty, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

To be first lieutenants

Second Lieut. Joseph Halversen, Infantry, from January 28, 1932.

Second Lieut. Marvin Westlake Peck, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. George Albert Smith, jr., Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Eugene Charles Smallwood, Coast Artillery Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. James Robert Davidson, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Frank Freeman Miter, Coast Artillery Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. John Prichard Woodbridge, Field Artillery, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Thomas Edward de Shazo, Field Artillery, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Kenneth Frease March, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Frederick Francis Scheiffler, Coast Artillery Corps, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Robert Sylvester Nourse, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Richard Edward O'Connor, Field Artillery, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. John Sieba Roosma, Infantry, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. John Anthony McFarland, Field Artillery, from February 1, 1932.

Second Lieut. Morris Robert Nelson, Air Cirps, from February 1, 1932.

MEDICAL CORPS

To be licutenant colonel

Maj. Henry Blodgett McIntyre, Medical Corps, from January 15, 1932.

DENTAL CORPS

To be major

Capt. Rufus Wood Leigh, Dental Corps, from January 28, 1932.

VETERINARY CORPS

To be captain

First Lieut. Ernest Eugene Hodgson, Veterinary Corps, from February 2, 1932.

PROMOTION IN THE PHILIPPINE SCOUTS

To be captain

First Lieut. Oscar Blair Tudor, Philippine Scouts, from January 28, 1932.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, February 5, 1932

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY TO GREAT BRITAIN

Andrew W. Mellon, of Pennsylvania, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Great Britain.

SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Sydney G. Gest to be secretary in the Diplomatic Service.

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, UNCLASSIFIED, VICE CONSUL OF CAREER, SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Holmes C. Smith to be Foreign Service officer, unclassified, vice consul of career, secretary in the Diplomatic Service.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

George C. Crom to be register of the land office, Gainesville, Fla.

COAST GUARD

Robert C. Sarratt to be lieutenant commander.

POSTMASTERS

ARKANSAS

Louis Reitzammer, Arkansas City.
Little Watson, Batesville.
Claus R. Burnham, Delight.
Larkin A. McLin, Harrisburg.
James L. McKamey, Imboden.
Jessie Garner, Kingsland.
Adolph O. Border, Knobel.
Urelle O. Thomasson, Leachville.
Elmer A. Murphy, Lepanto.
James F. Rieves, Marion.
James L. Willson, Moro.
Burnard O. Phelps, Okolona.
Ernest N. Goldman, Peach Orchard.
Leah W. Harkey, Plainview.
William J. Vick, Prescott.
Pauline Prescott, Rosston.
Reuben P. Allen, Smackover.
William H. Hogg, Stephens.
Carleton H. Denslow, Stuttgart.
Charles E. Kemp, Trumann.
Leonidas G. Fitzpatrick, Wynne.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

William M. Mooney, Washington.

GEORGIA

Paul L. Smith, Athens.
Charles L. Adair, Comer.
John L. Callaway, Covington.
Irene W. Field, Monroe.
Jett M. Potts, West Point.

IDAHO

Elsie H. Welker, Cambridge.
George W. Prout, Council.
Mabel P. Wetherell, Post Falls.

INDIANA

Samuel Ratcliff, Bainbridge.
Fred Austin, Birdseye.
Roy J. Lingeman, Brownsburg.
Walter R. O'Neal, Carlisle.
Elizabeth Hatfield, Centerville.
James Adams, Chrisney.
Finley Franklin, Clayton.
Jessie H. Medcalf, Dale.
Frank B. Hadley, Danville.
Elvin R. Long, Denver.
Walter J. Daunhauer, Ferdinand.
George F. Freeman, Franklin.
Charles W. Wood, Jasonville.
Dora B. Henderson, Lakeville.
Katherine M. Schwindler, Linden.
John F. Trimble, Morristown.
Leslie P. Nelson, Newport.
Almeda B. Lochard, North Madison.
Edmond M. Wright, North Salem.
James H. Cockrum, Oakland City.
Gerry E. Long, Porter.
James E. Turner, Roann.
Charles E. Noble, Rolling Prairie.
George A. White, Union Mills.
Orville C. Bowen, Upland.

KANSAS

Frank B. Myers, Americus.
Maurice W. Markham, Baldwin City.
Mattie L. Binkley, Brewster.
Arthur B. Fowler, Brookville.
Harry B. Gailey, Cambridge.
George G. Griffin, Clearwater.
Harvey E. Yenser, Delphos.
Nelson Crawford, Dodge City.
Carl E. Meyer, Enterprise.
John M. Erp, Grainfield.
Robert R. Carson, Hamilton.
Lewis S. Newell, Harveyville.
Lewis B. Blachly, Haven.
Walter A. Carlile, Jamestown.
Earl M. Boland, Leon.
Joseph C. Wolf, Macksville.
Harvey P. McFadden, Natoma.
Charles C. Andrews, Norcatur.
Rosa M. Harmon, Oil Hill.
Wayne E. Burnette, Parsons.
Earl R. Given, Randall.
Gilbert W. Budge, St. John.
David R. Price, Williamsburg.
Clarence O. Masterson, Wilmore.
Zella M. Swope, Zenda.

KENTUCKY

James W. Felkins, Albany.
Aaron E. Younger, Columbus.
Henry W. Bishop, Falmouth.
Richard S. Hinton, Flemingsburg.
Ransome B. Martin, Hartford.
Vee O. Chandler, Marion.
William H. Knox, Mount Sterling.
John B. Hutcheson, Owenton.
Wayne Williams, Owingsville.
Chris L. Tartar, Somerset.
Bettie K. Wyatt, Valley Station.

MICHIGAN

Arthur R. Ebert, Arcadia.
William Bowers, Central Lake.
Clarence B. Meggison, Charlevoix.
Floyd Andrews, Clarkston.
Frank E. Richards, Clarksville.
Wilbert L. Nelson, Daggett.
William A. Stroebel, East Jordan.
Stanislaus M. Keenan, Eloise.
Adrian J. Van Wert, Essexville.
Clara Woodruff, Freeland.
Byron D. Denison, Galien.
Benjamin Rankens, Hamilton.
W. DeMont Wright, Harbor Springs.
Earl E. Secor, Imlay City.
Floyd J. Gibbs, Ithaca.
Orville Dennis, Lake City.
John A. Gries, Laurium.
Mac W. Thomas, Lawrence.
Frederick R. Gibson, Lawton.
Edna B. Sargent, Levering.
Nettie B. Goheen, Lincoln.
Fay Elser, Litchfield.
Tena I. Barrett, Mackinaw.
Frank G. Lesson, Manchester.

Mark L. Osgood, Monroe.
William A. Keeler, North Branch.
Dee J. Wilson, Orchard Lake.
Albert Steinen, Painesdale.
William C. Mosier, Paw Paw.
William C. Miller, Pinckney.
Edward W. Huff, Rock.
Fred H. Buckberry, Romulus.
Gordon R. Whitney, Rose City.
Ernest E. Vibert, Saginaw.
Hannibal A. Hopkins, Saint Clair.
Gertrude Moffatt, Sandusky.
Edwin D. Greenhoe, Sheridan.
Nora Covert, Springport.
Martin C. Musolf, Towas City.
Alexander M. MacKay, West Branch.
Floyd P. Fox, Williamsburg.
Arthur E. Baisley, Wyandotte.

NEBRASKA

Elza Ury, Chapman.
Gustav A. Koza, Clarkson.
Albert L. Hepp, Greeley.
Lynn F. Cunningham, Gurley.
Elmer W. Couch, Henry.
Merle A. Brady, Kimball.
Edmund J. Barrett, Lawrence.
Otto C. Smith, Lyman.
James Nichols, Madison.
Dean H. Ehle, Newcastle.
Harry B. Chronister, Schuyler.
Charles M. Steil, Scribner.
Roy Hauke, Shelton.
Clyde H. Hodges, Superior.
Claude A. MacDonald, Sutton.

NEVADA

James L. Denton, Caliente.
Henry J. Marriott, Ely.
Fred L. Littell, Yerington.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Adin R. Chapman, Berlin.
Harry L. D. Severance, Claremont.
Frank E. Webster, Farmington.
May F. Sumner, Goffstown.
Maurice H. Randall, Haverhill.
Jesse C. Parker, Hillsboro.
Harriet O. Harriman, Jackson.
Charles L. Bemis, Marlboro.
Arthur J. Gould, New London.
Harold B. Pinkham, Newmarket.
Stella E. Coburn, North Rochester.
Ernest H. Stevens, North Woodstock.
Herman P. Gleason, Ossipee.
Harry F. Smith, Peterboro.
Joseph P. Conner, Portsmouth.
Esther F. Bragg, Seabrook.
Harvey E. Gates, Troy.
James A. Reed, Union.

OHIO

Lloyd D. Carter, Akron.
Franklin Fasig, Arlington.
Howard M. Snedeker, Bellaire.
Fred O. Simpson, Belle Center.
Henry Kemper, Bellefontaine.
Charles A. Bower, Bowerston.
John Roth, Excello.
Wilber C. Foote, Fredericktown.
Alonzo B. Yarnell, Freeport.
Charles F. Faris, Hillsboro.
Harry H. Hover, Lakeview.
Heyward Long, Martins Ferry.
Jerry F. Koster, Mayfield Heights.
Leonard H. Kelly, Mount Vernon.
William M. Johns, Plymouth.
Alta N. Johnson, Rushsylvania.
Rodney Barnes, St. Clairsville.
James A. Downs, Scio.
Edna M. Gilson, Steubenville.
Mayme Bell, Utica.
Mattie M. Beeson, Vandalia.
Milton W. Stout, West Liberty.
Margaret A. Brooks, Yorkville.

OKLAHOMA

James W. Lewis, Ada.
James K. Malone, Allen.
Clyde O. Thomas, Arapaho.
John R. Hibbard, Asher.
R. Julian Miller, Bokchito.
Vernon A. Farmer, Broken Bow.
Maud W. Cassetty, Calvin.
John R. McIntosh, Chelsea.
James W. Blair, Clayton.
Downey Milburn, Coweta.
John W. Brookman, Coyle.
Dory E. McKenney, Custer.
Clarence E. Werrell, Depew.
Leroy J. Myers, Dustin.
Thomas H. Henderson, Fort Cobb.
John W. Dagenhart, Gage.
Lynn F. McDonald, Goodwell.
Pauline I. Beardsley, Gracemont.
Walker D. Guthrie, Granite.
Frederick M. Deselms, Guthrie.
June M. Jarvis, Haileyville.
James H. Sparks, Healdton.
Isom P. Clark, Heavener.
Alfred J. Canon, Hinton.
Jean C. Buell, Holdenville.
Louia M. Amick, Jefferson.
James L. Lane, Kiowa.
Lyle H. Ball, Laverne.
Lura Williams, Manitou.
Marshall G. Norvell, Marietta.
Harry Andrews, Marland.
Elinore Jett, Nash.
Bruce W. Hutton, Oakwood.
L. Manuel Merritt, Roff.
Otto G. Bound, Ryan.
Elmer D. Rook, Sayre.
Harold F. Facker, Shamrock.
Jonas R. Cartwright, Shattuck.
Alvin L. Derby, Shidler.
Howard Morris, Soper.
Floyd A. Rice, Strong City.
George F. Benge, Tahlequah.
George Logsdon, Taloga.
Emil G. Etzold, Temple.
William A. Vassar, Tryon.
Severee L. Massie, Tyrone.
Sol A. Glotfelter, Verden.
Bertha A. Wolverton, Wapanucka.
William C. Wallin, Watts.
Fred Hudson, Webb City.
William C. Colvin, Westville.
Sarah E. Goodwin, Wirt.
Orland H. Park, Wright City.

OREGON

Leslie B. Frizzell, Houlton.
Pauline W. Platt, Ontario.
Henry H. McReynolds, Pilot Rock.
Cora Eames, Warrenton.
Nels C. Nielsen, Wendling.

PENNSYLVANIA

Annabelle Busler, Avis.
Otis J. Pandel, Burnham.
Thomas W. Greer, Carnegie.
Hope B. Sterner, Dewart.
Claus H. Fechtenburg, Eddington.
Henry M. Stauffer, Leola.
Ethel H. Higgins, Linwood.
Albert W. Watts, McVeytown.

William J. Lytle, Mayview.
Ralph E. Ruhl, Millmont.
Albert R. Harris, Mount Carmel.
William E. Henry, Nazareth.
Ralph M. Galvin, New Brighton.
Charles J. Hanley, Newtown Square.
Raymond R. Strickler, Perryopolis.
George E. McGlennen, Sharon Hill.
Gordon C. Kuhns, Trevorton.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Caleb F. Pendleton, Cheraw.

TENNESSEE

John P. Gallaher, Ashland City.
John L. Harris, Bethel Springs.
John V. Lady, Blountville.
Mamie D. Phillips, Brighton.
Joel F. Ruffin, Cedar Hill.
Lavella Bratschi, Erin.
William T. McCown, Fayetteville.
Charley M. Mount, Franklin.
Stephen H. Bedwell, Friendship.
John F. Gaines, Gainesboro.
Harry K. Dodson, Kenton.
John J. Graham, Knoxville.
Ernest C. Lowery, Leoma.
Elmer T. Sparks, McKenzie.
Hugh G. Haworth, New Market.
Colpy Upton, Obion.
William S. Weatherly, Puryear.
Chester A. Scott, Selmer.
Cyrus L. Fairless, Trenton.
Thomas E. Richardson, Tullahoma.
William E. Hudgins, Union City.

TEXAS

Anderson J. Hixson, Abbott.
Ethyl H. Williams, Angleton.
Ernest E. Cornelius, Athens.
Jefferson D. Bell, Bartlett.
Joe B. Carter, Beckville.
Antonia R. Garcia, Benavides.
Edith M. Bursey, Brackettville.
Gertrude N. Merrill, Buffalo.
Claude F. Riley, Canton.
David A. Young, Commerce.
Bradley Miller, Coolidge.
Eugene Webb, Corrigan.
Vivian B. Boone, Fabens.
William N. Moore, Fort Worth.
Nora C. McNalley, Godley.
Lenora Baade, Gulf.
Cass B. Rowland, Hamlin.
Clara C. Redford, Johnson City.
Harman Straub, La Feria.
Alfred W. Orr, Livingston.
John B. Vannoy, McLean.
Paul Fomby, Maud.
Joel D. Cranford, Mineral Wells.
James M. Cottle, Moran.
Beulah W. Carles, Muleshoe.
Joseph F. Wiles, Olton.
Nora M. Kuhn, Paige.
Willie L. Kennedy, Putnam.
Andrew J. Bushong, Rankin.
John M. Cape, San Marcos.
William A. Farek, Schulenburg.
Clara M. Bean, Van Horn.
Joe Burger, sr., Wharton.
Alphonso S. Butler, Winona.

WASHINGTON

Eliza F. Head, Cathlamet.
Florence F. Cooper, Long Beach.
Anna M. Robertson, Montesano.
Charles A. Fiedler, Newport.
Alvin R. Lehmann, Parkland.
John W. Cowdrey, Rainier.
James Lane, Roslyn.
Charles M. Perkins, Seattle.
Warren P. Cressy, South Bend.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1932

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thou hast created us by the mystery of Thy holy might. Do Thou preserve us by the mystery of Thy holy providence and redeem us by the mystery of Thy holy love. May our desires be hallowed as we lift them up to Thee. Give us a deeper understanding of the real meaning of life and a clearer assurance of the spiritual depths of our own beings. Thy riches are unsearchable and Thy promises are sure and steadfast; we therefore praise Thee. So work in us that new confidence shall spring forth throughout our land, and may faith in our institutions be heralded from border to border. Let Thy merciful restraints and Thy wise compulsions be our guide this day, and may the jewel of peace crown our hearts at evening time. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Senate Resolution 159

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. PERCY E. QUIN, late a Representative from the State of Mississippi.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now adjourn.

The message also announced that pursuant to the foregoing resolution the Presiding Officer had appointed Mr. HARRISON, Mr. STEPHENS, Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas, Mr. REED, Mr. BROUSSARD, Mr. MCKELLAR, Mr. NORRIS, Mr. BLACK, Mr. PATTERSON, and Mr. LONG members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Senate Resolution 160

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, late a Representative from the State of Georgia.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative the Senate do now adjourn.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed ing resolution the Presiding Officer had appointed Mr. HARRIS, Mr. GEORGE, Mr. FRAZIER, Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. BROOKHART, Mr. SMITH, Mr. KEAN, Mr. BYRNES, Mr. DAVIS, and Mr. AUSTIN members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 355) entitled "An act providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes."

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 355. An act providing for the participation of the United States in A Century of Progress (the Chicago World's Fair Centennial Celebration), to be held at Chicago, Ill., in 1933, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes. authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes; and

S. 2334. An act to amend section 3 of the rivers and harbors act, approved June 13, 1902, as amended and supplemented.

EXEMPTING BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS FROM BEING ADJUDGED BANKRUPTS

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the reconsideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 13, which is on the Speaker's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks for the present consideration of a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 13

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to return to the Senate the enrolled bill (S. 2199) entitled "An act exempting building and loan associations from being adjudged bankrupts."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, under a reservation of objection, I wish to inquire whether the gentleman has any information as to the reason why this simple bill, a bill extending exemption features to building and loan associations, is desired to be recalled from the President?

Mr. MICHENER. Yes. A very important reason. The enrolling clerk in the Senate made a mistake in enrolling the bill and used the word "of" instead of the word "or," and the bill is recalled for the express purpose of correcting that error of the printer.

Mr. STAFFORD. So there is no militant objection to the fundamental principle involved?

Mr. MICHENER. Hardly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

PROHIBITION LAW ENFORCEMENT

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the question of law enforcement.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, when the American Legion convention denounced the eighteenth amendment in Detroit last fall as a breeder of corruption and hypocricy and disrespect for law, it might well have had particularly in mind the activities of the collector of customs office, in Michigan.

By a strange freak of the eighteenth amendment, the collector of customs in Michigan has been made the most powerful police chief in the State and has been given the powers of a czar and a tyrant. This is so much so that the office has even arrogated to itself the right to promulgate and enforce fake Federal laws, and arrest and fine innocent citizens under these fake laws. Every schoolboy knows that the supreme law of the land, the Constitution, reserves only to Congress and the President the right to make Federal laws.

Prohibition law enforcement since the passage of the eighteenth amendment has been a national scandal, which has led many good citizens and innumerable public officials to criticize the United States Government because of the odium and disgrace brought upon it.

Nowhere in the country has prohibition law enforcement been more brutal, lawless, and unjustifiable than under the administration of the collector of customs office in Detroit and under the United States customs border patrol before the latter service was taken over by the collector of customs' office.

DISHONOR AND DISHONESTY

Last October during the discussion of the latest shooting outrage in Detroit, I publicly stated, "No public officials in Michigan, nor to my knowledge in any other State, are so scornful of American public-service standards of honor, honesty, and common decency as the Michigan collector of customs office is in its prohibition-enforcement activities."

I challenge any defender of this office to name any United States officials who deliberately invented and enforced fake laws for the purpose of persecuting and terrorizing American citizens.

Yet this is just what the collector of customs office in Detroit did not long ago. I have not been able to determine whether the impersonation of Congress and the Presidency of the United States and the promulgation and enforcement of fake laws is a crime or not, because Congress has probably never had to face this offense before but if it is a crime, the assistant collector of customs at Detroit, Walter S. Petty, is guilty of that crime.

Last year I asked for his removal from the service or his transfer from Detroit because he promulgated fake laws, persecuted and terrorized innocent citizens under them, and actually arrested and fined a reputable citizen of Detroit under a fake law.

FINED UNDER FAKE LAW

I compelled the return of this fine and the clearing of the name of the good citizen, but Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Seymour Lowman has so far shown an attitude to whitewash Mr. Petty just as in the past he has demonstrated his set policy of whitewashing Federal officials accused by the States of crimes and deeds of violence in which innocent citizens were grievously injured or slain.

This recital forms only a part of the sordid and sinister background of prohibition law enforcement on the Detroit front.

There is now a case pending in which the lawlessness of the heads of the collector of customs office in Detroit is again clearly demonstrated.

Collector of Customs H. A. Pickert, Assistant Collector of Customs Walter S. Petty, and a few other of the highest officials of this staff in Detroit secretly formed a conspiracy on or about Sunday, September 20, 1931, to violate two Federal laws—a State law and a Treasury Department regulation.

A CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY

On September 20 Frank Ramsay, who gave his address as 22 Josephine Avenue, Ecorse, which is a suburb of Detroit, was shot in the chest in broad daylight by a customs border patrolman.

The evidence showed he had been transporting 18 cases of beer from Canada, and was shot while unloading the beer on Grosse Isle, just below Detroit. The shooting occurred just after another sensational shooting case on July 21, 1931, when a customs border patrolman, Clarence E. Fish, fired several shots into a large excursion steamer which was on a moonlight ride on the Detroit River, carrying several hundred men, women, and children of a Detroit church society.

A VILLAINOUS APPEAL

One of the innocent passengers was seriously wounded by the bullet. In spite of an enraged public opinion aroused against brutal and reckless shooting of innocent persons and against the warnings of his companion in the United States patrol boat, Fish had fired several times into the large excursion steamer. On January 29, 1932, Fish was convicted in a United States court of assault and battery for this offense, and on January 30 he was fined $100 by the Federal judge. The case had been forcibly taken from the State courts over the protest of Prosecuting Attorney Harry S. Toy and Assistant Prosecutor George Fitzgerald and was tried in a Federal court. Notwithstanding the state of public opinion in Detroit, Assistant United States District Attorney William G. Comb announced he would appeal the conviction to the higher Federal court in Cincinnati.

I am now vigorously protesting the United States Government's disgracing itself further by this appeal.

A SECRET SUNDAY PLOT

Because the collector of customs office feared to face public opinion in another shooting case, and because this office evidently feared the disclosure would tend to prevent further shooting by border patrolmen and the endangering of lives of innocent men, women, and children, the collector of customs office in a secret meeting at a dock on Sunday afternoon, September 20, decided to break all necessary Federal laws, State laws, and Treasury Department regulations covering the case, and keep the commission of a felony of rumrunning and the shooting of the rum runner a dark secret.

TOY PROVES HONEST AND FAITHFUL

I revealed the whole plot to the prosecuting attorney of Wayne County, Harry S. Toy, and he took vigorous action. By the way, Mr. Toy has established a reputation as Michigan's greatest prosecutor. At high personal risk to his own life he has hunted down and sent to prison for life terms the most notorious gunmen, killers, and gangsters of Michigan, some of whom attained national notoriety because of their bold and sensational murders. I prove this by including a part of his record at the end of this statement.

Fortunately, Mr. Toy has also made it a principle to uncover still more dangerous offenders against organized society and good government, namely, brutal and lawless prohibition-enforcement officials who do not hesitate to act as accessories before the fact to encourage the shooting of innocent men, women, and children, and who act as accessories after the fact to whitewash guilty prohibition agents and save them from penalties of the law provided for such crimes.

Mr. Toy investigated my charges and verified them, although Mr. Pickert and Mr. Petty fought desperately against uncovering their crimes and endeavored to falsify their way out of the conspiracy.

Now, just what were these crimes and violations of law and regulations?

FEDERALS BREAK LAW

First. The Federal conspirators violated the Federal law requiring that the commission of such felonies must be reported to the United States district attorney. The Federal conspirators quashed the felony which the rumrunner Ramsay had committed by running across the Federal boundary the 18 cases of beer. They forced Ramsay to agree to their disposition of the case by threatening to send him to prison for a long term if he did not agree. They tried to get a large sum of money from him as a fine; but when they found that all he could produce was $240, they set aside 5 cases of the 18 cases of beer and assessed him $2 a bottle for it and thereupon took the $240. They ignored the other 13 cases as a part of the felony.

This was a breach of law and the compounding of a felony when the collector of customs office acted secretly as United States district attorney, Federal jury, and Federal judge in settling the case in this way.

They expressly violated the statute which required the reporting of the felony to the United States district attorney. This violation made Mr. Pickert, Mr. Petty, and the other customs officials involved subject to arrest, fine, and imprisonment.

This principle is very clearly set out in Federal cases, including that, I am informed, of United States against Sullivan, in which Sullivan, a Federal prohibition officer, had failed to report the commission of a felony to the United States district attorney but had settled the case himself, as was done by the collector of customs' officials in the Ramsay case.

BREAK SECOND LAW

The conspirators planned the second breach of Federal law when they forced the admission of Ramsay to the United States marine hospital at Windmill Point in Detroit. Ramsay had a bullet wound in his chest and was shot while he was in the water trying to pull his boat off the shore and escape. An effort was undoubtedly made to shoot him in the back, as most persons shot under the prohibition régime and which have become national scandals have been shot; but when one bullet struck near him as his back was turned to the agent, Ramsay whirled to look at his assailant and another bullet plowed sidewise through his chest for about 5 inches.

Instead of taking Ramsay, a wounded man, to the nearest hospital, the agents were in a panic, as is generally the case, and feared disclosure. In some shooting cases agents have dropped the citizen who is shot at a hospital and then fled, refusing to give their names. But after a conference it was decided to transport Ramsay a long distance, at least 20 miles, across the entire city of Detroit, and they passed many hospitals, until he was deposited in the United States marine hospital.

A congressional law provided explicitly just what cases may be treated at a United States marine hospital, and the treatment of Ramsay was strictly forbidden as a law violation by this statute, which provided that only qualified war veterans, qualified sailors, and a few minor groups of United States employees and officials could be treated at a United States marine hospital, which is supported by Federal taxation and fees paid by sailors.

ENTERED FOR SECRECY

That the treatment of Ramsay at the hospital was clearly the result of a conspiracy is indicated by the fact that the superintendent of the marine hospital wrote on Ramsay's chart and card of admission "Entered for secrecy purposes."

I persuaded the superintendent of the hospital to let me read this card and I saw this notation written on it very clearly.

Ramsay was brought to the hospital by one of the customs officials and was treated in the first instance by having his wound cut open, cauterized, and dressed and was treated at this hospital for a few weeks thereafter.

FEDERALS DEFY STATE LAW

Third. A State law was broken by the conspirators, and this law provided that in shooting or stabbing cases or in wounds inflicted by violence a report must be made to State or local law officers. For obvious reasons the conspirators failed to comply with this law and the case was never reported to the State's law officers until I did so myself.

HOSPITAL DOCTORS GUILELESS

There was no desire on my part nor that of the prosecuting attorney's staff of Wayne County to send the superintendent of the United States marine hospital to prison, because he evidently thought he was doing an act of mercy in treating a wounded man and did not fully realize that he was being made an accessory to a conspiracy and being made a malefactor or a criminal by treating Ramsay secretly. The hospital authorities at first were unwilling witnesses and said that Ramsay was not treated in the hospital, but outside the hospital. Later they admitted this was untrue and that he had been treated in the hospital frequently. At first they refused to testify to the prosecuting attorney, but later receded from this position.

The prosecuting attorney did not recommend warrants for the violation of the State law requiring the report of treatment by a doctor or a hospital of a man injured by personal violence.

PICKERT AND PETTY DEFY SUPERIORS

Fourth. The Federal conspirators violated a Treasury Department regulation of the highest importance and one whose compliance has been emphatically insisted upon by high Treasury Department officials in other cases. This regulation provided that in the case of a shooting of any person by a customs employee or official the details must be forwarded to the Commissioner of Customs in Washington within 24 hours, and preferably by telephone or telegraph instead of by letter.

Both Mr. Pickert and Mr. Petty have been specifically warned and scolded by the Collector of Customs, Hon. F. X. A. Eble, for not complying with this important regulation in other cases, although Mr. Petty was the chief offender and Mr. Pickert was involved as a defender of Mr. Petty's course. Mr. Eble, over the telephone, talking in my presence, scolded Mr. Petty for not reporting to the Bureau of Customs the details of a case in which Gordon Southard and another border patrolman were instrumental in bringing

about the death of A. M. Smith, of Grosse Isle, whose boathouse on his own property was forced without a search warrant and who was drowned as a result of a struggle with Southard and the other border patrolman.

DASTARDLY CRIMES UNREPORTED

This case brought severe criticism upon the collector of customs office, and it was not reported by the Bureau of Customs as required by the regulations. In another case Southard had gone upon Canadian territory and shot a Canadian citizen; and although the collector of customs office in Detroit had a detailed report of this shooting, it refused to comply with the regulations by giving the details to superior officials in Washington.

It is true that the superior officials of the Customs Bureau in Washington are very emphatic in their orders against reckless and promiscuous shooting and endangering the lives of innocent men, women, and children by such shooting, and that their policy is directly opposed to that of the collector of customs office of Michigan, which boldly takes the attitude, as expressed by Mr. Pickert, that in the enforcement of any law some innocent persons must be shot.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY WHITEWASHES

The United States district attorney's office at Detroit, which has always been very quick and zealous to defend customs border patrolmen when they are guilty of wrongdoing in violence cases, had detailed knowledge of the violations of Federal law by collector of customs officials in Detroit in the Ramsay case.

Detroiters have waited patiently since last October for the United States district attorney's office to take some action to bring these officials of the collector of customs office to justice, but for some reason, best known to themselves, they have failed to do so.

A NOBLE PROSECUTOR

In no better way can the corruption and hypocrisy of the collector of customs office be shown than by presenting in detail the record of Prosecuting Attorney Harry S. Toy in upholding the law and in meting out to malefactors and criminals even-handed justice.

Mr. Toy has done this at the very risk of his life and in the face of threats of the most notorious gunmen that they would kill him if he prosecuted them or their confederates.

Mr. Toy has also resisted the tremendous political pressure of some of the most prominent bankers and business men, whom he has sent to jail for bank frauds.

This is in direct contrast to the record of the collector of customs' office, which has evidently feared the political power of the Anti-Saloon League, and particularly that of the Rev. R. N. Holsaple, superintendent of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League, who has always counseled directly or indirectly the collector of customs' office and the United States district attorney's office to protect and whitewash malefactors and criminals when they committed their misdemeanors and crimes in the guise and under the hood of the prohibition enforcement laws.

Inasmuch as these Federal prohibition enforcement officials and Reverend Holsaple have criticized Mr. Toy for upholding the State laws and guaranties of local self-government thrown around innocent men, women, and children, he should be congratulated by every good citizen for his attitude.

AN ABLE ASSISTANT

Particularly is he to be congratulated for assigning the able and experienced Assistant Prosecuting Attorney George S. Fitzgerald to represent his office in contests with the collector of customs and United States district attorney's staff. Mr. Fitzgerald served for a few years as assistant United States district attorney himself, and he knows the hard-boiled attitude of some officials of the Federal Government with regard to the whitewashing of misdemeanors and crimes when committed by the prohibition enforcement staff, and he is particularly familiar with the tricks and weapons employed to defeat justice, such as the concealment of vital evidence, the tutoring of the guilty agents and supporting witnesses as to the story they shall tell on the stand, the selection of a favorable jury, and so forth.

Mr. Toy's marvelous record serves not only the purpose of affording a contrast between good and bad police officials and enforcement agents but it also shows to the country the striking record which Detroit has made in the matter of law enforcement in its crusade to make life, limb, and property secure for all its citizens.

It is a fitting answer to all the abuse that has been heaped upon Detroit by the Anti-Saloon League and Federal prohibition enforcement officials who have proclaimed from time to time that they are "making war on Detroit."

Mr. Toy's record of prosecutions is as follows:

MAJOR CRIMES FOR 1931

Murder

Raymond Bernstein, Harry Keywell, Irving Milberg (three victims), life sentences.
Nick Dellabonte, Frank Salimone (two victims), life sentences.
Mark Sellers, John Moceri (one victim), life sentences.
Morris Raider, Philip Keywell (one victim), life sentences.
Angelo Livecchi, Ted Pizzino (two victims), life sentences.
Rose Verez, William Verez (11 victims), life sentences.

Kidnapings

James Fernando, Vincent Lamonna, Jerry Mullane, 30-year sentences; Charles Minchelli, Ray Cornelius, 25-year sentences; Harry Hallissey, Louis Ross, 35-year sentences.

Stock frauds

Vincent Swinny, obtaining money under false pretenses, sentenced to 7½ to 15 years.

Bombing

Joseph Pantano, Joseph Bonasera, John Radin, bombing of bakery, sentenced each 10 to 25 years.

Bank robbery

Frank Cammaratta, robery, armed, sentenced 15 to 30 years.

Bank frauds

Robert Allan, 10-year sentence; George Kolowich, 10 to 20 years; Samuel Mullens, 5 to 20 years; Jack Sweedyk, 1 to 20 years; Albert Schobert, 5 years' probation; Steve Kapczi, 5 years' probation; Horace Recsti, 5 years' probation; William Edward Wright, 2½ years' sentence; Ottilio DiLaura, Orlando DiLaura, sentenced to 2½ years each; Alex Lewis, sentenced to 7½–10 years; Louis McCormick, sentenced to 2½ years.

A PROTEST TO JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

FEBRUARY 3, 1932.

Hon. WILLIAM D. MITCHELL,
The Attorney General,
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Assistant United States District Attorney William G. Comb, of Detroit, is taking steps to appeal the conviction of Customs Patrol Inspector Clarence E. Fish for assault and battery on charges of shooting an innocent excursionist aboard a large steamer in the Detroit River while Fish was pursuing an alleged rumrunner.

Federal Judge Charles C. Simons imposed a fine of $100 on Fish after Fish was declared guilty by Federal jury.

Press dispatches report that the court held up execution of the sentence one week, granted 30 days in which to apply for a new trial and 60 days in which to file a bill of exceptions. Press dispatches also announced that the Government intends to take an appeal.

This case is a very sensational one, as Fish was charged with firing several shots into a large excursion steamer running a moonlight party out of Detroit under auspices of a local church and with several hundred men, women, and children aboard the boat. Arthur Gajeski was leaning on the railing of the excursion steamer with his right arm folded across his chest, and the border patrolman put a large bullet into his forearm and the bullet would have entered his chest and probably killed him if it were not for the arm being in the way.

Hon. Harry S. Toy, prosecuting attorney of Wayne County, promptly arrested Fish and his partner in the name of the State and endeavored to bring him to trial in the State courts, but the Federal authorities intervened and took the case away from the State courts, and the trial was had in the Federal court, with the conviction result.

I contend that the United States Government is taking the wrong course in appealing the case of a convicted man.

I realize that there is a statute passed in reconstruction days to cover a condition of practically armed revolt in the Southern States after the Confederate Army laid down their arms, and that prohibition authorities are now using this statute to take violence cases away from the State courts when the prohibition agent or enforcement officer commits an alleged offense on duty.

Strenuous complaint has been made by public officials in various parts of the country against the use of this Federal statute to overthrow the State courts in cases of local misdemeanors and crimes, because many of these public officials believe, with good cause, that the Federal courts undertake to whitewash guilty agents, but when the Federal authorities go to the extreme of taking the case away from the State courts and, nevertheless, a conviction is returned, all presumption of the innocence of the accused is removed. He is then a convicted malefactor or convicted criminal. I have never been able to find a precedent in

which the United States Government defended a convicted criminal or convicted malefactor.

I realize that lawyers can raise the technicality that the accused is not convicted while the execution of the sentence is held up or a stay is granted, but nevertheless for practical purposes, Fish had an absolutely fair trial and was duly convicted.

I understand the Federal judge quashed the charge preferred by the State of Michigan of felonious assault and allowed the jury only to consider a charge of assault and battery. Moreover, I understand that the maximum sentence for assault and battery is 90 days imprisonment and $100 fine, whereas the judge assessed merely the $100 fine. Certainly the Federal judge in question has never been accused of being unfriendly to prohibition-enforcement officers.

About five years ago he was the trial judge in the celebrated Benway-Neidermeier case in Detroit. Benway, a Federal border patrolman, shot an innocent old letter carrier in the back with a rifle bullet at the distance of only a few yards, the letter carrier, Neidermeier, being in a duck skiff at the time and not carrying any liquor and not having the appearance of carrying a load of liquor or beer in his open duck skiff.

It looked very much like a case of manslaughter at least, but the United States Government bent every effort to whitewash Benway and sent one of its best trial lawyers from the Department of Justice in Washington to aid the United States district attorney's staff in Detroit to clear Benway.

The jury returned a verdict of felonious assault, carrying a sentence of six months' to three years' imprisonment. Judge Simons imposed the minimum sentence—six months—and Government officials said they would appeal to the higher court.

At that time I interposed an objection and I challenged the Government to show any case in which a convicted criminal had been defended by the United States Government.

Thereupon the Government officials dropped their effort to appeal, and the Michigan Anti-Saloon League paid the expenses of the appeal to the Cincinnati district court and to the United States Supreme Court. Two prominent Anti-Saloon League backers went on Benway's bond during the two years which the two appeals took, and when the conviction was sustained, both by the Cincinnati court and the United States Supreme Court, Benway was compelled to serve his six months.

In its accounting of receipts and expenditures for that period, the Michigan Anti-Saloon League published as one of its expenses the handling of the appeal in the Benway case.

Moreover, I am informed that in a recent case, when the collector of customs and another Federal official of Duluth, Minn., were convicted in the local Federal court, the Government would not take the appeal but the collector of customs and the other Federal official had to pay the expenses of the appeal.

There is much general indignation in the country that the United States Government should defend Federal officials who kill or injure innocent citizens and who are arrested by State officials and that the United States Government should forcibly take away the cases from the State courts.

There is still a greater indignation when the United States Government not only pays the expenses of an appeal when the man is convicted of wrong doing but also compels the State to pay the expenses of contesting the action.

I contend that it is not good public policy for the Government to take such appeals, and I hereby ask your department to cite me the provisions of law under which such appeals can be taken and to cite me also any precedents in which the United States Government in similar cases has taken such appeal.

I understand that the United States district attorney's office at Detroit, before going on with the appeal, must take up with your office, first, the reasons for the appeal, and cite the evidences of an unfair trial; and second, must ask for a specific allotment or appropriation of money for the appeal.

I may also add that there is a long history, so far as I am concerned, behind my opposition to taking such cases away from State courts and placing them in the Federal courts, and that after an argument with Dr. J. M. Doran, who was formerly handling a prohibition-enforcement division of the Government, Doctor Doran did turn over the case of Prohibition Agent Jeff Harris to the State courts in Oklahoma.

Mr. Harris went on a farm in Oklahoma without a search warrant and killed two farmers, and when tried in the State courts he got 50 years in prison.

Moreover, within recent weeks Col. Amos Woodcock, of your department, allowed the State courts in two States to prosecute prohibition agents who had killed citizens. If I recall clearly, one of these cases was in California and the other was in Alabama.

I respectfully request that under the circumstances you instruct the United States district attorney's office at Detroit that they must not conduct an appeal to the higher courts in the Fish case.

With highest esteem, I am respectfully yours,

ROBERT H. CLANCY.

A PROTEST TO CUSTOMS BUREAU

FEBRUARY 4, 1932.

Hon. F. X. A. EBLE,

Commissioner Bureau of Customs, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COMMISSIONER: Yesterday I sent you a copy of my protest to Attorney General William D. Mitchell on the proposed appeal by the United States Government of the conviction of Customs Patrol Inspector Clarence E. Fish for assault and battery in shooting an innocent excursionist by reckless use of firearms, and for which offense he was fined $100 by Federal Judge Charles C. Simons, of Detroit.

I sent you this protest because I hoped you would use your good offices and not allow your bureau to be placed in the position of recommending or aiding and abetting the defense of a convicted malefactor from whom all presumption of innocence was removed by his jury conviction.

There can be no reasonable doubt but what Fish got a fair trial. If anything, he was favored by the Federal judge, who quashed the charge preferred against him by the State of Michigan of felonious assault which would have brought heavier punishment. As I pointed out in my letter, the maximum penalty for assault and battery was 90 days and $100 fine, and Fish was merely given $100 fine.

I am also protesting in this letter against the action of the collector of customs, Hon. H. A. Pickert, of Detroit, in keeping Inspector Fish on duty with firearms on his person after the State of Michigan arrested him and preferred charges of felonious assault and assault and battery and the reckless use of firearms, some of which charges might have been incidental to one another.

There is much history, especially on the Detroit front, with regard to this policy of suspensions.

First, there is a Treasury Department regulation providing that a customs employee or official may be suspended at the discretion of superiors when charges are preferred against him; and if proved innocent upon trial, he may be paid for the loss of his salary during the time he was suspended.

This regulation shows the reasonable basis for suspension; but on the Detroit front, which has really been a battle front for many years, as one hard-boiled prohibition-enforcement official after another has tried to bear down on the innocent as well as the guilty with blood-and-iron policy, I was instrumental in winning in past years both from the collector of customs and from the chief of the United States immigration force in Michigan a guaranty to the people that a customs border patrolman or an immigration inspector who was arrested by the State on charges of reckless use of firearms and the wounding or killing of an innocent person should be suspended immediately. His reinstatement would depend upon his innocence or guilt.

In the case of customs, the former collector of customs, Hon. Carey D. Ferguson, issued very emphatic orders about which there could not be the slightest doubt that when one of his men were arrested by State authorities and a trial was asked, the man would be suspended until further notice. Collector Ferguson also issued, largely because of the terrific indignation of the people of Detroit and because I pressed for the regulation, an order that these agents and inspectors and employees should not use their firearms to shoot at suspected persons unless their own lives were in danger by the suspected person having the appearance of drawing a gun or using other force, or when the Federal agent was warding off an attack on seized property.

Because of the habit of the Federal agents lying in shooting cases and saying that they were shooting in the air or in the water to compel a halt, or were shooting at a gasoline tank or at the tire of an automobile, or that they fell down and the revolver or rifle was accidentally discharged, Collector Ferguson emphasized to his men that shooting under no circumstances, and especially not to warn or intimidate, would be tolerated unless the agent's life were in danger or he was warding off an attack on seized property.

When the present collector of customs took office, this policy of protection of the life and limb of innocent men, women, and children was violently thrust aside, and as a result, there have been some terrible shooting cases.

The present collector overthrew the regulation about the suspension of customs agents and, in defiance of the enlightened public opinion of Detroit, he has kept Fish on duty with firearms since the shooting into the big pleasure steamer and, even since the conviction of Fish, has announced to an indignant State that he would keep Fish on duty and thus, of course, give Fish the opportunity to again shoot innocent persons.

Incidentally, the Federal trial court showed that the partner of Fish, Walter Weslowski, warned him at the time of the shooting to stop firing in the direction of the pleasure steamer.

I respectfully request you to notify me if it is proper, according to civil-service laws and the rules and regulations of your bureau and the spirit thereof, to keep a convicted malefactor on duty with arms on his person, particularly when that man has been convicted of the reckless use of firearms and has shot and wounded an innocent citizen.

In conclusion, may I call your attention to the fact that because of the attitude of the chief of the United States immigration border patrol at Detroit, which is directly contrary to that of the collector of customs at Detroit, there has been no shooting of innocent persons by immigration border patrolmen in the past few years and since the new orders on shooting and suspensions were issued, whereas before that there were several cases of shooting by immigration border patrolmen.

I believe the Immigration Service has more armed men on the Detroit front doing night and day duty than the Customs Bureau. I am informed there are 141 United States immigration border patrolmen working out of the Detroit office, and also that the Detroit office has been made the headquarters for the United States immigration patrol on the Canadian border.

Experience proves on the Detroit front that shootings of innocent persons take place only when the head of the patrol force

seems to encourage them. For instance, when Colonel Hanlon, during the years 1926 and 1927, when he was the head border patrolman under Gen. Lincoln Andrews, told his men to get tough, to quit using "pea shooters," that is smaller revolvers, and to carry rifles and heavier service revolvers, it was inevitable that some of the weaker-minded border patrolmen were going to shoot recklessly, and as a result there was plenty of shooting.

The absolutely unjustified shooting in the back of the innocent old letter carrier, Neidermeier, could be traced to Colonel Hanlon's orders, and the colonel boldly said to me when I protested his orders: "Plenty of people around Detroit are going to get shot if they don't stop when my men holler at them."

At this time the border patrolmen were not in uniform, and a grave question could always be raised as to whether a "holler" could be heard by the citizen.

In the case of Neidermeier, he was operating a noisy outboard motor on a duck skiff, and, moreover, the old man might have been hard of hearing.

As a result of Colonel Hanlon's hard-boiled attitude it was rather an easy matter to have him fired out of Michigan and his job given to a more intelligent person.

With highest esteem, I am, respectfully yours,

ROBERT H. CLANCY.

PRINTING HOUSE DOCUMENTS

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to explain, as some Members do not seem to understand, the matter of printing. Some Members do not understand why when they ask unanimous consent to have a matter printed as a public document that request is not complied with. Every year the appropriation bill carries the provision that the printing for the use of Congress must be upon a report made by the Committee on Printing, stating what the cost of it will be. So that sometimes Members ask unanimous consent to get a matter printed as a House document. It does not become a House document immediately, because they must first introduce the resolution and send it to the Committee on Printing, and that committee must make a report of what the cost will be, in order for it to be printed. I just wanted to make that explanation.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. I yield.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I noticed in the paper this morning some comments with reference to a report that had been made to the Senate or to the House with reference to a great number of unnecessary documents being printed by the Public Printer. Is that report available to the Members? I think there are many of us who would like to see what the report states with regard to it.

Mr. STEVENSON. I am not familiar with that report. It has not been brought to my attention; but while I am on my feet, permit me to say that I do not want to be apparently discriminative in making an objection to something that was carried in the RECORD on day before yesterday. I call attention to the fact that in the RECORD of yesterday afternoon the offense was repeated by other people, publishing radio addresses, six pages of them, matters not germane to what was being discussed in the other body, and this morning there are 14 pages. That is a total of 20 pages, at $50 a page, printed in the RECORD, just because they could do so. They are utterly without interest to most of us in Congress.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Why does the gentleman refer to a unanimous-consent permission to print something in the RECORD as an offense?

Mr. STEVENSON. I am not referring to it as an offense. I am calling attention to the fact that the other body is loading up the RECORD with stuff that costs $50 a page, at the rate of about 10 pages a day, or about $500 a day in radio addresses and things of that nature.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. But it is not an offense against any rule or any law.

Mr. STEVENSON. We are attempting to correct the RECORD in the House and keep it within bounds, and I am just directing attention to it.

FUNERAL SERVICES OF THE LATE PERCY E. QUIN

Mr. BUSBY. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to announce that the funeral services of our late colleague, Representative Quin, will be held this afternoon at 2 o'clock at his home, 2647 Woodley Road.

I make this announcement so that those desiring to attend the services may have an opportunity to do so.

RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I now move that the committee in charge of House Resolution 123 be discharged from further consideration of the resolution and that the resolution be presently considered.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

House Resolution 123

Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, respectfully requested to transmit to the House of Representatives a list of the names of all persons who certified to the President one Harvey W. Couch as a member of the Democratic Party, and who urged the appointment of said Couch as an official of the Reconstruction Corporation, provided the divulging of such information shall not, in the judgment of the President, be inimical to the best interests of the Republic, and shall not be distressing to those persons who recommended the appointment of the aforesaid Couch.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has this resolution been in the committee for more than seven days?

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, yes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is informed that the resolution has been before the committee eight legislative days.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then I withdraw the point of order that I intended to raise.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The motion of the gentleman from Nebraska was to discharge the committee and for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The committee must be discharged before the resolution can be considered.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order against the resolution. I would like to state that the provision in the resolution which makes some reference to the mental distress of anyone deprives the resolution of any privileged character which it might otherwise have.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman's point of order comes too late, there having been discussion. There was discussion by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] and discussion by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA].

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that there were parliamentary inquiries made rather than discussion on the motion. Does the gentleman from Michigan make the point of order or reserve it?

Mr. MAPES. Yes; I make the point of order that the resolution is not privileged.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, may we have the resolution again reported?

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resolution will again be reported.

There was no objection.

The Clerk again read the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Nebraska desire to discuss the point of order?

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to be heard on the point of order, but as a matter of courtesy I think the gentleman from Michigan should state his point of order. I have not heard it.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the President has no means or way of passing judgment upon the question as to whether this information is going to contribute to the mental distress of anyone. In fact, it is impossible for anyone to determine that question; and if anyone attempted to do so, it should be merely an expression of opinion. It is unnecessary to add that to that extent the resolution requires an expression of opinion and does not call for facts or information, and so far as that particular clause is concerned the resolution is not privileged. The nonprivileged character of the resolution is so apparent that I take it that it is not necessary to argue it or to do any more than to call the attention of the Speaker to it.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, may I be heard against the point of order?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I do not believe the language in the resolution brings it within the inhibitions which have been applied to the rule permitting the discharge of a resolution of inquiry. Where any extraneous matter is inserted, where any act is required or any opinion is required, then, surely, it comes within the decisions; but here is the simple and usual limitation as to whether or not it conflicts with the public interest and whether or not the official desires to avail himself of that, with the additional requirement, which does not go to the gist of the resolution, that may permit him to refuse the information.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. I would agree with the gentleman if the gentleman stopped after the word "Republic," but under the last two lines it will be absolutely necessary for the President to use some discretion before he could comply with the request of the committee.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. He could avail himself of the refusal to comply if he believed it would be distressing.

Mr. SNELL. To make this resolution absolutely privileged, it must ask for facts and nothing more.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. That is all it does.

Mr. SNELL. The language goes farther than that.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. We would not be arguing the point of order if the resolution stopped where the gentleman suggests.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, may I add a word?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman from New York is correct in saying that the resolution is in due form up to a certain point; but if we are to believe what the newspapers say, this man, Mr. Couch, was recommended by certain high officials in our legislative bodies, and I am certain that the House does not want to do anything that will distress those high officials. The wisdom of this appointment seems to be in question, else the resolution would not have been brought forth, and if this man was recommended by high officials in our legislative bodies, the President can hardly have information as to whether these gentlemen will be distressed or not.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. If it is limited to the legislative bodies, then it does not come within the inhibitions at all.

Mr. MICHENER. But the President must determine whether or not, in his opinion, this will be distressing to the men who recommended this appointment.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. There is where the sponsors of the point of order are in error. It does not ask the President to decide whether it would cause distress, but it permits him to refuse on that ground.

Mr. MICHENER. The President would have to make an investigation to determine whether or not it will be distressing.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. Not at all.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Nebraska on the point of order.

Mr. TILSON rose.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, this point of order may not be an important matter so far as this particular resolution is concerned, but it seems to me that the Chair's ruling may become quite important hereafter as a precedent. If the letter of this resolution does not call for an opinion, then I am not able to read understandingly the English language.

The SPEAKER. Permit the Chair to state to the gentleman from Connecticut that the Chair had occasion to examine this resolution, knowing it was going to be called up, and the Chair is prepared to rule on the point of order. The Chair, however, desires to give the gentleman from Nebraska an opportunity to be heard on the point of order.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I am holding myself in abeyance.

Mr. Speaker, I insist that this resolution is strictly in harmony with the practice heretofore, so far as the decisions are concerned. If it called for an opinion I would instantly recognize the point of order, but it does not.

Mr. Speaker, I notice that gentlemen from Michigan, several of them, are taking the position that this calls for an opinion. They seem to fear the effect of the rendering of an opinion by President Hoover. I suggest that the Michigan delegation hold a caucus and get better acquainted with the mind of the present physical occupant of the presidential chair. Mr. Speaker, he is a man of gentle mood and mein. I drew the resolution in manner so as to give that great sympathy of his free rein to run—to run out to those who had certified this man Couch for appointment and to hold their names under the safe seal of secrecy if in his judgment the garish light of publicity might distress them. I speak now from the standpoint of a modest Democrat. I stand here as a member of the Democratic Party, demanding the right to know the names of those persons who carried to the President of our country their indorsement of this man, Couch, and certified him as a member of the Democratic Party.

Mr. RAGON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, yes; two of them.

Mr. RAGON. I do not know where the gentleman got his information that Mr. Couch is not a Democrat.

Mr. HOWARD. The gentleman from Arkansas is even speedier than the gentlemen from Michigan. I have never listed Mr. Couch as to political affiliation.

Mr. RAGON. I may have misunderstood the gentleman, but I understood him to say that he is not a Democrat.

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, no.

Mr. RAGON. I can assure the gentleman that he is.

Mr. SIMMONS. Will my colleague from Nebraska yield?

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. A number of us over here are in sympathy with the resolution——

Mr. HOWARD. I know it.

Mr. SIMMONS. But we are puzzled by this question. By what yardstick could the President determine whether or not a matter is distressing to a Democrat? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOWARD. I would rather say, offhand, although I am not officially informed, but I would rather say that he would employ the yardstick of either Andrew Mellon or Ogden Mills. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is privileged matter. Here is a man certified to the President of the United States as a member of the Democratic Party and indorsed for appointment to one of the most important posts within the gift of the President in this hour. I think it is about time that the House of Representatives should assert itself, and, whenever occasion shall demand, ask respectfully such information as can be obtained only from the President of the United States. I do not want to see this House run on, year after year, alienating one after another of its functions, and supinely submitting to an executive form of government entirely. I think the resolution is entirely proper, and I trust it may be adopted.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is ready to rule.

In 1913 one of the first rulings made by Speaker Clark was on a resolution of this kind, and, so far as the Chair is able to ascertain, the philosophy of that ruling of Speaker Clark has been followed up to this time. The Chair will read his language for the information of the House.

Speaking of the resolution before the House at that time, Speaker Clark made these remarks:

> The practice in regard to a resolution of this kind is this: That it is in order if it calls for facts only or information only. It does not make any difference which one of the two words is used, but it is out of order if it calls for an opinion or an investigation.

The resolution now before the House calls for facts and then concludes with this language—

> And shall not be distressing to those persons who recommended the appointment of the aforesaid Couch.

The President would have to make an investigation to determine whether it was distressing to any person. The





Chair thinks that then the President, on the basis of the investigation, would have to formulate an opinion concerning the distress that might be caused to certain persons. So the resolution calls for both an investigation and an opinion, which is violative of both precedents laid down by Speaker Clark.

The Chair thinks the point of order is clearly well taken and sustains the point of order.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order for one-half minute.

THE PRIVATE CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. To-day has been set aside as Private Calendar day, and the Chair would dislike to see the House get into the realm of discussion.

The order of the House to-day is that bills on the Private Calendar, unobjected to, shall be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Private Calendar.

FRANKLIN D. CLARK

The Clerk called the first bill on the Private Calendar, which was H. R. 927, for the relief of the estate of Franklin D. Clark.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BACHMANN. I reserve the right to object.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes on the bill without waiving my right to object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes without waiving his right to object. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this bill seeks to grant to the estate of the deceased soldier the pension money that was deferred and taken over by the Board of Managers while the deceased testator was an inmate of the National Home for Volunteer Soldiers.

The report is predicated on the idea that there has been no decision made on the various statutes involved.

Back in 1892 a provision was carried on an appropriation bill which authorized the Board of Managers to take the pension money belonging to an inmate, if there was no widow, minor children, or dependent father or mother surviving, and use it for the benefit of the post fund.

Mr. BACHMANN. And if no will was made.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have stated that. In 1910 we passed a further law, general in nature, that the personal property of an inmate of the soldiers' home should be transferred to the Board of Managers for use of the home.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. The gentleman is making a statement that is not supported by the act. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Not at present. The report states that there has been no decision on this question construing the various sections. I call the attention of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to a decision of Durack et al. against National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, decided November 8, 1930, by the circuit court of appeals of the United States, where this very question of construing the statutes was involved.

It was an appeal from the lower court, presided over by a former Member of this House, a distinguished lawyer from Maine, the Hon. John A. Peters. It was there held that it was the purpose of Congress not to allow this pension money to be transferred from their control by any inmate, unless there was a widow, minor children, or dependent father or mother. Let me read to you from the last paragraph of the decision. It is found in the Forty-fourth Federal Reporter, page 516, second series. May I read the last paragraph of the decision, the unanimous opinion of the circuit court of appeals?—

> As to any balance of pension moneys unapplied for his benefit at the time of his death, Congress directed it to be paid into the "post fund" only in case there were no widow, minor children, or dependent parents. The reason for the difference in the class of persons entitled to receive before the "post fund" should be benefited is too obvious to require comment.

That is the record of the court of appeals final word on this subject, negativing the right to take this from the post fund. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I stated to the gentleman from Wisconsin that he only read part of the act of 1910. While he did read a few lines in that act, he failed to say that where the deceased left no heirs at law or next of kin, or will, the property reverted to the home.

Now, this veteran, and the report shows he was a veteran, because if he had not established this he would not have been able to enter the home, did leave relatives and, further, he left a will. It does not matter to me what the decision of the court of appeals says, the fact is in cases of this character where the veteran left a will it was clearly the intent of Congress in enacting the law of 1910 that the relatives, and not the home, were to receive the personal property of the veteran. No court of appeals can justify any other interpretation of this law, and anyone with common sense who reads the law will come to the conclusion that such was the intent of Congress.

I again call the attention of the House to the fact that this veteran left a will and asked in that will that the little money he had on deposit in that home be given to his dependents, and there were dependents, and there are dependents to-day. Not only relatives but dependents. Our committee held a hearing on this bill that lasted two days in the last Congress and brought General Wood, of the Soldiers' Home, before the committee. The committee was unanimous in the opinion that this money should go to the heirs of the soldier.

Mr. BACHMANN. And is it not also a fact that this money was undrawn pension money which belonged to him, and which was his own personal property?

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Part undrawn pension money and part of it was other savings placed on deposit. It was the veteran's personal property, and the soldiers' home or the United States Government had absolutely no right to the money at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it not a fact that under the regulations prescribed by the Board of Managers these pension moneys ever since 1902 and before have been transferred actually into the control of the Treasury, and if there are no immediate heirs surviving they revert to and are held by the Board of Managers for the post fund?

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Beyond question the board of managers has done so, but it had no right to make such a rule, no right to this money. Are a daughter and a son not classed as immediate heirs? In cases where there are no immediate heirs, then the home should get the money, but such was not the case here.

Mr. STAFFORD. I say to the gentleman that we should pass not a special act, singling out some favorite beneficiary, but if this rule is to obtain, then we should pass a general law that will apply to all similarly situated.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. If the intent of Congress was properly construed by the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' Home, this would not be necessary. The home wanted to grab everything, no matter whether there were immediate heirs or will. Our committee has no jurisdiction when it comes to a general law. If it had, we would have reported such a bill. Now and then let us interpret the intent of Congress. This bill should certainly pass.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLANTON. At least there ought to be a report from the War Department on the service of this man, and I think with respect to every one of these bills there should be a report. There is none in this case.

I call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that it is necessary for them to watch some of these private measures to a certain extent. On the first day of this Congress when bills could be introduced, which was on December 8, 1931, our good friend from California, Mr. CRAIL, who is energetic and ambitious, introduced 393 bills and resolutions. One of these measures (H. J. Res. 78) seeks to take out of the Treasury $5,000,000,000. If every member of the House had introduced as many bills on that day as our friend from California [Mr. CRAIL], there would have been introduced on that one day 169,955 bills. So gentlemen can see that it is necessary that we should watch these matters and give some attention to them; otherwise, instead of having a $2,000,000,000 deficit in the Treasury, we will have a deficit that no amount of drastic taxation upon the people can ever make up.

Mr. HARE. Does not the gentleman think the Members of the House are conscious of their duty and obligation to be vigilant in these matters, without having it brought to their attention?

Mr. BLANTON. Did the gentleman know that there had been 393 bills introduced on one day by one Member, one of them involving $5,000,000,000?

Mr. HARE. But they have not been brought to the attention of the House.

Mr. BLANTON. A good many of them are on this calendar, and the calendar is growing all the time.

Mr. HARE. The gentleman will be here to take care of them when they come up.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

MELISSA ISABEL FAIRCHILD

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4390) for the relief of Melissa Isabel Fairchild.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is another private bill which seeks to extend relief this time to a constituent of the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. SMITH]. Mr. Speaker, we find ourselves to-day in identically the same position that we were in in the closing days of the last Congress. One Member with practically no study overriding the report of one of your committees by a single objection.

Members of this House have been practically assured that they were going to have some kind of an opportunity to vote on an amendment to our rules that would permit a fair discussion of bills that are reported by committees of this House. I do not want to filibuster. I have never made a point of no quorum in this House except upon one occasion and that was in order to get a vote on an important question. However, I see absolutely no use of proceeding here to-day when one Member is going to object to a bill simply because there is not a report from the War Department or for some other minor reason. Instead of wasting our time here to-day, I think it would be wisdom to set aside the business of to-day by unanimous consent and take up other business until the Committee on Rules has brought in the amendment to the rules upon which they have held hearings and give every one of these bills an opportunity to be heard under that new rule, if it is adopted.

Mr. Speaker, I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Private Calendar be set aside to-day and not be called until the Rules Committee has reported upon the amendment to the rules it is now considering.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to set aside the business of to-day. Is there objection?

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. I object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There was no objection, and the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to issue patent to Melissa Isabel Fairchild, widow of Seymour Fairchild, deceased, on desert entry, Blackfoot, Idaho, No. 037882, entered by him on November 8, 1917, for the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter, and southeast quarter of section 8; east half of the northeast quarter and northeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 17, all in township 9 south, range 14 east, Boise (Idaho) meridian.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

THOMAS C. LAFORGE

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4145) for the relief of Thomas C. LaForge.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to issue a patent in fee to Thomas C. LaForge, Crow allottee No. 1257 for land allotted to him under the provisions of the act of June 4, 1920 (41 Stat. L. 751), and designated as homestead.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

BENJAMIN SPOTTEDHORSE AND HORSE SPOTTEDHORSE

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4150) authorizing issuance of patents in fee to Benjamin Spottedhorse and Horse Spottedhorse for certain lands.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Montana if the passage of this bill will mean any expense upon the Government?

Mr. LEAVITT. None at all.

Mr. BACHMANN. Will the gentleman explain what the situation is?

Mr. LEAVITT. The situation is that these two Indians have been declared entirely competent and have proven themselves to be in the handling of their own affairs. They have some land that is restricted, upon which they have asked to have the restriction removed so that it can be sold to enable them to improve other lands which they own elsewhere on the reservation.

Mr. BACHMANN. The gentleman is confident there will be no expense?

Mr. LEAVITT. I am confident there will be no expense, as has been conclusively shown by experience.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H. R. 4150

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to issue a patent in fee to Benjamin Spottedhorse, Crow allottee No. 1335, for land allotted to him under the provisions of the act of June 4, 1920 (41 Stat. L. 751), and described as the northeast quarter and east half of northwest quarter section 16, township 8 south, range 32 east, comprising 240 acres.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to issue a patent in fee to Horse Spottedhorse, Crow allottee No. 1336, for land allotted to her under the provisions of the act of June 4, 1920, supra, and described as the west half of northwest quarter section 16, township 8 south, range 32 east, comprising 80 acres.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word, and I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to briefly address the Members on the question of the existing rules of the House, under which the Private Calendar is considered.

I have been a member of the Committee on Claims for a number of years, and the new members of that committee as well as the older members know that the individual members of the Claims Committee must necessarily devote a great deal of time to the consideration of the many bills

referred to that committee. First, the bills are referred to a subcommittee, which carefully studies the evidence presented. Then the subcommittee reports to the full committee, where the bills are discussed pro and con in the committee meeting, and action is taken thereon by the whole committee.

During the last Congress the Committee on Claims alone favorably reported hundreds of meritorious bills, and they were placed on the Private Calendar. If the existing rules are not changed, whereby one Member of the House, perhaps because of personal animosity or perhaps to make a record for himself, as he sees it, can prevent the consideration of a Claims Committee bill, I will not as a member of the Committee on Claims devote hours and hours and days and days to considering the private claims bills and have them favorably reported by a unanimous motion of the committee, and then die on the calendar the way they have in the past.

I also desire to call another matter to the attention of some of my Republican colleagues from Wisconsin, the self-styled crusaders against gag rules, the self-styled 100 per cent supporters of liberal rules. We who have read the newspapers published not only in the State of Wisconsin but through our Nation can not but reach the conclusion that some of my Republican colleagues from the State of Wisconsin have been posing as champions of liberalization of the House rules and vicious foes of gag rules. When the rules for this session were considered in the House, the Republicans had liberalizing amendments to offer, which amendments included an amendment to take care of the consideration of private claims bills, and those amendments could not be offered when the rules were considered because a Democratic leader moved the previous question, which was carried by the votes of the entire Democratic membership and a few Members elected on the Republican ticket. This motion cut off debate and prevented the offering of amendments.

Therefore private bills which have been favorably reported by a committee with a unanimous vote can not be considered by the House if one Member objects to their consideration.

This by reason of the fact that the Democratic Party, which in the past has claimed to be opposed to gag rule and in favor of liberalization of the rules, aided and abetted by a number of Republicans who have claimed that they were opposed to gag rules and in favor of liberalization of the rules, as shown by the roll-call record vote, voted for the most drastic and vicious gag rule that could be placed before you—the motion for the previous question on the adoption of the rules for this session. The motion having carried, debate was ended and no Member could offer an amendment. So, my good friends, if your meritorious bills are not enacted in this Congress due to the objection of one Member or because the rules relating to the Private Calendar were not liberalized, look at the roll call on that previous question vote and determine the responsibility.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRAZOS RIVER HARBOR NAVIGATION DISTRICT

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 6043) authorizing the Secretary of War to reduce the penalty bond of the Brazos River Harbor Navigation District, of Brazoria County, Tex., furnished as surety for its doing certain work on the improvement of Freeport Harbor, Tex.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I am sympathetically inclined to this bill and I simply wish to make one inquiry—that is, whether under the original authorization these contractors were obliged to perform any work as far as the maintenance of this project was concerned. I notice in the last paragraph the Secretary of War is authorized to relieve them of all bonded responsibility, even as to the expense of normal maintenance. Was that requirement a condition in the original authorization?

Mr. MANSFIELD. In reply to the gentleman from Wisconsin, I will say that the work performed at this place was not done by contract but by Government equipment in charge of a Government engineer. It consisted of diverting the Brazos River from a point 7 miles above its mouth so as to flow into the Gulf of Mexico 6½ miles west of its former mouth. The local interests were to put up all of the money that might be required over and above the $500,000 which Congress appropriated for the work. They put up, under the direction of the engineer, $550,000. It seems that $540,000 was sufficient to complete the work, and the Government now has $15,000 in cash which was left over.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have no objection to the reduction in the bond. I am only seeking to inquire whether in the organic act providing for this project this navigation district was required to maintain the project.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Under the original act they were required to do that, but it was modified so as to require them to maintain the river in its new bed, and for that purpose I believe a nominal bond should continue to be held over them.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to substitute Senate bill 2278, an identical bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War may, in his discretion, reduce the penalty of the bond executed April 27, 1928, by the Brazos River harbor navigation district, of Brazoria County, Tex., as principal and the National Surety Co. as surety, to insure the payment of the sum of $861,000 to such amount as in his opinion will cover any further contribution which may be required from the said Brazos River harbor navigation district in connection with the project for improvement of Freeport Harbor, Tex., authorized by the river and harbor act of March 3, 1925: *Provided*, That whenever the Secretary of War is satisfied that the said project has been completed and the works have become so stabilized that no further expenditures will be necessary other than normal maintenance, he may cancel said bond and release the said principal and surety from any obligation thereunder.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word, and I will take only one or two minutes. I believe the RECORD should show that the so-called calendar conditions about which the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHAFER] complains covers private bills only, and not public bills. A mere perusal of the calendar will show that these bills are for the relief of individuals, and the House is now considering these bills in the same way it has for many years.

I believe the gentleman from Wisconsin wants to be fair, and the RECORD should show that we did have a real, material, and substantial liberalization of the House rules in the beginning of the Seventy-second Congress. [Applause.] We have obtained a discharge rule which we believe is workable and practical. We have liberalized the calendar so as to move committees, and we are now in the middle of the list of committees although we have been but a few weeks in session.

The gentleman from Wisconsin well remembers when he first came to Washington and was one of the real progressives, although he now designates them otherwise; he has found by experience that it takes time to liberalize the rules, and I submit, when he complains of the vote on the previous question, that on the motion for the previous question he will find every Member in this House who has been fighting to liberalize the rules for many years voting for the previous question. I will tell why: Because we had sufficient and sad experience, and we knew that if we did not vote for the previous question there would be a combination of standpatters on both sides that might have destroyed what we had obtained. I am sure the gentleman wants to be fair about that.

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. SCHAFER. The gentleman has offered a very weak-kneed defense for a vote in favor of the previous question, which prevented debate and which prevented the offering of amendments to the very motion to adopt the rules of the House.

Mr. LaGUARDIA. I will repeat that on that roll call the gentleman will find in the affirmative every true progressive, every true liberal, and the Members who for years were fighting for liberalization of the rules.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

A similar House bill, H. R. 6043, was laid on the table.

NEAL D. BORUM

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 6347, for the relief of Neal D. Borum.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed, notwithstanding the provisions of the act of May 22, 1928 (45 Stat. 697), to credit the accounts of Neal D. Borum, special disbursing officer at the embassy of the United States at London, in the sum of $810.62, representing the amount paid by him for expenses incurred by a member of the delegation to the naval conference at London and his staff when they returned to the United States on a vessel of foreign registry.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I was busily engaged here at the moment. I want to say that under the circumstances I do not think we would be justified in making this appropriation. I therefore move to amend the bill by striking out "$810.62" and inserting "$500."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PATTERSON: On page 1, line 7, strike out "$810.62" and insert in lieu thereof "$500."

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Alabama says he was not watching this bill at the time it was called. It is quite evident to me the gentleman has not read the bill at all.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I did not understand him.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I said I do not think the gentleman has read the bill.

Mr. PATTERSON. I certainly have read the bill.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Evidently the gentleman has not read the report.

This bill is not an appropriation. Admiral Jones, one of the commissioners to the naval disarmament conference at London was taken sick and was advised by his physicians to return to America for hospitalization at the earliest possible moment. So the Secretary of State asked him to return to America and ordered the disbursing officer, Mr. Borum, to purchase tickets and get him off on the very earliest steamer. The earliest steamer was the *Berengaria* of the Cunard Line, and the disbursing officer secured tickets for Admiral Jones and his secretary, a statement of which is found in the report, all of which amounted to $810.62. He paid this out of the funds of the disarmament commission of the United States. The *Berengaria* sailed on February 26. The American boat the *Americus* did not come into Southampton until the 27th, and it would take six days on the *Berengaria* to get him to New York and it would take nine days on the American ship to get him there. Therefore he returned on the *Berengaria*. He got off a day sooner. He saved three days in passage, and not only that but he was in such condition that he had to be carried aboard on a stretcher, and while the *Berengaria* came up to the docks the American ship only came into the channel, a very long distance away. So Borum paid this money out of these funds at the request of the Secretary of State. When it came to the Comptroller General, the comptroller would not allow it. Why? Because the *Berengaria* is not an American ship, and we have a law compelling these men to travel on American ships.

So Borum is now asking that the Comptroller General be instructed to allow him this payment of $810.62 in his accounts, which he had disallowed.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINTHICUM. Yes.

Mr. STRONG of Kansas. It is very apparent that if the Government owes anything it owes the full amount of the bill.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Of course. This man Borum is an employee of the Government in the State Department. He was the disbursing officer who paid it, and unless the Comptroller General allows it, he loses it out of his own pocket, although he paid it out upon the instruction of the Secretary of State.

Mr. EVANS of Montana. And the Secretary of State is his superior officer.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Yes. I wish to say to the gentleman, in addition to answering him in the affirmative, that I am unalterably opposed to the men of our Government service traveling on other than American ships, and I have so informed the Secretary of State. The gentleman will notice that the delegates and personnel to the disarmament conference at Geneva have traveled on American ships altogether. In this case, however and it may so happen in some future cases that emergency demands that they travel on foreign ships. Admiral Jones was in a very bad state of health, requiring prompt and quick action, hence this bill which our committee has reported favorably under these conditions.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the amendment to make this observation. I think the House will note from the gentleman's own statement that we paid $810 to this admiral to get him to a hospital in America, although there were hospitals in London and treatment could have been had there. They paid $810.62 to get him to America four days earlier. That is the situation covered by this bill, and I hope my amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. LINTHICUM. And Admiral Jones is one of the finest men we have ever had in the Navy.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. PATTERSON].

The amendment was rejected.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

BERTA C. HUGHES

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3527) for the relief of Berta C. Hughes.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay to Berta C. Hughes, widow of John H. Hughes, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $500 in full satisfaction of all claims against the United States on account of the sale for alleged storage charges, not in fact due, by the Alaska Railroad Co. at Nenana, Alaska, on July 31, 1926, of a drilling outfit belonging to such John H. Hughes, deceased.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HARVEY K. MEYER

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 6840) for the relief of Harvey K. Meyer, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. HILL of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill S. 2406, an identical bill, be substituted for the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Comptroller General of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to allow credit in the accounts of Harvey K. Meyer, superintendent and special disbursing agent at Colville Agency, Wash., for payments aggregating $312.67, made from tribal funds of the Spokane Indians to William S. Lewis, of Spokane, Wash., to reimburse him for travel expenses incurred in behalf of said Indians, as provided in his contract with them as their attorney, which payments were disallowed by the General Accounting Office for the reason as claimed that there was no authority of law therefor.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The House bill, H. R. 6840, was laid on the table.

WILLIE LOUISE JOHNSON

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 799) to extend the benefits of the employees' compensation act of September 7, 1916, to Willie Louise Johnson.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. The gentleman from Wisconsin objected to the bill at the last session, and I submit that, although there is a conflict in the doctors' testimony, the man had worked in this yard for a year without missing a day. He was injured and died four days after that injury in great agony.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to say that I made a very close and thorough examination of this case at the last session, and I have reexamined the report within a few days. We find a statement of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission that he did not die as the result of this injury, but as the result of Bright's disease. You are purposing to legislate an enactment saying that he died as the result of this little accident, this little contusion on the face.

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. The statement was that it was aggravated and induced by this injury.

Mr. STAFFORD. The man was suffering from Bright's disease, and because of this little contusion you are saying that he died as the result of this accident. I can not subscribe to that conclusion.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman refers to one injury, the contusion on the face, but this man received a bodily injury besides. He died 17 days after the injury, and the coroner's jury found that his death was attributable to the injury. It is true that the doctors have reported otherwise, but the doctors evidently only made a facial examination of the man. The man actually suffered bodily injury.

Mr. STAFFORD. The finding of the coroner's jury was that he died of nephritis. I object.

HOWARD LEWTER

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 808) for the relief of Howard Lewter.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. EATON of Colorado and Mr. STAFFORD reserved the right to object.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. LANKFORD] if he has an amendment to the bill, providing that it shall not have any effect prior to the date of the passage of the act?

Mr. LANKFORD of Virginia. Yes; I have, and also with reference to attorney fees, although there is no attorney in the case.

Mr. STAFFORD. We are now confronted for the first time with a bill that seeks to grant compensation under the act of 1916 to a claimant who sustained injury prior to that in 1913. We have a great number of such instances.

I have been informed by a former chairman of the Committee on Claims, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. UNDERHILL], that it has been the policy of Congress not to extend the provisions of the later act to those who received benefits under the former act, and bring them within the purview of these provisions, unless some very serious consequences are involved. We are now on the threshold of determining the policy of this Congress. In the closing days of the last Congress some of us who objected to some of these bills were subjected to the charge that we were not laying down the same policy as to all. I do not think we should extend the privileges of the 1916 act to claimants who suffered injury prior thereto and who have received benefits under the act of 1908, unless some very strong reason is given. This is not such a case, and I feel constrained to object.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold that and yield to me for a moment?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] has been here a long time and has ably served on some of the most important committees of the House, including the Committee on Appropriations. During the last 150 years, at any time, have the rules been more liberal than they are now with respect to the consideration of this calendar?

Mr. STAFFORD. No. Not only are they more liberal now, but I may say that prior to eight years ago, as the Speaker well knows, because the distinguished Speaker entered the Congress at the same time that I had the privilege to enter it—29 years ago—it was the rule that the Private Calendar would be considered as to unobjected bills only about three nights during a session of Congress. In the last Congress we gave night after night to the consideration of this calendar and considered thousands of bills. Every bill was given consideration that had been reported up to within two weeks before the adjournment of the Congress. No one can say that the last Congress and the preceding Congress did not give the fullest consideration to private bills under the unanimous-consent procedure.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. UNDERHILL. I am very much in sympathy with the remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD]. I think we are establishing a rather dangerous precedent in extending the privileges of the workmen's compensation act to claims arising prior to the time that it was enacted. At that time the debate in this House plainly showed that the Congress did not care to make the act retroactive. We had an act on the statute books which dated from 1908. We had no law previous to that time, and no claims were paid previous to that time except some claims growing out of the construction of the Panama Canal. I have some hesitancy and embarrassment in stating what ought to be the policy of the committee in the future, and I do not wish to be considered as attempting to lay down any policy for the new committee; but I make the suggestion to the chairman of the committee that if he starts in on this thing, he is going to bring to his committee and to Congress a tremendous lot of trouble, to plague him later on, because there are thousands and thousands of such claims, and the only honest and proper way to extend the provisions of the 1916 act to those who were injured prior to that time would be to pass general legislation and place them all on the same footing.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does the gentleman think there should be general legislation covering this subject?

Mr. UNDERHILL. I do not.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, of course, the function of the Committee on Claims is to afford relief where the equities plainly require it, and where the law is against it. In this case, bringing the matter under the provisions of the 1916 act, we are trying to do justice in a particularly pitiable case, where a subsequent survey of a man's condition indicates that he was far more seriously affected by the injury than probably was thought in the beginning. This type of legislation probably should be considered in one bill, but in the absence of retroactive legislation, I think it is properly within the function of this committee, having this peculiar duty of affording relief in individual cases where the circumstances indicate it should be afforded, to go ahead and consider these bills. I do not want to invite any more work.

Mr. BACHMANN. If we are going to establish a policy on this one particular case, then, as far as I am concerned, I shall object to every such similar bill. There is no sense

in objecting to one bill and permitting another in the same situation to go through. If we establish the practice now of objecting, as the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] has done, I expect to object for the same reason to similar bills.

Mr. BLACK. The Committee on Claims is legislating as to individuals in individual cases; it is not trying to set up any policy. The committee is trying to view the circumstances surrounding each case. The committee could have no settled policy.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is the committee considering general legislation in these particular cases?

Mr. BLACK. The committee is considering general legislation in tort cases, not in this class of cases.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. Yes.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Perhaps the gentleman is not aware that a similar bill was vetoed by one of our Presidents upon the ground I have set forth for the consideration of the committee.

Mr. BLACK. I thank the gentleman for his information. The President may have viewed the circumstances in a different light than would obtain here.

Mr. BLANTON. And there has not been a bill passed since then of this character.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts think in cases where extenuating circumstances are proved that the Committee on Claims will be warranted in reporting a bill setting a certain amount for the injury?

Mr. UNDERHILL. I am very much in sympathy with the contention of the chairman of the committee that the committee is justified in taking into consideration the equities of the case, but I do feel it would be a much better policy on the part of the committee, and would be less troublesome, if a specific sum were set, even though it is passed on to the Employees' Compensation Commission. It not only brings trouble to us but brings trouble to them.

Mr. BLACK. I think there is much in what the gentleman says.

Mr. STAFFORD. In view of the discussion, Mr. Speaker, I object.

RELIEF OF MORRIS DIETRICH

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1034) for the relief of Morris Dietrich.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is a bill along the same line except the case does not go to the Employees' Compensation Commission; but it is in the same category, and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] has not yet said a word about it. What is the disposition of the gentleman from Wisconsin where a specific amount is set in the case?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask that that bill be laid aside.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I object.

RELIEF OF ESTATE OF KATHERINE HEINRICH

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1130) for the relief of estate of Katherine Heinrich (Charles Grieser and others, executors).

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. FRENCH. Will the gentleman reserve his objection?

Mr. PATTERSON. I will withhold the objection in order that my colleague may make his statement.

Mr. FRENCH. I think the gentleman will not object if he can be made acquainted with the facts in this particular case.

In this case Katherine Heinrich died in November, 1920. One year later an estate tax amounting to $790.30 was paid. Of this there is no question. There is no question that about a year later the executors received notice from the deputy internal-revenue collector that the amount paid was in excess of the amount due by some $494.84, and it was suggested that application be made for a refund. I now come to the point that I think is disturbing the gentleman: While application was actually made for a refund, unfortunately the attorney who transmitted the application did not register his letter. It can not be proven that the application was received by the collector's office. The executors of the estate made their application within the time fixed by law. In fact, application for refund was made more than two and a half years prior to the time within which, under the law, it could have been made. The executors supposed the delay was one of the normal delays that occur in Government procedure. They were so advised by their attorney. Relying upon that thought, they permitted the time to pass by without making further application until, four years having passed, they were told application came too late.

I have submitted affidavit from the attorney who prepared and transmitted the application for refund setting forth the fact that he did transmit the application. Claimants in this case were not negligent and I do not know what evidence we can furnish to demonstrate that application for refund was actually made well within the time required by law. Surely the claimants are not at fault.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATTERSON. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think this case differs from those where a claimant for a refund of income taxes sleeps on his rights and makes no attempt whatever in the statutory period of four years to get relief from the Government. In this case the testimony is indisputable that the attorney, within the required time and in due season, did make a claim for refund. There is no question about that in my mind. I read the report last year and I read it again a few days ago. It was not obligatory upon this attorney to register the letter making his claim for refund. It might have been better, but in the course of business the attorney sent it in the ordinary mail. He had a right to rely upon the Government officials taking up the consideration of that claim for refund. In some manner, either because it was not received by the proper official or because it was sidetracked in the office, it was not acted upon. The claimant did everything within his rights. Of course, the day before the 4-year period expired he did not telephone or send a telegram to ask whether the letter had been received. He had a right to assume that it had. The gentleman knows that an attorney has the right to assume that there are a great number of these claims pending and that any delay in deciding the claim may be due to office conditions. If he does his duty and makes claim for a refund, that is all that can be expected of him.

Mr. PATTERSON. I think I know the idea of the gentleman and I am in sympathy with his feelings, but here is the situation as I view it: Where people are well fixed and are able to hire a lawyer, we can not become responsible for the neglect of that attorney.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, it was not neglect of the attorney. The attorney did his duty. It is neglect of either the post-office officials, or, if the post-office officials performed their duty, then it was the neglect of the officials in the Internal Revenue Department.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, for the present I object.

The SPEAKER. Permit the Chair to make a statement with regard to this bill.

The Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, of which the Chair had the honor to be a member, thoroughly considered the question of waiving the statute of limitations with reference to taxes that were paid to the United States Treasury. In a survey the committee found that there were something over $4,000,000,000 against which the statute of limitations had been invoked. The Chair notices in the report on this bill that the Treasury Department calls attention to that fact.

The Chair makes this statement with a view to calling it to the attention of the gentleman from Idaho. If the precedent of waiving the statute of limitations on taxes paid to the United States Treasury is established, the Chair wonders where the limitation will stop, especially in view of the fact that there are now more than $4,000,000,000 in the Treasury

in claims against which the statute of limitations has run. Of course, that goes back over a period of over a hundred years.

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak for two minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Speaker, I am not interested in the bill that was under discussion a few minutes ago, but I am interested in what has been said with reference to the policy involved therein. That bill is not predicated on a request that the statute of limitations be waived in a case where claimant has neglected to file his claim within the statutory period. That bill is based on the contention that the taxpayer filed his claim before the statute of limitations had run. The real question in the instant case is whether or not the taxpayer complied with his statutory duty and made his claim to the Treasury Department within the period in which such claims could be lawfully tendered. The bill seeks to refund tax money that had been paid to the Treasury of the United States under protest, where it is obvious such payment was not due the Federal Treasury, and where the claimant complied with his statutory duties by preparing and mailing his claim in the due and usual course of business.

I understand the Treasury Department has no record showing the receipt of these papers, but that does not disprove that the claim was actually received at the Treasury Department. It is the universal custom to transmit claims of this character, documents of every kind or character, through the United States mails. Probably not one letter in a million is lost in transit, and so sure and reliable is this mail service that even the most particular, meticulous, and precise business men, with absolute assurance, transmit their communications through the United States mail.

While the letter in question might have been lost in the mails, on the other hand it might have reached the Treasury Department and been misplaced, and probably by inadvertence deposited in the wrong file. Mistakes of this kind frequently occur.

There is no worth-while evidence that the claim was not received in due course by the Treasury Department before the statute of limitations run. When it is shown by the evidence that the letter was mailed, the law presumes that it was received by the addressee. Of course, this is a rebuttable presumption; but proof of mailing makes out a prima facia case that the letter was received by the addressee, and the burden is shifted to the addressee to affirmatively show nondelivery.

Please bear in mind that Treasury evidence of nondelivery is negative, namely, that they have no record of its receipt. No Treasury official or employee is in a position to show that the claim was not received and they can only testify that there is no record in the department of the receipt of this particular communication. Obviously, this is insufficient to overcome the presumption of delivery that flows from affirmative proof of mailing. The bill under discussion involves a question of fact, and the Congress as triers of the facts would be justified in finding from the weight of the evidence that the claim was really received at the Treasury Department before the statute of limitations became operative.

A few years ago our colleague Mr. DALLINGER, in discussing Veterans' Bureau matters in this chamber mentioned a case in which evidence had been submitted to the bureau. The bureau, after months had elapsed, claimed that the papers had never been received and were not in the bureau files. On the advice of our colleague the claimant submitted a duplicate set of proofs, and if I remember correctly, these also got out of pocket in the bureau. In any event both the original and duplicate were afterwards found. I mention this incident, not in a spirit of criticism of the bureau, but to illustrate that no matter how efficiently a departmental filing system may be operated, mistakes will occur and papers will not infrequently be by inadvertence placed in the wrong file.

I repeat this is not a case where the claimant is asking the Government to waive the statute of limitations. The question is, shall the Government be permitted to retain a small sum of money to which in equity and good conscience it has no title? I respectfully submit that in cases of this character, where the taxpayer makes out a prima facie case by showing that he deposited the claim papers in the United States mail, the legal presumption follows that the papers were transmitted in the usual course and delivered to the addressee, and thereupon the burden shifts to the addressee to rebut this prima facie case, and to overcome this legal presumption by evidence sufficient to satisfy the triers of the fact that the documents did not in reality reach the addressee. The taxpayer is not charged with responsibility for the care, diligence, or accuracy with which the Treasury Department handles the mail after it is received, nor can he be penalized or deprived of his statutory rights, because forsooth the employees of the Treasury Department in distributing or filing the evidence misplaced it or attached it to the wrong file. In the instant case there is no presumption that the taxpayer's claim papers were not received at the Treasury Department.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the Speaker's statement, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri has clearly stated the facts in this case. We are not asking for consideration because of any neglect on the part of the claimant. The application for refund was made more than two and a half years before the time expired within which the application should have been made.

Why, gentlemen of the House, less than 60 days ago I had a case before the Veterans' Bureau. I was told that evidence had not been received. I was told by my correspondents that it had been sent. It was evidence that had required a vast amount of time and care and attention to assemble. Yet I was compelled to write to my correspondents and tell them that all the work must be done over again. Within 30 days I received notice from the Veterans' Bureau that somehow the evidence that had been transmitted had been found in connection with another case. Here was a mistake, but it was one made by a department. A similar mistake may be responsible for the case we are now considering.

I have no doubt the evidence was filed; I have no doubt it was either lost in the mails or misplaced after having been received; it may well be in some pigeonhole attached to a wrong case, and it may be that some day it will be discovered. At any rate, the claimant did not neglect the matter. He made his application in due time. In my judgment, if there were such a claim confronting any Member of this House, when he found he owed a debt under like circumstances he would not go to sleep to-night before he had refunded the overpayment to the person who made the claim.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I have a claim which is in exactly the same shape this one is in, and I would like to know the attitude of the committee with respect to such claims. I had a bill before the committee at the last session, but it was not reported. The committee at the last session would not report these bills. If they are going to report one bill, I think they should report my bill. It is the case of an overpayment of $2,800. A former Member of this House, a lawyer and former United States Senator, Senator Bailey, of Texas, made the statement that he put the letter in the mail box. He made the statement that he sent the claim

to the department, but the department claimed they never received it.

If one bill along this line is passed, I want mine passed. I would like to know what is to be the attitude of this committee with reference to legislation of that sort. In other words, if they are going to report them and have them objected to or leave them in the committee.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, of course, as I said in connection with the question of the compensation claims, the committee is not disposed to commit itself as to any policy on any kind of claims. Each claim will be examined on its own facts. We will go into its own factual background, and, if the claim is justified, I hope we will report it, irrespective of what class of claim it may fall in.

I realize the importance of what the Speaker has told us about the statute of limitations, and I must say that the statute of limitations has evidently protected the country from real bankruptcy, because the statute of limitations has prevented us from paying back to taxpayers $4,000,000,000 which the country owed the taxpayers.

I can not say to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] that his bill will be reported. I do not want to commit the committee or myself to a disposition in favor of that bill. However, we will consider that bill as we have considered this one.

I believe this bill should be passed. There does not seem to me to be any question of negligence on the part of the attorney in this case. If such is the case in regard to the claim referred to by the gentleman from Texas, I hope the committee will report that bill.

I think a great many of the objections to-day are merely captious objections, and it is hardly worth while holding a Private Calendar day if the practice is kept up.

LEHDE & SCHOENHUT

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 1202, for the relief of Lehde & Schoenhut.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is there anyone here interested in this bill?

Mr. MEAD. I am interested in the bill, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Will the gentleman explain why you should ask for return of the money before you prove that the trees went back?

Mr. MEAD. We have proved that the trees were sent back. I have here the shipper's export declaration signed by the clerk at the United States customs and certified to by an officer of the New York State Department of Farms and Markets. I have here also the bill of lading of the New York Central Railroad, sworn to before an accredited notary public, and I have also a statement from the Department of Farms and Markets of New York State made in a letter addressed to the Director of the Bureau of Plant Industry at Washington, in which he informs the department that the trees were shipped back to Canada under the supervision of the State department of farms and markets.

This is the information that was requested by the department, and this information was presented to the Claims Committee last year. On this information the committee reported the bill favorably to the House, and the present committee has again reported the bill favorably this session. This is a meritorious claim to refund money paid into the United States Treasury on goods that the claimant was not allowed to keep.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. The gentleman's statement is that he has proof that the trees were reshipped to Canada?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; the shipper's export declaration and the railroad bill of lading. I have here the full and complete information which the gentleman from Colorado has requested.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. I heard the gentleman read the list of papers and I withdraw any objection.

Mr. MEAD. I thank my colleague.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Lehde & Schoenhut, of Gardenville, N. Y., the sum of $739.25, being the amount which the said Lehde & Schoenhut paid to the collector of customs of Buffalo, N. Y., as customs duties on certain shipments of spruce trees, aggregating three carloads, imported into the United States from Canada during the month of May, 1926. The aforementioned shipments of spruce trees were subsequently refused entry into the United States by a New York State inspector, who ordered them to be reshipped to Canada, because of a State quarantine, in the identical condition in which they entered this country, the said duty having been paid by the said Lehde & Schoenhut before the discovery of the quarantine order preventing entry of the said spruce trees: *Provided*, That it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury that all of said shipments of spruce trees were in fact reshipped to Canada in obedience to the quarantine order refusing their admission.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS GOVERNMENT CLOTHING

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker and fellow Members, I have taken this opportunity in order to call attention to a resolution introduced by me (H. J. Res. 273) that would direct the Secretary of War to sell at 1 per cent of the original cost (10 per cent of the present value), to the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Red Cross, or other patriotic or charitable organizations all of the surplus clothing now held in warehouses in excess of estimated future needs of the War Department, to be distributed to the unemployed and destitute people of the United States.

May I say that my attention was called to this matter the first of this week, when Mr. Watson B. Miller, national chairman of the rehabilitation committee of the American Legion, appeared before the Military Affairs Committee in support of a resolution adopted by the national rehabilitation committee of his organization asking Congress to direct the War Department to sell to the American Legion surplus stocks to be distributed free by that great patriotic organization to people in this country who are in destitute circumstances.

High officials of the War Department, including the Assistant Secretary of War, appeared before the Military Affairs Committee of the House, of which I have the honor to be a member, for the purpose of showing that the surplus clothing in excess of the estimated future needs of the War Department is now being offered for sale at approximately one-tenth of the original cost, and that such prices are reasonable. If this matter is to be considered from purely a commercial standpoint, then the position of the War Department is probably correct, and yet I was amazed to learn that in several instances the same grade of goods can be to-day bought in the open market for less, which means less than one-tenth the price paid by the Government 14 to 15 years ago. Much of the clothing in question was sold by the conscienceless contractors and damnable war profiteers who highjacked the Government during those dark and never to be forgotten days of 1917 and 1918.

Let me digress for a moment to say that for the past several years I have been urging Congress to pass the universal draft act, proposing to draft money and materials as well as men in case of future wars. The almost countless millionaires made by the World War is a dark page in our Nation's history. Let us eliminate future war profiteering, and we shall at least lessen the likelihood of future wars.

But getting back to what I was saying in connection with the committee hearings. It is not my purpose to dwell on this controversy—or perhaps I should say the unsatisfactory colloquy or extended negotiations between the Legion officials and the War Department. Nor do I have any disposition to unduly criticize the Department of War for not voluntarily reducing the prices of its surplus stocks to the minimum, as provided in my resolution. In fact, the War Department might be criticized for doing so without direction by Congress or any action by the Military Affairs Committee.

During the hearing before the committee it was suggested that for the War Department to sell its surplus clothing for 1 per cent of its original cost, or 10 per cent of the present value, is virtually a dole, and we were told in no uncertain terms that the Government has not yet embarked upon the policy of the dole. Of course, that opens up a subject of wide range for discussion, into which I do not care to go at length at this time. Some Members of Congress, who have voted consistently for outright doles to big business, get all excited when any suggestion is made that they consider smacks of a dole to starving and destitute people. Only recently this Congress voted to underwrite certain big business by pledging two billions from the Federal Treasury to make good worthless or questionable securities and bonds of international bankers and the railroads, which, I submit, is nothing more nor less than a dole.

What is the moratorium on foreign war debts but a dole? And mind you, that is not a dole of thousands, or even millions, but, in my judgment, it means ultimate cancellation of more than $11,000,000,000—not to our own destitute people, but a dole to unappreciative and unfriendly foreign governments. We sold four billions of war supplies to France at 10 cents on the dollar 14 years ago in order to show our "brotherly love." France has not paid one dollar of that obligation, and never will, and yet we did not hear the cry go up about giving France a dole.

I have never advocated a dole to any class of citizens and certainly do not do so now, but on the other hand have insisted that all the average American asks for is a chance to earn an honest living, a thing millions of good citizens are unable to do under existing conditions. Before I could vote for a dole, however, to international bankers, or for governments across the sea, I would like to see this Congress do something to relieve the distress of the millions of destitute people in our own country, many of whom offered their services to this Government at a time when the dark clouds of war hung heavily over this unhappy land.

At a later meeting of the House Military Affairs Committee—and since the introduction of my resolution—the committee passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of War to sell to the American Legion such surplus stocks as heretofore discussed, at 50 per cent of the present prices, which means about 5 per cent of the original cost. I have every reason to believe that the War Department will comply with the request of our committee. This will mean a saving of approximately a hundred thousand dollars to the American Legion and other organizations who propose to distribute these stocks and clothing to those who are destitute throughout the land.

Personally, I would much prefer that the prices be still further reduced, if possible, and I call attention to the fact that this surplus clothing, held by the War Department, will not come in competition with the local merchant for the reason that it will be distributed, so I understand, only to the destitutes, who have no money nor jobs.

It is not fanciful theory with which we are faced, but a solemn and distressing reality. The War Department has the 14-year-old clothing it can not possibly use and we have millions of unemployed and destitute citizens who are in real need of these necessities. I would not only reduce prices, but because of the unusual situation I would urge that all such surplus clothing be given the charitable and patriotic organizations who are willing to distribute it free to those in great need, if that were possible. Under the present law, however, that can not be done. A sale must be made, and the cold weather would probably be over before a bill could be put through Congress amending the present law. Immediate action is imperative, and I sincerely trust that the War Department takes appropriate action at once. That will help some, and unless this is done, I shall insist upon early action on my resolution.

Let me add, in conclusion, that dire need for clothing and food is rampant in our beloved and once prosperous land. This deplorable condition is not confined to any one section of the country. Conditions are probably worse in the congested city districts than among the rural population; yet the prevailing price of farm products being far below the cost of production, millions of honest, patriotic, and hard-working tillers of the soil have been thrown into bankruptcy. Thousands of Oklahoma farmers have seen their life savings swept from under them within the past two or three years. Farms are being foreclosed daily, and thousands of tenant farmers are in as much destitution as those who live in the towns and cities. I feel that it is inexcusable for this Government to hold millions of dollars worth of clothing that the War Department admits can not possibly be used, with citizens of this country on the verge of freezing for the lack of sufficient clothing and with dire need widespread all over the land. If that be a dole, then make the most of it.

GRINA BROTHERS

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 1231, for the relief of Grina Bros.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to redeem in favor of Grina Bros., of Ambrose, N. Dak., United States coupon note No. D-4419811 in the denomination of $100 of the Victory 4¾ per cent notes of 1922–23, called for redemption December 15, 1922, without interest and without presentation of the said note, which is alleged to have been lost or stolen: *Provided*, That the said note shall not have been previously presented for payment and that no payment shall be made hereunder for any coupons which may have been attached to the note: *Provided further*, That the said Grina Bros. shall first file in the Treasury Department a bond in the penal sum of double the amount of the principal of said note in such form and with such corporate surety as may be acceptable to the Secretary of the Treasury to indemnify and save harmless the United States from any loss on account of the note hereinbefore described.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A. L. HEDDING

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 1350, for the relief of A. L. Hedding.

Mr. GRISWOLD. I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold his objection and permit the bill to be passed over without prejudice, in view of the fact that my colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. CURRY] is unavoidably absent?

The SPEAKER. As the Chair understands the parliamentary situation, when a bill on the Private Calendar is objected to it continues on the calendar. Passing a bill over without prejudice does not change the status of the bill at all.

Mr. BACHMANN. Objecting to a bill is the same thing as passing it over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Exactly the same thing.

BRUCE BROS. GRAIN CO.

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1525) for the relief of Bruce Bros. Grain Co.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object, to get a little information.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the author of the bill, is not on the floor, but will be in a few minutes. May I ask that this be passed over temporarily?

The SPEAKER. With a view of returning to it later?

Mr. DYER. If there is an opportunity.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

G. CARROLL ROSS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1554) for the relief of G. Carroll Ross.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to G. Carroll Ross, of the city of South Haven, Mich., the sum of $200 to reimburse him for money expended in payment of a fine levied against Captain

Quickfall, master of the British steamship *Erringford-Dunford*, on October 8, 1925, for violation of section 8 of the act of June 19, 1886, as amended.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THOMAS H. DEAL

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1928) for the relief of Thomas H. Deal.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to call attention to the fact that Postmaster General Walter F. Brown has made an adverse report on this bill.

Mr. PATTERSON. I want to say to the gentleman that I am going to object.

Mr. BLANTON. I was calling attention to the reason for the report of Postmaster General Brown. I want to show that there is a good reason. Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent to put in the RECORD the important parts of the Postmaster General's report on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The said portion of the report is as follows:

Upon consideration of this claim, settlement was made by disallowance under date of February 28, 1923, on the ground that a loss by burglary was not established by the evidence, as the safe bore no signs of force having been applied in opening it, and, in fact, it was found locked the next morning after the alleged burglary, and a window found out of place between the lobby and the workroom of the office was the only indication of forcible entrance to the workroom.

Subsequently one Romeo Hoyt was tried twice on an indictment charging larceny of bonds from the post office at Fairbanks, alleged to have been the personal property of former Postmaster Deal. In the first trial the jury disagreed and on the second trial Hoyt was acquitted. Former Postmaster Deal, of course, contends that Hoyt committed the burglary and took the postal funds involved in this claim as well as the securities that were his personal property. This phase of the case has a bearing on the claim for reimbursement, inasmuch as it developed in the trial of Hoyt that former Postmaster Deal was negligent in safeguarding the public funds, as indicated by the fact that he kept a slip of paper containing the combination of the safe in a drawer in the upper portion of his roll-top desk in the post office beside the safe, and used this paper on numerous occasions, both day and night, in unlocking the safe; furthermore, that the lock on the roll-top desk was defective and the desk could be opened and access to the paper on which the combination was written could be had without resort to violence, and this slip of paper could have been used by any person who desired to unlock the safe in which the funds reported stolen had been kept; also that the former postmaster maintained a magazine subscription agency, and it was his practice to admit persons who desired to subscribe for magazines into the workroom, and such persons were seated near his roll-top desk and were thus enabled to observe the former postmaster's procedure in opening the safe by means of the slip of paper containing the combination numbers. It is alleged that Hoyt and his wife had been seated for various periods of time at Mr. Deal's desk prior to the alleged burglary on October 24, 1922. In the opinion of the department, therefore, even if Hoyt had been found guilty, the claim could not have been allowed because the regulations governing the protection to be given to public funds and property had not been observed.

Very truly yours,

WALTER F. BROWN.

Mr. BLACK. Let me say that the postmaster was under suspicion by the post-office inspectors for connivance in the robbery of his own safe.

Mr. BLANTON. The reason for that was that he accused another man of committing this robbery. That man was tried, and there was a hung jury, and then he was tried a second time, and was acquitted.

The department made a complete investigation and decided this claim was without merit. If we pass bills on that kind of evidence, we might as well open the doors of the Treasury, or as our former colleague the gentleman from Massachusetts Mr. Walsh once said, take the doors off of the hinges of the Treasury and open it to the public.

Mr. BLACK. I would like to finish the statement that I began. The postmaster was under suspicion for conniving in the robbery of his own safe. It developed that the Government inspectors had arrested another man for it, and they traced the funds belonging to the postmaster to San Francisco, where they had been taken by this man. This postmaster used the safe for his own securities. He was as careful of the Government funds as he was of his own funds.

Mr. STAFFORD. How careful was he of his own?

Mr. BLACK. As careful as he was of the Government funds.

Mr. BLANTON. I object.

NOBLE J. HALL

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1962) for the relief of Noble J. Hall.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

FRANCIS ENGLER

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2086) for the relief of Francis Engler.

There being no objection the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Francis Engler $143.09 in full and complete payment and discharge of the claim filed under the act of March 4, 1925, entitled "An act to provide for carrying out the award of the National War Labor Board of July 31, 1918, in favor of certain employees of the Bethlehem Steel Co," as amended by the act of February 16, 1929, entitled "An act to provide for further carrying out the award of the National War Labor Board of July 31, 1918, for the relief of employees of the Bethlehem Steel Co., Bethlehem, Pa."

SEC. 2. The payment hereby authorized and directed under the provisions of section 1 of this act shall be made from the unexpended balance of the amount appropriated under the act of March 4, 1925, above referred to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

FRANK W. CHILDRESS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2595) for the relief of Frank W. Childress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RAYBURN). Is there objection?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

EDWARD CHRISTIANSON

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2606) for the relief of Edward Christianson.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, would the gentleman have any objection to a change in the phraseology, which will not militate substantially against the provisions of the relief he seeks to recover? I suggest the following phraseology:

That the United States Employees' Compensation Commission is hereby authorized to consider and determine the claim of Edward Christianson, a civilian employee of the United States Coast Guard, who claims to have been poisoned by impure water drunk while serving aboard the Peshtigo lightship, *No.* 77, at Peshtigo, Wis., on or about December 15, 1919, in the same manner and to the same extent as if said Edward Christianson had made application for the benefits of said act within the 1-year period required by sections 17 and 20 thereof: *Provided*, That no benefit shall accrue prior to the enactment of this act.

The bill as introduced makes a legislative finding that the man was poisoned. I assume the gentleman desires to have an investigation made to see whether it is a fact that he was poisoned by drinking impure water on this occasion.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I object.

CHARLES LAMKIN

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2704) for the relief of Charles Lamkin.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Charles Lamkin, of Banning, Calif., the amount of $66 in full settlement for the value of equipment belonging to him which was destroyed by fire while being used in an attempt to save Government property from burning on the San Bernardino National Forest, Calif., July 14, 1929.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

CHARLES LEROY ESTATE

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2809) for the relief of the Charles LeRoy estate.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the estate or succession of Charles LeRoy, deceased, late of the State of Louisiana, the sum of $436.38 shown to be due him for services rendered as United States postmaster in the State of Louisiana during the period from July 1, 1864, to July 1, 1874, as certified by the Treasury Department to be due in a report published as Senate Document No. 318, Sixty-first Congress, second session.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

ELIZABETH T. CLOUD

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3030) for the relief of Elizabeth T. Cloud.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the gentleman from New Jersey, I object for the present.

VIOLA WRIGHT

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3536) for the relief of Viola Wright.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. Here is a bill extending the right of this claimant to the benefits of the United States employees' compensation act. I rise to inquire what the disposition of the gentleman from Wisconsin is in connection with this type of case?

Mr. STAFFORD. As I read the report, this is a case where the damages accrued since the act of 1916 was enacted.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is the point. They seek to waive the statute of limitations in this case, after four years, and permit her to have the benefit of the employees' compensation act of 1916.

Mr. STAFFORD. I thought as in the case of the claim involved in the bill of my colleague from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHNEIDER], where the claimant knew nothing of his rights, knew nothing of the fact that under the United States compensation act he would have this right, having been injured, that the privileges of the act should be granted notwithstanding this woman did not make claim within the statutory period of one year.

Mr. BACHMANN. The gentleman will agree that this is a very worthy case in this instance?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. I want to find out now whether or not the gentleman is going to permit some of these to go through that are in this class and object to others?

Mr. STAFFORD. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Whether the gentleman's policy is going to be to permit all of them to go through in this class?

Mr. STAFFORD. Wherever it is shown that the claimant suffered injury after the act of 1916 and was unaware of the existence of that act, I think that he should not be penalized, and that the community should not be penalized to carry that load, but that he should be given the privilege of going before the commission to prove his case, notwithstanding he has waived the right for one year.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman's position also was that to go behind the act of 1916 would permit dozens of claim attorneys in Washington who have been digging up these old claims to come in and absolutely flood the committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. It would open the floodgates to all kinds of claims.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BACHMANN. I yield.

Mr. PATTERSON. I am glad the gentleman brought this up, because this was the policy the last time, that we would pass such bills as this, and I am glad the gentleman from Wisconsin agrees to continue this policy.

Mr. BACHMANN. So we have a clear understanding among these conscientious objectors that bills such as this will be permitted to go through?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from Alabama, I think, unwittingly objected a moment ago to a bill introduced by my colleague from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHNEIDER].

Mr. PATTERSON. Oh, I did not object to it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. EATON] objected.

Mr. SCHAFER. This bill was considered by the Committee on Claims, and, after considering all the evidence, it reached a unanimous decision that in the name of equity and justice this claimant should have his day in court.

However, since the bill which was introduced by my colleague from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHNEIDER] was considered by the Claims Committee on the same grounds of justice and equity and unanimously reported I shall object to this bill, unless we will be able to go back and consider the Schneider bill which was previously objected to.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, there is an exceptional element in this case. Here is a claimant who has been deprived of her rights, because she looked on the Government a little differently from a great number of others. She made no claim for compensation because she hoped she would recover and would not have to make any claim. But it turned out she did not recover and she filed her claim too late because of her willingness to stand by, hoping she herself would be cured, and the Government would be relieved from paying her.

Mr. BACHMANN. What the chairman of the Committee on Claims has said is absolutely correct. It is a very worthy case, and I hope the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHAFER] will not object.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill is on all fours with the bill introduced by my colleague, Mr. SCHNEIDER, and I shall not object to this meritorious bill just because the bill introduced by my colleague was objected to, but immediately upon the passage of the pending bill I shall ask unanimous consent to return to the bill introduced by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHNEIDER].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the United States Employees' Compensation Commission is hereby authorized to consider and determine the claim of Viola Wright, former nurse, United States Indian Service, in the same manner and to the same extent as if said Viola Wright had made application for the benefits of said act within the 1-year period required by sections 17 and 20 thereof: *Provided*, That no benefit shall accrue prior to the enactment of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

RELIEF OF EDWARD CHRISTIANSON

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return to Calendar No. 23, H. R. 2606, for the relief of Edward Christianson, which is a bill on exactly the same principle as the one which has just been passed.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order, I understood the general announcement made by the Speaker with reference to his policy as to the Private Calendar, that the Chair would not entertain such a request to go back until the calendar had been entirely called.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The present occupant of the chair was not in the Chamber and listening when the Speaker made that announcement.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I object.

RELIEF OF ADA T. FINLEY

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3633) for the relief of Ada T. Finley.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I will not make any objection, but I rise to inquire from the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHAFER] whether or not anything has happened with respect to this particular bill that was not in force and effect during the last Congress when the gentleman objected to it?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I call attention to the commission's report on this bill, which is the following:

The committee had this case reviewed by a board of medical officers, convened by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, and they held that Miss Finley's pre-existing heart trouble was not materially aggravated by her occupation either at Gainesville, Fla., or elsewhere.

I presume that the gentleman had that in mind when he made his objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

FIRST STATE BANK & TRUST CO., MISSION, TEX.

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 3953, for the relief of the First State Bank & Trust Co., of Mission, Tex.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] if he has read the report of the committee on this bill indicating that the Treasury Department opposes its passage.

Mr. BLANTON. I will say to the gentleman that this is a lost or stolen Liberty bond, and it has always been the policy of the House to allow such claims for lost bonds, with property indemnity filed. This bill provides for the payment of $1,000 on account of a Liberty bond which was lost or stolen. There has been and will be no loss to the Government. This Liberty bond is outstanding. There has been no claim on the Treasury for it. This bank lost it, as it was either lost or stolen. It has offered to give and will give a proper bond of indemnity so the Government loses not one single dollar. This is the kind of a bill we have always passed and that is the reason I did not object. It is a meritorious and just measure that will cost the Government not one cent.

Mr. SCHAFER. Under my reservation, I will agree with what the gentleman has stated, that this is a meritorious bill, but I also want to state that whenever a department makes an adverse recommendation on a bill it should not be objected to. In the future I hope that when the Committee on Claims has unanimously reported a bill on which a department may have made an unfavorable report some Member will not object to its consideration merely because of the adverse report.

Mr. BLANTON. I want to say to my friend from Wisconsin that I presume he raised all of this hullabaloo because this is a bill introduced by our distinguished Speaker. I want to tell him that our distinguished Speaker would not introduce a bill that was not just and meritorious. Whenever a bill bears the Speaker's name the gentleman can bet his head that the bill is just and meritorious.

Mr. SCHAFER. I will state to the gentleman that I did not raise that point at all. I reserved the right to object in order to call the attention of the Members of the House and the attention of the regular objectors to the fact that because a department makes an unfavorable report it is no reason why the consideration of a bill should be objected to.

Mr. BLANTON. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. SCHAFER. As a rule, the gentleman from Texas objects to bills which have unfavorable reports from the departments.

Mr. BLANTON. Yes; when they are unmeritorious. But not always. It is so seldom I agree with the gentleman that I want to tell him now I agree with him.

Mr. BACHMANN. The gentleman from Texas has shown that he does not always object to a bill when there has been such a report.

Mr. BLANTON. There have been a bunch of bills passed this afternoon with adverse department reports against them.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to redeem in favor of the First State Bank & Trust Co., of Mission, Tex., United States registered bond No. 89539 for $1,000 of the third Liberty loan 4½ per cent per annum bonds of 1928, registered in the name of Alpha G. Decker, with interest from March 15, 1928, to September 15, 1928, without presentation of the bond, said bond having been assigned in blank by the registered payee and alleged to have been lost, stolen, or destroyed in the First State Bank & Trust Co., of Mission, Tex.: *Provided*, That the said bond shall not have been previously presented and paid: *And provided further*, That the said First State Bank & Trust Co. shall first file in the Treasury Department of the United States a bond in the penal sum of double the amount of the principal of the said bond and the final interest payable thereon September 15, 1928, in such form and with such surety or sureties as may be acceptable to the Secretary of the Treasury to indemnify and save harmless the United States from any loss on account of the bond hereinbefore described.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ANNA A. HALL

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 3992, for the relief of Anna A. Hall.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to have some information from the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. HARE] about this bill. This bill seeks to reimburse the claimant to the extent of $960 because she loaned another woman that sum of money on a ring and it turned out that the ring had been brought into this country from Canada without the payment of the customs duty. She now asks the Treasury Department to reimburse her to the extent of $960. Was that the sum paid by her as duty on this ring?

Mr. HARE. I can explain that to the gentleman in a few minutes. The loan referred to was made, and the ring was put up as collateral. The loan was not paid. The note given was sued upon and judgment obtained. The ring was put up and sold at sheriff's sale. The claimant purchased the ring. After it had been purchased some few months——

Mr. BACHMANN. The lady who made the loan purchased the ring at the sheriff's sale?

Mr. HARE. Yes. Some three or four months after the sale the Treasury Department discovered that the duty on the ring had never been paid. Consequently, under the law, the lady had to forfeit the ring or else pay the duty, and the duty on the ring, as I understand, was $960.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let me ask the gentleman right there, did she retain custody of the ring?

Mr. HARE. No. It was delivered to a representative of the Treasury Department, but subsequently returned.

Mr. BACHMANN. She paid the Government $960 and gave them the ring, too?

Mr. HARE. That is right; but the department later returned the ring. The lady takes the position that because she was an innocent purchaser at an execution sale, she should not have been required to pay the duty. We had three bills of this kind last year.

Mr. BACHMANN. Just a minute, before we get away from that point. Is this claimant seeking to recover the ring and also the $960?

Mr. HARE. No; the ring has been delivered. The Secretary of the Treasury has recommended that the duty be remitted.

Mr. BACHMANN. What happened to the ring?

Mr. HARE. It is either in the custody of the Treasury Department or else it is in the custody of the lady, but the Treasury Department takes the position that as she was an innocent purchaser for value, she ought not to be required to

pay the tariff, and the department took the same position last year with reference to two other bills that were similar to this and passed both the House and the Senate. I may say further that this bill passed the House last year.

Mr. BACHMANN. Did the Treasury Department, under its decision, remit the duty on the ring?

Mr. HARE. Yes; but the Treasury Department had no authority to refund the $960 without a special act.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is it the intention of the gentleman, if the claimant has not the ring, to bring in another bill seeking to recover the ring or its value?

Mr. HARE. No; it is my understanding she has the ring.

Mr. BLACK. The claimant has the ring. She paid the duty and kept the ring.

Mr. BACHMANN. Then I have no objection.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to refund to Anna A. Hall, of Aiken, S. C., the sum of $960, such sum representing the duty collected by customs officials from the said Anna A. Hall, after she had become a bona fide holder for value, without notice, of one diamond ring.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EMMA SHELLY

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 4056, for the relief of Emma Shelly.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the report or the finding of the War Department is somewhat adverse to the bill. The conclusion of the War Department seems to be that this is somewhat of a padded claim; that the detonation that caused the breaking of the glass in the building was not severe enough to have shattered the glass if it had been properly glazed.

I see my objection, Mr. Speaker, is removed by the recommendation of the committee in reducing the amount from $800 to $300, and accordingly I have no objection to the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Emma Shelly the sum of $800 in full settlement against the Government for damages sustained to her property as a result of an explosion on the Savanna Proving Ground, Savanna, Ill.

With the following committee amendment:

In line 6, strike out "$800" and insert in lieu thereof "$300."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CARROLL K. MORAN

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 4270, for the relief of Carroll K. Moran.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Carroll K. Moran, deputy clerk of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, Richmond, Va., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $182.70. Such sum represents the amount paid as witness fees and mileage by Carroll K. Moran to witnesses attending the October, 1929, term of court of the eastern district of Virginia, for which he was not reimbursed by the United States.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ALTON B. PLATNER

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 4329, for the relief of Alton B. Platner.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Postmaster General be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to credit the account of Alton B. Platner, former postmaster at Linlithgo, N. Y., with the sum of $162.50, such sum representing compensation due him for services rendered as mail messenger at the said office from October 17, 1927, to May 1, 1928, inclusive.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CATHERINE C. SCHILLING

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4481) for the relief of Catherine C. Schilling.

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, this bill is similar in character and principle to the first bill we considered this morning, having for its purpose to restore pension money taken by the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' Home, and the reasons I advanced against the first bill apply to this.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I sent to the Library and obtained a copy of the Forty-fourth Federal Reporter, second series, from which the gentleman from Wisconsin read this morning, and I am sure he must have read only a part of that decision of the court, or he would not have taken the position he does. On page 517, second column, this decision, entitled "Durack *v.* National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers," says:

The intent of Congress, we think, is further evidenced by chapter 384, Public Laws 1910, 36 Stat. 736, now section 136, 24 USCA, p. 73, under which it is provided that every inmate of a home on entering the home enters into an agreement that all personal property he may possess at his death, in case he dies in the home, leaving no heirs at law or next of kin, and not disposed of by will, shall vest in the Board of Managers of the home for the benefit of the "post fund" of the home.

In the bill before us the property was disposed of by will to his niece, the claimant in this bill. I hope the gentleman from Wisconsin will give this further study. When it is made clear that this money was left by will, as shown in the report to this bill, the gentleman from Wisconsin ought to revise his position. Notice that the circuit court of the United States expressly finds that every inmate, when he enters the home, makes a contract, among other things, which provides that if he fails to dispose of his personal property by will, it will go to the home. Here the soldier exercised his reserved right. He willed his saved-up pension money to his niece. It amounted to $1,786; and by this objection you violate the very terms of the agreement the old soldier made.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I would not take such a position on this bill or kindred bills were it not for the fact that during the six years prior to my reentry to Congress, while practicing law, I was called upon specifically to determine the very question which is now before the House.

The case was one arising out of an inmate of the Soldiers' Home at Milwaukee. An old soldier made a will designating his nephew, an inmate of a charitable institution, my client, as the beneficiary. The board of management had taken more than $2,000 of pension money belonging to this inmate and had applied it under the law of 1902 to the post fund.

In my capacity as a lawyer, feeling very sympathetically inclined to my client, an inmate of a charitable institution, who was a cripple and well advanced in years, I took it on myself to make a special study of all cases relating to the subject. I wrote to the Veterans' Bureau and they acquainted me with two decisions by the district court of Missouri or Kansas which upheld their position. I wish to say to the distinguished gentleman from Colorado that I have not only read the syllabus but I read every word of the opinion cited in the Federal Reporter.

In the cited case the facts are on all fours with the first bill introduced by my colleague [Mr. SCHAFER], to which I objected, not for any personal reasons. I hope I am not so small in the estimation of the Members of the House as to object to a bill for any personal reasons.

It is bad enough for me here in the performance of my duty as I see it to object to any bill when the beneficiary is a resident of the city of Milwaukee. It may mean the termi-

nation of my service; but, nevertheless, I see only one rule to follow, and that is the rule to do my duty as I see it.

This case is what? An inmate of the Soldiers' Home at Togus, Me., where some pension money had been withheld, makes a will. The executor begins an action in the United States district court to recover the pension funds as a part of the estate of the deceased soldier. The judge of that district court, whom I have the pleasure of knowing because of his distinguished service in this body, Judge Peters, a nephew of the great Chief Justice Peters, of the State of Maine—and a man who impressed us with his legal ability on the floor of this House—upheld the position of the Government. He held that, under the laws of 1910 and 1902, the soldiers' home had full right to take this money and keep it and transfer it to the post fund, except in one instance, and that is where the deceased soldier left a widow or minor children or dependent father or mother. I was in this Congress when that rider was carried in the sundry civil appropriation bill. It was an attempt to prevent these moneys the Government was allowing these old soldiers from being transferred to others except in these limited classes. I respectfully ask the gentleman when he is not pressed for time to reread this case, and I know he will come to the conclusion that I have. I direct the gentleman's attention to that paragraph which he just read to the House, and particularly to the one that follows it.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes more.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to have five minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. If that is the case, I withdraw my request. I do not want it granted with any strings to it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

HATTIE M'KELVEY

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4488) authorizing the Treasurer of the United States to pay Hattie McKelvey $1,786.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

HENRY A. RICHMOND

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4826) for the relief of Henry A. Richmond.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object in order to ask the chairman of the committee with respect to this bill, and what policy, if any, has been adopted in the committee. This is a bill seeking from the Government the return of a sum of money that was forfeited by the Government because of a bail bond. The prisoner in this case is not in the custody of the Government, and he has never been returned in court under the provisions of a bail bond which was forfeited. I do not see any liability here, morally or legally, on behalf of the Government to return the $500 to the man who went surety on the bond. It is just a case where a man is charged with a criminal offense in the Federal court and some bonding company goes on his bond, and one of his friends fails to secure the bonding company. The man does not appear for trial and the bond is forfeited. The man who secured the bonding company comes in and asks the Government to reimburse him that $500 that the bonding company was required to pay.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, of course, the exaction of a bail bond is not for the purpose of getting the money covered by the bond. It is for the purpose of keeping the defendant in custody and available for trial. Where a man has been apprehended after he becomes a fugitive by the efforts of the bondsman, the committee has adopted the policy of refunding the forfeited money to the bondsman, and I think the policy is salutary. If the committee does not do that, and the defendant escapes, the bondsman is not going to do anything about it. He can not get his money back, and you get no help from outside sources.

Inasmuch as the primary object of the Government is not the bail money but the person of the defendant, I think it is very sound policy for the committee to adopt. In this case the defendant is in safe-keeping. He is in the custody of the warden of one of our State prisons in New York; and, as far as I know, the indictment is still pending against him in the Federal court. He will be turned over to the Government if the Government wants him at the expiration of his State sentence.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman from New York is a distinguished lawyer in his State. Not only is it the policy of the Government to have the defendant there, but it is to have him there when the case is set for trial, when the Government has summoned a lot of witnesses, when it has gone to the expense of having its prosecutor there ready for trial. All of that expense is lost to the Government when the defendant is not present when the case is called. None of that is ever paid back. The Government loses that. When the defendant is not there when his case is called there ought to be some response to the Government in the payment of at least some of the bond.

Mr. BLACK. It happens here that the Government was on notice that the man had escaped before the case was called.

Mr. BACHMANN. He was required to appear before the United States commissioner, but I raise this inquiry at this time because further on down the list there is another claimant seeking the return of $20,000, which is money forfeited because the defendant did not appear in the Federal court.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. I yield.

Mr. PATTERSON. This being a member of his own family: and, under the conditions obtaining, I object.

Mr. BACHMANN. I expected to object myself; but I wanted to say that, in all fairness to the chairman of the Committee on Claims, we should discuss this particular matter now, because we are establishing a precedent to be followed during this session of Congress.

Mr. BLACK. If the gentleman from Alabama insists on the objection he makes, the gentleman has an entirely mistaken view of human relationships. Here is a man who is related to the defendant who goes out of his way to help apprehend him. A very extraordinary thing. If the man who was his relation had a wrong view of his duty and responsibility toward the Government he would have allowed the $500 to remain with the Government and would have done all he could to see that the man was not apprehended.

Mr. BACHMANN. In this particular case there is another phase of it. A bonding company goes on the bond and they collect a premium for going on the bond. Then the bond is forfeited. Then they come back on the man who made the application for the bond, and he says the bonding company required him to pay $500 to them because they were required to pay it in Federal court, thereby collecting a premium and also asking to recover the amount of the bond back. I do not like to object to the bill, but under the circumstances I feel it is my duty to do so.

Mr. BLACK. This is for the relief of the actual bondsman.

Mr. BACHMANN. But they first went on the bond and collected a premium from the man who asked them to go on the bond, and now that man says the bonding company wants $500 which they had to forfeit because he did not appear.

Mr. BLACK. All the equities have been adjusted by the apprehension of the defendant. Everybody is practically in the original position.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I object.

MARIE E. M'GRATH

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 5007) for the relief of Marie E. McGrath.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have no objection to having this matter investigated by the Employees' Compensation Commission, but I do have objections to having the act itself find that the accident resulted in his death. If the gentleman is willing to strike out in line 9 the clause "which resulted in his death," and in line 4 strike out "and directed to accept," and insert in lieu thereof "to consider and determine," and with the customary provision that no benefits shall accrue prior to the enactment of this act, I will have no objection to the bill. It leaves with the Employees' Compensation Commission the investigation of the merits of the claim notwithstanding the statute of limitations.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH], who introduced this bill, is detained and did not know the bill was coming up. I have had no conference with the gentleman, but I know that he desires to be heard, and I am inclined to think that it would be better, rather than have the bill defeated, to accept the amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the United States Employees' Compensation Commission be, and it is hereby, authorized and directed to accept the claim of Marie E. McGrath, widow of A. J. McGrath, on account of the results of an injury sustained by said A. J. McGrath while in the performance of duty as an employee of the United States Government on August 23, 1918, which resulted in his death, as if such claim had been filed within the time prescribed by the compensation act of September 7, 1916, as amended.

Mr. STAFFORD offered the following amendments:

Line 4, strike out the words "and directed to accept," and insert in lieu thereof "to consider and determine"; and in line 9, strike out the clause "which resulted in his death"; and in line 11, after the word "amended," insert a colon and the words "*Provided*, That no benefits shall accrue prior to the enactment of this act."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EDWARD F. GRUVER CO.

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 5057) for the relief of Edward F. Gruver Co.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GRISWOLD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman withhold his objection for a moment?

Mr. GRISWOLD. I will withhold it.

Mr. BLACK. Here is a supply company which at the instance of a Government department furnished leather labels for the Federal Radio Commission. It happens that the Radio Commission had no appropriation for that purpose. The Government Printing Office could not do it, and this man, when called upon in the course of business, supplied them to the Government. Is Congress going to take the position that because he did not have the knowledge of all that our great Committee on Appropriations happens to do or not to do he is to be penalized, and the Government will have the use of these leather labels and the man never be paid? I think that in all fairness, even though the Federal Radio Commission was a little negligent, this Congress ought to show a broader spirit about these things and see that these people are paid.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. GRISWOLD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

CAPT. GUY L. HARTMAN

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 5284) for the relief of Capt. Guy L. Hartman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this bill involves $20,000, and I call the attention of the membership to the holding of the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice says:

A number of others were involved in a conspiracy to defraud the Government out of taxes on approximately 400,000 gallons of distilled spirits upon which no tax was paid.

Mr. BACHMANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. The Department of Justice further holds:

There is no question about Captain Hartman having been engaged in the gigantic illicit whisky enterprise. His going to Mexico was not only to avoid what to him seemed his certain conviction but was to make himself unavailable as a material witness as to other defendants. Therefore, his claim seems to be without merit.

I object, Mr. Speaker. On such facts the Government should not pay back this $20,000 forfeited bond.

Mr. BACHMANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I yield.

Mr. BACHMANN. The gentleman would object in any event to that bill, if it were not a liquor conspiracy bill, would he not?

Mr. BLANTON. Certainly. The fact that liquor is involved has nothing whatever to do with my objection.

F. P. CASE

The Clerk called the next bill, S. 2684, for the relief of F. P. Case.

There being no objection, the bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the enforcement of the contract between the War Department and F. P. Case for sale of all timber on the Catoosa Springs Target Range, Catoosa Springs, Ga., executed July 29, 1929, and requiring removal of said timber within 545 days under penalty of $500 per year, the exaction of said penalty for nonremoval of said timber shall not be required for a period of two years from January 28, 1932.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

FREDERICK LEININGER

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 504, for the relief of Frederick Leininger.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I object.

ARMSTRONG HUNTER

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 505, for the relief of Armstrong Hunter.

There being no objection, the bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws Armstrong Hunter, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged on June 19, 1865, from the military service of the United States as a private of said company and regiment: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

CLYDE CALVIN RHODENBAUGH

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 705, for the relief of Clyde Calvin Rhodenbaugh.

Mr. GRISWOLD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to call the attention of my colleague from Indiana to the fact that the report shows there was no Troop C, Third Regiment United States Volunteer Cavalry, and, therefore, I would suggest that the gentleman move to strike out the word "Volunteer."

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the suggestion of the gentleman from Indiana. The word

"Volunteer" should be stricken out when the bill is read for amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, the report of the Adjutant General's Office shows that they have no record of any soldier whose name was Clyde Calvin Rhodenbaugh, but they have a record of Clyde C. Rhodenbaugh. If the gentleman wishes to make his bill bombproof, I think he should be willing to strike out the name "Calvin" and substitute the initial "C," because you can not change the records of the department.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. The amendment suggested might be a good one, although I do not believe it imperative.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think he had better substitute the initial "C" for the middle name "Calvin."

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. I shall be glad to offer such amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Clyde Calvin Rhodenbaugh, who was a member of Troop C, Third Regiment United States Volunteer Cavalry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 10th day of October, 1905: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the word "Volunteer" in line 6.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HOGG of Indiana: In line 6, strike out the word "Volunteer."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HOGG of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I move to change the name "Calvin" to the initial "C" in line 5.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HOGG of Indiana: In line 5, strike out the name "Calvin" and insert in lieu thereof the initial "C."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The title was amended.

FREDERICK LEININGER

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been directed to No. 41 on the calendar, to which I just objected. Because of the circumstances stated to me I wish to withdraw my objection, and I ask unanimous consent that we return to No. 41 on the calendar (H. R. 504).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I understand from the legislative situation that No. 41 was passed and that it was No. 40 to which objection was made.

Mr. EATON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the bill to which I refer is H. R. 504, which is No. 41 on the calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws Frederick Leininger, late of Campany F, Fiftieth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of said company and regiment on the 26th day of August, 1865: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

LOUIS MARTIN

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 908, for the relief of Louis Martin.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Louis Martin, who was a member of Company B, Eleventh Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 31st day of January, 1900: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I notice in the report of The Adjutant General that in the records of the War Department there is no person listed as Louis Martin, but they have listed there a person by the name of Lewis T. Martin. I assume from the report of The Adjutant General that the soldier who wishes to secure this relief bears the name of Lewis T. Martin.

Mr. PURNELL. That is right.

Mr. STAFFORD. Accordingly I would suggest that the gentleman move an amendment striking out the word "Louis," in line 5, and inserting in lieu thereof the Christian name and middle initial "Lewis T."

Mr. PURNELL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PURNELL: In line 5, strike out the word "Louis" and insert in lieu thereof "Lewis T."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The title was amended.

MICHAEL MARLEY

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 909, for the relief of Micheal Marley.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights and privileges upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows and dependent relatives, Michael Marley, late of Company D, Fifth Regiment United States Infantry, war with Spain, shall be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of the above organization on the 13th day of November, 1902: *Provided*, That no pay, pension, bounty, or other emoluments shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, beginning in line 1, after the word "*Provided*," strike out the balance of line 1 and all of lines 2 and 3, and insert in lieu thereof "That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THOMAS J. GARDNER

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 912, for the relief of Thomas J. Gardner.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to have the frank expression of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. PURNELL], the author of this bill and the following bill, as to whether he has any hope of the bill becoming enacted by this Congress, even though we are considering it rather early in the session, in view of the fact that this bill has been hibernating either here or in the Senate ever since the Sixty-eighth Congress.



Mr. PURNELL. I will say frankly to the gentleman that I am afraid both of these gentlemen will be dead before they get any relief, but, in so far as I am able to do so, I shall keep on trying.

Mr. STAFFORD. From my knowledge of the facts, I can not even hope for the gentleman much success.

I withdraw the reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws and the laws governing the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, or any branch thereof, Thomas J. Gardner shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of Company L, Sixth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, on the 1st day of May, 1865: *Provided*, That no pension shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

In line 9, after the word "*Provided*," strike out the remainder of line 9 and all of line 10 and insert "That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FREDERICK SPARKS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 914) for the relief of Frederick Sparks.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Frederick Sparks, who was a member of Company E, Forty-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 8, after the word "private," insert "of that organization on the 29th of January, 1865."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PAUL WALLERSTEIN

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 937) for the relief of Paul Wallerstein.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws Paul Wallerstein, who was a member of Company D, Seventy-fifth Regiment, and Company K, Forty-sixth Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of the latter company and regiment on July 28, 1865: *Provided*, That no pension, bounty, pay, or other emolument shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendments to correct the proviso.

The Clerk read as follows:

In line 10, after the word "bounty," insert the word "back."

After the word "or" in the same line, strike out the words "other emoluments" and insert the word "allowance."

After the word "shall" in the same line, insert the words "be held to have."

Line 10, strike out the word "accrue" and insert "accrued."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HARRY CINQ-MARS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 959) for the relief of Harry Cinq-Mars.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. LOZIER. Reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, until I read this bill I thought Cinq-Mars was dead, his good sword rust, his bones dust. I desire to ask the dynamic, versatile, and industrious gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHAFER] a question: This is a bill for the relief of Harry Cinq-Mars. We all understand that the names Harry and Henry are used interchangeably. This name, Cinq-Mars, awakens in my mind a train of historic memories that lead me back to the romantic times when Harry, or Henry Cinq-Mars was a favorite of Louis XIII, the French nobility, and the French court. Elevated to a high station by Richelieu, Cinq-Mars sought to supplant his patron, and with the connivance of the King and the Duke of Orleans he headed a conspiracy against the great cardinal, which failed and brought Cinq-Mars to the block, at the age of 22, in 1642.

The historic Cinq-Mars was a Frenchman, and a lunacy commission will be in order when I vote to pay the money of the American taxpayers to a French-Frenchman. If this particular Cinq-Mars is an American Frenchman—that is, an American citizen—then I am 100 per cent for him and his bill, even if French blood courses through his veins. In view of the gross ingratitude of the French people and their evident intention to repudiate their indebtedness to Uncle Sam, I want to be assured that the passage of this bill will not put any more American money in the pockets of any citizen of France.

I ask my distinguished friend from Wisconsin whether or not this bill is for the relief of the original Henry Cinq-Mars, or any of his descendants, or for the benefit of any citizen of militaristic France?

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, I am not such a profound student of history as is the gentleman from Missouri. I regret that I can not answer his inquiry. The Cinq-Mars of olden times appears to have been executed by reason of conspiracy. I can not say that there is any relationship except that the beneficiary of this bill appears to have been persecuted by reason of a conspiracy of Army officers who said that he should not receive an honorable discharge because he had not rendered honorable service immediately after he had been acquitted of that offense in a court-martial proceeding.

Mr. LOZIER. I only wanted to be sure that this bill was for the relief of a live American Cinq-Mars, and not for the benefit of either a dead or living French Cinq-Mars. And I do not want history to be thrown out of joint by the passage of this bill without a proper identification of the particular Cinq-Mars to be benefited. I do not want any more American money to find its way to France to add to their store of wealth, their stock of arrogance, or their war chest for the restoration of another Napoleonic age. Let our slogan be "Millions for American Cinq-Mars; not a cent for French Cinq-Mars."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection, and the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers, Harry Cinq-Mars, who was a member of Troop L, United States Cavalry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organization on the 22d day of August, 1899: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

BASIL N. HENRY

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1029) for the relief of Basil N. Henry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. It has not been my policy, where young men have joined the Army a great many years ago, in the Civil War or the Spanish-American War, to object, because I have

always been in sympathy with them. Has it been the policy of the committee heretofore to consider bills correcting the military record of men this early after their service, as a general proposition? The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BOWMAN] can readily see what this is liable to open up. I have some cases in my district, while not exactly similar to this, who will have to have their records corrected before they will be entitled to compensation.

Mr. BOWMAN. Mr. Speaker, I do not know what the attitude of the committee has been on any of the bills presented before. I do know there is justification for reporting out the bill for the relief of Basil N. Henry. This young man was inducted into the military service in July, 1918. In September he found himself in France, and on November 1, 1918, he was on the firing line. He was delegated with a number of other men to deliver a message.

In delivering that message under fire he discovered that he had neglected to bring his gas mask. Obtaining the consent of the sergeant, he returned for that gas mask, and then was unable to find his comrades who had gone out with him to deliver that message. He was taken over by another company, after the Germans had shelled that particular place, and was then unable to locate his company. When he did locate his company he failed to have with him the necessary papers that he should have had from the company which had taken care of him, which had taken charge of him during his absence from his regular company.

Mr. PATTERSON. Could he establish his identity by the evidence of his comrades?

Mr. BOWMAN. Oh, absolutely. If the gentleman will read the report, he will see that he established his identity.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. PATTERSON] makes an inquiry as to what position the Committee on Military Affairs takes as to bills removing the charge of desertion or disability charges against World War veterans.

Mr. PATTERSON. And men who have joined since.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is the gentleman applying that now to any desertion after the beginning of the World War?

Mr. STAFFORD. Unfortunately, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs and other members of that committee are at this moment performing a sad duty attending the last rites over the remains of our beloved, deceased chairman, Percy Quin. They are necessarily absent. At the request of Mrs. Quin, all of the members of the committee are attending the funeral to act as honorary pallbearers. The Committee on Military Affairs in the last Congress and in this Congress has been unfortunate in having its chairman invalided by reason of impaired health. It did not lay down any policy as to the consideration of cases correcting the records of World War veterans.

Mr. BACHMANN. Will the gentleman state what the policy was in the last Congress?

Mr. STAFFORD. I say because of the unfortunate condition of the then chairman, who was absent a considerable time, in precarious health, the committee did not adopt any policy as to removing disability charges from World War veterans other than that we should be most circumspect in reporting out private bills removing disabilities. This is a case that was reported out by one of the subcommittees. It received the consideration of the entire membership in executive session. We thought it was so meritorious there could be no complaint laid against it, and that it would not establish any policy.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I am like the gentleman from Alabama in this matter. There are a number of these bills seeking to clear the records of World War veterans and some soldiers who have deserted since. In this particular instance the case is meritorious and ought to pass, but what is the policy of the committee going to be and what are we going to do here? If we are going to pass one, I think other Members who have bills are entitled to the same consideration and it will establish a policy. We ought to decide now whether we are going to correct desertion records of World War veterans.

Mr. STAFFORD. I can only state that our committee in the last Congress and in the present Congress for the reasons given, because of the incapacity of our chairman, has not laid down any policy. I am sure that under the active, virile leadership of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. MCSWAIN], who will now succeed to the chairmanship, some policy will be laid down. I may say that no bill has been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs in the last Congress or in this Congress that relates to the removal of desertion charges while the war was in progress. There are perhaps one or two instances where a soldier deserted by reason of a little insubordination or the like, or received dishonorable discharge by reason of insubordination after the termination of the war.

In passing I wish to say this bill does not commit ourselves to any definite policy as to what the attitude of Congress shall be. I know the membership of the Committee on Military Affairs in the last Congress insisted that we must be most circumspect in passing on any of these bills and that we should adopt a policy. We have not done so.

In the next call of the Private Calendar I am sure the gentleman from South Carolina will be present, and by that time I am sure the committee will have taken some definitive stand on policy toward these cases.

Mr. BACHMANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. BACHMANN. The gentleman is a very valuable member of the Committee on Military Affairs, and the gentleman takes quite an important part on the floor when the Private Calendar is called, following his sense of duty in that particular, but the gentleman stops short in saying just what his individual views are and what his policy is with respect to correcting records of those who served in the World War.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not think the gentleman wishes me to declare my individual views here and now.

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes. I would like to know from the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have long been a Member of this House, serving on many committees, the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, elections committees, the Appropriations Committee for eight years on various subcommittees, and now on the Committee on Military Affairs. I wish to submit my views in executive session and harmonize them with the views of other Members so as to establish a policy. I think we should be most circumspect in removing desertion charges from the records of World War veterans.

I want to say further that the Member from Wisconsin has not been in sympathy with voting out bills removing desertion charges against Civil War veterans, who from a reading of the report itself, were shown to be mere bounty jumpers, without having served a day in the Civil War.

I did my duty in the committee two years ago, when I first entered upon my service, and received the chidings of Republican colleagues—not Democratic colleagues of that committee—for trying to sift out the good from the bad. Many of the bills which are being passed this afternoon have been reported Congress after Congress only to meet with objection in the other body. Why? Because they charge that we have been dumping these bills over there without any discrimination. There are many meritorious bills reported by the Committee on Military Affairs, removing grounds of dishonorable discharge of Civil War veterans where they have a record of honorable service prior to the close of the war. It is the policy of the Committee on Military Affairs, as far as Civil War veterans are concerned, as far as Spanish-American War veterans are concerned, that wherever a soldier has received one honorable discharge and then, upon a subsequent enlistment, for some little insubordination, perhaps swearing at his commanding officer, has been dismissed under court-martial, that we reestablish him to the benefits of the pension roll, and properly.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. As I understand this particular case, the party who is sought to be relieved was not really a deserter?

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, no. He was in the service all the time. It was the result of conditions on the war front. He got separated from his unit. He immediately joined another unit and continued in service and was in good standing when the war closed.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In other words, the facts are that he was not a deserter but the records are erroneous?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes. All this bill does——

Mr. BOWMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. BOWMAN. All that has been said about desertion does not apply to this particular case, because this young fellow was not a deserter.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Well, where a soldier has not deserted and the record shows he has, that ought to be corrected regardless of the policy of any committee.

Mr. BACHMANN. As I understand, there is no objection to this particular case in this instance.

Mr. STAFFORD. Neither will it establish a precedent.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is what the gentleman from Alabama and myself are interested in. If we are establishing some policy in correcting these records of World War veterans, let us follow the same policy with respect to all of them that come here and not pick out a few and refuse to correct the others.

Mr. STAFFORD. We have not been picking out individual cases. This is a meritorious case, which can not be considered as a precedent.

Mr. PATTERSON. In view of that explanation and in view of the fact that it is not acting as a precedent, I will withdraw the objection.

Mr. LOZIER. Reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, but apropos of the suggestion made by the gentleman from West Virginia that the committee announce a definite policy with reference to what its action or policy would be on certain classes of cases, is this not true, that the Claims Committee is created to afford relief in meritorious cases where the law, by reason of its universality, furnishes no adequate relief; and is it not also true that this Claims Committee can not, in the efficient discharge of its duties, make a hard-and-fast rule to apply to any given class of cases, but must consider each case on its merits in order to determine whether or not they should be given relief which can not be obtained under the general law?

Mr. STAFFORD. In the performance of my duty, at the request of the present minority leader, and for 28 years back, I have felt obliged to object to bills where they singled out some individual for favoritism where Congress should have adopted a general uniform policy. There is no reason why the committees of this House, for instance, in the administration of the pensions of old soldiers who are inmates of soldiers' homes, instead of singling out one favored individual, because he happens to have a friend in court and a Member of Congress, should not pass some general legislation to extend relief to all similarly situated.

I am fundamentally opposed to this policy of special acts, especially where general legislation can be enacted which will apply to all similarly circumstanced.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The regular order is, Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged members of the military and naval forces of the United States and their dependents Basil N. Henry, late of Company A, Three hundred and forty-eighth Machine Gun Battalion, American Expeditionary Forces, World War, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged on the 17th day of February, 1919: *Provided*, That no pension, pay, or allowances shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 11, at the beginning of the line, insert the words "bounty, back."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. GLOVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes out of order. Is there objection?

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, does the gentleman expect to discuss something with respect to the Private Calendar?

Mr. GLOVER. I do not.

Mr. BACHMANN. While I hate to do so, I must respectfully object at this time, because we are considering the Private Calendar, and this day was set aside for that purpose.

Mr. GLOVER. I want to speak a minute or two with respect to a matter affecting a citizen of my district who came here to-day. We have been discussing a lot of matters that have not had to do with the Private Calendar.

Mr. BACHMANN. As I said to the gentleman, I have no reason for objecting other than that this time has been set aside for the consideration of the Private Calendar, and heretofore we have followed the rule that when that time has been set aside only matters pertaining to the Private Calendar should be discussed. Therefore, I must object.

PETER GUILDAY

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 1040, for the relief of Peter Guilday.

There being no objection, the bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Peter Guilday (name borne on the rolls as Peter Gilliday and also as Peter Gilday), of Company F, Fifth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of said organization: *Provided*, That no pension or pay shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 10, after the word "organization," insert "on the 11th day of February, 1901."

Page 1, line 10, after the word "*Provided*," strike out "That no pension or pay shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act" and insert "That no back pay, bounty, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

GUY CARLTON BAKER

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 1183, to correct the records of the War Department to show that Guy Carlton Baker and Calton C. Baker or Carlton C. Baker is one and the same person.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I notice that the author of the bill is present. I wish to say I have given more than passing consideration to this bill. It is fundamental in the legislation reported out of the Committee on Military Affairs that we should not change the military record——

Mr. GLOVER. Mr. Speaker, as time is so valuable I demand the regular order.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman withhold his demand for the regular order for just one minute?

Mr. GLOVER. I think our time is so important that I should not. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The regular order is: Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

WILLIAM H. ESTABROOK

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 1187, for the relief of William H. Estabrook.

There being no objection, the bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers William H. Estabrook, who was a member of Company I, Eleventh Regiment Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 3d day of January, 1865: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

SAMUEL HOOPER LANE

The Clerk called the next bill, H. R. 1194, for the relief of Samuel Hooper Lane, alias Samuel Foot.

There being no objection, the bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws Samuel Hooper Lane, alias Samuel Foot, shall be hereafter held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a teamster of Company F, Fourteenth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, on July 19, 1862, and as a private of Battery 1, Fifth Regiment United States Artillery, on July 20, 1865: *Provided*, That no pension, back pay, or back allowances shall be held to have accrued by virtue of the passage of this act.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the proviso be amended so that it will be in the regular form.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from West Virginia offers amendments, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. BACHMANN: Page 1, line 10, after the word "pay" and the comma, strike out the words "or back" and insert in lieu thereof the words "bounty, or."

In line 11, after the word "accrued," strike out the words "by virtue of" and insert in lieu thereof the words "prior to," so that as amended the proviso will read: "*Provided*, That no pension, back pay, bounty, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

WILLIAM H. MURPHY

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 1219, correcting the military record of William H. Murphy.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws William H. Murphy, late of Company K, First Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been discharged honorably from the military service of the United States on July 8, 1865: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended to read as follows: "A bill for the relief of William H. Murphy."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GEORGE W. GILMORE

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 1314, for the relief of George W. Gilmore.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers George W. Gilmore, who was a member of Company A, Thirty-third Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been mustered in August 1, 1862, to have served honorably, and to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organization on the 23d day of December, 1862: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

JOSEPH M. BLACK

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 1315, for the relief of Joseph M. Black.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not believe this bill ought to be passed in its present form. It should be amended so that it sets forth the facts. I notice it is a little different from the ordinary form that is followed in this class of cases. I want to suggest some perfecting amendments when the time comes, if there is no objection to the bill.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. There is absolutely no objection.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws or any laws conferring rights upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows and dependent relatives, Joseph M. Black shall hereafter be held and considered to have been in the military service of the United States as a private in Company I, Fifty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, from December 3, 1861, and to have been honorably discharged October 24, 1862: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, bounty, or allowances shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I offer amendments. In line 5, after the word "Black," insert "late of Company I, Fifty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry," and in line 10, in front of the word "October," insert the word "on," and in line 10, after the figures "1862," insert the following: "from the military service of the United States as a private of said company," and strike out in lines 6 and 7 the words "been in the military service of the United States as a private in."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RAYBURN). The Chair would suggest that in view of the number of amendments it would be a very good idea to pass the bill over temporarily.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be passed over temporarily.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

JOHN COSTIGAN

The Clerk called the next bill on the Private Calendar, H. R. 1316, for the relief of John Costigan.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws and laws conferring rights upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows, and dependent relatives, John Costigan shall hereafter be held and considered to have been in the military service of the United States as a private in Company D, Fifth Regiment United States Cavalry, from March 27, 1878, and to have been honorably discharged May 31, 1881: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, or other back allowance shall accrue by reason of the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GRANVILLE W. HICKEY

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1379) for the relief of Granville W. Hickey.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Granville W. Hickey, who was a member of Company C, Twentieth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organi-

zation on the 13th day of December, 1898: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MAURICE J. O'LEARY

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1380) for the relief of Maurice J. O'Leary.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Maurice J. O'Leary, who was a member of Company D, Fourth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organization on the 18th day of September, 1891: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GEORGE A. COLE

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1384) for the relief of George A. Cole.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers George A. Cole, who was a member of Troop F, First Regiment United States Cavalry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organization on June 15, 1902: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

JOSEPH W. JONES

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1618) for the relief of Joseph W. Jones.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws or of any laws conferring rights, privileges, or benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers, Joseph W. Jones, who was a private in Troop K, First Regiment Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 16th day of August, 1864: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, or bounty shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 10, strike out the words "or bounty" and insert "bounty or allowances."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GASTON M. JANSON

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1695) for the relief of Gaston M. Janson.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Gaston M. Janson, who was a member of Ninth Tank Company, Thirteenth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 18th day of January, 1927: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WILLIAM H. CONNORS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1696) for the relief of William H. Connors.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers William H. Connors, who was a member of Battery C, Sixth Regiment United States Field Artillery, Fort Bliss, Tex., shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 6th day of July, 1925: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 9, after the word "the," strike out the words "6th day of July, 1925" and insert "14th day of October, 1914."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

VANRENSLEAR VANDERCOOK, ALIAS WILLIAM SNYDER

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 1720) for the relief of Vanrenslear VanderCook, alias William Snyder.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Vanrenslear VanderCook, alias William Snyder, who was a private in Company A, First Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, Civil War, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been discharged honorably from the military service of the United States as a member of said company and regiment on July 10, 1863: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, bounty, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HARVEY O. WILLIS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2004) for the relief of Harvey O. Willis.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers, Harvey O. Willis, who was a member of Company F, Eighth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 19th day of July, 1898: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

MALCOLM ALLEN

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2010) for the relief of Malcolm Allen.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Malcolm Allen, who was a member of Company B, Sixth Regiment United States Cavalry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 12th day of June, 1899: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

JOSEPH PHANEUF

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2195) for the relief of Joseph Phaneuf.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Joseph Phaneuf, otherwise known as Joe Faneuf, late of Company A, Ninety-eighth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organization on the 12th day of November, 1864: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

The title was amended to read: "A bill for the relief of Joseph Phaneuf, otherwise known as Joe Faneuf."

DOCK LEACH

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2285) for the relief of Dock Leach.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Dock Leach, who was a member of Company H, Twenty-seventh Regiment United States Colored Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organization on the 21st day of September, 1865: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

NELSON M. HOLDERMAN

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 2701) for the relief of Nelson M. Holderman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. There is no question that this retired officer has a most illustrious record on the field of battle in the World War.

Mr. SWING. He is one of the heroes of the war.

Mr. STAFFORD. I take it from the report that that heroism has been recognized by various honors bestowed upon him since the close of the war.

Mr. SWING. By Italy, by France, by Belgium, and by the United States.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is only a question of whether we should adopt the exceptional proposal, which has not been heretofore adopted by this Congress, of giving him a higher rank than that which he holds by virtue of his service. The War Department is very strongly opposed to our singling out any one individual for recognition by congressional action. I do not think there is any question but that his heroism has been given recognition since he was retired. After his retirement with honorable discharge on October 31, 1919, the record shows that he was reappointed as a captain of Infantry in the Regular Army on July 1, 1920, and that he was retired March 17, 1926, and I believe to-day is getting three-quarters pay. He has also been awarded the congressional medal of honor. Even though this soldier has that record, why should we adopt the policy of singling out one soldier for preferred recognition?

Mr. SWING. Mr. Speaker, I think that is a fair question. This bill, in the language that it is in now, was prepared by Colonel Wainwright, a former Assistant Secretary of War and a former distinguished Member of this House, and a member of the Committee on Military Affairs. He himself thought it was appropriate to do this under all of the circumstances. The gentleman from Wisconsin notices that there is not a single dollar of burden placed upon the Government by virtue of the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is no question of a financial burden, but the question is, as pointed out by the Acting Secretary of War, as far back as 1928, whether we should single out one person for preferential recognition, in view of the fact that there are many instances where Congress could single out others for similar recognition.

Mr. SWING. There were three officers in this Lost Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Whittlesey, Captain McMurtry, and Captain Holderman. Holderman commanded the right, McMurtry had the left, and Whittlesey, as commanding officer, had the center. This captain exposed himself during that long grilling, endless night-and-day battle, and was wounded not once but many times. He refused to give up his command and stayed with his men throughout all that time, although suffering severely from his wounds, and only when they were relieved by the expedition which finally broke through the German ring did he consent to go to the hospital. Promotions were made within the next few weeks, and because Holderman was in the hospital he did not get the promotion he would have gotten and which the other two men did get, because during the war promotions were based solely on availability. Because he was shot through and through and was flat on his back, he could not be considered as an effective and was not available for promotion. Therefore, through his self-sacrifice, encouraging his men and supporting the forces and helping win the fight, he was discriminated against in that way and lost his chance of promotion. This is a little thing for Congress to do, but we should do it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was not that service recognized when he was given a captaincy in 1920 and continued in service for six years?

Mr. SWING. Oh, he was a captain before that.

Mr. STAFFORD. There was no obligation on the Government to invite him back into the service in 1920 when we were reducing the officer personnel of the Army by a thousand men or more.

Mr. SWING. He got his captaincy in the Regular Army through the severest competition by examination. That was not a recognition of his war services.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will we be hounded by other bills seeking recognition of promotion through an advanced grade if we allow this bill to pass?

Mr. SWING. I think not. Here is a man who was one of the outstanding heroes of the war, and the least this Congress can do is to give him the rank which he earned and which he was at the time unable to avail himself of because he was in the hospital suffering from injuries.

Mr. STAFFORD. The Secretary of War states there are hundreds of such instances where we could give due recognition——

Mr. SWING. Oh, that is a rhetorical flourish on the part of the War Department. There are not hundreds of instances. The record of this man shows that he was one of the outstanding heroes of the war.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was the particular aspect which was disturbing me, but I will take a chance and withdraw my objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to issue to Nelson M. Holderman, now captain, United States Army, retired, a commission as major of Infantry, United States Army, with rank from October 9, 1918, and an honorable discharge therefrom as of October 21, 1919, he having been regarded as ineligible for promotion to the grade of major due to physical disability incident to the service: *Provided*, That no pay or allowance shall accrue by reason of the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

JOSEPH M. BLACK

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return to Calendar No. 57, the bill (H. R. 1315) for the relief of Joseph M. Black.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H. R. 1315) for the relief of Joseph M. Black.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws or any laws conferring rights upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows and dependent relatives, Joseph M. Black shall hereafter be held and considered to have been in the military service of the United States as a private in Company I, Fifty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, from December 3, 1861, and to have been honorably discharged October 24, 1862: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, bounty, or allowances shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: Strike out all after the enacting clause and substitute in lieu thereof the following:

"That in the administration of the pension laws or any laws conferring rights upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows and dependent relatives, Joseph M. Black, late of Company I, Fifty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged on October 24, 1862, from the military service of the United States as a private of said company: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, bounty, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

RICHARD A. CHAVIS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3465) for the relief of Richard A. Chavis.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GRISWOLD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, by unanimous report of this committee, this soldier was not only a deserter but was apprehended and convicted by court-martial and was a deserter at the time his company was mustered out, after having been taken back into the service. It seems to me such a bill would be an injustice to the men who served honorably in that same company.

Mr. FULMER. May I state to the gentleman that this bill was reported at the last session of Congress by the committee and passed the House, and it died in the closing days of the Senate. I am glad to have this opportunity to make a statement in connection with the bill. I have known this old veteran ever since I was a boy. He volunteered and entered the service above the average age. He is a very old man to-day, a small tenant farmer, absolutely physically unable to do a day's work. He has suffered under this for thirty-odd years. He is absolutely unable to make a living for himself and family to-day. If there is a meritorious bill on this calendar, it is this bill. We pass similar bills every time we consider bills on the Private Calendar. The War Department in making a report on this bill did not make an unfavorable report, but left it to the committee. I am sure if the gentleman had a glimpse into the home of this old veteran, he would not for a moment object to this bill but would be glad to give it a chance to go to the Senate.

Mr. GRISWOLD. Is it the idea of the gentleman that we pass the discharges not on account of justification but on account of the need of the veteran at this time?

Mr. FULMER. Well, knowing this veteran as I do, he being a very illiterate man, I contend that in this and similar bills we should give our approval. Even the committee in its report stated that it gathered from the letters written in behalf of this veteran that he was weak mentally and that he should receive relief at the hands of Congress. During the past thirty-odd years since his discharge he has been faithful and has lived an honest life. He is a poor man without any property whatever, moving from one farm to another with his family as a tenant. It is not only a meritorious case but a very pitiful case, and I hope the gentleman will withdraw his objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers Richard A. Chavis, who served as a member of Company L, Second South Carolina Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been discharged honorably from said service on the 19th day of April, 1899: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, bounty, or other emolument shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 10, strike out the word "accrue" insert the words "be held to have accrued."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PAUL JELNA

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3528) for the relief of Paul Jelna.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers, their widows or dependent relatives, Paul Jelna, who was a private of Company A, Twenty-ninth Regiment United States Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on November 30, 1902: *Provided*, That no back pay, pension, or other emolument shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ELIZABETH MONCRAVIE

The next bill on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3559) for the relief of Elizabeth Moncravie.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers John W. Moncravie, alias John Wisner, deceased, who was a member of Company G, One hundred and seventeenth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of that organization on the 1st day of November, 1862: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

HENRIETTA SEYMOUR, WIDOW OF JOSEPH H. SEYMOUR, DECEASED

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3608) for the relief of Henrietta Seymour, widow of Joseph H. Seymour, deceased.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of all laws conferring rights, privileges, or benefits upon the widows of honorably discharged soldiers Joseph H. Seymour, deceased, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States in Company H, Second Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, on the 15th day of March, 1863: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ROSSETTA LAWS

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 3609) for the relief of Rosetta Laws.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, and benefits upon widows of honorably discharged soldiers, William Laws, who was a member of Company F, Twentieth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Infantry, shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of that organization on the 6th day of October, 1865: *Provided*, That no bounty, back pay, pension, or allowance shall be held to have accrued prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I just want to call the attention of my friend from Wisconsin, Mr. SCHAFER, to the unjust stricture that he put on his hard-working colleague from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD], who is, in my judgment, one of the most valuable men in the House.

Whether you agree with him or not, every Member present must in justice admit that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] is one of the most earnest, conscientious, faithful, and hard-working Members of this House. He is always on the floor when business of importance is being transacted. He is hard at work in his office both early and late during the time this House is not in session. He is ever alert in fighting against measures which he deems against the interest of the people. He is one of the best parliamentarians in the House. And I believe in "giving the devil his due." While the gentleman is a partisan Republican and I am a partisan Democrat, nevertheless, I have the highest respect and admiration for his public service to the Nation.

To show how very important it is that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] and others of us stand watch here, I call attention to the fact that just now, with this Private Calendar grinding away, with a great majority of 75 private bills having been passed to-day by the House, we have at this hour exactly 13 Republican Members of the minority on the floor and 41 Democrats of the majority, and most of them have bills on this calendar. If you did not have sane rules, such as we have been operating under for the last 150 years, what do you suppose would happen to the people who pay the taxes of the country? That is all I wanted to say.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order of no quorum.

Mr. SWING. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the gentleman from West Virginia to withhold his point of order in order that the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. GLOVER] may have three minutes in which to speak about matters of importance in his district.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Speaker, I will withhold my point of no quorum.

HARVEY C. COUCH

Mr. SWING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arkansas may address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arkansas may address the House for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GLOVER. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to interfere with the progress of legislation in order to speak for a moment in behalf of a friend of mine.

I was very much surprised this afternoon when the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. HOWARD] called up a resolution which he had introduced with reference to Harvey W. Couch. At that time I thought he had reference to my friend Harvey C. Couch. Evidently the gentleman had in mind one man and the President had in mind another when he appointed Harvey C. Couch as a member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, recently established.

I want to say it has been my pleasure to know this gentleman for many years. He lives in my district. I will say for him that he is not only a Democrat but he is one of the best business men in the United States. I want to congratulate the President of the United States for exercising such splendid judgment in selecting men of the character of Harvey C. Couch—not Harvey W. Couch—to fill positions in that corporation. I regard him as one of the great commoners of America. He is a man who grew up in poverty. By his honesty and by efficiency in business he has advanced himself to the position he now occupies.

The gentleman said in his resolution that if it would not embarrass his friends, he would like to know who recommended him to the President. I want to say to my friend that every friend that Harvey Couch has—and they are numbered by the men who know him—would not hesitate for a moment to endorse him as a business man and as a gentleman. I do not believe a better selection could have been made. If the gentleman from Nebraska wants this information with reference to the gentleman who was appointed, and not Harvey W. Couch, I am sure he can get that information by application to either of the gentlemen from Arkansas.

I want to say that I think this was wholly improper, and I congratulate our great Speaker for ruling correctly that kind of attack out of order.

I want to say again that the President of the United States did not have to have indorsements from others with reference to this gentleman, because when the Great War was on they served side by side in our great State of Arkansas and other parts of this Nation trying to relieve distress. There is where a friendship grew up between the President of the United States and this great man, who has been honored by appointment to this corporation. He has been tried in times of distress; the President knew him and did not need indorsements from anybody. He knows he is a great man and can honorably fill the position to which he has been appointed.

Mr. SCHAFER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GLOVER. Yes.

Mr. SCHAFER. I want to congratulate the gentleman, the leader of the Democratic Party, for saying a good word in behalf of the President of the United States, President Hoover.

Mr. GLOVER. I want to say to the gentleman from Wisconsin I am not one of the kind that would throw a hindrance in the way of the President of the United States, who is now struggling to get us out of the condition we are in, and I certainly would not stand on the floor of this House and criticize a great man who is appointed to a position of trust of this kind.

I say that the best hope we have of the two billion corporation bill is the appointment of Harvey C. Couch as one of the men to administer it.

GUY CARLTON BAKER

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return to the bill (H. R. 1183) to correct the records of the War Department to show that Guy Carlton Baker and Calton C. Baker or Carlton C. Baker is one and the same person.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, as I get along in mature years, I become more and more a man of peace. I do not like to take out against any of my colleagues the resentment that they show me

on the floor of the House. When this bill was under consideration originally, without ample time being given for its consideration, the regular order was demanded by a certain gentleman who has just recently addressed the House, and I was compelled to enter an objection.

Under a reservation of objection, I shall now resume where I left off before the regular order was then demanded.

Mr. GLOVER. The gentleman from Arkansas does not have any objection whatever to returning to the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman might have reserved his objection so that we might have had five minutes to consider the bill, because otherwise we do not get time on the floor of the House to discuss such matters.

As I said before, this bill attempts to direct the War Department to change their records. If there is anything fundamental in the history of legislation, it is that the War Department declines to change its records. In this case there is a soldier who performed one month's service back in the War of 1812 and some relative thinks or has some imaginings that a certain person who served in that war, who in the records of the War Department is shown by one name, should bear a different name. I think the gentleman is pressing the precedents of the legislation of the House pretty far when he asks to have the records conform to show that Guy Carlton Baker, Calton C. Baker, and Carlton C. Baker are one and the same person.

Mr. BACHMANN. Were there two enlistments in that case?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; there was one person back in the War of 1812, who, according to the records, performed one month's service.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is he still alive?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; this is a genealogy case.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I see. She probably wants to join the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mr. STAFFORD. In view of the fact that we have not a precedent for changing the military records, why should we in this instance attempt to pass this bill?

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Speaker, of course it must be admitted that there is no great national policy involved in this particular piece of legislation. The gentleman from New York has referred to the Daughters of the American Revolution. It so happens that the party interested in this legislation is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This is one of her ancestors, and the name is incorrectly upon the records of the War Department. He served in the War of 1812 and the War Department admittedly has the name incorrectly on its records. I see no objection to our passing this bill to correct that record. It may be a matter of sentiment to some extent, but it is a question of the integrity of the record as well.

Mr. STAFFORD. In view of the declared policy of the War Department that the Congress should not adopt a policy of changing the records of the department, where are the facts to warrant us in saying, as this woman claims, that this correction should be made?

Mr. MAPES. What possible objection could there be to doing this? The record ought to be correct, and it is not in this instance.

Mr. STAFFORD. The fundamental policy of not changing the records of the War Department.

True, it only relates to the changing of the Christian name, but in view of the fundamental policy referred to, I feel constrained to object.

Mr. MAPES. All right, if the gentleman wants to object; but, personally, I can see no reason at all for any objection to this bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

SENTIMENT OF IOWA CITIES ON FEDERAL AID

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for two minutes out of order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, reference was made yesterday on the floor of the House to the voluminous correspondence on the subject of what is familiarly known as the dole bill, which has been considered at the other end of the Capitol and, happily, defeated, or at least modified into a legislative and financial absurdity—probably in the hope of a veto should it pass both Houses.

In the discussions yesterday it seems to have been assumed, at least by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA], that the 165 pages in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD teemed with indorsements of direct Federal aid for unemployed. This assumption is unwarranted, and it proved that the assumer had not read any part of the voluminous correspondence the printing of which cost the taxpayers probably $10,000.

I took the time to read the letters from the mayors of Iowa, my own State. I am proud to say that with one or two minor exceptions these officials not only opposed this Federal dole but many of them condemned it in strong language.

The question submitted by the senatorial committee was not only adroit but it was worded to tempt a favorable reply, and the tempting words may almost be construed into terms of bribery. The question was stated thus:

> Do you favor a Federal appropriation to assist the local governments in meeting their emergency burdens?

To this proffered aid the mayors and others approached overwhelmingly replied "no." To substantiate this statement let me quote the answers:

> J. H. Ames, city manager, Ames, Iowa: "We do not feel that governmental aid is necessary to assist this city in caring for its relief burdens. * * * Voluntary subscription * * * is preferable to any governmental assistance."
>
> H. H. Canfield, mayor Boone, Iowa: "To the best of my knowledge at the present time no family in this city is suffering for the necessities of life."
>
> Charles D. Huston, mayor Cedar Rapids: "Think communities must solve this problem. National appropriation for farm or other relief is not appealing."

Cedar Rapids, I may say, parenthetically, is my own home city. It is an industrial and railroad city of about 60,000 people. At the beginning of the season it was estimated that $100,000 would be needed for relief during the winter months. Subscriptions were asked, and I am proud to say that instead of $100,000, $170,000 was subscribed. These moneys are not distributed as doles. The men and women out of employment are given employment, most of the work involving city improvements, and those so employed are given an hourly wage, which is intended to be sufficient to provide for the families affected.

> O. H. Brown, mayor Council Bluffs: "Federal aid would no doubt help us in rendering more adequate relief, but we do not favor it; we will care for our own."

The unsigned reply from Denison was a simple and emphatic "No."

> Parker L. Crouch, mayor, Des Moines: "I am not in favor of a Federal appropriation to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens. In my opinion, to increase the taxpayers' burdens would prolong the depression and increase unemployment."
>
> C. F. Findlay, mayor, Fort Dodge: "I have not favored Federal appropriations to assist local governments in meeting their emergency relief burdens. I know there are those who advocate Federal aid and State aid, but I have not been won over to that method of furnishing aid to the needy. I believe it is a local problem."
>
> Frank N. Choate, mayor, Glenwood: "Yes." (Glenwood is not an industrial city and probably has little or no unemployment.)
>
> Fred W. Long, mayor, Keokuk: "I have not been favorable to Federal appropriation for this emergency work for our State, though I realize that in many localities the State authorities might need assistance from the Federal Government."
>
> J. B. Harrison, mayor, Maquoketa: "The number of unemployed is small. In fact, we have a certain few every year, the same ones, and they are on the county; some won't work. Sorry we can't use the money if you are passing it out."

P. F. Hopkins, city manager, Mason City: "If it can be fairly done; but I do not believe that Federal relief will ever meet the problem. It belongs to industry, and industry will not accept it."

Herbert G. Thompson, mayor, Muscatine: "Yes." But this mayor would prefer a more constructive policy and asks, "Why not provide * * * that industrial plants with equipment and orders may obtain a loan sufficient to purchase the raw material to put idle men to work? That would be a permanent constructive program."

T. A. Pickens, mayor, Newton: "We have no bread lines and no one is suffering for the necessities." (Newton is an industrial city, specializing in washing machines.)

Leon C. Knapp, mayor, Oelwein: "Believe any such aid would be spread too thin to be very effective. If large enough to be effective might retard recovery. Favor paying as we go, if possible."

Oskaloosa, without signature printed: "No."

J. B. Tourgee, Sac City: "I have asked several officers and business men if they favor Government aid. So far I have not found a person who does. Personally I do not. Nothing should be done to increase the tax burden of the people. No relief can be given from the Public Treasury without taxing the people to replace it. This should never be done."

Valley Junction, without signature printed: "Yes." (Valley Junction is a suburb of Des Moines and is largely a railroad town.)

These replies mean what they say, and they mean that Iowa for one State will carry its own burdens. That State is not coming to Washington, hat in hand, to ask alms out of the Federal Treasury.

There is nothing easier than to ask some one else to do it, and there is nothing finer than to do it ourselves.

The people of Iowa are not deluded about this matter. What is taken out of the Federal Treasury has to be put there through taxes. Money is not made in Washington. It is only extracted from the people. There is nothing that ought to be viewed with more alarm than the increasing tendency to appeal to Washington. There are now bills pending involving $29,000,000,000 of money. In other words, if the bills that have been introduced should all be passed, the Government of the United States would be adding $29,000,000,000 to its deficit.

To meet such obligations some would issue the bonds of the Government at a time when so many bonds are outstanding that they have fallen below par, and are almost a drug on the market. Add any considerable part of this $29,000,000,000 to these bonds and what would become of the credit of the United States? It would be bankrupted and with this bankruptcy all business would be disturbed and instead of relief we would multiply the depression.

As a citizen of Iowa and one of its representatives in Congress, I am proud of the fact that this correspondence shows that the people of that State have not been misled by this socialistic and communistic crusade. [Applause.]

THE PRIVATE CALENDAR

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we may proceed with the Private Calendar on Thursday of next week.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does the gentleman mean cases unobjected to will be considered only?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes; we will proceed with the Private Calendar, beginning at the star.

Mr. BACHMANN. And not to return to bills unobjected to?

Mr. RAINEY. No; certainly not.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that next Thursday bills on the Private Calendar unobjected to may be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole, beginning at the star. Is there objection?

Mr. BLACK. Reserving the right to object, can not the gentleman get another day?

Mr. RAINEY. No; I tried to get Friday, but that is Lincoln's Birthday. There is no other day available except Thursday.

Mr. BLACK. Thursday is the day before Lincoln's Birthday, and I wanted an opportunity to make a speech on that day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

THE "LAME-DUCK" RESOLUTION

Mr. RAINEY. I wish to announce to the House that on Friday the so-called "lame-duck" resolution will be called up. I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day, it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, in the past I have been reading articles in the press criticizing the President for not calling a special session of Congress during the summer months in order to consider and enact legislation to take care of our people. I believe that the House ought not to adjourn over Saturday, and I object.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. JACOBSEN, by unanimous consent, was given leave of absence until Wednesday, February 10, on account of the death of a friend.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois moves that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SCHAFER) there were 62 ayes and 5 noes.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin makes the point that no quorum is present. The Chair will count.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the Democratic Party apparently has no legislation ready for consideration to-morrow, I will let the Democrats take the responsibility, and I withdraw my point of no quorum.

So the motion of Mr. RAINEY was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Monday, February 8, 1932, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. RAINEY submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Saturday, February 6, 1932, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10 a. m.)

Filipino independence.

COMMITTEE ON FLOOD CONTROL

(10.30 a. m.)

H. R. 4668, dealing with changes and setbacks on the main stem of the Mississippi River.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

(10 a. m.)

National defense act.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

427. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated February 1, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on survey of the Choctawhatchee River, Fla. and Ala. (H. Doc. No. 242); to the Committee on Flood Control and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

428. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a bill "to authorize the Secretary of War to acquire, exchange, transfer, and sell certain tracts of real estate, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

429. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated February 2, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination and survey of Baudette Harbor, Minn., authorized by the river and harbor act approved July 3, 1930; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

430. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Department of Agriculture amounting to $1,450,000 for the fiscal years 1932 and 1933 (H. Doc. No. 243); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

431. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated February 3, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Big Blue River, Mo., from its confluence with the Missouri River to Fifteenth Street, Kansas City; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

432. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated February 4, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Merrimack River, N. H., and Mass.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

433. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report dated February 3, 1932, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination and survey of Hana Harbor, Island of Maui, Hawaii; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. LINTHICUM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. J. Res. 182. A joint resolution authorizing an appropriation to defray the expenses of participation by the United States Government in the second polar year program, August 1, 1932, to August 31, 1933; with amendment (Rept. No. 371). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. PALMISANO: Committee on the District of Columbia. S. 2173. An act to authorize associations of employees in the District of Columbia to adopt a device to designate the products of the labor of their members, to punish illegal use or imitation of such device, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 374). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. PALMISANO: Committee on the District of Columbia. S. 9. An act respecting the qualifications of the assessor of the District of Columbia to testify in condemnation proceedings; without amendment (Rept. No. 373). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. CONNERY: Committee on Labor. H. R. 8765. A bill to protect labor in its old age; without amendment (Rept. No. 375). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. SWING: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 406. A bill to validate a certain conveyance heretofore made by Central Pacific Railway Co., a corporation, and its lessee, Southern Pacific Co., a corporation, to Pacific States Box & Basket Co., a corporation, involving certain portions of right of way in the vicinity of the town of Florin, county of Sacramento, State of California, acquired by the Central Pacific Railway Co. under the act of Congress approved July 1, 1862 (12 Stat. L. 489), as amended by the act of Congress approved July 2, 1864 (13 Stat. L. 356); with amendment (Rept. No. 372). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 5891) for the relief of W. H. Comrie, jr.; Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation discharged, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (H. R. 6428) granting a pension to George E. Hilgert; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

A bill (H. R. 524) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Ashton; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 1555) granting a pension to Ina Guptill; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 3080) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Gates Perry; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 7285) granting a pension to Mary E. Richley; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 7417) granting a pension to Annie S. Nealley; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 6194) granting an increase of pension to Sophia M. Guard; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8896) authorizing compacts among States for agricultural and conservation purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8897) to authorize compacts or agreements between States relating to service of process and production of witnesses in criminal cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEAVITT: A bill (H. R. 8898) authorizing the deferring of collection of construction costs against Indian lands within irrigation projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8899) to provide for the acquisition of certain lands for the benefit of the Rocky Boy Indians, Montana, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8900) providing for transfer in fee simple of the Fort Missoula, Mont., timber reserve to the State of Montana for the use of the University of Montana School of Forestry; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BYRNS: A bill (H. R. 8901) authorizing the selection of a site and the erection of a suitable monument thereon indicating the historical significance of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8902) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and determine claims of certain bands or tribes of Indians residing in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: A bill (H. R. 8903) granting certain public lands to the State of Montana for the purpose of erecting, furnishing, and maintaining a State historical library; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 8904) to extend the provisions of section 721, Revised Statutes, so that the general or common law and the equity jurisprudence of the several States shall be regarded as the rule of decision in the Federal courts in cases where they apply; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8905) to amend section 200 of the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended, by adding to said section a paragraph defining the words "willful misconduct"; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. LOOFBOUROW: A bill (H. R. 8906) to authorize the Secretary of War to secure for the United States title to certain private lands contiguous to and within the Militia

Target Range Reservation, State of Utah; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CONNERY: A bill (H. R. 8907) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire land adjoining Lawrence, Mass., post-office site; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 8908) to amend subsection (f) of section 3360 of the Revised Statutes as amended, relating to the application of the internal-revenue taxes to tobacco growers' cooperative associations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WILSON: A bill (H. R. 8909) to require purchase and use by executive departments and establishments and by Government contractors and subcontractors of domestic articles and materials; to require the specification of alternate materials for construction; to give preference to materials and articles produced, grown, or manufactured locally; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. BALDRIGE: A bill (H. R. 8910) authorizing the city of Omaha, Nebr., to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge across the Missouri River, at or near O'Hern Street, South Omaha, Nebr., and to acquire, maintain, and operate the existing toll bridge across the Missouri River between the cities of Omaha, Nebr., and Council Bluffs, Iowa; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. O'CONNOR: A bill (H. R. 8911) to incorporate the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 8912) to suppress fraudulent practices in the promotion or sale of stocks, bonds, and other securities sold or offered for sale within the District of Columbia; to register persons selling stocks, bonds, or other securities; and to provide punishment for the fraudulent or unauthorized sale of the same; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 8913) providing for the filing of an affidavit declaring the plaintiff has not violated the antitrust laws of the United States in actions at law and in equity in the United States courts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEAVITT: A bill (H. R. 8914) to accept the grant by the State of Montana of concurrent police jurisdiction over the rights of way of the Blackfeet Highway and over the rights of way of its connections with the Glacier National Park road system on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in the State of Montana; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. LUCE: A bill (H. R. 8915) to prevent discriminations against American ships and ports, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 8916) to provide for a capital issues commission, to define its powers and duties, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HANCOCK of New York: A bill (H. R. 8917) to amend an act entitled "An act making it a felony with penalty for certain aliens to enter the United States of America under certain conditions in violation of law," approved March 4, 1929; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LEAVITT: A bill (H. R. 8918) to authorize the collection of penalties and fees for stock trespassing on Indian lands; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. NELSON of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 8919) to amend subsection (f) of section 3360 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, relating to the application of the internal-revenue taxes to tobacco growers' cooperative associations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 8920) to amend section 200 of the World War veterans' act, 1924, as amended, by adding to said section a paragraph defining the words "willful misconduct"; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. LICHTENWALNER: A bill (H. R. 8921) to authorize the erection of a United States Veterans' Bureau hospital in Lehigh County, Pa.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. REILLY: A bill (H. R. 8922) to amend section 29 of the Federal farm loan act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LEAVITT: A bill (H. R. 8923) authorizing transfer of an unused portion of the United States Range Livestock Experiment Station, Montana, to the State of Montana for use as a fish-cultural station, game reserve, and public recreation ground, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mrs. OWEN: A bill (H. R. 8924) to apply the benefits of pension laws to contract surgeons; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THATCHER: A bill (H. R. 8925) to authorize the construction of a George Rogers Clark memorial lighthouse on the Ohio River at or adjacent to the city of Louisville, Ky.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. LICHTENWALNER: A bill (H. R. 8926) to provide for the erection at Weiser Park, near Womelsdorf, Berks County, Pa., of a memorial to commemorate the services of Col. Conrad Weiser (1696–1760), Indian interpreter, colonial patriot, and friend of George Washington; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 8927) to provide annuities for certain persons not within the provisions of the retirement laws; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 8928) to amend section 71 of the printing act, approved January 12, 1895, and all acts amendatory to said section; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. HARLAN: A bill (H. R. 8929) to amend section 600 of the act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. 1284; D. C. Code, title 5, sec. 122); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. McGUGIN: A bill (H. R. 8930) to amend the act of July 2, 1890, relating to protection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEAGALL: A bill (H. R. 8931) to amend Title II of the Federal farm loan act in regard to Federal intermediate credit banks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 8932) to prevent the use of the United States mails and other agencies of interstate commerce for transporting and for promoting or procuring the sale of securities contrary to the laws of the States, and for other purposes, and providing penalties for the violation thereof; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. AMLIE: A bill (H. R. 8933) to establish a national economic council; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McFADDEN: Resolution (H. Res. 131) to investigate the activities of the Carnegie Foundation; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BANKHEAD: Resolution (H. Res. 132) providing for the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 14, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MOORE of Kentucky: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 277) further restricting immigration into the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. NORTON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 278) to honor John Philip Sousa by designating The Stars and Stripes Forever the national march; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

Memorial, in the nature of a joint resolution, of the Legislature of Wisconsin memorializing Congress not to increase the excise tax on manufactured tobacco; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Memorial, in the nature of a joint resolution, of the Legislature of Wisconsin memorializing Congress to at least not reduce the appropriation for the operation of the United

States Forest Products Laboratory; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. AMLIE: Memorial of the Wisconsin Legislature, relating to the United States forest products laboratory conducted in conjunction with the University of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, memorial of the Wisconsin Legislature, relating to a preferential excise tax on tobacco products manufactured from tobacco purchased from a cooperative marketing association; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WITHROW: Memorial in the nature of a joint resolution of the State of Wisconsin, relating to the United States forest products laboratory conducted in conjunction with the University of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Agriculture.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 8934) granting a pension to Emmie W. Vandiver; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8935) granting a pension to Thomas F. Ferguson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAPMAN: A bill (H. R. 8936) granting a pension to Zack H. Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8937) granting a pension to Richard O'Hearn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8938) granting a pension to Dinah Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8939) for the relief of Charles Wells; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8940) granting an increase of pension to Terese B. Hall; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8941) granting an increase of pension to Nathan D. Jordan; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CONDON: A bill (H. R. 8942) for the relief of Francis L. Gould; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DOUGHTON: A bill (H. R. 8943) granting a pension to Ben H. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DICKINSON: A bill (H. R. 8944) granting an increase of pension to Linnie C. Markward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 8945) for the relief of John K. Weber; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EVANS of California: A bill (H. R. 8946) for the relief of Merle (Mearl) Arthur Lewis; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FOSS: A bill (H. R. 8947) for the relief of Wilfred Laurent; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FREAR: A bill (H. R. 8948) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Walrod; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 8949) granting an increase of pension to Winnie Graham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HART: A bill (H. R. 8950) granting a pension to John Parcher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8951) for the relief of Floyd L. Green; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8952) granting a pension to James E. Dennison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8953) granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HESS: A bill (H. R. 8954) granting a pension to Estella Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8955) granting a pension to John Westerkamp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8956) granting an increase of pension to Maria A. Houston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KEMP: A bill (H. R. 8957) for the relief of the Louisiana Highway Commission and the parish of Iberville, State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LICHTENWALNER: A bill (H. R. 8958) granting an increase of pension to Helen B. Bower; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LOZIER: A bill (H. R. 8959) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Weltner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8960) granting an increase of pension to Maggie Ohaver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8961) granting a pension to Harvey Dodge; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 8962) granting a pension to the four minor children of Charles H. Wolfe; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MOUSER: A bill (H. R. 8963) granting an increase of pension to Sevilla A. Boley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mrs. NORTON: A bill (H. R. 8964) for the relief of Alexander J. Heller; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. PERKINS: A bill (H. R. 8965) granting an increase of pension to Louisa Conklin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PITTENGER: A bill (H. R. 8966) granting a pension to Jane Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REED of New York: A bill (H. R. 8967) granting an increase of pension to Lucinda P. Ayers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8968) granting an increase of pension to Jenettie E. Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: A bill (H. R. 8969) for the relief of Charlie Chapman Fryer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 8970) to authorize certain officers of the United States Navy and the Marine Corps to accept such decorations, orders, and medals as have been tendered them by foreign governments in appreciation of services rendered; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WOODRUM: A bill (H. R. 8971) granting a pension to Blanche F. O'Beirne; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1325. By Mr. ALDRICH: Petition of the City Council of the City of Providence, R. I., favoring passage of House bill 1, providing for immediate payment of adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1326. By Mr. AMLIE: Petition of Harry L. Gifford Camp, No. 23, and Auxiliary No. 7, Kenosha, Wis., urging the passage of House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1327. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Milton Junction, Wis., opposing modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1328. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Whitewater, Wis., opposing modification of the prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1329. Also, memorial of Polish White Eagle Society, of Kenosha, branch of the Polish National Alliance, urging that October 11 of each year be proclaimed as General Pulaski's memorial day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1330. Also, memorial of Polish White Eagle Society, of Kenosha, Wis., branch of the Polish National Alliance, urging passage of resolution to authorize issuance of a special postage stamp in honor of Brig. Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

1331. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of citizens of Wichita, Kans., in behalf of the maintenance of the prohibitory laws and their enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1332. By Mr. BACON: Petition of Court Cardinal Gibbons, No. 616, Catholic Daughters of America, Patchogue, N. Y., in opposition to enactment of Federal department of education bill and infancy and maternity bill, House bills 4757 and 4739, respectively; to the Committee on Education.

1333. Also, petition of residents of Rockville Centre and Lynbrook, Long Island, in opposition to modification, resubmission, or repeal of the eighteenth amendment and prohibition laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1334. By Mr. BOHN: Petition of Trenary (Mich.) Farmers' Cooperative Store, for the support of House bill 491, pertaining to the relief of the sufferers affected by the fire in northeastern Minnesota in October, 1918; to the Committee on Claims.

1335. By Mr. BOYLAN: Resolution adopted by Federal Postal Employees Association of Denver, Colo., protesting against any reduction in the salaries of Federal employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1336. Also, resolution passed at a convention of the New York State Association of Electrical Contractors and Dealers, favoring House bill 4680, to require contractors on Government building projects to name their subcontractors, etc.; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

1337. By Mr. BUCKBEE: Petition of Owen E. Posner and 141 other citizens of Ottawa, Ill., requesting the immediate cash payment of the soldiers' bonus; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1338. By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperanace Unions of Mitchell, Armour, Geddes, Mission Hill, White, Kingsburg, and Springfield, S. Dak., opposing any change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1339. By Mr. CLANCY: Petition of George H. Jones and approximately 2,100 other residents of Detroit, favoring legislation curbing the chain-store system; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1340. By Mr. CONDON: Resolution adopted by the City Council of Providence, R. I., approving the passage of House Resolution 1, providing for the immediate payment in cash of the adjusted-service certificates; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1341. By Mr. CORNING: Petition of Mrs. Elmer H. Neumann, president Catholic Women's Service League, Albany, N. Y., protesting the enactment of Senate bill 572 and House bill 7525; to the Committee on Education.

1342. Also, petition of Maude C. Lasch, grand regent Catholic Daughters of America, Albany, N. Y., protesting the enactment of House bill 4757 for Federal control of education; also House bill 4739, known as the infancy and maternity act; to the Committee on Education.

1343. Also, petition of Mary A. O'Leary, president Albany District National Council of Catholic Women, comprising a federation of 33 organizations, protesting the enactment of Senate bill 572 and House bill 7525; to the Committee on Education.

1344. By Mr. CRAIL: Petition of many citizens of Los Angeles County, Calif., protesting against legislation for compulsory Sunday observance or any measure looking toward Government control of religion; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1345. Also, petition of many citizens of Los Angeles County, Calif., protesting against any effort to revise, resubmit, repeal, or nullify the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1346. By Mr. EATON of Colorado: Resolution of Gen. Henry W. Lawton Auxiliary, No. 1, Departments of Colorado and Wyoming, United Spanish War Veterans, in support of House bill 7230, granting increased pensions to widows and minor children of veterans of all wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

1347. Also, resolution of 21 ladies, members of the Auxiliary of the Travelers Protective Association, Post A, Denver, Colo., supporting House bill 7230, granting increased pensions to widows and minor children of veterans of all wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

1348. Also, resolutions of Gen. Henry W. Lawton Camp, No. 1, Departments of Colorado and Wyoming, United Spanish War Veterans, Denver, Colo., supporting House bill 7230, granting increased pensions to widows and minor children of veterans of all wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

1349. By Mr. EVANS of California: Petition signed by 52 people, supporting the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1350. By Mr. HOGG of West Virginia: Petition of Bluefield Chamber of Commerce, requesting a tariff on imported oils and asking favorable action on House bill 8018; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1351. By Mr. HOOPER: Petition of Lake Union conference of Seventh-Day Adventists of Battle Creek, Mich., protesting against enactment of the Sunday closing bill, H. R. 8092; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1352. By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Petition of various and sundry citizens of Pierce and Grays Harbor Counties, State of Washington, opposing any modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1353. By Mr. KVALE: Petition of G. A. Wilson and 16 other residents of Hazel Run and Granite Falls, urging enactment of Senate bill 1197; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1354. Also, petition of G. S. Anderson and 31 other residents of Appleton, Madison, and Louisburg, Minn., urging enactment of Senate bill 1197; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1355. Also, petition of residents of Hanley Falls and Clarkfield, Minn., urging enactment of Senate bill 1197; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1356. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Ministerial Association of Winchester, Kans., with 160 signers, urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and opposing any measure of repeal, modification, and resubmission to the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1357. By Mr. LANHAM: Petition of E. R. McWilliams and 77 other citizens of Texas, petitioning the Congress of the United States to exercise themselves diligently on behalf of world peace, in order that the work of the Geneva conference will be enhanced and the good of mankind served; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1358. By Mr. LINDSAY: Petition of G. Hiller, 219 East Fifty-sixth Street, and 52 other citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., opposing the abolishment of the citizens' military training camps; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1359. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of American Oil Burner Association, opposing tariff on oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1360. Also, petition of college presidents, deans, professors of education, and other educators, favoring the taking of the War Department out of the field of education; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1361. By Mr. MURPHY: Petition of Mrs. Emmett A. Rutledge, 16 Prospect Avenue, Bridgeport, Ohio, and 28 others, asking that the prohibition laws be sustained and enforced; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1362. By Mrs. NORTON: Resolutions of the Hudson County committee of the American Legion of the Department of New Jersey, regarding the abolition of the eighteenth amendment and Volstead Act; the Exchange Club, of Jersey City, regarding the repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment; and the Foresters of America, Grand Court of New Jersey, pertaining to modification of the Volstead act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1363. Also, joint resolution passed by the State of New Jersey, proposing a convention to repeal Article XVIII of the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1364. By Mr. PARKER of Georgia: Petition signed by William T. Owens and 176 other citizens of Savannah, Ga., urging the maintenance of the prohibition law and protesting against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1365. By Mr. PERSON: Resolution of Michigan Automobile Trade Association, protesting against the proposed tax on motor vehicles, parts, and accessories, and the proposed Federal fuel tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1366. By Mr. RAINEY: Petition of A. R. Nordmeyer and 49 other citizens of Illinois, favoring the farmers' farm relief act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1367. Also, petition of Harold E. Parsley and 105 other citizens of Illinois, concerning labor conditions; to the Committee on Labor.

1368. By Mr. RAMSPECK: Petition of Mrs. F. B. Magee, president of the West End Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Atlanta, and 16 other ladies of the Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church mothers' class, urging the maintenance and support of the prohibition law and its enforcement, and against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1369. By Mr. REED of New York: Petition of residents of Fredonia, N. Y., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1370. By Mr. RUDD: Petition of George A. Coe, professor of education (retired), teachers' college, Columbia University, New York, favoring the taking of the War Department out of the field of education; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1371. Also, petition of Mansfield B. Snevily, 35 South William Street, New York City, and Ella Mabel Clark, 831 Madison Street, New York City, favoring the passage of the Everglades National Park bill; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

1372. By Mr. SANDERS of New York: Petition of Lawrence E. Seeley and other citizens of Albion, N. Y., supporting the prohibition law and its enforcement and against modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1373. Also, petition of Grace McNall and other citizens of Albion, N. Y., supporting the prohibition law and its enforcement and against modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1374. Also, petition of Earl I. Hamlin and other citizens of Albion, N. Y., supporting the prohibition law and its enforcement and against modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1375. Also, petition of Mrs. Albert G. Rowley and other citizens of Albion, N. Y., supporting the prohibition law and its enforcement and against modification, resubmission, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1376. By Mr. SHOTT: Petition of the Great Kanawha Valley Improvement Association, requesting that hearings be held on the proposed Shipstead-Mansfield bills in order that the proponents may present their views and the facts in support thereof; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1377. Also, petition of the Bluefield (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce, favoring as large a tariff on imported oils as possible and to give House bill 8018 fullest measure of support; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1378. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of 124 adult members of the Fort Berthold Indian Agency, N. Dak., favoring House bill 8505, to authorize natural guardians or Indian Service superintendents to execute deeds conveying the interests of minor Indians where title to trust or restricted lands must pass by approved deed; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

1379. Also, petition of Mrs. Andrew Oppeboen, secretary Van Hook Local, No. 495, Farmers' Union, on behalf of 80 farmers and taxpayers of Van Hook, N. Dak., and vicinity, demanding the passage of the Frazier, Wheeler, and Swank bills for the relief of agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1380. By Mr. SMITH of West Virginia: Petition of Mrs. S. Grover Smith, of the Kanawha Valley Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Charleston, W. Va., urging that immigration laws be amended and deportation laws be strengthened, etc.; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

1381. Also, resolution of the women's department of Humphreys Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church South, opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1382. Also, resolution of the Cynthia Humphreys Bible class, of Charleston, W. Va., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment to be ratified by State conventions or State Legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1383. Also, petition of Coal Valley News, A. W. Garnett, Virgil Jones, and C. C. Hopkins, asking for a tariff on imported fuel oils; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1384. By Mr. SPARKS: Petition of Bristow Woman's Christian Temperance Union, sent in by Eunice S. Bliss, Osborne, signed by 30 citizens; citizens of Burr Oak and vicinity, sent in by F. N. Stelson, of Burr Oak, signed by 59, and sponsored by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Just a Mere Club of Ness City, sent in by Lydia E. Brown, of Ness City, signed by 11 members, and sponsored by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; and the Gradatim Club of Ness City, sent in by Mable C. Raffington, of Ness City, signed by 9 members, and sponsored by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, all of the State of Kansas, protesting against any change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1385. Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Natoma, sent in by Mary E. Gamber and Grace Marlow, of Natoma, representing 22 members; and Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Otego, sent in by Rozetta Fogo, Burr Oak, and Jessie Lewis, Otego, all of the State of Kansas, protesting against any change in the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1386. By Mr. SPENCE: Petition of citizens of Pendleton County, Ky.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1387. By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: Petition of citizens of Johnstown and Clarion, Pa., supporting the eighteenth amendment and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1388. By Mr. SUMNERS of Texas: Petition of officers' conference of Ellis County (Tex.) Woman's Christian Temperance Union, urging the support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1389. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Asbury Park, N. J., against the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1390. By Mr. SWANSON: Petition of citizens of Anita, Iowa, opposing an excise tax on automobile sales; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1391. By Mr. SWING: Petition signed by 151 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Orange, Calif., supporting the maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement and protesting against any measure looking toward its modification, resubmission to the States, or repeal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1392. Also, petition of William S. Hatch and 39 other residents of Los Angeles County, dated January 29, 1932, supporting House bill 7230; to the Committee on Pensions.

1393. By Mr. TABER: Petition of Lullie A. Nichols and others, urging support and maintenance of the prohibition law and its enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1394. By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Resolution of the Board of County Commissioners of Gunnison County, Colo., urging a world conference for the purpose of remonetizing and stabilizing the price of silver; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

1395. Also, petition of citizens of Mount Harris, Colo., urging favorable action on House bill 1, providing for full payment of World War soldiers' adjusted bonuses; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1396. Also, petition of citizens of Bear River, Ohio, urging favorable action on House bill 1, providing for full payment of World War soldiers' adjusted bonuses; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1397. By Mr. WARREN: Petition of Mrs. S. F. Alligood and members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union,

of Washington, N. C., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1398. By Mr. TEMPLE: Resolution of Local Union, West Alexander, Pa., protesting against the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1399. By Mr. WHITLEY: Petition of residents of Irondequoit and Rochester, N. Y., supporting the prohibition laws and their enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1400. By Mr. WYANT: Petition of David Hutton, secretary Jeannette Sportsmen's Association Gun Club, protesting against reduction of appropriations for any form of national defense; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1401. Also, petition of W. Nelson Mayhew, president Chamber of Commerce, Northeast Philadelphia, Pa., representing 250,000 people, protesting against reduction of appropriations for any form of national defense; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1402. Also, petition of Thomas Liggett, Pittsburgh, Pa., urging support of legislation making Everglades Park in southern Florida a national park; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

1403. By Mr. YATES: Petition of Ida Stull, Louise Bauer, Emma F. Webber, Stella Williams, and other citizens of Centralia, Ill., opposing modification of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1404. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Brooklyn Women's Constitutional Committee, of Brooklyn N. Y., opposing the resubmission of the eighteenth amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.